Templa quam dilecta.

R. C. Temple.
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The Position of the Gopatha-Brähmana in Vedic Literature.—By Maurice Bloomfield, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

"Wie er räuspert und wie er spuckt,
Das habt ihr ihm glücklich abguguckt."

The edition of the GB. in the Bibliotheca Indica1 is a marvel of editorial ineptitude. Dr. Otto von Böhtlingk has subjected the first prapâthaka to a critical review,2 and has pointed out a considerable list of blunders in that part of the work.3 The text, however, grows worse as it goes on; the list of obvious mistakes is portentous. Especially do the editors betray a most thorough-going lack of knowledge of the subject-matter of grāuta-literature, as when they consistently print the words pratīga and evayā-marut as three words (e. g. pra u gam, p. 130, l. 4; pra u ge, p. 137, ll. 6, 7, 9; eva yā marutaḥ, p. 170, last line). Inasmuch as the text is to a great extent a compilation from other Brāhmaṇas, the work of the editors can to a considerable degree be controlled and amended, as, e. g., by comparing GB. i. 5. 2 with CB. xii. 2. 1. 1–9 (praśne yo, for praneyo, kulyudaghnas for kulphadaghnas); GB. ii. 1. 11 with TS. ii. 5. 5. 3 (chāṁ vasat for chambat; anuhātā-

3 P. 8, ll. 1, 2, read camasādhvāravavo for camasā, adhvāravavo, not throwing out adhvāravavo with Böhtlingk, p. 15. The first hemistich of the mantra in GB. i. 1. 9 (p. 6, l. 9) is quoted by Sāyaṇa, Introd. to the AV., p. 5, as gṛṣṭha hi vedas tapasvo dhiṣṭa brahmaṇānāṁ hṛdaye samhābhūva.
Maurice Bloomfield,

muñḍkhyam upagallo for anu hrītamukhy apagalbhō; pragalmo
for pragalbhō; na drśyanta for 'nadṛtya tatt'; GB. ii. 2. 6 with
AB. i. 18 (sambharāṃṣi for sambharāṃṣi; sambhṛtyocatur for
sambhrtyocur); GB. ii. 3. 6 (latter half) with AB. vii. 33. 6 (pratya-
vartattum anarīhan for pratyanahartum anarīhan); and so in
very many more cases.¹ Indeed, the future editor of the GB. will
find his task sensibly relieved by following out the correspond-
ences of the GB. with other Brāhmaṇa-texts as stated in the
sequel of the present article. In general, the Hindu editors are
conscious neither of any connection between the GB. and the
remaining Atharvan texts (Saṃhitā, Vātāna, Kāuṣika, etc.), nor of
any dependence of the GB. upon the older Brāhmaṇa-texts. Nor
do they treat the text as though it followed any connected plan:
in the main each section, or group of sections, is dealt with indi-
vidually, as though it were a note or excerpt, without any refer-
ence to the scheme of the grāuta-sacrifice. The case is by no
means quite as bad as that.

¹The statement of the entire list of corrections which suggest them-
selves would amount almost to a new edition; we may content
ourselves here with a small anthology: p. 23, last line, krodhopaṇḍa-
gham for krodho 'paḥ pāghan; p. 24, l. 2 from bottom, pāpiyāni for
pāpiyān iva; p. 25, l. 16, upṭāya for utthāya; p. 27, l. 16, pāpaṭāsma
tan for pāpaṭāṃsmtan; p. 29, l. 6, asī tanyūr for asitajñiūr; p. 29, l.
14, ucudyaqtaṃ tan for ucud̐ pataqtam; p. 58, l. 5, 'yeṣitañce for
'yettan ce'; p. 60, l. 11, yaṁ vā lokos for 'yaṁ, etc. (a common type of
error); p. 70, l. 2 from bottom, 'niṣṭhā for 'niṣṭhā; p. 80, l. 2 from
bottom, 'taḥ bṛgy for 'taḥ bṛgy; p. 96, l. 2, cnuṣṭīr for cnuṣṭīr; p. 174,
l. 2, anūtīr for anuvīr; p. 115, l. 15, stuteṣe for stuteṣe; p. 116, l. 15,
agnī, agnīn for agṇīd agnīn; p. 119, l. 15, pi vā, somam for pibā
somam; p. 121, l. 14, 'tyaṇṭārīr for 'tyaṇṭārīr; p. 126, l. 13, vīrya-
vattayā for vīryavattayā; p. 141, l. 9, ayamītyam for apamītyam; p.
143, l. 5, yanno for 'yaṁ no; p. 146, l. 1, ēy u śu vravāṇi tā agnīr for
eh u śu vravāṇi ta āgnīr; p. 150, l. 1, nivikṣeyatate for nivīc chayate
p. 150, l. 2, puroratna for purorunī na; p. 153, l. 1, antaḥsadaḥ,
sandhiṣṭhā for antaḥsadasan dhīnīyāḥ; p. 154, l. 1, jājāire, sa sanakṛtvā
for jājāvivecasan kṛtvā; p. 154, l. 2, viṣṣadvyarchaḥ for viṣṇaḥ vyārchat
p. 156, l. 7, tāṃ tā for tāṭhā; p. 158, l. 12, īṣāha ca svadhī for īṣāh
svaṣ ca dhi'; p. 160, l. 1, satyo for ā satyo; p. 161, l. 4, tvaṁ hi for nu
ahamb; p. 163, l. 1, māṁśu for śmām u śu; p. 165, l. 9, kaviḥ rucchāmi
for kaviḥ rucchāmi; p. 167, l. 15, stuno for astu no; p. 169, l. 9, kalpay-
ati for kalpayeti; p. 170, l. 13, tanyūkhaḥ iti for tām nyūkhayati;
p. 172, ll. 9 and 14, prajāpatiḥ for prjātiḥ; p. 180, l. 6, 'yaṣṭi for jājā';
p. 181, l. 18, dādhiḥpraptaḥ for dādhiḥkṛvya. In general the mantra-
quotations are especially faulty.
The most important single critical point of view in the analysis of the GB, is the distinction between the pūrva-brāhmaṇa in five prapāṭhakas and the uttara-brāhmaṇa in six prapāṭhakas. The pūrva is in no mean measure original, especially when it devotes itself to the glorification of the Atharvan and its priests; it does not present materials in accord and connection with the order of the sacrifice (yajñakrama) either in the Vāitāna or in any of the other grānta-texts. The uttara follows in the main the order of the Vāit. by compiling—with slight Atharvanic adaptations—from a considerable variety of sources a fairly connected Brāhmaṇa to accompany the action of the Vāit. These adaptations are sporadic, hap-hazard, and incomplete both as regards subject-matter and mantras; the scrappy character of the result is superficially evident. Yet in a general way the uttara in its relation to Vāit. may be compared with the relation of the first nine books of the ČB. to the original nucleus of the VS. (books i.—xviii.); the pūrva being comparable with (as it is to some extent dependent upon) ČB. x.—xiv.¹ Both halves of the GB, however,—this is the second important point of view,—are very late productions, one cannot say from how recent a century; both halves were composed after the Vāit., without, or almost without, any independent Atharvanic tradition. Moreover, the uttara-brāhmaṇa makes the impression of a production later than the pūrva-brāhmaṇa. Thus the usual chronological relations in the redaction of Brāhmaṇa, Črāntasūtra, and Grhyasūtra are turned about in the Atharvan: the Kāṣaṇika (Grhyasūtra) was composed before the Vāitāna (Črāntasūtra),² the Vāitāna before the GB.,—the cone is inverted and balances upon a mere point of genuine Atharvanic tradition, as far as both Črāntasūtra and Brāhmaṇa are concerned. We may here characterize the relation of the GB. to the remaining Atharvan texts and to the Brāhmaṇa-literature in general, beginning with the uttara-brāhmaṇa, since its character is much less complex than that of the pūrva-brāhmaṇa. This will be followed elsewhere by a somewhat detailed account of the contents of the entire Brāhmaṇa, section by section.

1. The Uttara-Brahmāṇa.—For the purpose of defining the history of this production it will be of advantage not to follow the text section by section, but to deal with certain select themes in the order of their clearness and suggestiveness. We may choose first the treatment of the seasonal offerings (cāturmāyānī). To this theme are devoted sections ii. 1. 19–26 of the GB. These are purloined with slight modifications from the KB., being the fifth book of that work in toto. The Vāit. treats this subject in 8. 8–9. 27, and there are of course correspondences between it and GB. due to the sameness of the subject. Thus, the opening sūtra of Vāit. (8. 8) is literally identical with the opening of GB. (ii. 1. 19). The GB. does not mention the mantras of the Vāit., except that it works in the two formulas svadā and astu svadhā (Vāit. 9. 11) in ii. 1. 24. We cannot therefore speak even of adaptation to the Vāitāṇa. The transaction is an act of wholesale borrowing, to use no severer term, with a sporadic recollection of one or another point in the Vāitāṇa. There can be no question that this part of the GB. was compiled subsequently to both KB. and Vāit. Even more characteristic is the treatment of the atirātra (soma-sacrifice), GB. ii. 5. 1–5. This is compiled from two sources, AB. iv. 5 and 6, and KB. xvii. 7–9, baldly put down, one after the other, without any attempt to assimilate the materials. Thus the three parāyāyas (periods) of the atirātra are explained twice as typifying the successive expulsion of the Asuras from the three periods of the night, once in the words of AB. iv. 5, the second time in the words of KB. xvii. 8. Very striking, too, is the case of GB. ii. 3. 11, illustrating, in the course of the agniṣṭoma, the passage Vāit. 21. 3, 4 : the Brāhmaṇa is copied with slight alterations from KB. xi. 4 and 5; the compiler does not even take the trouble to expunge the expression, iti ha smāha kāuṣitakih, which of itself would betray its origin: indeed in general, throughout the text, the Rishis are borrowed by our Atharvavedin along with the productions in which they figure. Again, cases of undisguised pilfering appear in the three kāmyeṣṭayaḥ, GB. ii. 1. 13–15, which reproduce almost verbatim MS. ii. 1. 10, and in the treatment of the anvāhārya, GB. ii. 1. 6, taken from MS. i. 4. 6 (p. 54, l. 3 ff.). These are only a few of the cases of this kind: the uttera exploits especially AB. and KB., but other Brāhmaṇas, ČB., TS., MS., and even PB., are not exempt from depredation.

The scope and quantity of these processes may next be stated numerically : of the 123 sections of the uttara-brāhmaṇa 79 owe
their materials either entirely or largely to older texts, as far as is known to the writer. And there can be no doubt that future search will reveal still further instances of the dependence of GB., since there are at present no regular channels through which an investigation of this kind may be carried on. The correspondences, stated now in the order of the uttara-brāhmaṇa, are as follows: ii. 1. 1: KB. vi. 13;—ii. 1. 3 (latter half): KB. vi. 14 (beginning);—ii. 1. 6: MS. i. 4. 6 (p. 54, l. 3 ff.);—ii. 1. 9, very similar to TS. ii. 5. 5. 1 ff.;—ii. 1. 10 (beginning): Kāuṇ. i. 29, 30;—ii. 1. 11: TS. ii. 5. 5. 2 ff.;—ii. 1. 13–15: MS. ii. 1. 10;—ii. 1. 18: MS. iii. 3. 7 (p. 40, l. 2 ff.);—ii. 1. 19–20: KB. v. (entire);—ii. 2. 2–4: TS. vi. 2. 2. 1 ff.;—ii. 2. 6: AB. i. 18;—ii. 2. 13: TS. iii. 5. 2. 1;—ii. 2. 20–22: AB. vi. 10 (complete), vi. 11. 6 ff., and vi. 12. 6 ff.;—ii. 3. 1–6: AB. iii. 5 to 8;—ii. 3. 6 (latter half): AB. vii. 33. 5 ff.;—ii. 3. 7, 8: AB. ii. 29, and vi. 14. 5;—ii. 3. 10: AB. iii. 12;—ii. 3. 11: KB. xi. 4, 5;—ii. 3. 12: AB. iii. 14;—ii. 3. 17–19: MS. iv. 8. 3;—ii. 3. 20, 21: AB. iii. 23;—ii. 3. 22: AB. iii. 24;—ii. 4. 5: AB. vi. 3. 8–11;—ii. 4. 6: KB. xviii. 7, 8;—ii. 4. 8: TS. iii. 3. 8, 2 ff.;—ii. 4. 9: TS. iii. 3. 8. 4 ff.;—ii. 4. 10: AB. iii. 44;—ii. 4. 19: AB. iv. 1. 5–8;—ii. 5. 1–3: AB. iv. 5, 6;—ii. 5. 4–5: KB. xvii. 7–9;—ii. 5. 6: ČB. xii. 8. 3. 1, 2;—ii. 5. 7: ČB. xii. 8. 3. 23–28;—ii. 5. 8: PB. xviii. 7;—ii. 5. 11: AB. vi. 17. 1, 2 and vi. 5;—ii. 5. 12: AB. vi. 6;—ii. 5. 13: AB. vi. 7;—ii. 5. 14: AB. vi. 8;—ii. 5. 15: AB. vi. 18. 4 ff., introduced by a sentence from AB. vi. 17. 2, and ending in a passage from AB. vi. 17. 3, 4;—finally of the 16 sections of the sixth prapāṭhaka all except one and a half (ii. 6. 6, and the first half of ii. 6. 7) are entirely or very largely dependent upon the fifth and especially the sixth book of the AB. These 79 sections do not by any means mark the limit of the materials in the GB. that can lay no claim to originality. Thus GB. ii. 1. 16; 2. 9; and 2. 12 are open to the suspicion that they are nothing but slightly Brāhmaṇized extracts from the Vāit. itself, respectively, 11. 1; 15. 3; and 16. 15–17. And there are other verbal correspondences between Vāit. and GB. which need not be detailed here, suggesting the superficial creation of Brāhmaṇa matter directly out of the sūtras of Vāit. Again, quite a considerable number of sections dealing with the āstras of the three daily savanas (ii. 3. 13–15; ii. 4. 1–3, and ii. 4. 11–18) seem to be little more than the statements of the RV. Sūtras worked over slightly into Brāhmaṇa-form; of., e.g., GB. ii. 4. 1–3 with ČC. vii. 22–24; ĄC.
7. 4. 1 ff. Future investigations on the part of the second editor of the GB. will doubtless narrow down the limits of the original materials of the uttara-brāhmaṇa to a mere minimum.

Just as the uttara-brāhmaṇa presupposes the older Brāhmaṇas of the Vedic literature, so it is no less certainly based upon the existing text of the Vāitāna. The general correspondence of the uttara with Vāit. in the matter of themes, wording, and mantras is by no means to be judged as derivable from an indifferent source of common tradition; it represents rather an act of engrafting the Brāhmaṇa expositions and ideas upon such matters in the Śūtra as seemed to the compiler to stand in need of theological definition and motivation. One may say, in accordance with the paradoxical inter-relation of these secondary Atharvān texts, that to some extent the Vāit. figures, as it were, as the Sāmhitā of the GB. Thus, original mantras of Vāit., or, at any rate, mantras stated in full, are frequently cited in the uttara-brāhmaṇa by their pratika. The Brāhmaṇa is not consistent in these matters: the long yajus Vāit. 3. 20 is repeated in full GB. ii. 1. 7, but the yajur-formulas Vāit. 3. 14; 4. 16, are cited by pratika GB. ii. 1. 3, and 4. Similarly the gharma-sūkta from the Pāippalāda is given in full Vāit. 14. 1, whereas its pratika only appears GB. ii. 1. 6. In GB. ii. 2. 12 and ii. 2. 18 this relation is especially in evidence: GB. cites there the mantras in Vāit. 16. 17 and 18. 11 fragmentarily, with explanations in the manner especially in evidence in the treatment of the VS. mantras in the CB. Very characteristic, too, for the priority of the Vāit. is GB. ii. 1. 16, which deals with its theme out of order and connection, whereas in Vāit. 11. 1 it very properly introduces the agniṣṭoma.

Nevertheless, the uttara-brāhmaṇa has certainly some, though probably very few, original sections. Thus the prācitra-legend, GB. ii. 1. 2, though based upon materials from older texts, betrays itself as an Atharvanic fabrication by the introduction of the clap-trap Rishis, Idhama Āṅgirasā and Barhi Āṅgirasā, leading up to Brhaspati Āṅgirasā, who, of course, represents the Atharvanic (fourth) Brahman-priest. Section ii. 2. 5 starts with an explanation of the word mākha in Nirukta-manner, leading up to one of those disquisitions on the defects of the sacrifice (common in the pūrva) which can be corrected only by the glorified Bṛgvaṅgirovid. Cf. also certain touches in ii. 1. 17; 2. 6, 14, 15; 3. 9, etc. Otherwise the originality of the uttara consists in a certain free-
dom in transfusing the diction of the Brāhmaṇa-materials which it has adopted; in assimilating some of their statements to Atharvanic conditions; and, above all, in changing in no small measure the mantras contained in those Brāhmaṇas to those in vogue with the Atharvans. Thus in ii. 1. 1, a passage borrowed from KB., the formula idam aham arvāvasoh is changed to idam aham arvāgvasoh (Kāu. 3. 7; 137. 39); in the stomabhāga-legend, essentially identical with TS. iii. 5. 2. 1, the GB. ii. 2. 13 omits tasmād vāsiṣṭho brahmā kāryaḥ, because its ideal of a Brahman-priest (fourth priest) is a Bhrigvaṇgirovid; in ii. 3. 10, almost identical with AB. iii. 12, the āhāva and pratīgara-formulas (e. g. adhvaryo paṇsāvom) appear not in their AB. form but as in Vāīt. (20. 18). And other adaptations of this sort will be found upon a closer analysis of the text: they accentuate the consciousness of these processes, which are at times quite clever, at others most superficial and bungling.

2. The Purva-Brāhmaṇa.—The character of the first part of the GB. is not as easily definable as that of the second. The most conspicuous feature of the first part is that it does not follow at all the order of the Vāīt., nor is its object in the main the illustration of the various kinds of prāuta-sacrifice. It is, to begin with, also a large borrower, but the source drawn upon is almost exclusively the Čatapatḥa-Brāhmaṇa (books xi. and xii.). From the beginning of the fourth prapāṭha through to i. 5. 22, i. e. all of the fifth prapāṭha excepting the last three sections, the text seems to be nothing but a secondary mouthing-over of a considerable part of the twelfth book of ČB. The subject dealt with by both texts is a mystic, theosophic treatment of the satra of the year and other forms of the soma-sacrifice. Though there is some degree of independence on the part of the GB., both in the wording and in an occasional mantra, there can be in this part no question of independent Atharvanic school-tradition; nor can the subject as treated by both texts be referred to a common earlier source. The GB. purloins the materials of the ČB. quite superficially; occasionally only it infuses into them those special Atharvanic traits which that text affects. The most prominent of these are the praise of the fourth Veda, the mention of Atharvan, Aṅgiras, Bṛgū, etc.; see, e. g., GB. i. 4. 24; 5. 10, 11, 15, 19. The dependence in general of the Vāīt. upon the school of the white YV. ensures a certain correlation of these
materials with the treatment of the satra as presented in Vāit. 31–34; but this is no more in the nature of close companionship than is the case in the relation of ČB. xii. to its Saṁhitā (VS.). Aside from this, as far as has been noted, only the eleventh book of the ČB. and a section or two of the AB. have been exploited by the author: GB. i. 3. 2: AB. v. 32. 3 ff.;—i. 3. 3: AB. v. 32. 5–33. 4;—i. 3. 4: AB. v. 34. 1 ff.;—i. 3. 6–10: ČB. xi. 4. 1;—i. 3. 11, 12: ČB. xi. 5. 3. 1–7;—i. 3. 13, 14: ČB. xi. 5. 3. 8 ff.;—i. 3. 18: AB. vii. 1. 1.¹

The last three sections of the fifth prapāṭhaka contain a metrical treatise on the sacrifice, directed largely towards the interests of the Atharvan. The lack of a certain unity of structure in the three sections makes it possible to imagine that they are not from one and the same hand. At any rate they are not far removed from the type of parīṣṭa; they do not bear upon the individual acts of the ritual, but seem to be a statement of the position and beliefs of the Atharvans in regard to the general aspects of Vedic lore and sacrifice, with the special purpose of defining and glorifying the AV. This, indeed, is the leading theme of the pūrva-brāhmaṇa as a whole; to this it adheres throughout the considerable variety of subjects which are handled in the first three prapāṭhakas, whether they are cosmogonies, speculations in Upaniṣad style, comments on sacrificial details, grammatical disquisitions (i. 1. 24–28), or even statements in the manner of the carana-ṇyūha (i. 1. 29). To carry to the front the AV. and the fourth priest (the so-called Brahmaṇ), who must be an Atharvāṅgirovīd or Bhṛgaṅgirovīd, and to point to failure and discomfiture in all holy concerns managed without the fourth Veda, is without question the original motive underlying the production of the Atharvan-Brāhmaṇa. Every tetrad is a veritable godsend to the author. Whether it be the four-footed animal (i. 2. 24); four metres (often); the syllable om divided artificially into four moras (i. 1. 10); the cosmic tetrads, earth and fire, atmosphere and wind, heaven and sun, moon and water (i. 1. 29 et al.); or psycho-physical tetrads like speech, breath, sight, and mind (i. 2. 11; 3. 14), they are all pressed into service to show the inherent necessity and primordiality of the catur-veda, as

¹ Note also the passage beginning with tād yathā āvāṣena GB. i. 1. 14, which seems borrowed from Chānd. Up. iv. 17. 7, and GB. i. 6. 11 end=Kāuç. 94. 3. 4.
stated most formally i. 1. 16. Occasionally and quite familiarly (i. 2. 21, 24; 5. 10; cf. also i. 1. 7 and i. 3. 4) the fourfold Veda is expanded into the Atharvanic pentad by dividing the AV. into two, āṃsaṇa = atharvan, and ghora = aṅgiras (see SBE. xlii. pp. xxiii ff.). Very neat manipulations are carried on to this end when passages are borrowed from older texts, as when GB. i. 4. 24 substitutes caturāro vedāḥ for catuspādāḥ paṇavaḥ in CB. xii. 2. 2. 20, or when GB. i. 5. 10 assumes the above mentioned Atharvanic five Vedas for three in CB. xii. 3. 3. 2. That the GB. clearly associates the AV. and its functionaries with brāhmaṇa in the sense of universal religion (sarvasvidyā) and brahmā in the sense of universal theologian (sarvavid) may be gathered from i. 2. 18; 5. 11, 15, 19: see the systematic exposition of this important theme, SBE. i. c. pp. lii ff.

Though the pūrva-brāhmaṇa, in distinction from the uttara-brāhmaṇa, leaves the impression of a certain elemental, energetic independence in its composition; though it does not borrow as much and as bare-facedly as the uttara; though it does not make it its business to follow and illustrate any other Atharvan text; yet it is without question an exceedingly late production, and also presupposes the Kāuḍaṇ and Vāśiṇ, in addition to the Čāṇakya-saṁhitā in 20 k Andréas.1 Nor are its materials, aside from the obviously borrowed passages, at all from the same hand; as can be seen by comparing, e. g., the first cosmogony, i. 1. 1–15 with the second, i. 1. 16–30. The section i. 2. 8 mentions the god Čiva and belongs rather to the Purāṇa than the Brāhmaṇa-period. Section i. 1. 28 mentions an evil divinity Doṣapati who figured as a Rishi at the beginning of the dūpara-age, reminding us of Dūṣin, a name of the devil Māra in the Buddha-legends.2 Sections i. 1. 25–27 contain grammatical matters of an advanced type, including the kārikā mentioned in the Mahābhaṣya 1. p. 96

1 Cf. GB. i. 1. 4, 5, 8, which allude in a cloudy way to the finished diaskeusis in 30 books (see Kauḍika, Introduction, pp. xxxix and xli). Note the contrast between caṃ manḍalaḥ (RV.) and caṃ kanaḍāḥ (AV.) in i. 2. 9. The fact that in the late caraṇa-vṛtha passage i. 1. 29 the initial stanza of the AV. is said to be caṃ no devīr abhīṣate does not, in our judgment, militate against the view that the GB. belongs to the school of Čāṇaka, rather than to the Pāippalāda. See Kauḍika, Introduction, pp. xxxvii ff. The GB. is, however, not acquainted with the Pāippalāda: see below.

2 See Windisch, Buddha und Māra, p. 151.
(Kielhorn’s edition). Section i. 1. 29 is in the nature of a carana-
vāyāh, certainly very late. The proof that the pūrva is posterior to Vāït., just as Vāït. is later than Kāuṣ., can be rendered in de-
nite technical form. In Vāït. 5. 10 two classes of plants, one Atharvanean, the other Aṅgirasic, are mentioned; the latter, unknown to Kāuṣ., is catalogued in full; the former, having been stated Kāuṣ. 8. 16, is merely alluded to with the words cityā-
dībhīr atharvanābhīh. The GB., in its turn, having both Kāuṣ. and Vāït. behind it, is content to allude to both classes with the vague words atharvanābhīc cāṅgirasābhīc ca (i. 2. 18): they would be entirely unintelligible but for their reference to the preceding texts. Again, as in the case of the uttara, the pūrva at times treats the Vāït. as its Saṁhitā, as far as the mantras are concerned. Thus GB. i. 1. 12 quotes the pāda, agni r yajñaṁ triyaptāṁ sataptan-
tum from the Pāipp. hymn given in full Vāït. 10. 17; and GB. i. 2. 18 (end) quotes by pratīka the five stanzas given in full Vāït. 6. 1. Finally, aside from the general correspondence of subject-matter and terminology, as when, e.g., GB. i. 3. 11, 12 shares with Vāït. important words unknown elsewhere, the GB. occasionally presents Brāhmaṇa-matter which reads like a late note on Vāït. Thus, e.g., GB. i. 3. 17, describing the variety of agnistoma called ekaguh is hardly more than an after-thought to Vāït. 24. 20; GB. i. 2. 18 (second half) contains an Atharvanean legend clearly built upon Vāït. 5. 10, and, more remotely, upon Kāuṣ. 8 and 9.

Yet the pūrva-brāhmaṇa, though very late, is not devoid of a certain originality. The two cosmogonies, respectively i. 1. 1–15 and i. 1. 16–30; the gāyatī-theology i. 1. 31–38; the sections on the duties of the Brahmacārin, with its rubrication of AV. xi. 5, in i. 2. 1–9; the Brāhmaṇa of the ‘fire-footed horse’ at the agnyādhāna in i. 2. 18–21 (with quite a number of original words at the end of i. 2. 21); the trivial Brāhmaṇa on the svāhā in i. 3. 16, and other sections seem to represent a form of scholastic activity unknown elsewhere in this precise form. The list of

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1 See the author, JAOS. xi. p. 387.
2 The passage, cek ha vāś vīdvan sarvanid brahmā yad bhṛgaṅgiroid, etc., GB. i. 5. 11 (end), seems to be copied from Kāuṣ. 94. 3. 4.
3 Cf. also GB. i. 3. 19 with Vāït. 11. 17 ff.; GB. i. 3. 21 with Vāït. 11. 20–28; GB. i. 3. 22 with Vāït. 12. 1; GB. i. 3. 28 with Vāït. 12. 14; GB. i. 5. 8 with Vāït. 94. 31. For orthographic peculiarities shared alike by Vāït. and GB. see Garbe, Introduction to the text-edition of Vāït., p. vi. note.
Vedic subsidiary writings in i. 2. 10, though again late in character, does not occur elsewhere in this arrangement and extent. A somewhat independent statement of the yujñakrama is presented in i. 5. 7. No Vedic text is entirely devoid of independent mantras and formulas, or fails to introduce independent variants into such as are paralleled by other texts. In this regard the pārva-brāhmaṇa does not differ essentially from the older Brāhmaṇas: i. 1. 9 contains a mantra of Upaniṣad character (preṣṭha ha vedas, etc.), repeated with variants by Śāyaṇa in his Introduction to the AV., p. 5, but unknown elsewhere in the literature; in i. 1. 39 the mantra, āpo garbhāṁ janayanāṁ, seems to be a somewhat independent (Pāippalāda?) version of AV. iv. 2. 8; in i. 2. 7 an expiatory mantra, recited by Brahmācārins in case they happen to step upon a burial-spot, is added to certain other formulas of a similar nature, shared by Vāit. (12. 8, 9) and GB.; at the end of the same section (i. 2. 7) AV. xi. 5. 23 is presented in sakalapāṭha with its second hemistich differing markedly from the vulgata form: this, in fact, is the version of the Pāippalāda at the end of the 18th book (see Roth, Der Atharvaveda in Kaschmir, p. 23). Similarly the mantra, catvāri grūgās trayo, etc., in i. 2. 16 is quoted from the Pāipp., the blunder grūgās for grūgā, RV. iv. 58. 3, et al., included; see Roth, ibid. In i. 2. 9 the mantra, antarikṣe pathibhir, etc., shows marked variants as compared with its parallel, RV. x. 168. 3; the formulas in i. 3. 13 do not occur in Vāit., and differ from those in the corresponding passage CB. xi. 5. 3. 8 ff.; the two stanzas at the end of i. 5. 5 also present variants as compared with CB. xii. 3. 2. 6, 7, occurring nowhere else; above all, the typical mantras at the three daily soma-offerings (cyeno, si, etc.) in i. 5. 12 differ not only from those of the corresponding passage, CB. xii. 3. 4. 3–5, but also from those of the Cāunakīya-saṁhitā (AV. vi. 48), and, as far as is known, from all other versions of these formulas. And throughout the text, aside from the three metrical chapters i. 5. 23–25, there are glokas and other metrical passages so clearly Atharvānic in character that they may not be expected to turn up in older texts (see, e.g., i. 1. 32. end): their paripṛśta-character and their independence are equally obvious.

1 List of subsidiary Vedic literary types are mentioned also in i. 1. 10, 21, 23, 24, 27 and in i. 3. 8.

2 See the writer, JAOS. xvi. pp. 1 ff.
The Meaning and Etymology of the Vedic Word *vidātha.*—By
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The interpretation of words that are restricted in their occurrence to the poetic parts of the Veda is often a delicate task, even where the word is a very common one, as is the case with the subject of the present paper. The hieratic mysticism of the diction, that swollen utterance—a less severe expression seems inadequate—tends to inflate many words with esoteric shades of meaning which becloud their original value; in sober surroundings the same word would presumably betray its meaning almost of itself. The scene of the Vedic Rishis' imaginings is both earth and heaven, the persons both men and gods; frequently an inextricable blend of the two pairs, divine men upon earth and very earthy gods in heaven, obfuscate the situation still further. In the first interpretation of the Veda the inflation and vagueness of the original were reinforced by the very natural tendency to dress out the Veda in evenly consistent poetic clothes, even where the original stooped to state the plainest matters in the commonest language. I may refer by way of illustration to my remark on *jāgrvedāsah* in JAOS. xvi. p. 36, note, which means simply 'having waked up' (in the morning): the Pet. renders it, 'munter, eifrig, unermüdlich'; Grassmann, 'die wachsam sind'; Ludwig, 'die wachen' (in the sense of 'wide-awake, keen'). Such subtle shifts are common, and they betray the picture conveyed by the Veda to the mental retina of the early translators, as a kind of mediæval romantic poetry, in which naively pious sentiments and performances alternate with valorous deeds. This is what renders Grassmann's translation, the most complete and

1 Since this was written Vedic interpretation has been enriched by Professor Oldenberg's scholarly *Vedic Hymns,* SBE. xlvi. On pp. 36 ff. he analyses the word as *vi-dātha* for *vi-dhātha* from the root *dā,* assuming the meanings 'distribution, disposition, ordinance,' and then 'sacrificial ordinance, sacrifice.' Aside from the problematic etymology, I have not been able to convince myself that he reaches the root of the matter, especially as regards the homelier aspects of the word which form the starting-point of the present discussion.
consistent expression of this conception of the Veda, in spite of many merits in detail, a medium full of refraction, in which the prismatic tints lend a fictitious beauty that overlays the original, which after all has a beauty of its own, though it is severer, and far from even.

In the case of vidātha the older translations have presented as the most prominent rendering the word ‘opferversammlung.’ One fairly sees the people moving in solemn procession to the sanctified spot where chanting priests with robe and tiara are to invoke the favor of the gods. Unfortunately the Hindus had no ‘opferversammlungen’; there was in the main no public cult; the sacrifice is strictly a private affair, a sacrifice in the home of, and in behalf of an individual sacrificer. There is always one yajamanā, or bestower of the sacrifice; the sacrifice redounds to his benefit, and that of his family.1 There were, to be sure, priests, sometimes very many, at the sacrifice, but this does not constitute an assemblage in the ordinary sense of the word, at least not in the sense which naturally goes with the word ‘opferversammlung.’ This implies, unless defined to the contrary, a rather spontaneous, popular gathering. Now this ψευδος gave rise to another faulty view of the word: it contains the root 2. vid, as we shall endeavor to show, in its ordinary sense of ‘get, acquire.’ Instead of this, the radical idea underlying the word was generally felt to be ‘come together, assemble’ (as though it were sāṁ viḍ), and upon this a number of subsidiary meanings of the word were based. And, again, the false start from the notion of ‘assemblage’ resulted in an approximation of the word to other words for assemblage, especially sabhā with which vidātha was almost identified. We shall see that there are decided points of contact between the words vidātha and sabhā, but the contact is that of extreme opposites in a way: vidātha refers to home matters; sabhā generally, though not always, to public matters.4

In the interpretation of a term that figures prominently in the mystic-hieratic sphere of the Veda it is peculiarly necessary to

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1 See Barth, Religions of India, p. 50.

4 The word sabhā itself does not by any means always refer to a public place, but occasionally means simply ‘house,’ or ‘parlor.’ Thus rāyih sabhātuin, RV. iv. 2. 5, means ‘wealth consisting of houses,’ and the yōi sabhārati vīdāhyā, RV. i. 167. 3, certainly does not refer to a woman in the assembly, but means ‘a genteel woman of good house and with an establishment.’
search for its uses outside of that sphere, if there be such uses. In RV. x. 85. 28 the bride after the wedding-ceremony proper, as the newly married couple are about to travel to their new home, is addressed with the words: "May Pūṣan taking thee by the hand lead thee home, may the Agvins lead thee forth on their car! Go to thy house in order that thou mayst be mistress of the house," and next, vaṣṭiṇi te dhāṃ vidātham ā vadāsī: "Full of authority shalt thou speak to the vidātha." Now vidātha here can have but one meaning, ‘household,’ or something very like it. It certainly cannot refer to anything in the nature of a public gathering similar to the sabhā. In AV. vii. 38. 4 a woman who is pronouncing a love-charm takes especial pains to define the position of her sex, and to disclaim any connection with public matters: "My speech, not thine (in this matter of love) hath weight; in the assembly (sabhāyām), forsooth, do thou make thy voice heard! To me alone shalt thou belong, shalt not even discourse of other women." And the Māitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā iv. 7. 4: 97. 15 defines the same relation of the sexes from the man’s point of view with the utmost neatness, nirindriyā stri, pumān indriyavāna, taṃ mā pumānāh sabhān yanti na striyāḥ: “Woman is weak, man is strong; hence men go to the assembly, not women.” These passages outline the state of the woman-question for early India with the most satisfying clearness: while in general there are no footprints of the slipper in the sand of time,¹ and both women and men are agreed that the legislatiye assembly is not the ideal sphere of woman, yet her own essential prerogative of being in charge of love and home is undisputed.

The stanza in the RV. following that commented upon above, RV. x. 85. 27 = AV. xiv. 1. 21 = Āpast. Mantrabr. i. 9. 4, addresses a similar statement to both parties to the marriage contract: “Unite thyself with this husband, then shall ye, long-lived, order your household” (jīvī vidātham ā vadāthāḥ). Here the word ‘long-lived’ is significant: it is obviously a word redolent of family-life, not of public life. And what else but the household might that thing be which man and wife shall address or order? Similarly, AV. xii. 2. 30¹, folks returning from a funeral

¹ Cf. with this perhaps also RV. i. 167. 6.

² An occasional Xantippes was not wanting, else there would be no occasion for the Ait. Br. iii. 24. 7 = Gop. Br. ii. 3. 22 to say, apratirvādāni hā ‘sy a grheṣu patni bharati pattrū vah śīvāṇa, etc.: “His wife does not contradict him in his (own) house who knoweth thus.”
pray that having succeeded in checking the advance of death upon themselves, they shall continue to live (long) and order their household (ātha jīvāso vidāthaḥ ā vādema). This again leads over to the common expressions, suvīrāsō vidāthām ā vādema (RV. i. 117. 25, etc.), and brhād vādema vidāthe suvīrāḥ (RV. ii. 1. 16, etc.). Common as these two verse-lines are, they have been charged with over-much meaning, as when Grassmann renders the latter by, "lasst laut im Chore bei dem Fest uns singen." Ludwig’s rendering, "laut mögen wir sprechen mit guten helden in der opferversammlung" is far more sober, but also misses the point, as does also Bergaigne, Quarante Hymnes, p. 6, "puissions-nous, en parlant à voix haute dans l’assemblée, obtenir de bons héros." And Oldenberg (SBE. xlvi. pp. 26 ff.) arrives at a similar rendering for these expressions, e. g. in his translation of RV. ii. 1. 16 (p. 188), "may we speak loud in the assembly, rich in valiant men." The word suvīrāḥ again refers to family-relations, not to public life, meaning, ‘having strong, or lusty, sons’: its rendition by ‘rich in valiant men’ is once more, in our judgment, a romantic or inflated one, suggesting vaguely a feudal picture of life (a lord with his vassals) foreign to the situation.

The two verse-lines mean, "let us have strong sons and control our household." Similarly this scene from ordinary life is reflected in the prayer for life after death, AV. xviii. 3. 70: "Render up again, O tree (funeral-pyre), him that hath been deposited upon thee, that he may dwell in the seat of Yama, vidāthā vīdan speaking (authoritatively) to his household."

Thus far, it may not be doubted, the word appears in the language of ordinary life. But it is found to a very much greater extent in the sacerdotal sphere; indeed, as all interpreters from Yāska on have agreed, it often has a meaning very close to yajñā, ‘sacrifice,’ itself. This is as it should be. Insomuch as the sacrifice is a private, home-affair, it is very natural that vidāthā, the home, the premises, the establishment, should

1 The reader needs hardly to be reminded in this connection of the disturbances to which the early Hindu household seems to have been chronically subjected owing to the quarrels and disagreements of its members. A distinct class of charms, the so-called sāthmanasyādā, ‘charms to secure harmony,’ deal largely with this theme; see SBE. xlii. pp. 134 ff.; cf. also the story of Cyavana (see ibid. pp. 962), in which these conditions are depicted as a curse.
figure prominently in connection with the sacrifice. But the word has a distinct local color. Just as in the view of people of fashion a house is the scene of social amenities (cf. especially the German expressions ‘eine Haus machen,’ ‘eine grosse Haus machen’), so the vidâtha in which lived the generous patron of the sacrifice (sûrî) is the scene of the sacrifice. This is especially clear in such passages as exhibit the word yajñâ by the side of vidâtha, e. g. RV. vii. 84. 3, krtâm no yajñâṁ vidâthesu cārūn, krtâm brâhmâni sûrîsu prapastâ, “render ye (Indra and Varûna) our sacrifice pleasing in the establishments; prepare ye songs appreciated by the patrons (of the sacrifice).” Or RV. x. 100. 6, yajñâc ca bhûd vidâthe cārur ântamah; x. 110. 7, yajñâm... pracocâyantâ vidâthesu kârâ (dâivyâ hôtârâ); iii. 28. 6, gántâro yajñâṁ vidâthesu dhîrâh (the Maruts); iii. 4. 5, (dodâh) nprê-gaso vidâthesu prá jâtâ abhâ ’mân yajñâm vi caranta pârvâh; viii. 11. 1. 2, tvâm (agne) yajñësv ̄îdyah, tvâm asi praçåyo vidâthesu. In most of these cases the locative sing. or plur. of vidâtha occurs with yajñâ in a case other than the locative, rendering it clear that the sacrifice took place in the vidâtha, and the assumed primary meaning, ‘establishment,’ with the understanding that it is the establishment in which sacrifices were offered, in which the sacrifice was at home, as it were, suits the connection most naturally.¹ And thus the great mass of the occurrences of the word. We may pick out, e. g., the passages in which Agni is spoken of in connection with the vidâtha, and the same sense ‘establishment (in which sacrifices are performed)’ appears. Thus: RV. iii. 1. 1, agne vâhnîṁ cakartha vidâthe yâjadhyaî; i. 60. 1, vâhnîṁ... vidâthâsya ketûm; x. 92. 2, agnîṁ vidâthasa sâdhanam; x. 91. 8, vidâthasa prasâdhanam agnîm; iii. 3. 3, kettâm yajñânâṁ vidâthâsya sâdhanam; i. 143. 7, vidâthesu dîyat; iv. 6. 2, agnir mandrō vidâthesu prâcetâh; iii. 14. 1, ñohâ mandrō vidâthâny asîhâ; x. 129. 8, grñânto agne vidâthesu vedânamâh; x. 91. 9, tvâm... vṛṣate... hôtâram agne vidâthesa; x. 11. 3, agnîṁ hôtâraṁ vidâthâsya jîvanam; iii. 8. 5, jîtô jîyate... vidâthe vârddhamânâh; iii. 28. 4, agne... táva bhûgadêyam nó prá minanti vidâthesu dhîrâh.

¹ Decidedly, it should be noted that the word vidâtha does not occur in the nominative at all, but overwhelmingly in the locative sing. and plur., whereas yajñâ is very common in the nominative. The local color of vidâtha can be realized superficially by comparing the two words in Grassmann’s Concordance.
A little differently, yet clearly enough, Agni in RV. iii. 1. 18 is said to have sat in the dwellings of the mortals, viñāthānī sadhan; or, in iii. 27. 7, Agni, the immortal god, leads the van, viñāthānī pracoḍāyan. Here it is difficult to determine whether viñāthānī still means, primarily, ‘(sacrificial) establishments,’ or, secondarily, ‘(sacrifices in the) establishments.’ Just as the Royal House of Stuart, or the House of Stuart means in reality the kings in Stuart’s House, so vidātha unquestionably advances from the meaning ‘(sacrificial) establishment,’ until it reaches the meaning ‘sacrifice.’ This meaning may preferably be assumed for some of the passages relating to Agni, above; it certainly seems likely in the expression trīye vidāthe, RV. ii. 4. 8: pṝroṣyā vasa adhīdāu trīye vidāthe mānma ҫaṇṣi, “in remembrance of thy former blessings this prayer has been recited to thee at the third sacrifice.” Here trīye vidāthe seems pretty clearly = trīye sāvane ‘the third, or evening pressure of the soma.’ The same three pressures of the soma seem to explain the word in RV. v. 3. 6, vayām agne vanuyāma . . . viñāthēsvar āhnaṁ . . . mārtān, ‘may we, O Agni, overcome the mortals at the (three) sacrifices of the day’; cf. the expressions prapitvē āhnaṁ, and abhipitvē āhnaṁ, RV. i. 126. 3; iv. 16. 12; 34. 5, which point out the particular pressures in the morning and the evening stated collectively in viñāthēsvar āhnaṁ; cf. JAOS. xvi. p. 38.

Indeed it is scarcely possible to mark off from one another the two meanings just developed. Take, e. g., the pāda, sā na mrḍa viñāthe grṇānd, addressed to lightning, AV. 1. 13. 4: it may mean “spare us, thou that art praised in our household”; or, “spare us thou that art praised at the sacrifice”; or, RV. vii. 57. 2, asmnākaṁ adyā viñāthēsvar barhir & viñāye sadata, “sit down now (O Maruta), upon the barbis to refresh yourselves at our sacrifices,” or, “in our (sacrificial) premises.”

It would be useless, as it is unimportant, to attempt to catch or trace in such connection the more primary shading of the word, as this seems to me to be guaranteed by the passages discussed in the opening of this paper. Nor would it be worth while to

1 Cf. also English ‘court’ in the two senses, regal and judicial; German ‘hof,’ etc., etc.

2 So Oldenberg, SBE. xvi. p. 305, and previously my own marginal note.

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present here in writing the entire mass of passages in the Veda containing this word, in most of which the preceding meanings will be found satisfactory, in some of which the obscurity is due to the subject matter in general. But a few words on the derivative \( \text{vidathyā} \) will perhaps serve to further clarify the atmosphere.

By way of preliminary we again note that the word \( \text{sabhā} \) does not by any means always refer to a public place, but occasionally simply means 'house,' or 'parlor.' Thus \( \text{rayīḥ sabhāvān} \), RV. iv. 2. 5, can hardly mean anything else than 'wealth consisting of houses'; therefore, if not for other reason, \( \text{vidathyām...} \) \( \text{rayīm} \), RV. vi. 8. 5, means 'wealth in the establishment;' i.e. 'established wealth.' Nor does \( \text{yōsā sabhāvāti vidathyā} \), (RV. 1. 167. 3 (cf. also st. 6) refer to a woman in the assembly but means 'a woman of good house and with an establishment.' In this light we may regard anew a passage like AV. xx. 128. 1 = ČC. xii. 20. 2, \( \text{yāḥ sabhēyo vidathyāḥ sūtvā yājvā ca pārusah} \): what else may this soma-pressing, sacrificing man be but 'a man of good house and establishment'? In RV. 1. 91. 20 Soma bestows upon a pious man, in addition to cows and horses, a son (\( \text{virā} \)) that is \( \text{karmanyā}, \text{sādanyā}, \text{vidathyā}, \text{sabhēya}, \text{and pitṛ-}\text{srāvāna}, \) i.e. the son is diligent or pious (\( \text{karmanyā} \)); devoted to home (\( \text{sādanyā} \)); obedient (\( \text{pitṛsrāvāna} \)); it seems altogether likely that \( \text{vidathyā} \) and \( \text{sabhēya} \) refer to home conditions rather than to public matters: the words seem here to have an ethical tinge, 'genteel,' 'of a good house,' or the like. There seem to be no passages, not even \( \text{vidathyāḥ samṛtā} \) ('a ruler rich in establishments'), RV. iv. 27. 2, in which the word needs to be correlated with any kind of public assemblage.
The Puñjāb and the Rig-Veda.—By Edward Washburn Hopkins, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

No greater disappointment awaits the Vedic student in India than a visit to the Puñjāb. Can this shallow stream, he asks, be the formidable barrier which he used to associate with the name Sutlej? And from the Sutlej to the Ravi, what a view of unbounded flatness! But the Ravi itself, little more than a brook, across which walk oxen and their masters, wet scarcely to the knee—is this one of the great Five? The student goes still further west, and what does he see? A veritable desert, green only by the river’s bank; a level land, from which no mountains are visible; providing water for few only where frequent wells are dug, and made inhabitable for many only by means of the great canals with which modern enterprise has furnished it. At the Chenaub the anxious student finds a rougher country, but only in the river-gorge; and not till he reaches the very north-western corner of the Puñjāb does he see mountains, at a distance. So he goes on till he arrives at the Indus—the mighty Indus—and sadly wades across it! If the traveller journeys south he finds the land still more arid, till it passes imperceptibly into the southern desert, where indeed the country is no flatter nor more devoid of trees, but the aridity is not broken by the narrow streaks which, as rivers, cut up the desert of the north.

Remembering that the Vedic bards were acquainted with the five (or seven) rivers, and have handed down some quasi-historical matter in regard to the crossing of them, the student in surprise asks himself where these hymns were composed. Some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda take cognizance of streams west of the Indus, but these seem to belong more to a special clan, perhaps to those that had not crossed the Puñjāb with the rest but lingered behind, as their hymns would indicate; hymns which show on the whole a late character and appear to have been added to the Collection after the latter was for the most part finished. In a very few hymns, moreover, there are direct invocations of the Sindhu, but the mention of other rivers (of the Puñjāb) shows at least that the hymnists were not confined to the
district about the Indus. Where then was the chief Collection made? It reflects not so much a wandering life in a desert as a life stable and fixed, a life of halls and cities, and shows sacrificial cases in such detail as to lead one to suppose that the hymnists were not on the tramp but were comfortable, well-fed priests.

Still more is the traveller impressed with the incompatibility of Vedic poetry and the land of the Five Rivers. Could the hymns have been composed in such a land, could they have grown up in such an environment? If the first home of the Aryans in India can be determined at all by the conditions, topographical and meteorological, described in their early hymns, then decidedly the Puñjab was not that home. For here there are neither mountains to be seen nor monsoon storms to burst, yet storm and mountain belong to the very marrow of the Rig-Veda.

Thinking thus, the student retraces his steps across the desert, and seeks a district where conditions favorable to the creation of the Vedic hymns are to be found, where the Vedic Aryans may be supposed to have had their first permanent abode, wanderers through the desert no longer. I believe he will not discover this early home of the Aryans of the Rig-Veda till he passes east of the old ‘limit of India,’ Sirhind, and comes to a district, the first on his way, where monsoon storms and mountain scenery are found, that district, namely, which lies south of Umballa (or Ambālā). It is here, in my opinion, that the Rig-Veda, taken as a whole, was composed. In every particular this locality fulfils the physical conditions under which the composition of the hymns was possible, and, what is of paramount importance, it is the first district east of the Indus that does so.

I venture to think that this interpretation of the physical aspects of the country is supported even by native traditions. At a very early (Brahmanic) period the ‘Northerners’ are regarded as a suspicious sort of people, whose religious practices, far from being authoritative, are censured. No tradition associates the ancient literature with the Puñjab. In fact, save for one exception, even the legal manuals do not take cognizance of the Northwest. They have the stanza that defines Āryāvarta, and also the stanzas that extend the geographical boundary still further south; but they ignore the North. Manu, however, has one verse that in connection with this subject is of interest, and deserves to be translated, though till now it never has been ren-
dered into English. I refer to ii. 17, and translate in paraphrase: “The country divinely meted out by the rivers Sarasouti and Ghuggar, and lying between them, is where the (Rig, etc.) Veda arose, and hence is called brahmāvarta or ‘home of the Veda’ in the tradition of the learned.”

That brahma here means Veda is half recognized by the native scholiasts; but, as I shall show presently, it is still more important to notice that such meaning agrees with the general use of the word in Manu and particularly with the use in this second book. The point can be shown clearly by grouping the examples. The word brahma in Manu has, it is true, other meanings than Veda. But these are I think plainly ruled out here by the context. It will be necessary, therefore, to show first by a brief analysis what the context implies.

The second book of Manu is concerned with the correct dharma and conduct of the twice-born. ‘Tell us the dharma practiced by the good’ is the substance of its opening stanza. Authority is then said to be invested in the Veda, the traditions of the wise, and practices of the good; while all dharma is founded on the Veda (6–7). The Veda is thus established as the fountain-head of law, religious practice, and conduct. A few more stanzas emphasize this point still further, and then comes the stanza preceding the one under discussion. In this the author reverts to the Veda in particular, and now employs the word mantra, saying that only he who always employs mantra, Vedic verses, is an authority; and, after thus specifying where one is to look for precept and on what practice and precept are based, proceeds to give the countries where authority is to be found, beginning, as is observed by one of the Commentators, with the most authoritative. We are thus led to expect that the Veda will be mentioned first; and such, in my opinion, is the case. The following verses then show what are the less authoritative, but still authoritative countries. In abstract this appears thus: (The district between the Sarasvatī and Dhrṣadvatī is the home of the Veda); the religious practices found in this country are those of the good. Next to this lies the country south of it (from Thanesar to Mathurā), which is the district of the seers of the Veda (brah-

1 The termination -āla of so many of the towns in this part of the country would point to a word of this form with the meaning of village or settlement. So far as I have observed such endings uniformly indicate small places and, in general, places situated in anciently habi-
and from Brahmans of this district are to be learned the practices of men to-day. Taking a wider sweep, all the country from west to east between the place where the Sarasouiti disappears in the desert and that where the Jumna disappears in the Ganges, and from north to south between the Himalayas and the Vindhya hills is the 'Middle Land.' The 'home of the Aryans' (āryāvarta), as it is called, is the country between these mountains and the two seas.

The Pūṇāb is thus omitted altogether from the list. The most western locality is the place where the Sarasouiti disappears in the north-west, and the Arabian Sea, west of the southern line of the Vindhyaas.1

That, as Nandana observes at this point (ploka 22), each country is given in the order of its authority, the best being first, is clear not only from the last verse, but from the one that follows it. For here it is stated that the 'district fit for sacrifice' is all the country forming the natural habitat of the black buck, and this differs from the 'country of barbarians' in that the latter is not a place fit for the twice-born to live in. 'Natural habitat' is not to be taken with the Commentators as making a

tated parts of the country. Near Kurukṣetra there are Ambālā, Kar-nāla (with the southern Kurnool), and Patīlā on the Ghuggar or Dṛṣādvatī, besides Pañcāla. In the Northwest are found Manikyāla, Dewāla, Kohāla, Margāla, partly in Gandhāra, partly in Cashmere. Near the old Karli caves we find Khandāla and Nerāla; in Kathiawar, Verawāla and Gondāla. But in the South I have noticed only (all three near together) in the vicinity of ancient Bījapur, Mincānāla, Nimbāla, and Jumnāla; and in one of the oldest coast-stations, near Cochin, Narakāla.

I may add that Manu's determination of the habitat of the black buck probably shows that the author did not know the Deccan very well. The black buck are common about Hyderabad, at Sarur Nagar, and I have seen them, mixed with antelope, in the great plains about Gadaga south of Bījapur, where probably they have always grazed. A few are found in Kathiawar. But the Deccan is excluded by Manu from lands habitable for the twice-born.

1 The Āhīira, mentioned in Manu as a mixed-caste, designates a shepherd race of Sind, Kuch, and Kathiawar. The other mixed-castes show acquaintance only with the South and East; rather a superficial acquaintance, as the Māghada, for instance, is recognized only as a mercator or travelling trader, while the Vāideha is a 'servant of women,' M. x. 6 ff. The northern Daradas are known only as Gentiles or barbarians.
distinction between country and town, but between the plains and the hills. The Gangetic plain and the country about Kuruksetra, between Delhi and Umballa and south of the former locality, is still the ‘natural habitat’ of the black buck. This account in Manu concludes with the words: “thus have I briefly expounded to you the home (yoni) of dharma, and its origin (sāmbhava).”

In regard to the word brahmāvarta, the second member is found in the similar word āryāvarta (pl. 29),¹ and that it signifies home or place of origin is recognized by the Commentators. Thus Kull. says, as does Medh., āryā uṭrā 'vartante punaḥ punar udāhavantī. Again in vii. 82, āvṛttās are ‘they that come’ (arrive, arise) from good families (abl.); and in iv. 172, Rāmacandra correctly gives pravartamāṇa as the equivalent of āvartamaṇa. On this score then we are safe in rendering the latter half of the word as ‘home,’ in the sense of origin, or birth-place.²

The word brahma has four, and perhaps five, meanings in Manu. In the stereotyped brahma kṣetra it is equivalent to brāhmāṇa-caste, as in v. 23 and ix. 320 ff.; or to a member of that caste, as in brāhmahā, brahmagīna, brāhmarākṣasa (xi. 54; xii. 55; viii. 89; xii. 60; and once in the second book, ii. 80). It may, again, stand for the Absolute or for brahmatva. In i. 98; xii. 102, brahmābhāyāya kālpate, either meaning is possible, or even that of Brahmade. In xii. 123, brahma pāṇīvatam, brahma is the equivalent of brahma parum, which is found as a complete phrase, in vi. 85; ii. 82, 83.³ So in vi. 79, brahma sanātanaṁ (compare 81). This meaning either appears in the purely philosophical parts of the work or is obtained by an epithet limiting and defining brahma, as in param brahma at ii. 81. I do not suppose, however, that anyone will claim that in brahmāvarta the first word means either Brahman or the Absolute.⁴

¹ This word occurs again at x. 84.
² In the Mahābhārata, Brahmadevarta is called Brahmakṣetra, kṣetra being a common equivalent of yoni, the place of origin. Compare the mythical abode of the ‘Northern Kurus,’ called Devakṣetra (perhaps the modern Dewāla in Cashmere?).
³ The meaning of the whole, given by Comm. at i. 98 as mokṣa, centers in the bhūya; mokṣa is the being of Brahmā (or the Absolute).
⁴ Sarvajñānārāyaṇa even says that brahma param is paramo vedas. But ‘going to brahma param’ ii. 82, must mean ‘going into the Absolute.’ Compare vi. 81, brahmāṃ eva vatiṣṭhate.
⁵ In i. 11 (after 9, Brahmadev) brahmeti kīrtyate must imply Brahmadev.
The three other possible meanings of the word are Brahма (in composition), Veda, and purity or holiness. The last of these is a meaning sometimes given to браhма in браhмачаrin, but this word means nothing more than practicing Vedic study,1 and is the exact counterpart of браhмавaдин, 'declaring the Veda.' The only places where браhма goes so far from its original meaning as to be capable of the translation 'purity' are v. 93 and 158–160. In the first of these, браhмадбhуTa (v. l. пuTa) is regarded by all Commentators as the equivalent of 'pure.' But this is only the logical meaning. Here as elsewhere браhма may be and should be rendered (as in браhмадбhуTa above)2 by 'the being of Brahма.' The second case, too, is fallacious: stri браhмачаrya vyavasthitа is indeed 'a pure woman'; but the sense is so far from the original meaning, and the application is so figurative, that it is filled out in the text itself by yathа te браhмачаrинaS, i. e. 'a woman living like a student of the Veda' is still the meaning. The meaning 'pure' comes from the chastity attributed to the student, to whom the woman is compared.

This meaning, therefore, ruled out by the context in any circumstances, cannot here be applied. I mention it only because the more general word 'holiness' might be supposed to be applicable, and these examples be considered as illustrations of that meaning. But in Manu браhма never means holiness.

We are, then, reduced to the meanings Brahма and Veda. In ii. 84, браhма is thus used for Brahма, but it is scarcely probable that браhмaвaрTa is an earthly equivalent of браhмaлoкa (iv. 182, 260; vi. 32). The браhмaнaс sabhа of viii. 11 depends on the four-foldness of the sabhа for its likeness. Other cases are браhмaтеяS, vii. 14;3 and браhмaпuйjита вaк, viii. 81; perhaps also браhмaнjaли, ii. 71 (see below). The strongest argument against the interpretation of браhмaвaрTa as 'home of Brahма' is, however, that the country thus described is дeвaнirмитa,

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1 Compare the use of the word in ii. 115, with the preceding context.
2 Compare браhмaиyаn kриyаT тaнус, ii. 28. Medh. here, however, records one interpretation in accordance with which the implied noun is браhма=veda.
3 Compare браhмaн tejaS, iv. 186, as Vedic, apparently, which makes the case above doubtful. The adjective браhма sometimes means Vedic, as in vii. 2, of сaнskāra; but generally it is equivalent to 'of Brahма' (тirtha, ii. 58 (?); браhмо muhуrtаS, iv. 92, like Vas. xii. 47). It may, however, refer to the Brahmins, as in ниdiS, vii. 83 (compare 88). In iii. 74, браhмaиyаn hutаm means 'of Brahmana.'
‘divinely meted out,’ and the divinity here, from the context, can be only the divine rivers, as is said by the Commentators. It would not be probable that the country was said to be ‘meted out (or made)’ by the divine rivers and therefore called the home of Brahmā, which is the substance of the stanza, if brahma here is Brahmā.

Now I propose to show that in all other cases in Manu brahma has the meaning simply of Veda (as Vedic texts), and not of holiness or of any vague concept.

The meaning Veda comes out most clearly in brahmāda = vedada,1 iv. 232–3, in brahma dhana, Veda as wealth, ix. 316; and in vedasattra, Vedic session, iv. 9 (compare 11 and Comm.). So in xi. 192 and 265; in the latter case even vedasūra may be the true meaning. Again brahma vādīn (ii. 113; iv. 91, 199; vi. 39; xi. 42, 120; cf. 56, 97) must mean “he that declares the Veda,” as is correctly stated by the Commentators, who are right also in giving the same sense to brahmāvaṛcas = vedabala (ii. 37; iv. 218).2

Most clearly does this, the regular meaning of brahma in Manu, appear in such expressions as that in iv. 110: tryaham na kirtayed brahma (= anadhyāyah syāt, Rāmacandra).3 So ib. 111 and 114, brahma is Veda; as in ib. 149, brahmābhyāsa,4 ib. 99, brahmādhyāya; ib. 100, brahma ochandaskṛtaṁ (pathet); or in iii. 41, where brahmādharma is vedadharmā (all Comm.). In like manner the Commentators all agree that brahmaṇo grahāṇa in ii. 173 is ‘attainment of Veda.’ Hence the threefold Veda is called simply trayam brahma in i. 23; and brahmaṇo dhāranāt in the same book, i. 93, as is agreed by all Commentators, means vedadhāranāt; while, ib. 97, brahmavedin (v. l., probably correct, “vādīn”) is defined as brahmātattva-vijñā.

The difficult passage brahmaṇā brahmayonisthās, x. 74, may mean ‘Brahmans by birth on the mother’s and father’s side’ as Nar. extraordinarily renders it; but the other Commentators are probably right in explaining brahma as (study of) the Veda. So Govindarāja says that brahma is here Veda, and Medh. says the same, though the latter erroneously defines yoni as kāraṇa; for yoni means home, as it does in ii. 25, cited above (dharmasya

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1 Compare iii. 3: brahmadāya (= Veda).
2 In iii. 39, brahmāvaṛcasinas is rendered by Rāgh. vedādhyanājajāvyayuktās. At ii. 113, Medh. gives vedādhyaśin for brahmavādīn.
3 Compare ii. 173: nābhīvyāhārayed brahma (= Veda, Medh., etc.).
4 Compare ii. 186, vedābhyāsa.
yonih sambhavacy ca), and not kūraṇa or śādhaṇa. But in this case the verse appears to mean that only those Brahmans may live by a Brahman’s six acts who abide by the Veda (‘stand in the abode of the Veda’), the abode here being the Veda itself.¹

I have given above several scattered instances from the second book, in which occurs the verse here in question, where brahma means Veda. This is here the prevailing meaning, as it is elsewhere. Thus ii. 71, brahmārambha is ‘at the beginning of the Veda’ (lesson);² in ii. 74, brahmaṇah (pranavaṁ kuryād) ādāv ante ca, the same sense is found (all Comm.); in ii. 81 (Śūvitra, etc.), brahmaṇo mukham, most of the Commentators say that brahma is Veda (Medh., Kull., Nār., Nand.), though Kāmacandra and Rāghavānanda take it as paramātmā, which Medh. and Kull. allow as an alternative. Govindarāja gives only Veda as the meaning. The various interpretations show the tendency to put a more philosophical sense into the text. In ii. 106, brahmaśattra and brahmāhuti (Nand., vedavyāhutir iti yāvat), the Commentators also give brahma as Veda. In ii. 116, Rāghavānanda rightly gives brahma as Veda. In ii. 146 (brahmāda, brahma-dātā, and brahmajānma), all agree as to the meaning of brahma = Veda (brahmada being uśāra). Here brahmada is the equivalent of mantrada in ii. 153. So brahmajānma is paraphrased by brahmajana in ii. 150 (Nār. as Veda).³ These gokos all contain rules for the student of the Veda, brahmacārin, and the same word brahma in the sense of Veda occurs again in the final verse of this section, 164: anena kramayogena saṁskṛtām dvijah ganaṁ Gūḍhava vasan saṅcinyuḥ brahmādhihamikāṁ tapaḥ. Compare with this, in the next gōka, vedāḥ kṛṣṇo dhiganta-vyāh. Nārāyaṇa paraphrases the first expression with vedādhi-gamanarūpāṁ tapaḥ. I add to these one more instance, ii. 116: brahma yas tv annaṁśuṣaṁ adhīyānād avāpyuyāt Sa brahma-steyasaṁyukto naram pratiṣṭyate (vedāṁ grīhāti is Kull.’s rendering).

As these are all the cases of brahma in Manu; as general holiness is not found to be one of the meanings employed; as the meanings Brahman, Brahman caste, Brahma, the Absolute, are

¹ In vi. 83, adhiyānām brahma is also clearly Veda.
² In the preceding verse, brahmādījati may have the same meaning or brahma may be ‘Brahmā’s;’ but the former certainly seems to be the sense in this connection.
³ Compare also ii. 169-170, where ‘brahmic birth’ is ‘Vedic. With brahmāda compare ii. 171, vedapradānāt.
not admissible; there would seem to be no reason why we should not render brahmāvarta in ii. 17 as ‘home of the Veda.’ The Commentators are fairly unanimous in their treatment of this ploka. Rāmacandra, indeed, goes out of his way to say that the two rivers are the Ganges and Jumna, evidently having in mind a verse of the dharmasūtras which give these rivers as boundaries of another district. On brahmāvarta Sarvajñanāryāṇa says: brahmāvartate ‘nuvartate yatra sa brahmāvartaḥ, and Nandana: brahma dharmah āyṛttam āgatam maharṣinām atra pratibhātam iti brahmāvartaḥ. Govindarāja merely says, brahmāvartakhyam (dēcam). Medhātithi and Kullūka are not so explicit, but they too seem to take brahma in the sense of dharma as contained in the Veda. This, however, is never the meaning of brahma in Manu, who distinguishes brahma from dharma (the former being the base of the latter), and uses brahma, as above, only in the sense of Veda, or of Brahma, Brahma, or the Absolute.

I believe, therefore, that in this verse is found an echo of ancient tradition which rightly ascribed the composition of Mantric literature to the only place which we to-day can regard as the first permanent abode of the Aryans in India, viz. the district about the modern town of Umballa, south toward Thanesar (Kurukṣetra), between the Sarasouti and Ghuggar rivers. In this district noble mountains are visible, which recede from sight as one approaches Thanesar. Here the monsoon still breaks in violence. Here are softly sloping hills and verdant pasturage. To the west, in the Puṇjāb proper, no mountains are visible except in the extreme northwestern corner (about Rawal Pindi), and here there is no monsoon storm. There are, in the Puṇjāb proper, no electrical phenomenon at all in the monsoon season, but only gentle noiseless showers; no verdure and no hills, but a waste of desert that only stops at the river’s edge; no sloping pasturage, but a flat plain broken by a steep bank where the river cuts in. If we assume that the sight of the mountains at Rawal Pindi and further west makes it probable that the Vedic people inhabited this district, the only part of the Puṇjāb where mountains are to be seen, then we must ignore the fact that the further west we get from the (modern) Northwestern Provinces the less we see of any real monsoon. In the central Puṇjāb there are

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1 On a very clear day by climbing a high tower distant mountains are said to be visible from Lahore. I climbed the tower in normal weather, a bright winter day, and could see nothing but a plain, level as the top of an oven, on every side.
neither hills visible nor storms. Further we must remember that the Vedic Aryans had for the most part already crossed the Puñjâb rivers, as their hymns show, and that they must be located in the district about the rivers or to the east of them, where the crossing was a tradition of the past. But as the country about the rivers of the Puñjâb is just where all the conditions fail which the Rig-Veda would seem to demand, there remains only the alternative of finding a locality where those conditions do obtain.

One point more: I have watched the sun rise and set from the end of the rains to the beginning of the hot season, and, locally, from the Himalayas to far south of the Vindhyas. Almost always at sunset there is a sudden red glow followed by a dull copper-yellow, which soon fades, and at sunrise the same quick succession of colors reversed. Only in the Puñjâb have I seen a really beautiful sunrise (or sunset), such as is marked by bright yellow, slowly deepening into rose, and this continuing into a long flush of crimson. Now the Dawn Hymns are generally admitted to be among the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda. I could not help thinking, as I saw the sunrise and sunset of the Puñjâb and compared them with those I had seen at Kurukṣetra and Delhi a few days before, that the difference between them accorded very well with the fact that the bulk of the Rig-Veda was not composed in the sight of such eolian phenomena as are celebrated in the Dawn Hymns. Dawn too, be it remembered, is particularly celebrated as the goddess of wayfarers; the one that is invoked to give good paths. I may add that the conception of Varuṇa as found in the earlier hymns of the Rik is one more likely to be formed in the midst of a vast plain than in a circumscribed and hilly country. It is perhaps permissible to see in this, taken in connection with the other facts above enumerated, an indication that the Dawn and Varuṇa Hymns belong to the period of transit across the Puñjâb’s desert plain, in distinction from the period of the mass of hymns, composed under the influence of Indra, the god whose rains make the smaller rivers swell.\footnote{The Indus does not rise in June in consequence of the monsoon, but long before the monsoon breaks, and in consequence of the melting of snow in the northern mountains. The same is true of the other northern snow-fed streams. The little rivers about Umballa, on the other hand, are fed by the rains. The Puñjâb is scarcely affected at all by the monsoon. The rains there are chiefly the light winter rains. In summer the storms are mainly whirlwinds of dust, which turn day into night.}
Notes from India.—By Edward Washburn Hopkins, Professor in Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

1. Bridles in sculpture and painting.
2. Buddha's woolly hair.
3. The veiled Jain at Bādāmi.
4. Wooden fences in India.
5. The Anandaśrām.

The following notes are chiefly observations made from time to time in connection with visits paid to several of the ancient monuments of India in 1896–97.

1. Bridles in sculpture and painting.

A curious study is afforded the archaeologist by the treatment of the reins and bridles carved and depicted on Indic monuments. The question whether of old the Hindu's horse was guided with a bit has never been very satisfactorily discussed. In an essay published in this Journal in 1888 (vol. xiii. p. 258–265), I pointed out that in the multifarious heaps of articles described as abandoned on the battle-field the Epic makes no mention of bits or saddles. Arrian says that the Indians had a bit but no curb bit, and directed the horse by a spike outside, i.e. behind the jaw. In Tree and Serpent Worship (p. 134), Fergusson says that the presence of the bit in the sculptures at Sāṇchi is doubtful.

As the result of two visits to Sāṇchi I can say without hesitation that there is no doubt at all in regard to the matter. The subject must have appeared of slight importance to the learned architect, for he selected, to illustrate the 'uncertainty,' the very worst examples of the monument at Sāṇchi, one being weather-worn and the other being blurred with dirt. In figs. 1 and 2 of plate xxxiv, loc. cit., Fergusson has reproduced the car-horse and ridden horse of the left hand column of the north toraṇa. Had he chosen, instead, the car-horse of the right hand toraṇa he would have set the matter at rest. Here the chariot-horse is harnessed, as far as the curb goes, as described by Arrian. There is no bit, but the reins meet back of the jaw.
But the Sānchi tope will reward a closer investigation in this regard, the results of which I here give with the brevity demanded by the trivial character of the investigation, what importance it possesses resting less on the fact that some of the horses at Sānchi have bits and some do not, than in the instructive conservation of old forms plainly seen in much later monuments as compared with the earlier.

Some of the doubtful cases at Sānchi may be cleared up by observing that in cases where the sculpture is perfectly plain there are two distinct forms of headstalls, and these are systematically employed, so that even when the minuteness of the sculpture or its worn appearance renders it difficult to decide from the appearance of the mouth, the form of the headstall will often determine the point. Thus, in certain clear cases of the use of the bit the third strap across the face is lacking; but when the spike (behind the jaw) is intended, the strap passes over the nostrils, and, together with one beneath and one above the eyes, gives the three-fold headstall not found where bits are used.

At Sānchi there may be one important historical result yielded by the treatment of the headstall. It is this, that, if the testimony of the sculptures can be trusted to decide the point, the north torana is indisputably the oldest; for in not a single case is a bit carved upon it. In my opinion the east torana is next oldest, for here the only bitted horse is driven by a man, apparently a foreigner, who wears a fillet and not a turban as is the case with the other charioteers; and there is no case of a ridden horse having a bit. The south torana with its clear cases of bits on chariot-horses comes next; and the west torana, which has not only chariot-horses but ridden horses bitted, is the latest of all.

I must, however, here premise what I shall show in detail below, that whereas a total absence of bit may undoubtedly signify an antique piece of sculpture, the fact that any one specimen still retains the old style does not prove its antiquity. In fact, sculptures, both in wood and stone, executed long after the bit was known and used, are apt to hark back to the old spike-form. It must not be supposed that this is due either to carelessness or inability on the part of the artist. They that are acquainted with the delicate minuteness of the Indic artist in stone will not believe that he either could not or would not make the reins run to the mouth instead of grouping them in a block behind the jaw. The fact that on other sculptures the latter arrangement is often
given up for the former shows that one was as easy as the other to make. There are numerous small figures that have the reins to the mouth. The reason why the bit is not represented is in many cases, I believe, simply the conservatism of religious art. I will now take up the Sānchi toranas in detail.

North torana. The left pillar (from without) has, on the outer face, horses ridden without stirrup or saddle or bit. The headstall has the customary three bands, as described above. This figure is weathered badly, but is unmistakable if closely scrutinized and compared with others of like sort. On the inside of this pillar there is another well-worn horse, not, as before, ridden, but a chariot-horse. Here, despite the abrasion, the absence of the bit is perfectly clear. The reins are gathered in behind the jaw (where the spike is, apud Arrian). On the outer face of the right hand pillar the chariot-horse, with the three-banded headstall, stands out very conspicuously. The mouth is open, the reins meet behind the jaw, and are hung back from there upon the neck. The open mouth shows clearly that there is nothing in the way of a bit intruding within it. On the cross-bar of this torana there are, above, a number of ridden horses in full relief. Not one of them has a bit. Below are represented several chariot-horses, also without bit. From the inside (next to the tope), a corresponding row of ridden horses in full relief on the top of the second bar shows the same features. In all of these the reins are bunched behind the jaw. There are also some ridden horses in bas-relief on the lowest bar and on the right hand pillar (from within); but they are all harnessed with the rein behind the jaw, in marked contrast to the horned beasts also represented here, which have a rope (but no sign of a bit) in the mouth. The sculpture on the left (inside) pillar reproduces that of the right, and as the latter is a little more doubtful it should be compared with the other, its counterpart, and also looked at not only from the ramp of the tope but from the ground below. It will then become clear that here also the reins do not enter the mouth of the horses.

East torana. The pair of chariot-horses on the left pillar (from without) near the ground are very much worn, but they appear to have no bit. The inside of the right pillar, on the other hand, has a charioteer, wearing a fillet, driving two high-crested horses. These horses have but two bands in their headstall (the one under the eyes is lacking), and wear bits, which plainly enter the mouth. On the cross-bar there is sculptured in
relief a chariot-horse without bit. From the inside the only animals having anything in the mouth are griffins and winged lions. This is the conventional harness of all such animals (griffins, tigers, and lions) on all the toranas. It is a simple rope (without bit or ring) passing through the mouth.

South torana. Here, from without, there are seen two chariot-horses in bas-relief on the left pillar. They very clearly have bits in the mouth. In the case of the ridden horse, lower down on the pillar, the bit is doubtful. The horse has neither stirrup nor saddle. On the middle bar, in this case a chariot-horse, the use of the bit is also uncertain. Apparently there is no bit in use here. From the inside point of view appear, on the right and left corner of the upper bar, horses wearing a blanket (as saddle) and reined, but having no bit. These horses are neither ridden nor harnessed in chariot. At the extreme left of the lower bar there is a doubtful case of the use of bit in a chariot-horse, but all the other chariot-horses on the lower bar are devoid of bit.

West torana. The wild horned beasts or griffins on the side of both pillars have ropes in their mouths. High upon one of the pillars, seen from without, is represented a horse ridden without bit or stirrup, having a three-band headstall. From the inside, a ridden horse is seen with two bands and a bit, on the right hand of the lowest bar. This horse has a saddle, and the whole is very clearly cut. In the middle bar the chariot-horses may have bits, but this is doubtful. In the upper bar a ridden horse with three bands appears to have no bit. On the lowest bar the chariot-horses have bits very clearly represented.

On the lone torana standing in the northeast corner of the ground there is no representation of a bitted horse; but in the (pillar) figure of the second bar there are ridden horses with head-bands.

Before passing to a consideration of the use of the bit in other sculptures, I will here add one or two notes on near-lying topics from Sânchi itself. The survey of all the monuments at Sânchi seems to show that bits were used at the time all the toranas were erected except the north torana. The same sculptures give us a clear notion of the way other beasts than horses were harnessed, and a very perfect idea of the ancient chariot.

In the lawbooks of Vashista, Baudhâyana, and Manu, and perhaps in others, mention is made of bulls that have their nostrils
pierced, and of the nose-band, nāsya, of cattle (Vas. ii. 32; Baudh. iii. 2. 3; M. viii. 291). Medhātithi on the last passage distinguishes between the aṅkuṭa for elephants, the khatina (καθίνα) for horses, and the rajju for bulls or oxen dragging a yāna, or, as it is called to-day, a shigram, or bullock-cart. Now the curious thing is that bulls are never represented in the Sānchi sculpture as having a nozzle-band. They are frequently represented (the humped ox, as in the lone northeast torana and in the north torana), but always without reins, though ridden. On the other hand, the griffins, lions, and tigers, as remarked above, have a rope, not in the nostril but in the mouth. Furthermore, it is the universal custom to-day all over India to direct both bullocks (cows) and camels by the nozzle-band, a cord through the perforated nostrils. But on the east torana there are represented two Bactrian camels (two-humped), whose driver is whipping them up from a kneeling posture. One of these has the rein in the mouth (left, inside, of second bar). But in two fine figures on the right of the same bar both nostril and mouth are free. In the left hand Bactrian camel, the rein passes beyond the mouth but touches it; whereas in the one on the right hand the rein is clear of both. The figure is very plainly sculptured, and the rein lies so far back of the nostril that there can be no mistake about it. I cannot imagine how the artist intends to represent the harnessing of this brute, but it is curious that in no one of the four camels represented is there any nozzle-band. The two-humped Bactrian camel, by the way, is the only camel represented at Sānchi, though only the single hump is common to-day. In the same way only lions with manes are represented, though the lions of India to-day have no manes. But maned lions are also found at Ajanta, and are spoken of in the Epic.¹

The goats (or bulls) and asses ridden by women on the lowest bar of the east torana are all harnessed with a rope in the mouth, without bit. The doubtful animals (goats or bulls) have goats' horns but are as large as bulls, the head being the size of the woman's torso.

¹ For example, Mbh. xii. 117. 7, kesarin. Probably the sculpture shows the effect of ahiṣṭāda. I may add that the Epic condemns to hell those that pierce the nostrils of cattle, in the same passage which condemns to hell those who sell the Vedas or commit them to writing; xiii. 28. 72, vedāñāṁ lekhaḥ, and 79, nāśaṁ vedhaṅga ca ye bandhaṅga ca paśaṁ aññāṁ ye.
The chariot, as is shown in many of the sculptures, holds two men, the driver on the left, the bowman on the right. The former is sometimes naked save for a loin-cloth. The chariot is almost exactly the size of a modern tonga. Were the splashboard of the tonga rounded to a fence and the awning and seats removed, the model of a chariot would appear, even including the little turned-up plank at the rear, which is conspicuous in the sculptured chariots. In these, the knee of the horse generally is on a level with the axle and the top of the fence lies almost over the haunches of the horse, so that the hands of the driver could rest on the back of the beasts in front. The ramp of the car is scarcely above the driver's knees and well below the top of the haunch in the case of most of the chariot-horses. The top of the wheel is about level with the horse's belly. Such a car is shown on the south torana, inside, rather smaller than most. Here the bottom of the car is close to the ground and the driver's waist as he stands up does not come higher than the horse's back. To the right of the same bar of the south torana there is a larger chariot, in proportion to the horses. The ramp of the car is here as high as the horse's back. The fence (splash-board) of the car is hollowed forward (like that of a sleigh) and is seen in three-quarter view. The fence curves right over the horse's back and is grasped by the lord of the car with the left hand. Both cars are open behind and have a tongue out in the rear as a foot-board. The place where the fence (forward) meets the ramp of the car, both curving down, is well below the driver's waist. A car in the lowest bar of the west torana shows plainly that the fence (splash-board of to-day) overtops the back of the horses. Here the fence is straight (no curve as above). In this scene the lord carries a large bow. The driver leans over the fence on the horses, just like a jockey; and the fence is as close as possible to the horse, the top overreaching the haunches. The wheels of the chariots have 19, 20, 32 spokes, in different cases. The middle bar of the west torana has two fine cars (32 spokes). Here the ramp and fence are high above the horse's haunches. The two pieces are like two equal wings, and in each are curious holes, one in the fence and two in the ramp, as if peep-holes. In one of these cars the ramp meets the fence above, in the other just below, the top of the wheel. The left (outer) pillar of the east torana shows a car (of 19 spokes) where the fence overtops very well and almost covers the horse's haunch. In the south torana (outside, left
pillar) the fence of the chariot has a curious column to hold it. It runs straight up the middle of the rounded flange that makes the fence. The side of the car has none in the ramp. Here the tongue or foot-board is very plain, tipping up and running out quite a distance from the floor. Query, is this the Epic anukrsa of Mbh. viii. 19. 42, etc.?

To return to the bit: In the procession of the first cave of Ajanta (ascribed to the seventh century) there are some horses with saddles but without bits. Other cases here are doubtful owing to the worn state of the pictures; but in cave 17, ascribed to the fourth century, there are some finely painted horses, ridden, plainly having bits.

If we take this as a terminus, I can best show the point I wish to make by the following examples. Granted that between the first century B.C. (Sanchi) and the fourth century A.D. bits became common; then the religious conservatism of which I spoke may be shown by all subsequent sculpture. I have selected a few striking examples, as follows:

A row of horses, ridden, in the temple of Somnathpur, seem still to show absence of bit. The remains at Halebid show small horses ridden without saddle; but one large rider has saddle and stirrups, but no bit, though the head is in full relief. Here the mass behind the jaw is still bunched together, as in the old sculptures. In a large slab from Belur there are two huge horses having the reins going plainly to the back of the jaw and not to the mouth. They have the saddle but no stirrups. This stone is referred to the middle of the ninth century A.D., and is preserved in the museum at Bangalore. At Ellora there are only two cases.\footnote{In the views from the Râmâyana here sculptured, the figures are all so badly weathered that the heads are almost worn away, and nothing can be determined.} In one of these, in the Brahman caves, of two horses represented one has no bit and the other has a sort of button on the halter but it is far from the mouth. These, too, may belong to the eighth or ninth century. At Madura and Trichinopoly the superb granite horses (of the seventeenth century) are carved just as they would be to-day, with bits and rings at the side of the mouth; but at Seringapatam, the oldest of these pagoda temples, the old style is still preserved, even in the wooden sculpture of the triumphal cars of the temple, which date from this century.
There is, however, one modification of this fact. I noticed that at Seringapatam the present car-figures are in great part copies of the figures of an old car, which is now disused and thrown to one side. So the bitless horses may have been reproduced from a fairly antique model. Still it is remarkable, as the temple itself is not very old (it was probably not built before the ninth century), to find such plain evidence at a late date of the old style. The carving is very minute and clear. A double rein in the case of a large ridden horse goes back of the jaw, and the mouth is pressed open, but there is nothing in it. It seems to be drawn back from behind. The reins meet behind the jaw in each of the four large sculptured horses of the car of the western temple. There is an inner row of figures here in relief, exhibiting a hunting scene, with the same double rein to the back of the jaw. In the inner relief on the west side of the car, the rein passes to a strap at the back of the jaw. The figure at the back of the car has a saddle but no stirrups. The carving is as plain as at Sānchi in all these figures. Here then, at Seringapatam, is an excellent opportunity to see how the antique forms are preserved, not as copies of the actualities of the day but as reconstructions of the past. This raises an important question. How far can we trust the archaeological accuracy of any of the old sculptures? May not even the north torana at Sānchi simply reproduce the conventionalized headstall of sculpture?1

ii. Buddha’s woolly hair.

It has been claimed by Fergusson that Buddha was of Mongolian origin, and in support of this he makes the sweeping remark that “Buddha always has woolly hair.”

This implicitly states, as well, that only Buddha is so represented; otherwise the argument would be without point. The errors in the statement and judgment are hence four in number: 1. Woolly hair would not show that Buddha is regarded as a Mongolian. 2. Buddha does not always have the hair which Fergusson calls woolly. 3. Other saints as well have this hair. 4. The hair is not woolly but curly.

1 Chariots with four horses are found on the Bharhut Stūpa, but the reins do not show bits. The head-gear is arranged for the spike, apparently, but I do not think any one case is decisive here. The straps around the nose and jaw would, however, indicate rather the spike than the bit.
I take these points up briefly in order.—1. In the Ajanta caves there is a portrait of a Chinaman. As the cave is ascribed to the seventh century and contains historical scenes and personages (notably Khosru II) of the seventh century, the portrait is no doubt intended as the likeness of the famous traveller Hiouen Thsang, who visited India in that century. However this may be, the picture certainly represents a Chinaman, and his hair is black and straight like that of Mongolians of the present day. 2. In the caves of Bādāmi there is a Buddha facing a Jain, on the veranda of the fourth cave. This Buddha, with the sheshnag over his head, is perfectly smooth-haired. The other Buddhas of the cave have the lozenge-square hair which Fergusson calls woolly. 3. In the caves of Ellora, many of the Jain figures have exactly the same lozenge and curly hair in their caves as have the Buddhas in the Buddhistic caves. The huge Jain, 73 ft. in height, at Belgoda or Belagolla has plates representing the same hair in its first stereotyped form. 4. The hair of the Buddha has three stages of sculptured development. In the oldest statues the hair is gathered up in little spiral conch-shaped curls, rising in large statues some half inch above the head; and represented as rising thus not only on the forehead but on the crown and in the twisted top-knot to its very top. In the second stage, this curl is given by a single twist, or whorl, not raised to any extent. In the third stage, and found particularly in the small Buddhas, where the carving is less carefully done, this curl is conventionalized still more and becomes a lozenge-square, repeated over the whole head. Plain knobs occasionally take the place of the spiral. In all these forms except the lozenge-square the hair is plainly curly, and in the lozenge-square it is simply stereotyped.

The different statues of Buddha at Sānchi show these grades very plainly. No ‘woolly’ hair was ever long enough to be twisted into a great coil at the back of the head and show the ‘wool’ to the end of the coil, as is the case here in the huge Buddha of the vāhāra. The figure has the true large conch-spiral, with the high top-knot containing the same curled locks. The same is true of the Buddha in the chapel, and of the red-headed Buddha back of the (oldest) north torāṇa. Back of the east torāṇa the Buddha is smaller, and has hair in whorled curls without the conch, though slightly raised; while the last Buddha, behind the south torāṇa, has no conch, but only the scroll, perfectly smooth, a twisted lock.
One of these three forms is found in almost all the sculptured Buddhas. In the case of the Jain images at Ellora, alluded to above, the Jains sometimes have hair in straight rows || || ||, but often it is exactly like the Buddhist scroll—whorled hair. In the case of the large Jains the hair is just like Buddha's; but in the smaller images it is either in whorls or parallel straight lines. In the Buddhist caves themselves (Ellora) the largest Buddha has hair in conch-shape, while lozenge-squares occur in the less important Buddhas of the same cave. In one of these caves complete circles show clearly the curly nature. One Buddha only has round smooth knobs; while all the rest have either circles, lozenge-squares, or complete conch-spirals. At Ajanta even the small figures have the spiral. Remarkable is the fact that in the turban-plaits of the god's head-dress of the eastern triumph-car at Seringapatam the same lozenge-square is reproduced to make the tower of the head-dress. Remarkable also is the fact that while at Ajanta all the figures of Buddha have scroll or conch-shaped hair, the attendants on Buddha in one of the later caves have ribbed hair (like the Jains above). Finally, in one of these caves, Buddha is painted black with red hair, and with white (female!) attendants. The most modern cave alone (No. 26) has small Buddhas with mere round knobs and no scroll.

I would suggest that the huge figure at Belagolla is perhaps not a Jain but a Buddha. It is called Gomata, possibly for Gotama? Whichever it is, it has this same conventionalized curly hair, as Buchanan rightly calls it.¹

¹ In being curly and short, the sculptured hair of Buddha simply preserves Buddhistic literary tradition. The Peshawar Buddha (now in Calcutta) has long plaited hair, but it may be said in general that, while Buddha's hair in the Gândhâra sculpture is arranged in an entirely new fashion, even here it is wavy, so that curly hair would be indicated. That others than Buddha have the same hair is shown best by the Jain figures at Ellora referred to above; but also by the fact that in the Gândhâra sculptures, the murderers (with Devadatta) have this form of hair also; while the same kind of hair is found in the Mathurâ sculptures, as well as on the heads of the Sânchi 'Scythians.' I cannot agree with Anderson's explanation, Handbook, i. p. 174, that all this is due to sculpture being 'not true to nature,' or to copying from Greek models. I am not sure that Gomata stands for Gotama, but the lower classes indulge in great freedom in respect of such changes, calling Lucknow Nuklo, and Eluru (Ellora) Erufu, etc.
iii. The veiled Jain at Bādāmi.

Burgess speaks of "bands around the thighs" of the Jain in the fourth cave. This is, I think, misleading. The bands here go straight across the panel itself, as they do in the case of all the small Buddhas of the pillars, and notably in the case of the large Buddha at the other end of the veranda, who stands opposite to the Jain. These bands are dark colored stripes (not chiselled), and I think represent not clothing but a veil (both the Jain and Buddha being naked) hung in front of the whole figure. The Jain figure is whitewashed and the outer ends of the bands are almost marked out, so that they do not show very well, but they are precisely the same stripes as are found in the case of the other figures. These stripes cross the whole, both figures and background. The only difference between the two great figures of the veranda is that Buddha has seshnag over his head, while the Jain wears his hair in a top-knot. The bands go all the way up to the neck in the small figures, and in the large Buddha they cross the whole ground and extend from the foot to the shoulder. It looks as if some Čvetāmbaras had subsequently, by means of paint, attempted to modify the nakedness of the Digambara Jain. At any rate the bands are screens for the whole figure, not on or around the figure but in front of it, and extending beyond it to right and left across the whole panel.

iv. Wooden fences in India.

I would raise the question, why the stone fences of Bodh Gaya and Sāneji necessarily imply a wooden model? There is only one way to hold the stone slabs up, and that is to insert them in the uprights. But why does this show that it is a copy of wood? Every railway station in India has its sign-board (with the station name) made on the same principle of two stone pillars and an inserted slab between. It is the simplest way to make a fence, almost the only way to make a stone fence. Why then must it have been an imitation? Conversely, where in India were wooden fences of this pattern ever used? The country usage to-day, and the allusions to fences in legal literature, both point to the same fence,—the only fence one ever sees in India,—one made of brush or of cactus. I do not believe that the "wooden model" of the stone fence ever existed. There is no such fence known on the soil and there is no necessity in the nature of
things for the assumption. It seems to be purely an architect's idea, without support in the historical fence of India.

v. The Anandasram.

The Anandasram, अनंदास्राम, is a Poona institution, a description of which may perhaps interest the Society. In our own country men leave money to found colleges, but this is an institution founded exclusively for Sanskrit scholars, so that it surpasses in nobility every foundation for education yet invented.

The Anandasram is, in fact, a sort of monastic retreat for Sanskrit scholars. If one wishes to retire from the world and study Sanskrit, he applies to the Joyous Retreat, has a room given to him, is fed gratis, and may sit there all his life doing nothing but studying, not even having students to interfere with his work. When he has written anything there is a beautiful little hall ready for him, in which to read his lucubration to an audience of fellow-students. And when his work is completed there is a very good printing press, where his book can be published without expense to himself, no matter how unpopular and unprofitable it may be. The little rooms for the hermit scholars are airy and pleasant, and large enough for any ascetic scholar. Furthermore, there is a very good Sanskrit library and a large collection of Sanskrit MSS. all kept in a fire-proof building. The whole institution is built about one hollow square, one side of which contains the printing and publishing rooms, another the scholars' apartments, and a third the hall and library, while the fourth comprises the gateway and small outbuildings.

Here one might stay and pass a quiet life of literary ease. There is, I believe, no restriction on the freedom of the scholars who may make use of this retreat. Nor is there any special official tendency to follow or conform to. While many of the works published by the Anandasram press are of a religious nature, no attempt is made to restrict the scholarly inmates to metaphysical or religious investigation. On the contrary, the great work now occupying the attention of Mr. Apte, the learned Superintendent of the Institution, is an archeological one, being in fact nothing less than a complete analysis and synopsis of all the antiquities of the Mahābhārata, an enormous work which, when completed, will be nothing less than an encyclopedia of all the isolated facts, realien, of the great Epic, collected and arranged for every point of view. Needless to say, the Superin-
tendent himself only oversees the labor. In this happy land of India one works a good deal by proxy. Thus Mr. Apte has three or four pandits constantly collecting his material for him; while he merely arranges it as it is brought to him.

The present Superintendent, Mr. H. N. Apte, is the nephew of the founder, Anandasarasvati Svami, alias Mr. Mahadevi Chimnaji Apte, B.A., I.L.B., Pleader and Fellow of the University of Bombay. During his life-time he supported the institution, and at his death bequeathed a lac and twenty-five thousand rupees to endow it. It was established in 1888. The formal objects of the institution are, first, to form a collection of Sanskrit MSS. on all possible subjects, and to preserve the same; second, to print and publish correct editions of valuable Sanskrit works. The most important work yet published is a collection of thirty-two minor Upanishads (1893) in one stout volume, carefully edited, with commentaries.

Significant of the new direction given in the last few years to education in India is the fact that, despite the advantages of free board and lodging offered to any native Sanskrit scholar who wishes to study and work here, not one has yet applied. The rooms all stand empty. The Anandasram is, therefore, occupied solely with printing Sanskrit works and collecting MSS., and as yet the Superintendent with his pandit clerks are the only people in the institution.
The Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians.
—By Dr. Christopher Johnston, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

PART II.¹

NOTES AND GLOSSARY TO THE SELECTED LETTERS.

As stated in Part I. of this paper (vol. xviii. p. 129, n. 2), the third and fourth volumes of Harper's excellent Corpus Epistololarum appeared while my article was going through the press. All the texts I have treated are, therefore, now readily accessible to scholars; and, in view of the fact that accented transliterations have already been given in Part I., while syllabic transliterations of all the words which occur in them are given in the subjoined Glossary, it seems superfluous to publish these texts in syllabic transliteration, as was done by Delitzsch in his series of papers on Assyrian Epistolary Literature in the Beiträge zur Assyriologie. Nor has it seemed necessary, in the present state of Assyriology, to give any extensive philological commentary. Philological explanations have, so far as possible, been relegated to the Glossary, where they can be given in the most convenient form; the Glossary is, in fact, intended to supply all that is needful in this direction, and at the same time to serve as a commentary. The following notes have, therefore, been directed chiefly to the explanation of the more difficult syntactical constructions, to notices of previous translations of some of the texts, and to some general remarks in regard to the subject matter of certain passages. In the Glossary a strictly alphabetical arrangement has been adopted, which will, it is hoped, be sufficiently clear to require no explanation. It may, however, be well to note that if two words have the same consonantal skeleton, the forms with short vowels precede those with long vowels, and the forms with simple consonants those with doubled consonants; for instance,

¹ For Part I. see vol. xviii., 1897, pp. 125-175.
² The following texts in Part I. are now published in Harper's work: 1 (K 634) = H. 289; 2 (K 13) = H. 281; 3 (K 10) = H. 280; 4 (K 528) = H. 289; 5 (K 79) = H. 286; 6 (K 824) = H. 290; 14 (S 1064) = H. 399.
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**NOTES.**

1. (K 524.)

1. S. A. Smith and Strassmaier read the second character in this line DLM, i. e. ašatu; Pinches and Harper NIN, i. e. ažatu.

ll. 9–11. utu . . . italkâ. Strassmaier (S. A. Smith, Asurbanipal, ii. p. 87) renders: "von Elam aus ist in Gefangenschaft gerathen; zu den Tachâ war er (gegangen=) gebracht worden," which can hardly be reconciled with the text.

ll. 11–12. utu . . . agbata. Smith: "als ich seine Hände von den Tachâ zurück erhielt." What this means it is difficult to say.

1. 12. Smith reads here adda napštesû, taking ME as = MEŠ, and translates, "noch am Leben." Pinches (p. 77) correctly zi-me.

1. 13. Smith: "es war ein Bote da," but ibadû would have to be the present, "there is a messenger." In this case, moreover, we should expect ibadû, and it seems better to read ibadu "has come to him." Smith has also failed to understand the conjunctival use of ša in this line.

1. 19. Smith reads Ti-il-[mu-un], but the traces as given both by Harper and by Smith himself, hardly favor this restoration.

1. 22. Strassmaier (p. 87): "fragten um ein Orakel."

1. 26. Smith: "50 Stück Kleider," taking ku = subatu. Ku is certainly obscure here, but it can hardly stand for subatu.

1. 27. anu kapši ina gatšu tabkâni. Smith: "mit Silber gaben sie in seine Hände." For this phrase, which often occurs in the contract tablets, cf. Tg 30, sub 𒈴𒈬𒅔 𒅑.

1. 29. immerenî 'our sheep.' Smith reads lu arda-ni, and translates 'Hausseuche.' Of course lu-nita is merely the common ideogram for immeru, and ni is the pronounal suffix. For Strassmaier's singular rendering of ll. 29 ff., which Smith, in spite of some objections, considers "sehr passend," cf. Smith ii. p. 88. It is hardly worth while to reproduce it here.

1. 31. sādu. Smith compares sa-a-đu = na-a-rú, V R. 28, 1 ef., which Strassmaier renders "Ufer des Flusses"; but cf. ḤW.

1 Wherever Smith is cited in these notes, S. A. Smith is meant.
p. 488*. In this line Smith translates ᵖᵈᵈᵘ 'Ufer(?); in l. 39, 'Grenze(?).

2. (K. 18.)

ll. 1–7. These lines, of which the beginnings are mutilated, may be readily restored, partly by comparing them with K 10 (H. 280), ll. 1–4, and partly from the context. In l. 5, we must evidently restore [diš Um-ma-xal-d]a-a-šu; in l. 6, [i-tu-ra]-am-ma is required by the context; and in l. 7, the restoration ki-[i ᵖ⁻]a-xu is obvious.

l. 14. ṣakna, iqâbâ, circumstantial, § 152. Ṣamma here refers to the whole of what follows, and this contains two separate quotations, each introduced by ki.

ll. 16–18. For my former reading of these lines (vol. xviii. p. 141) I would substitute the following: "Agâ gabbi ina puluxtu ša endaqi ša" bel šarrâni beliša. Māt Ėlamti kîma de'ī xuurrâ, "marušti itâru, puluxti uleribâ, "all these parts are in terror of the troops of the lord of kings, my lord. The Elamites are ravaged as though (by) a plague, they are in a state of utter calamity, they are invaded by panic." Māt Ėlamti stands here figuratively for the Elamites, and hence the use of the plural, as constructio ad sensum, in the verbs that follow.—marušti itâru, properly "they have turned into, become, calamity"; cf. אֵלִי שֵׁלום "I am (all) peace," Ps. cxx. 7, אֵלִי רָם הַלְוָי "I am (all) prayer," Ps. cxx. 4. For examples of târu meaning 'to become,' cf. ḤW., p. 702*.—puluxti uleribâ, properly "they have been caused to get into a panic."

l. 20. Delitzsch, ḤW., p. 362*, gives kuttallu without translation, but I see no reason for departing from the generally accepted rendering 'side,' which is supported by all the passages in which the word occurs (cf. ḤW., l. c.; B.A., i. p. 227). Cf. חָלִית, Cant. ii. 19; חָלֶל, Dan. v. 5; קְרָא יְרוּ, Ezr. v. 8, 'wall,' i. e. properly side of a house or room; Syr. נוֹרְאִית 'poop, stern' of a vessel, where it is limited by usage to the rear side.—mušūrat means not "was abandoned" (im Stich gelassen, ḤW., p. 362*), but, as formerly rendered by Delitzsch (B.A. i. p. 227), "was let loose, fell away." For mušūru as a synonym of Heb. יַלְשָׁן, cf. Haupt's remarks in PAOS., March, '94, p. cvii. The sense of the passage is that, when famine was added to the many evils under which the land already labored, there was a general defection from the party of Ummanaldas, and factional spirit was rife. Some parts of Elam,
indeed, were in a state of open revolt, alleging as a pretext their dissatisfaction at the slaying of Umkhulumâ (ll. 21-23). The words mātšunu ĝabbī ina kutallišunu mušurāt, “their whole land fell away from their side,” lead naturally to what follows.

l. 26. Literally, “is not this the word which,” etc.?—adī lā azāliqu, the present is here employed as the tense of incomplete action.

l. 35. paširāti “as a guarantee, credentials.” Bel-ibnî proposes to arrange for the capture of Nabû-bel-šumâte by sending a private message to Ummanaldas, with the royal signet to serve as credentials and to lend force to his request, or rather command. He fears, however, that Sardanapallus may deem such a method beneath his dignity, and may prefer to send his command, in the usual manner, by a royal courier. That—the king may think—will be credentials enough for the Elamites. But Ummanaldas, however willing he may be, is weak, and Nabû-bel-šumâte, being not only exceedingly wary, but possessing, moreover, great influence with the Elamite nobles, can easily make himself secure by the judicious use of money, if once he gets wind of the affair. The arrival of the royal messenger, accompanied by an escort of soldiers, will be sure to attract his attention and to arouse his suspicion. It is best, therefore, to use less open means, and perhaps, if only the gods will be active in the matter, the wily Chaldean may yet be taken unaware and delivered over to the Assyrian king.

l. 46. altu Umxulumā balṭu, properly, “from, commencing from (the time that), U. was alive.”

ll. 47 ff. It had been the habit of Nabû-bel-šumâte to lavish his portion upon his partizans, but now times are hard and grain is scarce. He therefore alleges that the officers who controlled the distribution of the grain had defrauded him of his proper share, and claims restitution. Accordingly he seizes every šarnuppû he can catch and compels him to hand over the original amount claimed, together with an enormous increase by way of interest and indemnity. Ummanaldas, who naturally objects to these proceedings, sends several times to demand the surrender of the grain thus seized, but without success.

3. (K 10.)

l. 8. kādu: the meaning ‘post, garrison,’ seems to suit the context. The general sense is clear. The Assyrians, under command
of Muṣezib-Marduk (rev. 2. 12), were to use Sabdānu as a base of operations, and thence to harrass the Elamites.

l. 17. qaqar ina pānišunu rāqu “a long stretch of ground lay before them.” The small force of five hundred men operating in a hostile country, where they were constantly liable to attack, could hardly undertake a long march encumbered by a large number of prisoners, and for this reason more than two hundred had to be put to death.

ll. 24–25. pīšunu išdanānu, literally, “they gave their utterance,” i.e. they sent a message to arrange the terms (ađe) of capitulation.

4. (K 528.)

l. 9. tušašbat-ma, here with ellipsis of xarrānu, as indicated by taššar which follows (l. 10). For the expression xarrānu šabātu, nubatu, cf. HW, pp. 561*, 562*.

l. 13. māt Elamti iššudā-ma. For my former rendering of these words (vol. xviii. p. 145), I would substitute, “brought Elam (against us).” Cf. nakru u bābāti ina muzzī bit belika uš taššud “thou hast not brought foe or famine against thy lord’s house,” 6, 27–29.—l. 22. For attallah (vol. xviii. p. 148) read adālap.

ll. 29–32. nipxur-ma, nillik-ma, nuterā-ma, niddin, are all cohortatives (§ 145).

5. (K 79.)

l. 7. In the name Pir’t-Bel, the original has, instead of DIN-GIR-EN, i-en (i.e. išlen), which is doubtless a mere scribal error. I assume that the published text is correct as Pinches (IV R.*, 46) and Harper (No. 266) agree.

l. 8. šanda aqā x, literally, these ten years.

Rev. ll. 18-19 (=H. 266, r. 13–14). The text of these lines seems to be very uncertain (cf. Bezold, Literatur, p. 240). The following šunati-ma...tiğa would seem to indicate that proper names preceded.

6. (K 824.)

l. 5. Note ša tašpur here and in l. 35 without the overlapping vowel. S. A. Smith has entirely misunderstood the passage that follows.
ll. 17–20. The construction of these lines offers some difficulty. It seems best to take *ul* as used absolutely ‘No!’ and *ina... gatīta* as parenthetical. Ordinarily we should expect *āmūr* in l. 20, but the negation has already been expressed by *ul*, and it is not necessary to repeat it. This loose construction is due to the insertion of *ina... gatīta*, which interrupts the continuity. Smith renders: “Du bist nicht wegen des Dienstes des Hauses deines Herrn getrennt,” etc.

l. 29. Smith reads *ultušdūd*, but the usual form would be *ultasi-did*, and the context requires the second person.

l. 36. *ban ša tepuša* “the good (service) which ye have done.” *ban* is construct (before the relative) of *band*, ‘honorable, good,’ etc. Cf. *ba-ni ša taḫpura* “it is well that thou hast sent,” K. 95 (H. 288), r. 3; *ba-ni ša taḫbatāšunāti* “it is well that ye have seized them,” K. 94 (H. 287), 7. Cf. also *banū* in l. 39 of the present text.

3. (K 629.)

Rev. l. 6. *nāš-kappātē* is nominative absolute.—*ša niqāšu ibadāšē*, literally, “(he) whose offering exists.”

l. 13. *luqalimmā tipūšū* “may they perfectly execute,” like Heb. מָעַן רָעָמ, Arab. لُكَلِّمَةَ يَبِعْد, etc.

9. (K. 547.)

l. 1. *dupšar matī*. The traces given by Harper, and the following *mati* (cf. W. 24) shows that *A-BA* is to be restored here. Delitzsch (*HW*, p. 4*) gives *A-BA* without translation, and refers to *dupšarru*, where, however, no mention of *A-BA* is to be found. In his Wörterbuch (p. 23) *A-BA* is fully discussed, but is not connected with *dupšarru*. In a note on K. 572, 6 (B.A., i. p. 218) he gives *dupšarru* as the equivalent of the ideogram *A-BA*, and points out the interchange between *A-BA* and *dupšarru* in III R. 2, Nos. iii, vii, xiii; 64, 35b. In III R. 2, Mardukšum-igša, father of Nabu-zuqup-kena, is designated, ll. 17. 22. 24. 38. 55, as *asmal-dub-sar*, or, ll. 2. 8. *asmal-dub-sar-rim*, while in ll. 2. 9, and III R. 64, 35b, he bears the title of *asmal A-BA*. In Knudtzon’s Gebete an den Sonnengott, No. 109, 9, we find [tā *asmal-dub-sar-]*meš *Aššur* ḫā *asmal-dub-sar-meš Armād*, which may be compared with *asmal A-BA Aššur, asmal A-BA Armā* II R. 31, 64. 65. Further, in a large number of passages in the contract tablets we find the *asmal A-BA*
exercising the legal or notarial functions of the dupšarru (cf. W. 23). In view of these facts I have here, and in 19, 1, rendered A-BA by dupšarru. I have done so, however, with a certain reservation. While I believe that A-BA can in general be replaced by dupšarru, it is by no means certain that it is merely ideogram for dupšarru. Of course, A-BA must not be confounded with AB-BA explained by šibu ‘old man, elder’; but it is entirely possible that A-BA had some similar meaning, and was applied to the dupšarru as a term of respect, in the same way that sheikh is used in Arabic. It is a fact worthy of notice that in K.B. iv. we find in the Assyrian legal documents, from Rammân-nirari III to Assurbanipal, invariably A-BA, never dupšarru, while in Babylonian tablets of a similar character dupšarru (asni sunt-BAR, asni šID) consistently occurs from Šumu-abim (p. 10, l. 25) to Antiochus III (p. 319, l. 25), never A-BA; and Tallqvist, in his Sprache der Contracte Nabâ-nâ‘id’s, does not mention A-BA as occurring in any Babylonian contract. Moreover, in Babylonian tablets, dated in the reign of the Assyrian king Sin-šar-îškun, we find, not A-BA, but dupšarru. Cf. K. B., iv. p. 174, Nos. i. ii. (dated at Sippur); 176, No. iii. (dated at Uruk). In the earlier Babylonian documents (K.B., iv. pp. 1-48) we find invariably asni sunt-BAR, while later asni šID seems to be most commonly used.

14. (§ 1064.)

Il. 9-11. S. A. Smith renders: “um die allgemeine Entzündung zu vermindern die um seine Augen ist,” which needs no comment. Sikru stands for zikru ‘man’; for similar interchange in case of the homonym zikru ‘name, command,’ cf. sikir šaptíša, Asurn. i. 5, sikir piša, Lay. 43, 2, sikir Šamaš Tig. Pl. i. 31. I see no necessity to assume, with Delitzsch (HW., pp. 254b, 510a), the existence of two stems רכז and רכז. There is no evidence for the occurrence of רכז in this stem except when followed by u, and in this case qu is merely a phonetic spelling, indicating the sound of the consonant as modified by the vowel following.

I. 14. Smith takes irtunu as of צו. I prefer to take it as prt. of צו; see the glossary. For the use of the modus relativus without ša cf. § 147, 2.

I. 24 ff. iltânika is nominative absolute.

I. 31. Smith: “noch 7 oder 8 Tage wird er leben,” which is exactly the opposite of the true sense.
15. (K 519.)

Rev. l. 6. ma'adu, not adjective, but noun in apposition to dāme; literally, “blood, a (multitude, that is, a) profusion.”

l. 10. naxnaxete ša appi can only mean the alae of the nose, as is shown by the context. Plugging the nares had hitherto been resorted to, for that is the remedy suggested by Arad-Nana. The treatment must therefore have consisted in the application of external compresses, which could only have been placed upon (ina muxzi, l. 9) the alae. In such a case the nasal breathing would be impeded by the compresses, while, unless skilfully applied, the bandages, required to keep them in place, would interfere with breathing by the mouth.

l. 11. naxnaxētu ‘breathing’: this rendering suits the context, and is also suggested by naxnaxete (properly ‘breathers’) in the preceding line.

l. 12–13. štu pāni dāme agāni “the blood flows in spite (of them),” literally “from before (them)”; that is, they only serve to interfere with the breathing of the patient, and do not check the hemorrhage (cf. r. ll. 3–7).—šunu, referring to lippe, is to be understood after ina pāni; cf. ina lubbi used similarly without the pronominal suffix, 14, 25.

16. (K 504.)

l. 12. liddubu. We should, of course, expect lidubu; lid-bu-bu may be a mere scribal error due to the influence of li-ru-bu in the preceding line.

l. 13. kettu (ki-e-tu). S. A. Smith renders ‘faithfully(?)’ and connects with what precedes. In a note he states that he is “not certain as to the meaning and derivation of this word.”

l. 16. Smith: “the house of the king, my lord sent to me.”

Rev. ll. 5–6. ina ... lišturū. Smith renders: “suddenly they were destroyed; may they be written.”(1)

Il. 8–10. zunnu, ebdru; the sign MEŠ is here not plural, but collective. Note the singular verbs. Smith: “Much rain constantly shall come. May the harvest (when) threshed the heart of the king, my lord, rejoice.”

17. (K 660.)

l. 14. karmatāni; 3 fem. permans. agreeing with nazzartu. Strassmaier, Nbn., No. 386 is an account of the receipt of 34...
na-ak-ri-ma-nu (l. 14), which were made of leather, as shown by
the determinative su (= mašak) ll. 1. 4., and served ana ki-ri-mu
ṣa šikar še-bar (ll. 1. 2.), and ana ki-ri-mu sīlgātu u šikar še-bar
(ll. 11–12). šikar še-bar, i.e. drink prepared from grain, must
certainly mean ‘beer.’ sīlgū, which occurs in a list of plants and
vegetables explained by Meissner (Z.A., vi. pp. 289 ff.) means
‘beet,’ and corresponds to Aram. נַתַל (Z.A., vi. p. 295; T 111).
In the passage before us sīlgātu (si-il-ga-a-tu) may be simply the
fem. pl. of sīlgū (cf. šumu, pl. šumāte), or, as it occurs here with
šikaru, it may be the name of a fermented liquor prepared from
beet juice. It is difficult to see what objects of leather could
have been used in this connection except the skins in which the
beer and beet wine (or beets, in which case the skins would be
used as bags) were contained. The words nakrimānu ana kire-
ma ša šikar še-bar may therefore be rendered “leather bottles
for bottling beer.” Meissner (l. c.) compares kirimmu ‘womb.’
Taking into consideration the analogy of ummu, the stem בָּר
might well mean ‘to be capacious,’ and so ‘to contain,’ etc. For
these reasons I have rendered karmānī ‘is bottled,’ which suits
the context well.

Glossary.

N

u (נ, נ) and: (1) connecting nouns ūb libbi u ūb štri
health of mind and body 1, 4–5; (2) connecting verbs ilu uše-
ḡa u ussaxxar he will carry the god forth and bring him back
8, r. 2–3.—Adversative, but: u Ašur . . . urāqāni but A. with-
holds me 6, 12; u ina libbi ša but because, etc., 6, 23.—
(HW 1°)

a‘ādu (עֲדָע).—5 to apply, have recourse, to (properly to
make an appointment, יָדָע): ki tuše‘idā (tu-še-i-da) when
he applied 2, 54; ki uše‘iduṣ (u-še-i-du-uṣ) although he
has applied for it 2, 59.—(HW 230°)

abu (אָבָא) father: abija (אִדָ-יִא) my father 4, 14; 6,
15; 20, 3. 5; a-bu-ṣu 5, 15, a-bi-ṣu 5, 9. 11, ad-ṣu 20,
2 his father; axe abīšu (אָדָ-שָע) his uncles 3, 15.—(W 17;
HW 3°)

abāku (prov. to turn = דָּבָקִי, in which ד is due to a partial
assimilation of ד to ד) to bring, carry off, purchase.—אָגָא שָא
kaspi ina qātišu ṣtabkûni (i-tab-ku-ni) they purchased from him 1, 27; cf. T* 30.—(W 28; HW 6*)

abālu (אֲבָל), prt. ābil, prs. ubbal, to bring.—כֵל to send, convey: 1 pl. nušebila (nu-še-bi-la) 5, r. 13. 24; 3 pl. ušebilû. ni (u-še-bi-lu-[ni]) 3, r. 14. Prec. 1 sg. lušebilûnî-ma (lu-še-bi-lu-nim-ma) 2, 34; lušebil (lu-še-bi) 2, 36; 3 pl. lušebildû (lu-še-bil-u-ni) 16, r. 4.—כָּל same, 1 sg. ušebila (u-si-bi-la) 10, r. 4; § 51, 2.—(HW 230*)

ubānu (עבָנֻ) finger: ubāni (šu-si) gixirti the little finger

14, 23.—(W 41; HW 8*)

ebēru (אַבֶרּ) prt. ebir, prs. ibbir, to cross.—כֵל etébir (i-te-bir) he crossed (the river) 2, 10.—כֵל to convey over, transport: nušebar (nu-še-[bar]) we transport 18, 17; nušebira (nu-še-bi-ra) let us transport (cohort.) 18, r. 9.—(W 59; HW 10*)

ebûru (אֶבֻרּוּ) harvest: ebûru-mēš 16, r. 10 (where the plural sign merely emphasizes the collective meaning of the noun).—(W 66; HW 11*)

abarakkû, an official title, grand vizier: ašm abarakkû (ši-dûn) 18, 7.—(W 68; HW 12*)

agâ this, these, for all genders, numbers, and cases; written a-ga-a 2, 10. 48; 4, 24; 6, 20, etc.; a-ga-ia 2, 26.—(W 76; HW 13*)

igarû (יגּאֵרֻ) wall: pl. igarâte (ē-libit-mēš) 16, 20.

r. 6.—(W 105; HW 18*)

egîrû (גֵיסִרֻ) letter: e-gir-ûtu 4, 36.—(W 103; HW 18*)

idû (יוד, Ech. ָד) hand: idâšu (i-vâ-šu) his hands (pre-
ceded by determ. uzu, i.e. štru) 14, 25. Pl. idâte (i-da-te), but in what sense? 15, 12.—(HW 303*)

adû (אָדֻ), adû, adû, properly continuance, duration.—(1) a-du-u now, 3, r. 22.—(2) during, within, a-du tûme viii ibâlāt: he will be well in 7 or 8 days 14, 31.—(3) as soon as, a-di i, 14.—(4) until, a-di 5, r. 13; 7, r. 17; 20, r. 2.—(5) as far as (of space) ultu... adî (a-di) from... to 2, 49; 3, r. 18-19.—(6) adî(8) lâ (followed by prs.) before, a-di lâ 2, 26; a-du-u lâ 19, r. 6-7.—(W 127; HW 22*)

adû (אָדֻ) pt. ādî, prs. ūdâ, to determine, decide: šarru beli (belu) ūdâ (u-da) the king shall decide 7, r. 19; 8, 11; 17, 12; 18, 14.—(HW 232*)
addu (properly infin. of preceding) statute, law, compact: ade (a-di-e)...îqabtû they made terms 3, 25; kî addî (a-di) according to compact i, 23.—(HW 232b)

idû (יִדּ), prt. and prs. idî, to know.—Prs. 1 sg. mod. rel. idû (i-du-u) 6, 24; 3 pl. idû (i-du-u) 4, 11. Prec. 3 sg. 1d idî (i-di) 5, r. 27.—(HW 303a)

adannu (= adânu, רֹעי?) time, period: a-dan-nu ša šulûm the propitious time 20, r. 1.—(W 135; HW 26a)

adanniš, addanniš (= ana danniš) greatly, exceedingly: a-dan-niš 7, 4; 10, 4; 12, r. 6; 16, r. 9; ad-dan-niš 14, 3. 8, 28; 15, 3. 7.—(W 160; HW 26b; Hebraica x. 196).

adru, perhaps enclosure (דָּרָה): ad-ri ekalli the palace enclosure 8, 15, 16. (Cf. addru enclosure, HW 29b)

idâte, see idu.

idatûtu, perhaps confirmation, ratification, of a bargain or agreement: ana i-da-tu-tu to bind the bargain(?) i, 26. (Cf. Tê 76, sub יפור

ezēbu (יבִּי), prt. ezib, prs. izizib, to leave: 31 to save, rescue: usezibû (u-si-zî-bû) they rescued 7, r. 4.—§ 51, 2; W 244; HW 34b

axu (אח, אֱ) brother: axija (שֶׁיֵּא) my brother 6, 34;

axušu (שֶׁאֶשֻ) ša the brother of 7, 14; axešu (שֶׁאֶשֶּשַ) his brothers 3, 14; axe (שֶׁאֶשֶּשַ) abîšu his uncles 3, 15; mâre axišu (שֶׁאֶשַ) his nephews, 3, 15.—(W 266; HW 38a)

axu, pl. axâti, side (etym. identical with axu brother): ana a-xu agâ on this side 3, 12; ana a-xi-šu-nu ullî to their further side (i.e. to their rear) 3, 22–23.—(W 275; HW 39b)

axâiš (properly like brothers, axâmiš, cf. šamâmiš) together: a-xa-iš 7, 16.—(W 269; HW 39b)

axâmiš (see axâiš) together, mutually: ana a-xa-meš mutually i, 22; ana tarçî a-xa-meš opposite each other 3, r. 23.—(W 270; HW 39a)

axâtu (אָבָט) sister: mâr axâtiša (נִינָיא) my nephew 3, r. 1; mâr axâtišu (נִינָשֻ) ša the nephew of 1, 8.—(W 268; HW 39a)

eteîru, prt. etîr(-er), prs. itîrir(-er), properly to surround (לָעַל), then to hold, or keep, intact, to receive, buy: ul i-šir-šu he has not received ut 2, 60; râmânšu itîrir he will buy himself off 2, 41.—(W 325; HW 46a; Tê 36)

âka (אַקָה) where? whither?: a-a-ka niškun (cohort.) where shall we put (it)? i 17, r. 7.—(W 338; HW 48a)
aki (a-ki-e) like, as: 15, 13; cf. k't.—(W 371; HW 52\textsuperscript{b})

aklu food, provisions: i qa ak-li-šu one qa of his provisions 8, r. 8.—(W 381; HW 54\textsuperscript{b})

akal\textsuperscript{5} (\textit{\textsuperscript{7}N}), prt. ekul, prs. ikrul, to eat: li kul\textsuperscript{4} lu (li-ku-lu) let them feed (of sheep) 31; ištu ... qaršeka ina panija ekul (i-ku-lu) since he slandered thee (literally, ate thy pieces; cf. qaršu) before me 6, 10.—\textsuperscript{1} same, 3 sg. e-ta-klu 7, 16; 3 pl. e-ta-klu 7, 13.—(W 374; HW 53\textsuperscript{b})

akalu (properly infin. of preceding) food: pl. akâle (ša-meš) 7, 13.—(W 380; HW 54\textsuperscript{a})

ekallu (Sumerian \textit{E-gal} great house; xdc great) palace: E-gal 2, 63; 3, r. 24. 25; 8, 15. 18; 19, 1. r. 5.—(W 338; HW 48\textsuperscript{b})

ul (estr. of ulla non-existence) not, never used in prohibition like \textit{\textsuperscript{7}N}; 1, 41; 2, 60; 4, 26 etc.; no! 6, 17.—(HW 71\textsuperscript{b})

ilu (\textit{\textsuperscript{7}N}) god: ilu (dingir) 1, 22; 8, 15. r. 2; iluka (dingir-ka) thy god 8, 13. Pl. ilâni (dingir-meš) 2, 41; 4, 10; 18, 20. r. 1, 10; ilâni\textsuperscript{a} (dingir-meš-ja) my gods 6, 12; ilâni\textsuperscript{a} (dingir-meš-ka) thy gods 14, 24; btt ili temple 16, r. 1, 7.—(W 402; HW 59\textsuperscript{b})

alu (\textit{\textsuperscript{7}N}), estr. ál, pl. álâni, city: written ER 1, 19. 21; 3, 12. 17; 11, 7 etc.—(W 5; HW 59\textsuperscript{a})

elû (\textit{\textsuperscript{7}L}), prt. el̄, prs. ill, to be high, ascend.—\textit{\textsuperscript{1}} utûlû (u-tu-li) I removed (i. e. took up) 14, 20.—\textit{\textsuperscript{5}} ša ... ušelâ (u-še-el-la-a) whoever offers (to the god, \textit{\textsuperscript{7}L}) 8, r. 8.—\textit{\textsuperscript{5}} gaše ussellû (u-si-li-u) I brought up soldiers 7, r. 10; ussellûn (u-si-lu-ni) they got (him) out (up) 11, r. 2; šumu ili ... ultelû (u-te-lu-u) they swore by (made high) the name of the god ı, 24.—(W 420; HW 60\textsuperscript{b})

ullû (cf. \textit{\textsuperscript{7}N}, \textit{\textsuperscript{7}L}) that, yonder (ille): axi ul-li-i the further (yonder) side 3, 23.—(HW 73\textsuperscript{b})

ilku lordship, worship, reverence: il-k\textit{\textsuperscript{a} u} na Ezida kun-nâk I pay heedful reverence to Ezida 20, 6.—(W 481; HW 70\textsuperscript{a})

alâku (\textit{\textsuperscript{7}L}), prt. illik, prs. illak, to go, come. Prt. sg.
im-\textit{\textsuperscript{5}i}-ku (mod. rel.) 4, 15; pl. il-\textit{\textsuperscript{5}i}-ku-ni 5, 11. 12. Prs. sg.
im-\textit{\textsuperscript{5}i}k, r. 1; im-\textit{\textsuperscript{5}i}-ka 8, 17, r. 5; pl. il-\textit{\textsuperscript{5}i}-ku-ni 15, r. 3.
Prec. sg. lillikâ-ma (lil-li-kam-ma) 1, 34; 4, 28.—3 fem. lu ta-li-ik 18, r. 3; du ta-li-ka 18, r. 6.—1. la-al-lik 8, 14; pl. lil-li-kûnû-ma (lil-li-ku-nû-ma) 7, 15; lillikânû-ma (lil-li-ku-nû-ma) 1, 29; pl. 1. ni-il-lik-ma (cohort.) 4, 30.—\textit{\textsuperscript{1}} same, sg. it-ta-
lak 15, 11; i-ta-lak 16, r. 9; it-tal-ka 1, 11; 2, 10. 39.—1. at-ta-lak 7, r. 7; at-tal-ka 5, r. 10; pl. i-tal-la-ku 7, 11; it-tal-ku 1, 21; 2, 13; 15, r. 7; it-tal-ku-u-ni 17, 18; it-tal-ku-nu 19, r. 4.—$ causative. Prec. 3 pl. lu-ša-li-ku 8, r. 21.—(HW 461; HW 66b)

alpu (אבע) ox: pl. alpe (גוע-מטש) 1, 26.—(HW 75a)
elippu (Syr. נ䲟) fem. ship: written giatan-א 18, 6. 11. r. 1.—(HW 75a)

ultu (על-תע).—(1) Of space, from, away from, out of I, 9. 11; 2, 46; 3, 5; ultu... adi from... to 2, 49; 3, r. 18-19.—(2) Of time, ultu. mąxi after, since 3, 21; 4, 11; ultu U. balțu as long as U. was alive 2, 46 (cf. note ad loc.)—(W 411; HW 77a)

ûmu (ûû, אוע) day (written throughout ud + phonetic complement mu, mi): 2, 23; 3, 5; 8, 7. 10; 15, 10.—Pl. ûme (u-ד-מש) 1, 4; 2, 3; 3, 3; 14, 31.—ûmu ša when 2, 23; ūmi mèsu day and night 13, r. 6; gåt ûme the end of time 8, r. 21. (HW 308b)

umâ (u-מ-א) now: 15, r. 19; 16, r. 2; 18, r. 1.—(HW 82b)
ammu (ammûš), pl. ammâte, fem. ammâte, that (ille): lippe am-mu-te those dressings, bandages 15, r. 8; dibbâte(?) ammete (am-me-te) those (such) things(?) 18, 16; cf. annetu, fem. pl. of annâ, HW 104a.—(HW 84b)

umma (written um-ma but properly ū-ma, i.e. demonstr. ū + ma) namely, as follows, introducing direct discourse: 1, 23. 28. 36; 2, 14 etc.—(W 208; HW 86a)

ummu (עמע, אמע) mother: ummušu (אמ-שע) his mother 2, 8.—(HW 85b)

emēdu (אמעד), prt. emid, prs. immid, to stand, place.—3 šumma idâsù na libbi ummûdù ni (u-me-du-u-ni) if he has put his hand to the matter 14, 26; the bandages ummûdù (u-me-du) are applied 15, r. 11.—(HW 79b)

ummânu (עמענ) master workman, skilled artisan: um-mân-ka thy master workman 20, r. 5.—(HW 86b)

ûmussu (ûmu) daily: ud-mu-us-su 4, 5. 16; 5, 4; 20, 4. 4.—(HW 307a)

emûqu (אמיק) force, forces, troops: e-mu-qu 2, 16; pl. emûquešu (em-ki-šu) His forces 2, 29; 3, r. 21.—(HW 86a)
amâru (אמאר) prt. emur, prs. immar, to see: ultu muxiša i-mu-ru-ma after they saw 3, 21. Prec. li-mur 12, 2. 1. Umur (lum-mur) 6, 20.—(HW 86b)
ammaaru, ostr. ammar, fullness, as much as: am-mar qaqq-qad ubání čixirti the size of the tip of the little finger 14, 22.—(HW 91b)

immeru (יממון) sheep: išten immeru (lu-nítá) a single sheep 1, 38; pl. immereni (lu-nítá-méš-ni) our sheep 1, 29.—(HW 91b)

amtu (אמה) female servant, handmaid: amtuka (גמה?ka) thy handmaid 19, 2.—(HW 77b)

amátu, ostr. amát (emú to speak).—(1) word, speech: a-mat šarri the word of the king 6, 1; a-mat-ja my word 2, 30.—(2) thing (like לבר, ש) a-mat ša the thing which 2, 26; if I learn a-mat ša anything which, etc., 2, 60.—(HW 81b)

immatema (=inna matema, ימתא) if ever, in case at any time: im-mat-im-ma (i.e. immatéma) 4, 24.—(HW 435b)

ana, corresponds in meaning to Heb. יֲנָא and יָנָא; written a-na or díš.—(1) Of space, to, towards: ana Targibáti it talká they came to T 1, 21; ana šuxarisungur towards S 2, 13. —(2) Of time, until: ana már màre till (the time of our) children's children 6, 40.—(3) As sign of the dative, šulmu ana greeting to 7, 5; 9, 4; 10, 3, etc.; ana šarri... liqšú may they grant to the king 3, 4; ana belija likrubú may they be gracious to my lord.—(4) Purpose or object, ana báláṭ náp-štate ša šarri uggallú I pray for the king's life 4, 6; ţábu ana aláki it will be well to go (literally good for going) 12, r. 4; ana idáttu to bind the bargain 1, 25; ana máxiri for sale (price) 1, 36.—(5) respecting, in regard to: ana minna kaláma in regard to everything 20, r. 3.—(6) in conformity with, ana gíbítu bel šarráni to the king's liking 2, 60.—For expressions like ana libbi, ana muxxi, ana pân, etc., see libbu, muxxu, pán, etc.—(HW 94a)

ina, corresponds in meaning to Heb. יִנָא; written i-na or rum.—(1) Of space, in, at, on, into, from: ina Xa'ádálu in X 2, 15; ina Upl'á at Opis 18, r. 7; ina kussú šíbu seated himself on the throne 2, 6; addan anáku qátá'a ina kib-sáti I shall lay my hands upon the rascals 7, r. 8; ina bít Nabú errab he shall go into the temple of N 8, r. 9; ina ku-tallíšunu from their side 2, 20.—(2) Of time, in, during: ina timáli yesterday 14, 15; 15, r. 5.—ina arax Šabáši in the month of Shebat 8, r. 16; ina pánátu beforehand 7, 20.—(3) State or condition, ina puluxti in a state of panic 2, 18; ina qašti ramítí with bow unstrung 2, 42.—(4) Manner, ina là
mûdântû in an unscientific manner 15, r. 8.—(5) Means, in a bûbûta taddâkâ ye have slain with famine 2, 55.—For expressions like ina libbi, ina mûxxi, ina pân, etc., cf. libbi, mûxxu, pânû, etc.—(HW 95*)

innû (عين، عين) eye: uzu (i.e. šîrû)-šî 1, 35; pl. inâšû (šî-šû) his eyes 8, 11; cf. birtu.—(W 348; HW 49*)

enâna (إننا، إننا) now: adî ša en-na until now 5, r. 13.—(HW 103b)

annû, fem. annîtu, pl. annûti, fem. annîti, this (hic): fem. an-ni-tu 4, 36, pl. an-ni-te 7, r. 17.—(HW 103b)

enâna (إننا) lo! behold! : en-na 1, 33; 2, 31. 51. 56; 4, 21; 5, r. 7.—(HW 103b)

annâku (إنناك) 1: a-na-ku 2, 35; 6, 7. 32; 7, r. 8; 8, 13; 16, 13; a-na-nîs-kû 2, 35; 6, 23; 13, r. 8.—(HW 101*)

annaka here: a-na-ka 19, r. 3; a-na-ka 7, r. 12.—(Cf. PSBA. xvi. 237)

annûnu, annûni (أنني، أنني) we: a-ni-ni 3, r. 4; ni-ni(?)? 18, 15.—(HW 103b)

unqu, pl. unqâte, ring, signet: un-qu 2, 32.—(HW 104b)

annûšû just now, immediately, forthwith: an-nu-šî 16, 7; 19, r. 3. 9.—(HW 104a)

âsû (properly helper, prot. of asû to support; Syr. نحن) physician: pl. âse (A-zû-mes) 16, 5.—(HW 107a).

issi (by-form of itti with spiration of ṭ, cf. § 43, APR. 107, n. 2) with: i-si-ja with me 7, r. 19; is-si-ka with thee 9, r. 8; i-si-šu-nu 19, r. 9; i-si-šu-nu 7, 8. 11. 15; 16, 12, with them.—(HW 110a)

asâtê reins (pl. of a noun asû): mûkîl asâtê (su-pa-mes) the charioteer 8, 21.—(HW 107a)

appû (اًبّ), pl. appê, nose, face: ap-pî 14, 13; 15, r. 2. 10.—(HW 104a)

aplû, cstr. apîl, pl. aple, son: Ummanîgâš apîl (A) Amedîrra U. son of A. 3, r. 16; apîl(â)-šu ša the son of 5, 7; apîl šîpri (A-kîn) messenger 1, 17. 33.—(HW 113a)

epêšu, prt. epûšu, prs. ippûšu, ippaš.—(1) Transitive, to do, make, perform. Prt. 1 pl. nipûšûnî (ni-pu-šu-ni) 15, 9. Prs. niqû ip-pa-âš will offer (make) a sacrifice 8, r. 7; dullu ippûšu are doing duty 7, r. 21; ša tepûša (te-pû-ša-') which ye have done 6, 35. 36. Prec. parçe ša ilânî... lippûšu may they perform the commands of the gods 8, r. 13.—(2) In-
transitive, to do, act, be active; kî ša ilâ'u li-pu-uš let him act as he pleases 4, 35; nindema ilâni...ip-pu-šu-ma if the gods will bestir themselves 2, 42.—_vk1 same, sixu etépuš (i-te-pu-ša) he made a revolt 3, r. 18; mimma...bîšu etepša (i-te-ip-šu) they practiced all that was evil 5, 14.—N Passive, niqâ in-ni-pa-aš a sacrifice will be offered 8, 19.—I to carry on: elippu...ntburu tappaš (tu-pa-aš) the ship...is carrying on a ferry 13, 13; lû tuppis (tu-pi-iš) let it carry on 18, r. 5; uppuša (u-pu-šu) they are carrying on 18, r. 14.—(HW 117*)

َاَقُ (]]) Hv, ḫ) pt. āqā, prs. uqqā, to go out, forth. Prt. 1 sg. āqâ (u-qa-) 3, 6; pl. āqû (u-qa-u) 5, 9, āqûni (u-qa-u-ni) 15, r. 13. Prs. uqqâ (u-qâ) 8, 16.—_vk1 same, pl. ittâqû (i-ta-qâ) 7, r. 2; N! ittâqûni (it-tu-qa-u-ni) 7, 17.—& Causative, Prs. ušeqâ (u-še-qa-a) 8, r. 2; pl. ušeqûni (u-še-qa-u-ni) 7, r. 18.—(HW 237*)

َاَرُ (]]) Y) Iyyar, the second month of the Babylonian calendar: arax arû (iti-gud) 8, 7.—(HW 34*)

َاَرُ (]]) N! stable: u-ru-u ša ilâni the stable of the gods (i.e. the stable for horses used in religious processions, etc.) 8, 20. (HW 130*)

َاَرَبُ (]]) G) prs. erub, prs. irrub, irrab, to enter: umutâša...irrubu (i-ru-bu) the day he entered 2, 24; irrab (ir-rab) he will enter 8, 9; irrab (e-rab) he may enter 8, r. 9; lirrubû (li-ru-bû) let them go in 16, 11.—_vk1 ina libbi āli e-tar-ba he came into the city 11, 8.—& Causative, ilu ušeqâ u usaxxar u-še-rab he will take the god forth and bring him in again 8, r. 4; ādû...là ušerabâniša (u-še-ra-ba-na-ši-na) before we are brought in (literally one brings us in) 19, r. 7.—& l! puluxti ulteri (ul-te-ri-bû) they have been invaded by (literally caused to enter) panic 2, 18.—(HW 126*)

َاَرَدُ (]]) v) prs. ardâni (written nitâ-mes, nitâ-mes-ni) servant, slave: ardâni my servant 6, 14; ardûka thy servant 1, 2; 2, 1; 3, 1; 18, 2, etc.; ardâni servants 3, 6. r. 3; 19, 8; ardânika thy servants 12, 2; 17, 2.—(HW 129*)

َاَرَدُ (]]) G) prs. ārid, prs. urrad, to go down, descend.—& l! Causative, kaspu ina libbi usserida (u-si-ri-da) wherein he conveyed the money down (the river) 18, 8; gâbe usseridûni (u-si-ri-du-ni) akâle the soldiers took provisions down (with them) 7, 12.—(HW 240*)
Christopher Johnston, [1808].

arxu (孕育, Eth. warx), estr. arax, month: arxu, arax (171) 8, 7. r. 16; IX, 6; 17, 18, etc.—(HW 219)

araxsamna (i. e. eighth month) Marcheshvan, the eighth month of the Babylonian calendar: *araxapin 5, 17. r. 11. 22.—(HW 242)

aruku, fem. ariktu, long (araku): ume arku ti (ar-ku-ti 17, 8; GID-DA-MES 19, 6) a long life (literally long days).—(HW 133)

araku (אַרַק, נ), prt. erik, to be, or become, long.—Infinit. a-ru ku prolongation 1, 4; 2, 3; 3, 3.—(HW 133)

arxaniš (from arku rear; שם, עָד) afterwards, later: ar-ka-niš 5, 14.—(HW 243)

eršu (عش), bed, couch: eršu (Giš-NA) ša Nabû the couch of N. 8, 8; bit erši (E-Giš-NA) bed-chamber 8, 9.—(HW 141)

ašābu (אָשָב for אָשָב), prt. ašib, prs. uššab, to sit, dwell: ša...ina kussi u-ši-i-bu (pause form) who seated himself upon the throne 2, 6; nu-uš-šab we will dwell 2, 15; partic. ašib (a-sib) inhabitants (collective) 4, 25. —י same, it-tušib (i. e. ittāšib = intašib) 15, 13.—א Causative, šubtu uṣsešibu (u-ši-ši-bu) he had laid an ambush 7, 21.—(HW 244)

išdu (אִשּׁד, וֹדֵנ) foundation: iš-du ša bit abija the prop and stay of my father's house 6, 15.—(HW 142)

ištu, written TA.—(1) Of space, from: ištu Deri issapra he sends word from Der 16, 18; ištu păni dâme uqâni the blood flows forth in spite of (literally from before) the bandages 15, r. 12.—(2) Of time, since: ištu Šamaš libbašu issuxu since S. perverted his understanding 6, 8.—(HW 152)

aššatu (אָשָׁשַט, נְעִית) woman, wife: aššatsu (DA-MŠU) his wife 2, 8.—(HW 106)

išten (אֶשֶּנ, עֶנ) one, a single, a certain (quispiam): written r-en; išten muššarû one inscription 16, r. 3; išten immeru a single sheep 1, 38; išten qallu a certain servant 5, r. 7.—(HW 153)

atâ (properly impv. of atû to see) well, now, see! [umâ a-ta]a now, see now! 18, r. 1.—(HW 156)

atta (אַטָת, אַדָּת) thou: at-ta 6, 33.—(HW 160)

itti (properly genit. of ittu side, fem. of iду hand) with: it-ti 2, 19; 3, 28; it-tišu-nu with them 2, 25; it-ti U.
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uṣazgušu they withhold it from U. (like ܢܢܐ) 2, 58.—(HW 154b).—Compare issi.

itu'u, an official title: ܐܢܐ <Appendix title> misspelled; ܢܝܢܐ i-tu-<Appendix title> K. 1359, Col. ii, 11 (PSBA, May, '89).—(HW 157a)

etequ (ܐܒܫܐ), prt. etiq, prs. itiq, to pass. Inf. e-te-qa route (of procession) 8, r. 5.—(HW 159b)

atāru (ܐܒܡܪ), to exceed, surpass.—I causative, to increase: ut-tir remu ܐܫܟܢܐ I have granted thee greater favor (than ever) 6, 24.—(HW 248b).

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bā'u (ܒܢܐ), prt. and prs. ibā', to come: apil šipri ibāšu (ܫܒܪܐ) a messenger has come to him 1, 17.—(HW 167b)

bābu (Aram. ܒܒܐ), reduplicated form from ܢܘܠ gate; part, portion: bābšu (ܒܫܘ) his portion 2, 47; cf. Tu 56a.—(HW 165b)

bābātu, famine, hunger: bu-ba-a-ta 2, 55.—plur. of bābātu (properly emptiness; reduplicated form from ܢܘܠ) famine, hunger: bu-bu-u-ti 6, 27.—(HW 166b)

bādu (cf. בד meaning): sunset, evening(?) i na ūmali kif ba-dī yesterday evening 14, 16; 15, r. 5.—Cf. the following, from Harper's Letters: ūmu vi ana ba-a-di egirtušu annitu i na muwxija istringstream he sent me this letter the evening of the 6th (of the month) H. 101, 11; ina ši'ari ša ba-a-di ri-in-ku ina "Tarbigi to-morrow evening there will be a libation in T. H. 47, 7; ina ši'ari ūmu iv ana ba-a-di Nabū Tašmetu ina bit eršī irrubu to-morrow, the 4th, at sunset, Nabu and Tašmet will enter the bed-chamber H. 366, 6; šīše ana ba-a-di lušaqbi šīše lušaqbitu I will stable the horses this evening and assign them quarters (for lušaqbi, cf. qabu stable, pen, HW 578b; for šīšetū to station, place, cf. HW 582b). Cf. Hebraica, x. 196; AJSL, xiv. 16.

bid (synonym of kif) as, like: bi-id šarru 봇는 as the king commands (sends) 16, 16; ultu bid ana Elamti... ḫu since they went away to Elam 5, 8; ultu bid...nuṣebila since we sent 5, r. 11.—(HW 190a)

belu (ܒܠܒ) lord: beluša (ܒܢܬܐ) 4, 7. 21; belija (ܒܢܝܬܐ) 4, 7. 33. (be-li-ja) 1, 6, belt (be-liili) my lord; belika (ܒܢܟܐ) 6, 28, (ܒܢܟܬܐ) 6, 18 thy lord; belišu (ܒܢܫܘ) 6, 31 his lord; beluni (ܒܢܢܐ) 12, 11. r. 2, belini (ܒܢܢܝ) 12,
1. 6. 8 (عش-نى) 17, 6. 11. r. 3, our lord; bel (♭נ) šarrāni the lord of kings 1, 1. 5.—(HW 163°)
balū to worship, be submissive: immatema...ul ibalū (i-balū) if they will not submit 4, 28.—(HW 178°)
balātū (♭לט, ♭לט) properly survives; cf. יאלו, prs. ibluṭ, pros. ibalūt, once ibalāt, to live; to recover from illness: ibalāt (i-balāt) he will recover 14, 31; balū (bal-ṭu) he was alive 2, 48; ina libbi balātū (bal-ṭu) they live (substant) upon 2, 45.—I ul u-bal-lat-ka I will not let thee live 1, 41; ana bullūt (bu-lūt) napšāte for the preservation of the life of 8, r. 11.—(HW 178°)
balātū (properly inffn. of preceding) life: [ba-lat] napiṣti 13, r. 1; 2; balāt (ṭin) napšāte life, preservation 4, 6; 5, 6; 20, 5; laše balāti (ṭin) fullness, enjoyment, of life 10, 10.—(HW 175°)
beltu (fem. of belu), pl. belēti, lady: belit (♭ינ) Kidimu the lady of K. 10, 6.—(HW 183°)
banū (♭ע), prs. ibnī, prs. ibānī, to make, build, beget: banū (properly participle) ancestor; màre bānāṭī (♭קק-מקשית) free-born citizens, nobles (properly sons of ancestors) 3, 16.—(HW 178°)
banū bright, honorable, excellent: ban (ba-an) ša tepushā the excellent (service) that ye have done (castr. before ša) 6, 36; ša ina pāniša banū (ban-u) which is honorable in my sight 6, 39.—(HW 180°)
BAR a measure of some kind, 2, 58.
būru (♭ורים, ♭ורים) well, cistern: ina būri (rū) ittuqat he fell into a well 11, r. 1.—(HW 164°)
barū, prs. ibrī, prs. ibārī, to see.—I Causative, là ubarrī (u-bar-rī) I have not disclosed 16, 14.—(HW 182°
bīrūtu (barū) glance, sight: bīrītāni clear, plain sight; ina bīrit (bi-rittā) īmu lamanid let him make it clearly understood (literally measure out in plain view) 2, 34.—(HW 183°
bīrūtu (♭ירינת) fortress, castle: šulmu ana abīrāt (bi-rat) greeting to the fortresses 7, 5; bīrī-ṣu the (literally his) fortress (ZA. ii. 321) 7, r. 10.—(HW 185°
bīšu (♭יש) bad, evil: bi-šu 5, 13; dibbekā bīšūtu (bi-šu-tū) evil words about thee (cf. הושע, Gen. xxxvii. 2) 6, 6.—(HW 165°
bašū (properly ba-šu in him; cf. Eth. bō, bōtā), prs. ibšī, prs. ibāšī, to be, exist.—Prs. sg. i-ba-ašī 14, 22; i-ba-aš-
šu-uni (mod. rel.) 8, r. 7; pl. i-ba-aš-šu-² 12; 3, r. 5; ibaššu (i-ba-ši-u) 15, r. 9.—(HW 188³)

bītu (ḇīt), pl. bitāte, written e, e-mēš, house; with reference to gods, temple: bīt Marduk-erba the house of Mē. 19, r. 6; ina bīti in the house of 9, r. 4; rab-bīti major-domo ², 52; bīt ili temple 16, r. 1. 7; ilu mār bīti the god of the temple ², 10; bīt Nabû the temple of N. 8, 12. r. 9; bitāte karānī store-houses for wine 17, r. 1.—(HW 171³)

bitxallāti, same ša bit-xal-lāti the cavalry 7, r. 22; cf. Hebraica, x. 109, 198.—(HW 190³)

gabbu (usually in genit. gab-bi) totality, all, every: generally placed after, and in apposition to, the word qualified; maqṣa-rāte gab-bu all the guards 10, r. 6; qinnāsu gab-bi his whole family 2, 8; mātsunu gab-bi their whole country; bel šabātēšu gab-bi all his partisans 2, 24; šarnuppi gab-bi every šarnuppō 2, 51; agā gab-bi all these parts, this country (literally all this) 2, 16.—(IIW 192³)

gamāru (gām), prt. igmur, prs. igmar, to complete, to pay: tapšūru igmar-ma (i-gam-mar-ma) he will pay a ransom ², 40.—(HW 199³)

gusāru (gāšaru to make strong) beam, timber: pl. gušûre (orš-gušurrē-mēš) annūte this timber (literally these beams) 7, r. 17.—(HW 207³)

de'u (de) disease, plague: kīma de'i (di-e) xurrūrû they are ravaged as though (by) a plague 2, 17.—(HW 297³)

dibbu (dibbe), pl. dibbe, word, speech: dibbušu (dib-bušu) his word ², 4; pl. dibbe (dib-bi) agā these words 5, r. 15; dibbe ka'amānātu reliable words 1, 41; dibbēkā (dib-bi-ka) bitšātu evil words about thee (cf. bīšu) 6, 5; dibbāte (?) ammēte (?) (dib-ša-te am-mē-te?) these things, such matters (?) (cf. /../, see, thing) 18, 16.—(HW 209³)

dababu, prt. idbub, prs. idābub, to speak, converse: issišunu lidubbu (lid-bu-bu) let him converse with them 16, 12.—ثلاث same, iddébub (id-di-bu-ub) ², 25; cf. dinu.—(HW 208³)
dāku, prt. idāk, prs. idāk, to kill: šuxdū-ma... lá a-du-ku not willingly would I have slain 6, 16; tadūkā (ta-du-ka) ye have slain 2, 23; idūkū (i-du-ku) they slew II, r. 3; dūkā (du-u-ka) slay ye! 3, 10.—Infin. dāku, ans mux-xi dākika (gaz-ka) ilmū they have planned thy destruction 6, 22; ana dūki (gaz) iddinūka they have given thee over to death 6, 11; ina pāni da-a-ku ša axīja in order to slay my brother 4, 15.—Q4 same, iddūkū (id-du-ku) they slew 3, 17; tadūkā (ta-ad-du-ka) ye have slain 2, 56.—(HW 212a)

diktu slaughter, slaying: di-ik-ti dūkā slay ye! 3, 10.—(HW 212b)

diktu (Nisbeh form) troop of soldiers(?): ina qāt di-ki-tu accompanied by a troop 2, 38.

dullu (dalālu to serve; םְלֶלִי to be poor, dependent) work, duty, service: dul-lu 6, 33; 7, r. 21; 15, 8.—(HW 219a)

dalāpu (dal) to go: adālap (a-dal-lap) I will go 4, 22.

—(HW 217b below)

dāmu (דמ) blood: pl. dāme (uš-šē) 15, r. 2, 6, 13, 17.—(HW 220a)

dinu (דר) judgment, cause: di-i-ni ittišunu iddēbub he upbraided them (literally plead a cause with them) 2, 25.—(HW 215b)

duppu (Syr. נֵבַל tablet, letter: duppu (im) Bel-upaš letter of B.-u. 20, 1.—(HW 226a)

dupšarru (Sumerian duḫ tablet + šar to write) scribe, secretary: dupšar (a-na) màti the secretary of state 9, 1; dupšar (a-na) ekalli the secretary of the palace 19, 1, r. 5.—(HW 227b)—Cf. note on 9, 1, p. 47.

deqš, prt. idqš, prs. idaqš, to gather, collect: qaštašunu... idqš (id-ku-u) they assembled their forces 3, r. 5; ebūru deqšt (di-e-qī) the harvest is gathered 16, r. 10.—(HW 216a, sub נ.דקש)

dāru (Nisbeh of dāru, דָּרֵה to endure), enduring, everlasting: šanāte dārāte never ending years 17, 9.—(HW 213a)

†

zagū, perhaps to stand.—ū ušazgūšu (u-ša-az-gu-ušu) they withhold it (i.e. cause to stop) 2, 59; dənaṭu attāša... u-ša-az-gu-u I have established (i.e. caused to stand firm) my rights, Behistun (III R. 39) 9.—(HW 260a, sub נ.דקש)
zilliru (zi-il-li-ru) an Elamite official title 2, 11.—(HW 263°)

zimu (ገDan. ii. 31, v. 6; properly, brightness) face, form, appearance: zimišu (zi-me-su) malu his complete health (literally full form) 1, 14.—(HW 259°)

zunnu rain; written ḫ-AN-MAŠ 16, r. 8, where the plural sign (MAŠ) has merely a collective force.—(HW 259°)

Nil (虿)

xi'lu'nu, xijalánu troops: xi'-la-a-nu 4, 8; xi-ja-la-ni-la my troops 3, 22.—(HW 275°)

xubtu booty, prisoners (cf. xabatu): xubte (xu-ub-ti) cl. ixtabtuni they captured 150 prisoners 3, 18-19.—(HW 269°)

xabatu, prt. ixbut, to plunder, take prisoner: impv. plur. xubtu xubtānu (xu-ub-ta-a-nu) take prisoners! (= xubtānī) 3, 11.—씨 ixtabtūni (ix-tab-tu-ni) they captured 3, 19.—(HW 268°)

xadu (กกกก) pleasure), prt. ixdu, ixdi, to rejoice, be glad. Stem of šuḫdā q. v.

xazānu (ህ✺) prefect, superior: xa-za-nu ša bit Nabû the prefect of the temple of N. 8, 12.—(HW 272°)

xakānu, prs. ixākim, to understand.—쌀 lušakām (lušak-im) I will give directions, explain 15, r. 19.—(HW 276°)

xalqu fugitive, deserter: pl. xalqūte (xa-AN-MAŠ) 7, 9; xal-qu H. 245, 11; xal-qu-te H. 245, 5. r. 11.

xalāu (Eth. xalqua), prt. ixliq, prs. ixāliq, to flee: kl ix-li-qu when he fled 1, 10; ša ix-li-qa who fled 2, 5; adf lā axāliq a (xaš-li-qa) before I fled 2, 26.—(HW 276°)

xamatā (xamadda) help, aid: xa-maṭ-ṭa 8, r. 17.—(HW 281°, sub xamāṭ)

xannu, xannu (= annu) this: lakā sikru xa-ni-u this poor fellow 14, 10.—The following additional examples are taken from Harper's Letters: xa-an-ni-i H. 19, r. 12; ḫ. 306, 10; ḫ. 357, r. 10; xa-an-ni-e H. 355, 15; xa-ni-e H. 311, 13; xa-an-ni-ma H. 358, 29. r. 17; xa-an-nim-ma H. 362, r. 1.—Pl. xa-an-nu-ute H. 121, 8; xa-nu-te H. 99, 6; ḫ. 121, r. 10; xa-an-nu-ti H. 306, 5. r. 7.—(HW 284°)

xasāsu, prt. ixsus, prs. ixāsas, to think, perceive, understand: if the king lā xassu (xa-as-su) does not understand 5, r. 24.—씨 kl amāṭ... ax-tas-su when I learn anything 2,
61.—I xussu (xu-us-su) he is well informed 20, r. 6.—For these syncopated forms cf. § 97.—(HW 284°)

xepu, prt. ixpt, prs. ixap, to destroy: ultu muxxi... bit abija ixpû (ix-pu-u) since he destroyed my father's house 4, 14.—(HW 286°)

xarâdu, prs. ixârid.—Q1 ix-te-ri-di 15, 11.—(HW 289°)

xarâçu (xarâçu) properly to cut, then to decide, fix, establish: xarâçu (xu-raçu) ña dibbe agâ confirmation of these words 5, r. 14; tênunu xariq (xariq) he has accurate news of them 3, r. 25.—(HW 292°, sub xarîq)

xarâru, prs. ixârar, to plow.—I xurrurû (xur-ru-ru) they are ravaged (literally plowed up).—(HW 292°)

acionales 4

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H 7 Ä

H 7 Ä

H 7 Ä

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iāši me: šulmu ja-a-ši it is well with (as to) me 6, 2.—(HW 51b)

iātu mine: elippu ši ja-a-tu that ship of mine 18, 6; ja-
a-tu lû tallika let mine (i.e. my ship) go 18, r. 6.

KU (?) 1, 26.

ki (ဗ, ဗေ), written ki-i, ki.—(1) Preposition, as, like, according to: ki aši according to compact 1, 23.—(2) Conjunction; (a) when, ki...ittalka when he arrives 2, 38; ki iqbatu when he received 2, 47; ki itbû when they reached 3, 13; ki iplaxû having become afraid 3, 24; ki upaxxir having assembled 2, 24; cf. also 1, 9. 12; 2, 7. 9. 51. 54; 5, 12. 15. 19; 20, 12;—(b) if, ki...taltrapra if thou sendest 1, 38; ki...gibû if he wishes 5, r. 14; ki...maxru if it be agreeable 2, 31; 4, 26; ki...axtassu if I learn 2, 60; ki ša...lû xassu if he does not understand 5, r. 21–24;—(c) that, idû ki they know that 4, 11;—(d) as, since, ki...karmatûni since it is bottled;—(e) although, ki ušê'idûš although he has applied for it 2, 50.—(3) Adverb, ki ša šatår just as they (the letters) were written 5, r. 20; ki...ki now...again (literally thus...thus, introducing direct discourse; cf. note ad loc.) 2, 14–15.—(HW 325b)

kā'amânû (1) Adjective, steadfast, reliable: pl. dibbe ka'ā-
mânûtu (ka-a-a-mâ-nu-tu) reliable words 1, 41.—(2) Ad-
verb, libbaka ka-a-a-ma-ni lû šaba may thy heart ever be of good cheer 9, r. 2.—(HW 321b)

kibistu (ka-bûtu, ကြာ; properly, trampling, what is trampled under foot; cf. sikiptu) base fellow, rascal: addan anâku qâtâ a ina kibâste (kib-sa-ti) I will lay my hands upon the rascals 7, r. 8.

kâdu military post, garrison(?): ka-a-du 3, 8. r. 2. 12.—

(HW 723a)

kâlu (ကလာ), prtg. ikâl, to hold, bear.—J part. muktîl (mu-kil) asâte charioteer (literally holder of the reins) 8, 21.—J¹ ukttîl (uk-ti-il) 15, 12.—(HW 319b)

kâlû (ကနာ), prtg. ıkâlû, iklâ, prs. ikâlû, to check, restrain.—

Nî dáme ikkali'u (ik-ka-li-u) the hemorrhage will be checked 15, r. 17.—(HW 328a)

kalbu (ကလာ) dog: kal-bi 2, 62.—(HW 328b)

kilâlê (ကေလာ, Eth. ကွာ) both: râbe-qiğirja kilâlê (ki-
la-le) both my chiefs of battalion 7, r. 4.—(HW 331b)

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kalāmu (= kālu + ma) totality, all: ana mimma kalāmu (ka-la-mu) in regard to anything whatever 20, r. 3.—(HW 329*)
kalāmu to see.—I to show lukallimānāši (lu-kal-li-mu-na-ši) let them show us 17, r. 4.—(HW 332*)
kīma (= kī + emphatic ma, Heb. יִמָּל) like, as: ki-ma de’i as (with) a plague 2, 17.—(HW 326*)
kamāsū, prt. ikmis, prs. ikāmis (properly to bow, fall down), to settle, dwell, in a place; to remove (i.e., settle elsewhere): kī ikmisū (ik-me-su) when they had removed, left 2, 9. The following examples are taken from Harper’s Letters: issuri ina bītika-ma kam-mu-sa-ka, if indeed thou art dwelling at home H. 97, 7–8; ilāni ammar ina Eṣaggi̇l kam-mu-su-ni all the gods that dwell in Eṣaggi̇l H. 119, 7–8; ilāni ammar ina bītī kam-mu-su-ni all the gods that dwell in the temple H. 120, 7–8; īṣtu āl bit abika bid atta kam-mu-sa-ka-ni when you removed from the city of your father’s house H. 46, 11.—(HW 336*)
kanū, I to care for, give heed to: ilku ana Ezida kunnāk (kun-na-ak) I pay heedful reverence to E. 20, 9.—(HW 337*)
kanāku, prt. iknu, to seal, execute a contract: emoji rešū iknukūni (ik-nu-ku-u-ni) the officer who executed the contract 19, r. 8.—(HW 589*, sub kūnu)
kunukku seal, sealed document: kunukku (tak-sid) ina qatišunu provided with a warrant 7, 8.—(HW 589*)
kenūtu (ניז) loyalty: kenūtkā (ki-nu-ut-ka) thy loyalty 6, 23.—(HW 322*)
kussū (נְכֶס) throne: kussū (giš-gu-za) 2, 6.—(HW 343*)
KAS-BU (or KAS-GID?) double hour: Ni kās-bu qaqa-qar two double hours of ground 3, 12.
Kis(i)limu Chisleu, the ninth month of the Babylonian calendar: iti-gan 11, 6.—(HW 344*)
kaspū (נְכָס) silver, money: kaspū 15, 10; 18, 7; ana kās-pi (azag-ud) for money 1, 27.—(HW 345*)
kasāru, prt. iksiir, prs. ikāsir, to dam, check, confine.—N šāru ikkasir (i-ka-si-ir) the air will be kept away 15, r. 16.—(HW 345*);
kissūtu (nissatu; Aram. נִסָּת, נִסָּתָה) fodder (for cattle, etc.): ke ki-su-tu 18, 15. r. 8; keki-is-su-tu ana 1messerisi-meš H. 306, r. 12.
kûru (for kur’u; Syr. מְרַמֶּשׁ to fall ill) distress, trouble: ša kûri (ku-ri) ūnâšu his eyes are diseased (ša like צָרָה; cf. BA. i. 384 below) 14, 11.—(HW 352b)

kîrû grove: kîrû (giš-sar) ša Ašur the (sacred) grove of Ašur 11, 9; k. šâ Nâba of Nabû 8, 7.—(HW 353b)

karâbu, prt. ikrub, pra. ikrá, to be gracious to, bless: ana šarri likrubû (lik-ru-bu) may they bless, be gracious to, the king 4, 4; 5, 4; 11, 5; 12, 9; 13, 8; 18, 5; 19, 6; lik-ru-bû-šu may they bless him 12, 15.—(HW 350b)

karabû; ul kir-bi-ka (I sing. permans. like gixruku?) 2, 61; cf. ul kir-bi-ka H. 202, 7.

karâmu to bottle: 3 fem. permans. kar-ma-tu-u-ni is bottled 17, 14; cf. note ad loc.

kurummatu provisions, food: pl. kurummâtanî (šuk-x1-a-anî) 2, 54, 57; kurummâtîni (šuk-x1-a-ini) 2, 53 our provisions.—(HW 354b)

karânû wine: written giš-geš-tin 17, r. 6; bitâte karâni (x-geš-tin-mes) store-houses for wine 17, r. 1.—(HW 354b)

karâru (modern Arabic كُرَع to purify) to sanctify, consecrate: the city of Calah eršu šâ Nabû tak-kar-ra-ar will consecrate the couch of Nabû.—Cf. the liturgical text K. 164 (BA. ii. 685), ll. 15, 32, 47.

kettu (properly feminine of kenu; כֹּת) truth: ki-e-tu 16, 13.—(HW 329a)

kutallu (קְלָם, Cant. ii. 19; Aram. כְּלָם, Dan. v. 5; נְלָם, Ezr. v. 8, wall) side: ina ku-tal-li-šu-nu from their side 2, 20.—(HW 382a)

lû (לֹו) not: 2, 26, 29, 65; 4, 16; 16, 14, 15; 19, r. 7, etc.—(HW 369a)

lû (לֹו, J; cf. Haupt in JHU. Circ., xiii., No. 114, 107, July '94). (1) Aseverative particle, verily, indeed: lû îdû verily they know 4, 11.—(2) Preadjective particle, lû šûlmû ana greeting to, 7, 3; 8, 3; 10, 3, etc.; lû tallû let it (the ship) come 17, r. 3; ūarrû lû îdî may the king know 5, r. 27; libbâka lû šâbâka may thy heart be of good cheer 6, 3.—(HW 373b)

la’dî (לָדִי), pra. îlî’tî, ilî’tî: ki šâ i-la-‘u as he pleases 4, 34; ki šâ a-li-‘u-‘ as I please H. 402, r. 5.—(HW 364b)
libbu (לִבּוּ), written lib-bu (bi, ba), ša, ša-bi(ba, bu).—(1) heart, mind: libbaka lā țūbka may thy heart be of good cheer 6,3 (cf. țābu, țāb libbi țāb šīri, cf. țābu); īstu Šamaš libbašu issuxa since Šamaš perverted his understanding 6,8.—(2) middle, midst, and in this sense used with the prepositions ina, ana; ina libbi ın, among ı, 30; 2, 2; 5, 17; ı, 7; ina libbi Upi’a at Opis ı, 12; ina libbi from, out of ı, 15; ina libbi balṭū they live upon it ı, 45; ina libbi in order that ı, 31; ina libbi șa because ı, 23; ina libbi șa ana until ı, 40.—(HW 387*)

libbū (=ina libbi); libbū (ša-bu-u) agā through, by means of, this (measure) ı, 24.—(HW 388*)

labārū, prt. libbur, prs. ilābir to be, to become, old: infin. labār (lab-ar) pale length of reign 2, 3; ı, 3.—(HW 370*)
lakū weak, miserable: la-ku-u ı, 9.—(HW 376*)
lalū fulness, abundance: la-l-e balāṭi fulness, enjoyment of life ı, 10.—(HW 377*)
lamū, prt. ilmī, to surround, enclose, catch: kī il-mu-u-ni when they have caught ı, 51; ana muxxi dākika il-mu-u they have plotted (tried to encompass) thy destruction ı, 22.—(HW 379*)

lippu (лив to wind, wrap up) bandage, dressing: pl. lippe (li-ip-pi) ı, 7.

lāšu (lav-išu, טָשִׁי) there is not, there are not: mušša- rāne la-as-šu there are no inscriptions ı, 20; gillāṭe la-as-šu there are no shelters ı, 1.—(HW 386*)

ma, enclitic particle; draws the accent to the ultima of the word to which it is appended.—(1) Emphatic particle, minû iqabûnī-ma what, indeed, can they say ı, 30; šuxdū-ma... lā adūku not willingly, indeed, could I have slain ı, 14; nin-dēma ilānī... ippušu-ma if only the gods will bestir themselves ı, 42; šūtu-ma that (god) indeed (here like ū in apodosis of conditional clause) ı, 36; belița-ma my lordū ı, 6; ilānī-ma the gods ı, 1; emuru-ma they saw ı, 21.—(2) As conjunction, undu; liškā-ma let him come and ı, 34; ša itūrā-ma who returned and ı, 6; isemī-ma he will hear and ı, 40, etc.—(HW 388*; 387*)
mā thus, as follows; serves (like umma) to introduce direct discourse: ma-a 7, r. 6; 15, r. 4; 16, 19; 19, r. 5. 6.—(HW 387b)

ma'adu abundance, profusion: dame ma-'a-du much blood (literally blood a profusion) 15, r. 6; zunnu ma'ada (ma-'a-da) much rain 16, r. 8.—(HW 389b)

ma'ādu (מַּאָדֻ), prt. im'īd, prs. imā'īd, to be much, numerous, abundant: permans. ma'ada (ma-'a-da) it is abundant 17, r. 7.—(HW 388b)

MU-GA, apparently an ideogram, 6, 39.

MU-GI, rab mū-ger the chief m., an official title, 15, r. 3.

madādu (מדד), prt. imdūd, prs. imand, to measure.—

ī lumandīd (lu-man-di-id) let him measure out (cf. bīrtu)
1, 85.—(HW 383b)

mūdānūtu science (abstract of mūdānu, a formation in -dn (§85, No. 35) from mūdānu wise, יְדָּו): ina lá mūdānūte (mu-da-nu-te) unscientifically (literally without science) 15, r. 8.

muxxu properly top, summit (Sumerian mux), written mux- xi, muxx. Usually combined with the prepositions ina, ana, ultu.—(1) ina muxxi; (a) upon, over: ina muxxi (mux) naxažētē ša appi upon, over, the nostrils 15, r. 9; ina muxxi (mux) kādu over (in command of) the post 3, r. 2. 12; ina muxxi (mux) bit belika ul taṣadūd thou hast not brought (foe and famine) upon thy lord's house 6, 28.—(b) against: minī iqabūni-ma ina muxxi (mux) ardu ša what can they say against a servant who, etc. 6, 30.—(c) to: it taltūnu ina muxxi-ja they have come to me 19, r. 4.—(d) as to, in regard to: 6, 4. 33; 12, 10; 15, r. 1.—(e) for: soldiers are sent ina muxxi (mux) xalqūte for, after, deserters 7, 9; ina muxxi napsāte ša belija uqallā I pray for my lord's life 13, r. 7.—(2) ana muxxi; (a) towards, against: ina libbi ana muxxi-ni taraxnu that you may feel confidence in (towards) us 1, 32; emūqesū ana muxxi-ni-lā isāpar that he may not send his troops against us 2, 29; sīxa ana muxxi (mux) U. a rebellion against U. 3, r. 17.—(b) to, as far as: ana muxxi (mux) Irqidū...kī itbū when they reached Irqidu 3, 11.—(c) as to, in regard to: 2, 33; 20, 11.—(d) for: ana muxxi (mux) kurummatini for our provisions (ye applied) 2, 58; ana muxxi (mux) dākika ilmu they laid plans for thy destruction 6, 21; ana muxxi (mux) abīja for,
in behalf of, my father 20, 8.—(3) ultu muxxi after, since: ultu muxxi (mux) ša emur-um after they saw 3, 21; ultu muxxi (mux)...ikkiru since, from the time that, he revolted 4, 11.—(HW 398a)

maxru uniform (Nisibeh form): šarru maxru (max-ru-u) the former king 2, 5.—(HW 403a)

maxaru, prt. imxur, prs. imaxar, properly to be in front (cf. יקיר to-morrow).—(1) to receive, accept, kî...maxru (max-ru) if it be acceptable, pleasing 2, 32; 4, 27; šumma maxir (ma-xi-ir) same, 15, r. 18.—(2) to bring (properly to place in front of): tamaxarâni-ma (ta-max-xa-ra-nimma) tanamdinânâšu ye shall bring and give us 2, 57.—(HW 409b)

maxiru (ማን, properly something received) price: ana maxiri (ki-lâm) for sale 1, 38.—(HW 404b)
mukil, see kâlu.

mala (properly fineness; acc. of málumál'u, Nâm, written ma-la, never ma-la-a) as much, many as: ma-la nišémû all that we may hear 1, 24; ma-la ibâšû all of them (literally as many as exist) 2, 12; 3, r. 5; ma-la dibbušu šûlum so far as (as much as) his words were propitious 20, r. 4.—(HW 410b)

malû (Nâm) full, complete: zimîšu ma-la-a his perfect health (literally his full form) 1, 14.—(HW 411a)

mimma, minna (min + ma) whatever, anything: min-ma anything 1, 36; ana mimma (nin) kalâmâ in regard to everything whatever 20, r. 3; mimma (nin) ša...bîšu whatever was bad 5, 12.—(HW 418b) Cf. mi-nu, Eth. mî.

memeni (for man-man-ni) any, any one: ilânika šumma me-me-ni if any of thy gods 14, 24. Cf. the following, izirtu me-me-ni ina libbi šatrat is any curse written thereupon H. 37, 10; dullu me-me-ni any work H. 109, r. 17; me-me-ni là iš'alšu nobody has asked him H. 49, r. 23; ina muxxi me-me-ni là šaltak I have control over nothing (or no one?) H. 34, r. 6.—(HW 407b)

minu how? with ša, indefinite; mi-i-nu ša màr šarrri beli išâparâni as the prince may command 8, r. 14.—(HW 406a)

minu what? mi-nu-u 6, 29; minâ-ma (mi-nam-ma) why? 2, 22; (me-nam-ma) how? 6, 5.—(HW 417b)

mindêma (cf. nindêma) when, if: min (man)-di-e-ma ana šarrri beliša iqâbi if he says to the king 5, r. 9.—Senn.
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Bav. 40, arkiš min-di-ma Sin-axe-erba aggiš eziz-ma afterwarde when Sennacherib became violently enraged.—(HW 410a)

minma, cf. mimma.

maççartu (nağaru, Ṽu) guard, watch (both abstract and concrete): maççartā'a (EN-NUN-a-a) ša taqquurā the guard for which ye have been 6, 37; ana ma-çar-ti lizzizū let them stand guard 7, r. 10; šulmu ana maçqarāte (EN-NUN-meš) gabbu greeting to all the guards 10, r. 5.—(HW 478a)

maqatu, prs. imqut, prs. imàqut to fall.—N1 ittuqut (i-tu-qut, for intamqut, intaãqut) he fell IX, r. 1.—(HW 424a)

māru son: written du; mārušu ša the son of I, 7; māraxāti nephews (sister's sons) 8, 3, r. 1; māre axi nephews (brother's sons) 3, 15; māre māre grandchildren 6, 40; māre bānūti free born citizens (cf. band) 3, 16; ilu mār biti the god of (son of) the temple 20, 10.—(HW 390a)

marçu sick, sick man, patient: mar-qi 15, r. 1.—(HW 426b)

marâcu (muršu) to be sick, ill: permans. marûq (ma-ru-uq)

he is ill I, 13.—(HW 426a)

maruštu (fem. of maršu, properly unclean) calamity, evil:

ma-ru-us-ti 2, 18.—(HW 428b)

mušu (form like kâru, for muš'u), pl. mušāti (cf. masa, masi, Eth. mēsēt), night: ûmi mu-šū day and night 13, r. 6. —(HW 429b)

maššu, pr. imšu', to rob: kurūmatani ša maššā' (maša-) our provisions which have been stolen 2, 57.—(HW 428a)

mašāru, J muššuru to leave, abandon; to let go, set loose (cf. Haupt in PAOS, March '94, cvi): mātsunu ina kutallishunu muššurat (muš-šu-rat) their country fell away (was let loose) from their side 2, 20.—J to leave, abandon: 4a Ma-dāktu undēšer (un-dis-šir) he left (abandoned) Ma-dāktu 2, 7.—(HW 432b)

muššāru, mušāru, musarû (from Sumerian mu name + saš to write, Assyr. šit'ir šumí) inscription: muš-ša-ru-û 16, r. 8; pl. muşšarâne (muš-ša-ra-ni-i) 16, 19.—(HW 421a)

mātu (Syr. māṭu) land, country: written kūh 1, 9; 2, 9; 7, 6, etc.; ma-a-ti 4, 30; šar mātāti (kūh-kūh) 3, 4; 4, 1. 4; 5, 1. 3, king of the world (literally of the countries).—(HW 434b)
má̂tu (מָתִי), prt. imāt, prs. imāt, to die: perman. mitu (mī-i-tu) he died 5, 16.—(HW 395)  
mutār-pūtī (cf. pātu, tāru) satellite: sml gur-rupu-tu 5, r. 25.—(HW 517)

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amātja tat-tašizzā (ta-at-ta-śi-iz-za-) ye can bear wit-
ness to (literally take your stand upon) my words 2, 31. In these
forms the k for z is merely due to dissimilation.—(HW 455a)
naxnaxtu ala of nostril (cf. modern Arabic خنص to speak
through the nose, خنص; pl. naxnaxête (na-ax-na-
xi-e-te) ša ap pl 15, r. 10. Compare naxīru.
naxnaxūtu (na-ax-na-xu-tu) breathing 15, r. 11.
nixēsū, pra. ixxis, pra. ināxis, inaxēs, to retire, go back,
go: ana Elamti kī ix-xi-su when they had gone to Elam
5, 15; ana Elamti ul ix-xi-is he has not gone to Elam 5,
r. 14.—(HW 458a)
naxīru (N̄axīru) nostril: pī naxīre (na-xi-ri) within the
nostri 15, r. 14.—(HW 458b)
naxxartu (= namxartu, from maxāru to receive),
income: na-xar-tu 17, 13.—(HW 405b, namxartu)
nakru foe, enemy: nakru (aṃkuru) u bābūtu foe and
famine 6, 27.—(HW 485a)
nakāru (黑龙), pr. ikkir, to be strange, hostile; to revolt:
ina qat šarri ik-ki-ru (mod. rel.) he revolted from the king
4, 13.—(HW 404b)
nimēlu (properly result of labor, عمل, اعم) produce, gain;
welfare: ni-me-il-šu his welfare 12, r. 1.—(HW 83b)
ninn (খস) wē: ni-i-[ni]? 18, 15; cf. anīni.
nindēma (= mindēma, with assimilation of m to n) if:
nin-di-e-ma... iqābi if the king thinks 2, 36; nin-di-e-ma
... iippuš-ma if they will bestir themselves 2, 41.
naxišu, pr. issux, pra. ināsax, to pluck, tear out, remove
with violence: liibbašu issuxa (zi-xa) took away his under-
standing 6, 8.—(HW 471b)
nasiku (凛) prince: aṃkona-si-ku 3, 14; pl. nasikāti
(aṃkona-si-ka-ati) authorities, rulers 3, 19.—(HW 472b)
napištu (نفس, soul, life, properly breath: pl. nap-
ša-a-te 8, r. 11. 18; zi-mes 13, r. 7 life; [balat] na-piš-ti
13, r. 1–2; balat napšate (tin zi-mes) 4, 6; 5, 6; 20, 5
life; vi napšate (zi-mes) šunu they are seven in number
(literally seven souls) 19, r. 1.—(HW 476a)
načaru (ناصر, نص, pr. ǐugur, pra. ināgar, watch, keep,
protect: 2 pl. taqāṣurā (taq-ṣur[r-ra]) 6, 37.—Prec. 3 pl. liq-
γurū (liq-ṣur-ru) 8, r. 19.—Impv. sg. uγṛf (uγ-ri) 4, 37;
pl. uγrā (uγ-ra) 3, 8.—(HW 477a)
niqû (properly libation, naqû to pour out; cf. לִיַּו) offering, sacrifice: written lu-sigisse 8, 18. r. 6.—(HW 479b)

nâru (ܢܐ, ܢܐ river: written id 2, 9; 3, 22.—(HW 440b)

nišu, pl. niše (ܢܫܐ, ناس, ناس people: written ūn, ūn-mesḥ; niše (ūn-mesḥ) bitini the people of our house 2, 55; niše (ūn-mesḥ) ša ina Ninua the people of Nineveh 9, r. 5. As determinative before gentilic names, passim.—(HW 489a)

našû (ܢܫܐ), prt. išši, prs. inašši, to lift, carry, bring, take: iššâ (iš-ša~') 5, 19. 20; iššâ-ma (iš-šam-ma) 5, r. 12 he brought; šâ...iš-šû-u whom he got 19, r. 1; rešni ni-iš-ši (cognitave) we will hold up our heads 17, r. 5.—Part. nâši, str. nâš; nâš šappâte (šaman-lal-mesḥ) jar bearers 8, r. 6.—N1 ittanâšû (it-taun-nâ-šu) they levy, collect 2, 50.—(HW 484a)

našpartu (šapâru) command, behest: na-âš-par-tu ša šarri the king's behest 4, 22.—(HW 683b)

D

sebû (سابع) seventh: ūmu sebû (VII KAM) the seventh day

II, 6.—(HW 499b)

sâdu pasture(?): sa-a-du 1, 31, 39; see parâku, p. 76.

sixu (for six'û) revolt: si-xu ana muxxi U. a revolt against U. 3, r. 17.—(HW 492b)

saxû to revolt: sixû (si-xu) šunûti they are in a state of revolt 2, 22.—(HW 492b). The i intrans. as in qibû.

saxâru (šarm), prt. isxur, to turn (intransitive).—Ѩ to return, bring back: ilû...ussaxar (u-sa-ax-xar, cf. § 51, 2) he will bring the god back 8, r. 3.—(HW 494a)

sikiptu (sakâpu) overthrow, defeat; as a term of reproach, smitten, accursed (cf. kibistu): si-kîp-ti Bel accursed of Bel 2, 39; si-kîp-ti Marduḵ agâ K 84 (H 301), r. 17; si-kîp-ti Bel arrat ilânî smitten of Bel accursed of the gods K 1250 (SK, ii. 59), 14.—(HW 499a)

sikru (sikru = zikru name, command, etc., partial assimilation of initial z to following k; placed in HW sub ^ and ^ respectively) man: lakû si-ik-ru xanni'û that poor fellow 14, 10.

sunqu (sanâqu to squeeze, press; Syr. ܒܕ to need) need, famine: su-un-qu 2, 19.—(HW 505b)
pû (רֱלֻ, ה), genitive pî, mouth, then utterance, word: pi-î naxÎre within (properly in the mouth of, ה) the nostrils 15, r. 14; pi-î-šu-nu iddanânu they sent a message (literally gave their utterance) 3, 24; pi-î-šuttedin he has given his command 14, 27.—(HW 523a) Cf. pânu, pân̄atu, pûtu.

paxâri, prt. ipxîr, to gather, assemble (intransitive): mât Akkâdi ni-ip-xûr-ma we, all Babylonia, will assemble 4, 29.—I transitive: bel ūbâtesu gabbî kî u-pax-xîr having assembled all his adherents 2, 24; emûqesu kî u-pax-xîr having assembled his forces 3, r. 21; u-pax-xa-ru-ma they collect 2, 44.—(HW 520b)

paxâtu (pexû to close, shut in) district, then for bel paxâti governor (בִּלְלִ;): ûmîl-ê-nam, bel paxâti or simply paxâtu 5, 19; 18, 11. r. 2; 19, 9.—(HW 519b)

paṭâru (בֵּל), prt. ipṭûr, prs. ipâṭar, to break, cleave, loose. —ûmî šîrû ap-ṭa-ṭar I undid the bandage 14, 18.—(HW 522b)

pašû regnal year, reign: labûr pale (נָלַ-ו) length of reign 2, 3; 3, 4.—(HW 525a)

palâxu (Syr. רְלִ to reverence, serve), prt. iplax, prs. ipâlax, to fear, be afraid: kî ip-ḷa-xu (sg.) 2, 7; kî ip-la-xu (pl.) 3, 24 having become alarmed.—(HW 525b)

puluxtu fear, terror, panic: ina pu-lux-ti in a state of panic 2, 16; pu-lux-ti ulteribû they are invaded by panic 2, 18.—(HW 526b)

pânu (רֱלִ, properly old plural of pû).—(1) face: pa-nî-šu-nu ana 3û. šâknû their faces turned towards (i.e., going in the direction of) 8, 13.—(2) front, presence: ina pânija (שֵׁי) azzâzu they are with me (stand in my presence) 7, r. 29; ina pa-nî... qîbî tell (say in the presence of) 19, r. 5; ina pa-an šârri lirûbû let them come into the king’s presence 16, 10; qaqqar ina pa-nî-šu-nu rûqû a long stretch of ground lay in front of them 3, 17; ina pa-nî dâku for the purpose of killing 4, 14; kî ina pa-nî šârri maxru 4, 26; šûmâ ma-pa-an šârri màxir 15, r. 18 if it be acceptable to (before) the king (cf. 2, 32); ana pa-nî-šu-nu ašâpar I will send to them 2, 38; kî... ana pa-nî-šu-nu ittalkas when he reaches them (comes into their presence) 2, 39.—(HW 530b)

pânâtu (fem. pl. of pânû) front (of space and time): ina pa-nâ-tu beforehand 7, 20.—(HW 531b)
paqādu (𒀭𒈾), prt. ipqid, prs. ipāqid, to command, appoint: ša... ap-ki-du whom I had appointed 3, r. 3; šulmu issika... lipqidū (lip-qi-du) may they ordain prosperity with thee 9, r. 10.—(HW 534b)

parāku, prt. iprik, prs. ipārik, to separate, shut off, lock.—Mari ki... 'šten immeru ana sādu ša Elami ip-te-ir-ku (constructio praegnans) if a single sheep (is separated from your flocks and) gets over to the Elamite pasture(?), 9, 40.—(HW 559b)

parāsu, prt. iprus, prs. ipāras, to decide (properly to cut): ana pa-ra-su ša šarnuppi inamdīnū they place (the grain) under the charge (subject to the decision) of the šarnuppitu 2, 44; similarly pa-ra-su ša šarnuppi 2, 48.—(HW 542b)

parap five-sixths: parap (kingsili) kaspu five-sixths of a shekel 15, 10.—(HW 538a, parab)

parcū (גרש) command, ordinance: pl. parge (pa-ar-qi) ša ilāni the commands of the gods 8, r. 10.—(HW 544b)

paširāti (properly explanation; pašaru to loose, solve; מָשָׁר) guaranties, credentials: paši-rat-ti... lušebilšu I will send it (the royal signet) as a guarantee (i.e., to give force to my request) 2, 35; šipirta paši-rat-ti... ašāpar I will send my (simple) message as a guarantee (i.e., my message will be guarantee enough for them) 2, 37.

pūtu (fem. of pū), front, entrance, border: muttr-pūtu (šem-gur-ru pu-tu) satellite, body-guard (properly he who stood at the entrance and turned back those approaching) 5, r. 25.—(HW 517a)

pittu (for pit'u, עפר) moment, twinkling; only in adverbial expressions ina pittu, appittu (ša=ana pitti-ma), etc.: ina pi-it-ti immediately 16, r. 5.—(HW 553a)

לא

çasbu (for ḍabbu, ḍab'u; מִשָּׁר) man, soldier: pl. čābe, written erim-meš 3, 6; šemel erim-meš 7, 12. r. 2. 5. 9; čābēja (šemel erim-meš-ja) my men 7, r. 19.—(HW 557b)

cibā (Aram. כִּבָּא) to wish, desire: ki... či-ba-u if he wishes 5, r. 15. The š in čibā is the intransitive š as in čixru small = čaxir, Arabic نِسجَر niṣj unclean = najs, etc. (Barth, § 21).—(HW 558b)
Assyrian Epistolary Literature.

çaštatu (𐤇𐤃𐤇, where 𐤇 is due to influence of 𐤇) to grasp, seize, take: kî iḡ-ba-tu when he received 2, 47; qâṭu kî aḡ-ba-tu when I had taken his hand (i.e., taken him under my protection) 1, 12; adî zîmišu malâ iḡâbatu (i-ḡâ-ba-tu) as soon as he regains complete health 1, 15; iḡâbatû-ma (i-ḡâ-ba-tu-ma), they will seize him and 2, 42; ana muxxi qa-ba-ta (inf.) with reference to the capture 2, 33; širṭu ša ina libbi qa-bit-unî (permans.) the bandage which held it on 14, 18.—Or 1 to seize, take: iḡ-ḡâ-bu they seize 2, 53; ade...iḡ-ḡâ-bu they made terms (undertook agreements) 3, r. 3; adanu ša šulum adî ʿûmi rebî iḡ-ḡâ-ba-ta he fixed on (took) the (literally up to the) fourth day as the propitious occasion 20, r. 2.—Or xi-lanu tu-ša-aḡ-ba-tu-ma (ellipsis of xarrānu) put troops upon the march 4, 9.—(HW 580a)

cibûtu wish, desire: ana qi-bu-tu bel šarrâni in accordance with the wish of the lord of kings 2, 60.—(HW 559a)

cîxru (for ʾaxîrû, ʾaṣrû, fem. ʾaṣirû and ʾiṣîrû) little, small: ubâni qi-xîr-te the little finger 14, 23.—(HW 565a)

cullû (صلى) to pray: 1 sg. u-ḡal-lu 4, 7; u-ḡal-li 5, 7; 20, 6; u-ḡal-la 13, r. 9 I pray.—(HW 567a)

çillatu (ปรา, طل) shelter, cover: pl. qi-il-la-a-te shelters (for storage of wine) 17, 15.

çatu (properly pl. of qetti, מִיָּה; aḡū to go out) exit, end: ana qa-at āme to the end of time 8, r. 21.—(HW 230a)

QA, a measure: ana i qa a-an x bar a-an ten bar for one qa 2, 56; i qa aklišu one qa of his food 8, r. 8.

qebû (Aram. ṣebû to fix[?]), prt. ʾiqbî, prs. ʾiqâbî to say, speak, command.—Prt. ʾa...aḡ-ṭu-u-nu, whom I mentioned 16, 7; amâṭ ša...aḡbâkunušu (aḡ-bâk-ku-nu-šu) the word which I spoke to you 2, 27.—Prt. là aḡbâšunu (aḡ-ba-aš-šu-nu) I do not tell them 16, 15; minēma ʾiqâbî (i-qa-bi) if he says 5, r. 9; minēma šarru i-qa-bi if the king thinks (says to himself) 2, 36; minâ-ma...iḡâbâ-ma (i-qa-ba-am-ma) how can he speak 6, 6; i-qa-bu-u they say 2, 14; minâ iqâbûnî-ma (i-qa-bu-nî-ma) what can they say? 6, 30.—Prec. šarru li-qa-bî (prs. Qal, or Piel?) let the king give orders 17, r. 3; liq-ṭu-u may they com-
mand 1, 6; 5, r. 21.—Inv. fem. qi-bi'- say! 19, r. 5.—ئیو
iq-te-bi-a he says 15, r. 4; iq-tabanisu (iq-ta- bu-niš-su) they said to him 1, 28.—(HW 577b)
qallu servant, slave: written مهلا GAL- LA 5, r. 7. 16.—(HW 585b)
qinnu (پی) nest, family: مهلا qin-na-aš-su gabbi all his family 2, 8.—(HW 588b)
qāpu, prt. iqip, prs. iqāp to believe, trust, entrust.—Pra. šarru lá i-qāp-šu let not the king believe him 5, r. 11; 1.- a-qip-pu'-1 §115 I believe 6, 32.—ئی ša u-ka-ip-[u]-ni who have appointed, put in charge 7, r. 13.—(HW 588b)
qičru (قاقرع) to bind, battalion: rabe-qir (ملا GAL-ki-gir-MES) chiefs of battalion, majors 7, 10. r. 3.—(HW 591b)
qaqqadu (قحکب) head, top, tip: qaqqad (ساقد) ubani gixirti the tip of the little finger 14, 22.—(HW 592b)
qarādu, prt. iq-ri-dan-nu 3, r. 13.
qarču piece: qargu šakulu (Syr. ننی و) to slander, calumniate (properly to eat the pieces): qar-qi-ka ina pantiša ekulu he slandered thee before me 6, 9.—(HW 597b)
qāšu, prt. iqis to grant, bestow: liqisū (لى-كي-ش) may they grant 2, 4; 3, 5.—(HW 584b)
qāstu (نکید), pl. qaštāti.—(1) bow: ina qaštī (GIŠ-PAN) ramiti with bow relaxed, unstrung 2, 42 (cf. اناس نمی، Ps. lxxviii. 57; Hos. vii. 16).—(2) force, troops: qaštā (GIŠ-PAN) šunu màla ibasū kî idqū having mustered their entire force 3, r. 4.—(HW 598b)
qātu, dual. qātā, hand: qa-ta-a-a (i.e. qātā'ā) my hands 7, r. 8; elsewhere written šu; ša ina qāt D... nušebila which (i. e. the letters) we sent by (نکید) D. 5, r. 23; ina qāt dikītu accompanied by a troop 2, 38; kunuku ina qatī-šunu provided with a warrant 7, 8; qātsu kî ágbata having taken his hand (i. e. given him my protection) 1, 12; ina qāt from 1, 27; 2, 60.—(HW 598b)
qatū to come to an end, perish: 2 sg. permans. qatāta, ina libbi ša itti bit belika qa-ta-a-ta because thou wouldst have perished with thy lord's house 6, 19.—(HW 599b)

rabû (رب), estr. rab, great: rab biti (ملا GAL م) major-domo 2, 52; rab qir (cf. qiru) chief of battalion, major 7, 10. r. 3; rab mu-qi 15, r. 3.—(HW 609b)
rubû (cf. rabû) magnate, noble: rubešu (*am1 GAL-MEŠ-šu) his nobles 2, 40.—(HW 610*)
rebû (ربع) fourth: ûmu rebû (IV-KAM) the fourth day
(of the month) 8, 10; 12, r. 6; 20, r. 2.—(HW 608*)
rixu remaining, the rest of: pl. rixûte (ri-xu-te) the rest
(of the inscriptions, muššarâni) 16, r. 5.—(HW 618*)
raخلا (الرلال، Dan. iii. 28), prt. irxûq, prs. iráxuq, to trust, to have confidence in:
a na libbi ana muxxîni tar-a-xu-u-q in order that you may have confidence in us i, 32.
—(HW 617*)
rixu (stem ?) pl. rixāti and rixēti, salutation, greeting: ri-xa-â-te ša Nabû greetings from Nabû 10, r. 1.—(HW 610*)
raḵasû (روکس، یرکس), prt. irkus, to bind.—I tal'îtu ina muxxi urnalakis (ur-ta-ki-in) I had applied (bound on) a
dressing 14, 13.—(HW 620*)
râmu (روم، رقم), prt. irâm, irem, prs. irâm to love:
ardu ša bit belišû i-ram-mu a servant who loves his lord's
house 6, 31;—prt. râ'imû (ra'-î-mu) loving 2, 62.—(HW 608*)
remu (for râhmu) grace, favor, mercy: remu (ri-mu) aš-
kunâka I have shown thee favor 6, 24.—(HW 604*)
ramû (رَمَع، رمع), prt. irmî, to throw, throw down, lay;
intrans. to be slack, relaxed.—I šubat gabe rammî (ra-am-
me, impv.) establish a military post 1, r. 6.—(HW 622*)
ramû relaxed: ina qâšî ramîti (ra-mî-ti) with bow
relaxed, unstrung (cf. qaštu) 2, 42.—(HW 623*)
ramânu (properly highness, دار) self': ra-man-šu himself
2, 41.—(HW 624*)
rağu (يتر), prt. iriq, to be, or become, distant; to depart:
li-li-kû dullašunu li-pušû li-ri-qu-u-ni let them come,
perform their duty, and depart H. 386, r. 3–5.—I Ašûr
urâqanni-ma (u-raq-an-ni-i-ma) Ašûr withholds me, keeps
me far from 6, 13.—(HW 605*)
rağu (يتر) distant, remote: qaqqar ina pânišunu ru-
qu-qu they had a long stretch of ground before them 3, 18;
[ûme] ru-qu-u-te distant days 13, r. 3.—(HW 605*)
rešu (Wiki, رش).—(1) head: rešni (ri-[iš]-ni) niššît we
will lift up our heads (be all right) 17, r. 5.—(2) officer: written
*am1 SAG, 19, r. 8; pl. *am1 SAG-MEŠ 7, r. 1.—(HW 606*)
ratāmu (šašu), prt. irtum, to bind, wrap: ina appišu ir-tu-mu (which) covered (enveloped) his face (nose) 14, 14.

ša (originally šâ, and properly “accusative” of šū he).—(1) Demonstrative pronoun, that one, those: *šē* Puqūdu ša ina "T. the Pukdeans (viz.) those in T. I, 19; ināšu ša kūri his eyes are diseased (those of disease, like ꜱ, with genit.) 14, 11; ša bītxallāti the cavalry (they of riding horses) 7, r. 22.—(2) Relative pronoun, who, which, for all genders, numbers and cases: 2, 5, 23. 57. 60; 3, 15; 5, 12; 16, 6, etc.—(3) Preposition, sign of the genitive, of, 1, 5, 7. 8; 2, 4, 16. 38. 45; 3, 6, 13. 14; 10, r. 7; II, 9, etc.; (as further development of this usage) from, ša libbi adri ekalli from the palace enclosure (he will go, etc. 8, 16; dâme ša appišu illakāni blood comes from his nose 15, r. 2.—(4) Conjunction, that: apil šipri ibāšu ša a messenger has come to him (with the news) that I, 17.—(5) Used in a variety of compound expressions; ina libbi ša because 6, 17, 23; adš ša until 5, r. 13; ultu muxxi ša since, after 3, 21; 4, 11-12; ki ša as 4, 34; hos 5, r. 20; if 5, r. 21-22.—(HW 630*)

šū.—(1) Pers. pronoun, he, fem. šī she, pl. masc. šunu, šun, fem. šīna, they; šu-he 5, 9, 11, 17; 6, 20; šu-nu they 2, 37; 7, r. 7, 22; 8, r. 10; 19, r. 1.—(2) Demons. pronoun, this, that, pl. šināti(u), fem. šināti, šinātina: ellippu šī-i that ship 18, 6; šu-u eteqa illaka this is the route he will follow 8, r. 4; sīxū šu-nu-tu these (people) are in revolt 2, 22; šu-nu-ti-ma... liqbu let these (men) tell 5, r. 19.—(HW 645*)

šē’u grain, corn: šē’ (šē-bar) šibši (cf. šibšu) 2, 43. 48.—(HW 631*)

ša’alu (šamšu, šamu), prt. iš’al, prs. iš’āl, to ask, inquire: a-ša’-āl I will make inquiries 7, r. 6; ki aš’-a-.lu when I asked 20, 13; liš’-a-l let him question 5, r. 26; liš’-a-l šu let some one (subject indefinite) question him 3, r. 25.—(HW 633*)

ši’aru, šeru (šamšu) morning, morrow: ina ši-a-ri tomorrow 15, r. 18.—(HW 635*)

šabātu Shēbat, the eleventh month of the Babylonian calendar: written iti-ā, 8, r. 16.—(HW 638*)
šibsu tax, impost, rent, apparently paid in kind: še ši-b-ši
tax-corn, grain levied as an impost 2, 43; še' agā ša ši-b-ši
this tax-corn 2, 48; si-ib-šu eqli the rent of a field Str.
167, 2; 753, 8.—Cf. KB. iv. 53 n.
šubtu (šašbu, 𒈠šu), ostr. šubat.—(1) dwelling, settlement:
šubat (šu) gâbe a military post 7, r. 5.—(2) ambush: šu-
ub-tu ina pānâtu ussešibu he had laid an ambush before
hand 7, 20.—(HW 246*; AJSL. xiv. 3
šaddû, prt. ši-dû, il-du, to draw, bring: mút Elam ti
ildudá-ma (il-du-da-am-ma) brought on Elam (against us)
4, 13; nakru u bûbûti...ul taš-du-ud fœ and famine
thou hast not brought on 6, 29.—(HW 84*)
šuxdû (from xaddû; form like šurbû, šusqû, § 85, No.
33b) glad, willing: šu-ux-du-um-a...lā not willingly 16,
14.
šatâru (šm, šarâš), prt. ši-tûr, prs. ši-sâtar, to write: št
ša šâtrâ (ša-t-râ) how they (the letters) were written 5, r. 20;
šišûrû (šiš-tûrû) let them write 16, r. 4. 6.—(HW 851b)
šaknu (šakânu).—(1) deputy, lieutenant: šaknuššunu
(ša-nu-maššu-nu) their deputies 7, r. 13; ša-ak-nu Bel
the deputy, representative, of Bel, Sarg. Cyl. 1.—(2) governor,
i.e. the deputy of the king.—(HW 859*)
šakânu (šašnu, šamû), prt. ši-kun, prs. ši-šâkan, to place,
make, do.—Prt. remu šakunâku (aš:kun-ak-i) I have
shown thee favor 6, 25; xamaša šakununi (ša-nu-u-ni) they
rendered aid 8, r. 17; là niš-kun we could not place 16, r. 1.
Prs. išiš-kan 2, 85; nišakanûni we would (like to) place
17, r. 2.—Prec. liškunû (liš-ku-nu) let them place 15, r. 15;
16, r. 7; åka niš-kun where shall we place? 17, r. 8.—Perm-
ana, pânišunu ana 4š. šaknu (šak-nu) their faces
turned towards š. (circumstantial clause) 2, 13—14.—N1 itti
sunqu ina mâtišunu it-taš-kin when need came (was laid)
on their land 2, 19.—(HW 857*)
šelibu (šalâmiš), fox: written luba II, 7.—
(HW 834b)
šulnu (šalâmû), ostr. šulûm, welfare, prosperity: usually
written di-mu; sulnu...lîpqidû may they ordain pros-
perity 9, r. 4. 7; adannu ša šulûm the propitious occasion
20, r. 1; mala dibbušu šulûm so far as his words were fa-
vorable 20, r. 5; šulmu īši it is well with me 6, 2; šulmu
adanniš all goes well 14, 8. 28.—Especially frequent in formulas
vol. xix.
of greeting, šulmu, šulmu adanniš, ana šarri, etc., greeting (welfare), a hearty greeting (welfare exceedingly) to the king, etc., 7, 3, 5; 8, 3; 9, 4; 12, 5; 13, 3; 14, 3, etc.—(HW 664b)

šalamu ( Cuomo, šalm), prpt. išlim, prs. išálim, to be whole, complete, perfect.—I naṣparta ša šarri u-šal-lam I will fulfill the king’s command 4, 23; lu-šal-li-mu-ka may they keep thee whole 9, 10; lu-šal-li-mu-lipušu may they perfectly perform 8, r. 13.—(HW 663b)

šālšu (CTL), ordinal number, third: ūmu šālšu (III kám) the third day 8, 7.—(HW 668b)

šumu (šum, šám), stem šumátu (šumu), name: šu-mu ili the name of the god 1, 22.—(HW 668b)

šemū (šim), prpt. išmī, prs. išémī, to hear: išémīma (i-šim-mi-e-ma) he will hear and 2, 40; ašemīš (ašim-mēš) I will hear it 6, 7; mála nišmū (nišim-mu-u) as much as we may hear 1, 24; šulum lašmī (la-aš-me) let me hear (his) welfare (i.e. how he does) 15, r. 19.—Ntattāsmā‘innī (ta(?)-taš-ma-in-mi) ye heard me 2, 30. Harper, following Pinches (IV3, 52, No. 2), reads the first character, conjecturally, ri, tal, but some form of šemū is clearly required here.—ū ul ušašmū (u-ša-aš-mu) I have not informed (or prs.?) 2, 62.—(HW 667b)

šummu if: šum-mu 7, r. 7; šum-ma 14, 24; 15, r. 18. —(HW 670b)

šunu they, cf. šū.

šānu (for šāni‘u, šāni‘u), ordinal number, second: ūmu šānu (II kám) the second day 12, r. 5.—(HW 674b)

šīnā (šinā) two: šīnā (II-tā) agā šānāte these two years 6, 26.—(HW 674b)

šuntī they, those, cf. šū.

šupālu (šupālu) lower part: for ana šu-pal šāru 2, 9, rendered southward, cf. tāmtī šalītu as applied to the Persian Gulf, Zāba šalītu the Lower Zab, etc.; šupal šāri would be a construct relation (like ḫumātu šāri), meaning literally the lower (i.e. the southern) wind.—(HW 661b)

šipru (cf. Heb. špašma message, letter, writing, book; šipmi is an Assyrian loanword, therefore D for š) message: ašip šipri (šam a-kim) messenger 1, 17, 33; 2, 38; 4, 27; 16, 8.—(HW 683b)

šapāru (šapāru, šapāt, to set out, journey), prpt. išpur, prps. išāpar, to send, send word, often with idea of command im-
plied.—Prt. iṣ-pu-ra 4, 8; iṣ-[pu-ra-ni] 4, 31; 2. taṣ-pur 6, 5, 35; 1. aṣ-pu-ra 3, r. 24.—Pra. sg. iṣ-ap-par 2, 29; 16, 16; iṣ-ap-par-an-ni sends to command me 8, r. 15; 2. taṣ-par 4, 10; 1. aṣ-par 2, 38; aṣaparsu (aṣ-par-ru-ni) I will send him 1, 16; pl. iṣaparsu (iṣ-par-ru-niš-su) they will send him 2, 43; 1. nišparaka (niṣ-pa-rak-i) we will send to thee 1, 25.—Prec. liṣ-pu-ra let him send orders 7, r. 14.—Q1 same: issapra (iṣ-par-ra) 16, 18; 2. tal-ta-ra 1, 37; 1. assapra (aṣ-par-ra) 16, r. 3; al-tap-ra 1, 42; 3, 7, r. 14; 4, 33; 5, r. 27; assaparsun (aṣ-par-šu-nu) I sent them 7, 10; assaparsun (aṣ-par-ra-šu-nu) I send, have sent, them 16, 9; assaparsun (aṣ-par-šu-nu) I sent word to them 7, r. 5.—(HW 682a)

The primitive meaning of the stem šaparu may be to be swift, transit. to dispatch; šaparu wild goat (whence šaparu) may be the swift one; see Proc. Am. Or. Soc., Oct. `98, p. clxxv, n. 4; Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1892, pp. 437–440.

šipitu (fem. of šipitu) message, letter: šipitša (ši-pi-ta-a) my message 2, 37; pl. šipirti (ši-pi-te-ti) letters 5, 17, 19, r. 12, 19, 22.—(HW 683b)

šappatu, pl. šappāte (better, perhaps, šappatu; cf. Heb. יִסַּבְסַ יֵסַבְסַ basins, dishes), jar: nāš-šappāte (šam-šal-meš) jar-bearers 8, r. 6; for the ideogram šaman cf. Be. 1, (PSBA. Dec. `88) Col. I, 6.—(HW 681b)

šaru (šaru, šaru) wind.—(1) point of the compass: ana šupāl ša-a-ru southward (cf. šupālu) 2, 19.—(2) air: ša-a-ru ikkasir the air will be kept away 15, r. 15.—(HW 635b)

širu (širu) pl. širē flesh, body: ūt širē (uzu) welfare, health of body 1, 5; 2, 2; ūt širē (uzu-meš) 3, 3; 10, 9; 14, 6; 15, 6; 19, 7.—(HW 634b)

šarru (šarru), cstr. šar, pl. šarrāni, king: written lugal 1, 18; 2, 5, 28, etc.; pl. lugal-meš 1, 1, 5; 2, 1, 3, etc.;—mār šarru (du lugal) prince 8, 1, 3, 11, r. 12, 14, 18; 10, 1, 3, 11, r. 3, 7; 15, 8.—(HW 692b)

širu (širu) properly strip; šaratu to tear, cut, (šarātu) bandage: ši-ir-šu 14, 17.—(HW 690b)

šarku pus: šar-ku i4, 20.—(HW 692a, sub šarku)

šarnuppup, Elamite official title: šam ša-ar-nu-up-pu 2, 45; ša-ar-nu-up-pi 2, 48, 51.

šārāte (fem. plural of šaru wind = Windbeuteleien?) lies, treason: šipirēti agā ša ša-ra-a-ti these treasonable letters 5, r. 20; ša-ra-te-e-šu (i.e. šaratešu) lā tašemā do not listen to his lies H. 301, 19.—(HW 644b)
šarrûtu (abstract from šarru) royalty, sovereignty: šarru-ut-ka they sovereignty 8, r. 20.—(HW 689b)
šatu he, that one: šu-tu-ma that (god) indeed 14, 26.—(HW 648b)
šattu (for šantu, سنع, سنع) year: pl. šanâte (mü-an-na-meš) 5, 8; 6, 26; 17, 8.—(HW 673b)

†
tebû (تیب مع to follow), prt. itšt, prs. itâšt, itéšt, to march, go (especially with hostile intent): kf it-bâ-u when they came (had marched) 3, 13; it-[bu-u-ni] they marched 3, r. 7; ti-bânu tebû (ti-ba-i) make ye a raid! 3, 9.—(HW 689b)
tibnu (تیب) straw: written še-in-nu 18, 15. r. 8.—(HW 700b)
tibânu (tebânu) raid, incursion (tebû): ti-ba-a-nu tebû made ye a raid 3, 9.
tazîru, an official title: ämâl ta-zi-ru 7, r. 11.
tâl’îtu (stem 'N??) (surgical) dressing: ta-al-i-tu 14, 12. 19; ta-al-i-te 14, 21.—(HW 366b)
tullumma-u, apparently a term of reproach; šunu tul-lu-um-ma-i-u they are... 2, 37.
timâli, itimâli (تحمل) yesterday: ina ti-ma-li 14, 15; 15, r. 5.—(HW 158b)
tapşuru (pašâru) ransom: tap-šu-ru igâmar-ma he will pay a ransom 2, 40.
târu (تارع to spy out, properly to go about, like سار) prs. itâru, to turn, return: ša...[i-tu-ra]-am-ma (i.e. itûrâ-ma) who returned 2, 6; Âmu rebû târšu (gur-šu) ša Nabû on the fourth day (will take place) the return of Nabû 8, 10.—I Transitive, utârâka (u-tar-rak-ka I will return to thee, requite thee 6, 40; nuterâma (nu-ter-ra-am-ma) we will restore 4, 31.—(HW 701b)
tarçu (târâgu to stretch out) proper direction: ana tar-çgi axâmîš opposite one another 3, r. 22.—(HW 715b)

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES.

N

E-ana (Assyr. Bît šame), House of Heaven, name of the temple of Istar at Erech, 4, 8; 5, 3.
Uba’anat (ämâl U-ba-a-a-na-at), a tribe dwelling on the western frontier of Elam, 1, 30.
Idû’a (I-du-u-a), servant of Kudurru, 5, r. 15.
Adjudi'a (Ad-ja-di-'a), a noble of the city of Irgidu and father of Dalân, 3, 16.

Adar (DiNiRR-baB 14, 5; 15, 4) spouse of the goddess Gula; both deities often invoked by physicians, as patrons of the healing art.

E-zida (Assyr. Bitu kenu) The True Temple, name of the temple of Nabû at Borsippa, 20, 7.—(HW 323*)

Akkadi, mât (kur uRi-kî) 4, 29; 5, 10, Babylonia.—Cf. Lehmann, Šamaššumukîn, i. p. 68 ff.

Ulâ'a (1D U-la-a-a), the river Eulæus (ŎN, Εὐλαίος), i. e. the modern Kerkha (against Delitzsch, Paradies, p. 329); see Johns Hopkins University Circulars, No. 114, p. 111°; cf. Part I. of this article (vol. xviii. p. 145, n. 1).


Amedirra (A-me-dir-ra), an Elamite, father of the rebel Ummaginaš, 3, r. 16.

Ummaxaldâšu, Umanaldas, son of Attametu, king of Elam [Umm-MA-xal-da]-a-šu, 2, 5; Umm-MA-xal-da-a-šu, 2, 23, 34, 35, 58; 3, r. 17; Umm-MA-xal-da-šu, 3, r. 20.—The name is written Umm-an-al-da-si (var. das), KB. ii. 194, 112; 196, 2; Umm-an-al-da-a-sî, ibid. 246, 74; cf. also Xum-ba-šal-da-šu, ibid. 280, 31, 33.

Umxulumâ' (Umm-xu-lu-MA-'), an Elamite noble, 2, 22, 46, 54.

Ammaladin (Am-ma-la-din), prince of Iâšitan, 3, 13.

Ummankašis;—(1) king of Elam, son of Urtaku; Umm-man-i-gaš, 6, 9, 21.—(2) son of Amedirra, rebelled against Ummankašis; Umm-man-i-gaš, 3, r. 16.

Ummankašimaš (Umm-an-ši-maš), an Elamite official (NA-gir), 2, 11.

Undadu (UN-da-du), an Elamite official (zilliru), 2, 11.

Up'â (U-pi-a), Opis, a city at the junction of the Tigris with the Adhem, 18, 12, 8. 7.—Cf. Part I. of this article (vol. xviii. p. 171).

Iq̄iša-aplu (BA-ša-A), (The god) has bestowed a son, 3, r. 10, 23.

Arba'îl (Mändâb-DINGIR), Arbela, properly The city of the four gods, 9, 7; 10, 7; 19, 5.—(Delitzsch, Par. 194. 258)

Irgidu (IR-gi-du), an Elamite city, two double leagues west of Sussa, 3, 11.
Arad-Ea (Nita-Dingir-e-a), Servant of Ea, Assyrian priestly astrologer, 13, 2.

Arad-Nanâ (Nita-Dingir-Na-na-a), Servant of Nanâ, physician of Esarhaddon, 14, 2; 15, 2.

Uruk (Sumerian Unu-ki = Assy. šubtu abode), the city of Erech ( //'N\), in Southern Babylonia; written Unu-ki 4, 3; 5, 3, 5. 13. r. 8. 16.—(Par. 121 ff.)

Arapxa ('Arap-xa), Arrapkhitis ('Apraxvies), a city and district, north of Assyria, about the sources of the Upper Zab, 18, 12. r. 2. 11.—(Par. 124 ff.)

Išdi-Nabû (Giri-Dingir-pa), Nabû is my foundation, an Assyrian official, 10, 2.

Ašur (properly The Beneficent, 'HZN), the national god of Assyria; written Dingir-Ašur, 11, 9; 17, 6; Ašur (without Dingir), 12, 13; 18, 4; Dingir-Dug, 1, 3; 2, 2; 3, 2; 6, 12.—(HW 148)

Aššur, mát, Assyria (HZN); written Kur-Aššur-ki, 2, 28; 3, r. 4; Kur Dingir-Dug-ki, 5, 13.

Aššurû, Assyrian; pl. Aššûre (Dingir-Dug-ki-mes), Assyrians, 6, 34.

Ašur-mukin-paléja (Ašur-mu-kind-bal-ia) Ašur establishes my reign, son of Sardanapallus, 12, 10.

Ištar (beneficent, form A from HZN), the goddess Ištar; Ištar (Dingir-Nanna) ša Uruk, 4, 5; 5, 5; Ištar (Dingir-xv) ša Ninua, 9, 6; 19, 4; Ištar (Dingir-xv) ša Ar-ba’il; 9, 7; 10, 7; 19, 5.

Ištar-duši (Dingir-xv-du-ri), Ištar is my wall, an Assyrian official, 16, 2.

Babîlu, Babylon, properly Gate of God; Belit Bâbîli (Ka-Dingir-ra-ki), 19, 3.

Bâbîlî (Ka-Dingir-a-a), 17, 4.—The name means devoted to (the god of) Babylon.—Cf. Part I. of this article, p. 168.


Bel (lord, ḫeb), the god Bel; written Dingir-en, 2, 39; 8, r. 16; 9, r. 9; 10, 5; 17, 7; 19, 3; En (without Dingir), 12, 13.

Bel-ibni (Dingir-en-ib-ni), Bel has begotten (a son), an Assyrian general, and governor of the Gulf District, 1, 2; 2, 1; 3, 2.—Cf. Part I. p. 194.
Bel-ēter (dingir-en-sūr), Bel has preserved, father of Pir'-Bel, 5, 7, 15.

Bel-upāq (dingir-en-u-qaq), Bel gives heed, writer of No. 20, son of Kunā, 20, 1.

Bel-igša, Bel has bestowed;—(1) Prince of Gumbulu; dīngir-en-ba'-ša, 4, 12.—(2) One of the writers of No. 17; en-ba'-ša, 17, 3.

Balasi (Ba-la-si-i), Assyrian astrologer (Bāšaru), 12, 3.

Belit (fem. estr. of Bel), the goddess Belit; written dīngir-nīn-līl, 10, 6; 18, 4; dīngir-nīn (Brūnnow, No. 7336), 19, 3; Belit (dīngir-nīn) Bābili, 19, 3.

Bit-Na’ālāni (Na-a-a-la-ni), name of a district, 19, 9.

Gaxal (Ga-xal), grandfather of Šumā, 1, 7.

Gula (modification of gala great), the goddess Gula, spouse of Adar q. v.; dīngir gu-la, 14, 5; 15, 5.

Gumbulu (Gam-bu-lu), a district of Southern Babylonia, 4, 9, 25.—(Par. 240 ff.)

Daxxā (amīl Dax-xa-'), an Elamite tribe, 1, 10, 11.

Daxxadī'u'a (amīl Dax-xa-di-u-a), an Elamite tribe, 2, 21.

Dalān (Dā-la-a-an), a noble of Irgid, son of Adjādi'a, 3, 15.

Deri (Di-ri), a city near the frontier of Elam and Babylon, 16, 18.—Cf. Part I. p. 165.

Dāru-šarru, The king is eternal, messenger of Nabū-ūsbābēl; Da-aru-lugal, 5, 20; Da-aru-lugal, 5, r. 23, 25.

Dūr-šarrukin (Bad-diš-man-gim) Sargonsburg, a city of Assyria, north of Nineveh, 7, r. 20.—Cf. Part I. p. 151.

Xa’ādālu (Xa-a-a-da-a-lu), a city in the highlands of Elam, 2, 15; also called Xa’idālu and Xīdālu.—(Par. 328)

Xa’ādānu (Xa-a-a-da-nu), a city of Elam, 3, r. 19.—(Par. 329)

Xudxud (mār Xu-ud-xu-ud), a river in Elam, 3, r. 18.—(Par. 329)

Xuxān (amīl Xu-xa-an), an Elamite tribe, 2, 14.

Tab-ṣil-Ešāra (Dug-ga-nun-e-šar-BA), Good is the shelter of Ešāra, governor of the city of Ašur and eponym for the year 714 B.C., 18, 2.—Cf. Part I. p. 171.
Iašī'ān (Iša-aši-an), a district of Elam, 3, 14.

Kidimuri, an Assyrian temple; Beliṭ ša-belit Ki-di-mur-i, 10, 8.—(HW 318*)

Kudurru (ša-du), Boundary, governor of Erech, 5, r. 16.

Kaixu (Kal-xi), Calah (IJ72), a city of Assyria lying a little south of Nineveh, 8, 7. 14.—(Par. 261)

Kunā (Ku-na-a), father of Bel-upāq, 20, 2.

Laxiru (La-xi-ru), a Babylonian city near the Elamite border, 3, 20.—(Par. 323)

Madaktu (camp), an important city of Elam (Baddar); 41 Ma-dak-tu, 2, 23; 42 Ma-dak-ti, 2, 7.—(Par. 325 ff.; cf. Haupt, in Beitr. zur Assyrr. i. p. 171)

Marduš (dingir-maraRda), Bel-Merodach, the national god of Babylon, I, 3; 2, 2; 3, 2; 8, 5; 9, 5; II, 3; II, 7; III, 5.

Marduš-erba (dingir-maraRda-su), Marduš increases, 19, r. 2. 6.

Mūšēzib-Marduš (Muš-e-zib-dingir-maraRda), Marduš delivers, nephew of Bel-ibni, 3, r. 1. 6. 10.

Nabū, Nebo (nabu), the special deity of Borsippa; written dingir-ak, 8, 5. 8. 9. 10. 12. r. 9. 16; II, 3; III, 5; IV, 7; IV, 4; 20, 4; dingir-pa, 9, r. 9; II, 5. 2; II, 7.—Cf. Part I. p. 153.

Nabū'a (Na-bu-u-a), Devoted to Nabū (a name like MarRduš, etc.), an Assyrian astrologer, II, 2.

Nabū-axe-erba (dingir-pa-kur-meš-su), Nabū increase the brothers, one of the writers of K. 665, 12, 4.

Nabū-erba (dingir-pa-su), Nabū increase, an Assyrian physician, 16, 5.

Nabū-ušabši, Nabū has brought into existence, an Assyrian official of Erech; written dingir-pa-gal-ši, 4, 2; dingir-ak-gal-ši, 5, 2.

Nabū-bel-šumâte (dingir-ak-en-mu-meš), Nabū is the possessor of names (i. e. many famous and honorable titles), the last Chaldean king of Bīt-Idūm.—See the genealogical table below, p. 93.
Nabû-šum-iddina (DINGIR-PA-MU-AS), Nabû has given a name.—(1) An Assyrian priest, 8, 2; 9, 3.—(2) An Assyrian physician, 10, 4.

Nugû' (asmal Nu-gu-u-'), an Elamite tribe dwelling near the Babylonian frontier, 3, 20.

Nadân (Na-dan), gift, a Chaldean of Puqûdu, 1, 17, 35.

Nanâ (DINGIR-NA-NA-A), a Babylonian goddess, 4, 6; 5, 5; 20, 4.

Ninua (NIN-NIM), Nineveh, the capital of Assyria; written Ninâ-ki, 9, 6; 10, 4; asmal Ninâ, 9, r. 6.—(Par. 260; cf. Bettr. zur Assyr. iii. p. 87 ff.)

Nin-gal (DINGIR-NIN-GAL), Great Lady (Assyr. beltu rabîtu), the spouse of the moon-god Sin, 13, 6, 9.

Nisxur-Bel (NIS-XUR-DINGIR-EN), Let us turn to Bel, major-domo of Nabû-bel-šumâte, 2, 52.

Nusku (DINGIR-NUSKU), the Assyrian fire-god, 13, 6.

Sallukkê’a (asmal Sal- lu-uk-ki-e-a), an Elamite tribe, 2, 21, 50.

Sin (DINGIR-XXX), the moon-god, 12, 13; 13, 5, 9.

Sin-šarra-uçur (DINGIR-XXX-LUGAL-ŠES), O Sin, protect the king, 6, 4.

Sin-tabni-uçur (DINGIR-XXX-TAB-NI-ŠES), O Sin, protect (what) thou hast created,1 governor of Ur in Babylonia, 6, 1.

Sarâ’a (asmal Sa-ra-a-a) writer of No. 19.—Cf. Part I. p. 173.

Penzâ (asmal Pi-en-za-a), a city in or near the district of Tuš-khan, 7, 9.—Cf. Part I. p. 151.

Puqûdu ( asmal Pu- qu-du, Ezek. xxiii. 23), a Chaldean tribe dwelling in Babylonia near the Elamite border; asmal Pu- qû-du, 1, 18.—(Par. 240)

Pir’î-Bel (Pir’i-DINGIR-EN), Offspring of Bel, son of Bel-êter, 5, 7; cf. note ad loc.

Çabţanu (asmal Çab-ţa-nu), a city near the western frontier of Elam, 3, 7, 8.

1 This explanation I owe to a personal communication from Dr. Bruno Meissner. I had rendered the name differently in Part I. p. 149, but Dr. Meissner’s rendering seems preferable.
Radê (Ra-di-e), a city of Elam, 2, 49.— (Par. 327)
Rammán (Dingir-im), the god of the atmosphere (_district), 12, 14.

Ša-Ašur-dubbu, governor of Tuškhan; written Ša-Ašur-du-bu, 7, 2; Ša-Ašur-du-ub-bu, H. 139, 2. — The word dubbu, which forms part of this name, would seem to be from the stem dabâbu to speak.

Šuxarisungur (šu-xa-ri-su-un-gur) a city of Elam, 2, 13; Par. 327 reads the final syllable si instead of gur.

Šumá (šu-ma-a), My name, nephew of Tammaritu, 1, 6.
Šum-iddina (mu-si-na), (The god) has given a name, father of Šumá, 1, 7.

Šamaš, the sun-god (š um ę s, š iš š iš); Dingir-Babbar, 1, 3; 2, 2; 3, 2; 4, 16; 12, 14; Dingir-giššir, 6, 8.


Šušan (šu-ša-an), Susa (š a-nu), the capital of Elam, 3, 18. — (Par. 326)

Til . . . , a city on the frontier of Elam and Babylonia, 1, 19.
Talax (Ta-la-ax), a city of Elam, 2, 10. 49. — (Par. 327)
Tammaritu (Tam-ri-ti), king of Elam, 1, 8. — See genealogical table, p. 92)
Tamthi, mát (properly the sea country; cf. ḥa .AP, the name of a sandy stretch of coast along the Red Sea), the Gulf District, i.e. the district lying about the shore of the Persian Gulf; mát Tam-tim, 3, 5. — Cf. Haupt, in Hebraica, i. p. 220, n. 4.

Targibáti (Ta-gi-ba-ti), an Elamite city near the Babylonian frontier, 1, 21.

Tašmetu (intelligence, properly hearing), a Babylonian goddess, spouse of Nabû; Dingir-Taš-me-tum, 19, 4.
THE SARGONIDE KINGS OF ASSYRIA.

Šarru-kenu (Sargon), r. 722-705.

Sin-alex-erba (Sennacherib), r. 705-681.

1. Ašur-nādin-šum, King of Babylon 700-694.
2. Ašur-ēzzi-iddin (Sarabaddon), r. 690-689; his mother was Nikī.

3. Nergal-sar-urur (Sharezer).  

Ašur-bān-apal (Sardanapalus), r. 689-686.
5. Šamaš-sum-ukin (Sassudchon), King of Babylon 686-647.
6. Sin-iddin-apal  
7. Ašur-mukin-palē\'a, High-priest of "....."  
9. Serūa-ēṣerat, a daughter.

10. Sašralliku (Sarrakos), Succeeded his brother.
11. Šerūa-ēṣerat, a daughter.

THE ROYAL FAMILY OF ELAM,

Contemporary with Esarhaddon and Sardanapallus.

1. Ummanidas, King of Elam 661-675.
2. Urtaku, King of Elam 675—.
3. Te'umman, King of Elam, succeeded Urtaku; slain in battle.
4. Ummanigas

Kudurru 2 Parā

6. Ummanigas, King of Elam, succeeded his uncle Teumman.
7. Ummanappa, King of Khidatu.
8. Tammaritu, eldest son; slain with his father.

12. Tammaritu, King of Elam, succeeded his cousin Ummanigas, whom he dethroned.

16. Ummanamni, grandson of Ummanidas.
17. Ummanamni

18. Attametu, commander of archers under Ummanigas.
19. Indabigas, usurper; succeeded Tammaritu, whom he dethroned, 660; slain in a revolution.
20. Ummanidas, usurper; seised the throne on the death of Indabigas.
21. Pa'e, usurper; claimed the throne in opposition to Ummanidas.

1 K. B., ii. p. 281, l. 88; p. 282, col. iv, 11.
2 K. B., ii. p. 244; p. 282, col. iv, 18.
3 K. B., ii. p. 246, l. 71.
4 III B, 38, 34.
6 K. B., ii. p. 246, l. 78, 28; p. 248, l. 88.
7 K. B., ii. p. 183, l. 44; p. 246, l. 78, 28; p. 248, l. 88.
8 K. B., ii. p. 246, l. 78, 28; p. 248, l. 88.
9 K. B., ii. p. 183, l. 48; p. 248, l. 78, 28; p. 248, l. 96.
10 K. B., ii. p. 183, col. ii, 2, below.
11 K. B., ii. p. 246, l. 6.
13 III B, 38, 34; K. B., ii. p. 183.
14 G. Smith, Averb., p. 191.
15 G. Smith, Averb., p. 196.
16 G. Smith, Averb., p. 196.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>721-716</td>
<td>Nabū-sum-ikkun, King of Babylon</td>
<td>Captured at the battle of Khaluie, 660.</td>
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<td>708-702</td>
<td>Nabū-Zer-Iššur, King of the Gulf District, slain in Biam, 660.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>698-676</td>
<td>Na'id-Marduk, King of the Gulf District, 660.</td>
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<tr>
<td>642-634</td>
<td>Nabū-salīm, King of the Gulf District, 660.</td>
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<tr>
<td>639-602</td>
<td>Nabū-apal-idīdina, King of the Gulf District; rebelled against Sardanapallis, and was finally, at his own command, slain in Biam by his armor-bearer.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>633-601</td>
<td>Šarru, surrendered to Sardanapallis by Ummunita, King of Biam.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 K. B., ii. p. 14, l. 30; p. 276.
3 Also called Nabū-zer-napšīt-ibīr, and Zer-kedu-ibīr; K. B., ii. p. 128, l. 32; p. 144, l. 15; p. 282, l. 30.
4 K. B., ii. p. 128, l. 35; p. 144, l. 20.
5 K. B., ii. p. 255, l. 65; Smith Assy., p. 135, l. 61.
6 K. B., ii. p. 213, l. 29; p. 286.
THE ROYAL FAMILY OF ELAM,
Contemporary with Esarhaddon and Sardanapallus.

1 Ummanaldas, King of Elam 681-675.
2 Urtaku, King of Elam 675 ——.
3 Te'umman, King of Elam, succeeded Urtaku; slain in battle.
4 Ummanigaš

Kudurru 6 Pâra
6 Ummanigaš, King of Elam, succeeded his uncle Teumman.
7 Ummanapps 8 Tammaritu, King of Khidalu.
9 Tamritu, eldest son; slain with his father.
10 Undâš 11 Ummanaldaš 12 Tammaritu, King of Elam, succeeded his cousin Ummanigaš, whom he dethroned.
13 Ummanaldaš 14 Pâra
14 Ummannamni, "grandson of Ummanaldas."
15 Ummannamni

15 Indabigaš, usurper; succeeded Tammaritu, whom he dethroned, 650; slain in a revolution.
16 Attametu, commander of archers under Ummanigaš.
17 Ummanaldaš, usurper; seized the throne on the death of Indabigaš.
18 Pa'e, usurper; claimed the throne in opposition to Ummanaldaš.

1 K. B., ii. p. 286, l. 88; p. 295, col. iv, 11.
3 K. B., ii. p. 246, l. 71.
4 III B. 38, 84.
5 K. B., ii. p. 246, ll. 78, 83; p. 246, l. 86.
6 K. B., ii. p. 185, ll. 44; p. 246, ll. 70, 82; p. 246, l. 88.
7 K. B., ii. p. 246, ll. 70, 83; p. 246, l. 86.
8 K. B., ii. p. 182, l. 48; p. 246, ll. 76, 82; p. 246, l. 86.
9 K. B., ii. p. 103, col. ii, 2, below.
10 K. B., ii. p. 296, l. 6.
11 G. Smith, Asyr., p. 185.
12 III B. 38, 84; K. B., ii. p. 188.
13 G. Smith, Asyr., p. 191.
14 Ibid., p. 186.
15 K. B., ii. p. 204, l. 10.
18 K. B., ii. p. 213, l. 51; p. 280, l. 17; p. 294, l. 6.
The Chaldean Kings of Bīt-Ḫakīn.

1 Marduk-apal-iddina
(Merodach-baladan)
of Bīt-Ḫakīn, King of Babylon
721-710, 708-705.

* Nabû-sum-šakun,
captured at the battle
of Khafaje, 682.

* Nabû-ser-ilār,
King of the Gulf District,
slain in Elam, 680.

* Na'id-Marduk,
King of the Gulf District,
680.

Nabû-salim

Nabû-apal-iddina

* Apil, surrenders to Sardanapal by Shum-pana,
king of Elam.

* Nabû-bēl-dumēte,
King of the Gulf District;
rebels against Sardanapa-
lus, and was finally, at
his own command, slain in
Elam by his armor-bearer.

1 K. B., ii. p. 14, l. 25; p. 276.
2 K. B., ii. p. 103, col. vi, 5.
3 Also called Nabû-zer-apal-ilār, and Zer-keni-ilār; K. B., ii. p. 123, l. 22; p. 144, l. 15; p. 283, l. 39.
4 K. B., ii. p. 128, l. 35; p. 144, l. 30.
5 K. B., ii. p. 256, l. 65; Smith Aerb., p. 136, l. 61.
6 K. B., ii. p. 212, l. 23; p. 266.
7 N. B.—Cf. Winckler's article "Die Stellung der Chaldäer in der Ge-
schichte," published in his Untersuchungen, p. 47-64.
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

As the literature of the subject is not extensive, I have endeavored to give here a complete bibliography of all works dealing especially with Assyrian Letters. It has not, however, been thought necessary to notice all epistolary texts incidentally published or translated in Assyriological publications. For these see Part I, pp. 125-129, Dr. Berry's paper noticed below, and Bezold's Catalogue of the K. Collection.


Harper, Robert Francis, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K. Collection of the British Museum.* Vols. i. (1892), ii. (1893), iii. (1899), iv. (1898). — Containing in all 435 letters, not only from the K. Collection, but also from the other Collections of the British Museum.


—. *Note on K. 84.* Johns Hopkins University Circulars, xii. No. 106 (June 1893), p. 108.


— *An Assyrian letter anent the transport, by ship, of stone for a winged bull and colossus*. Bab. and Or. Rec., i. (1886–87), pp. 40–41; 43–44.—Text, transliteration, and translation of S. 1031, with notes.


Smith, Samuel Alden, *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, Leipzig (Pfeiffer), 1887–89.—Vols. ii. (1887) and iii. (1889) contain text, transliteration, and translation of thirty-five letters, with notes by the author and additional notes by Pinches, Strassmaier, and Bezold.


**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.**

AJSJ: *American Journal of the Semitic Languages.*

APM: Meissner, *Beiträge zum albabylonischen Privatrecht.*

BA: *Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft* (Delitzsch and Haupt).

H: Harper’s *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters.* Texts are cited by number, not by page.

HW: Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.*

JHU Circ.: *Johns Hopkins University Circulars.*

KB: Schrader, *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek.*


Par.: Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*


Tc: Tallqvist, *Sprache der Contracte Nabû-nd’ids.*

TSBA: *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archeology.*


ZA: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.*

Numbers in heavy-faced type, not otherwise qualified, refer to the texts treated in Part I. of this article. For example, 17, 2, refers to No. 17 (Part I., p. 169), line 2; 8, r. 6 = No. 8 (Part I., p. 155), reverse, line 6.

§ refers to the paragraphs in Delitzsch’s *Assyrian Grammar.*

The verbal stems are designated as follows: — Q = Qal, Qn = Ifteal = Piel, Qtn = Iftaneal, N = Nifal, Nn = Ittatif, J (Intensive), Jn = Iitaal, S = Shafel, Sn = Ishtafal.

Other abbreviations used require no explanation.
Contributions from the Jāsimīya Brāhmaṇa to the history of the Brāhmaṇa literature.—By Professor Hanns Oertel, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Second Series: I. Saramā and the Panis.

Rig-Veda x. 108, with its spirited dialogue between Saramā and the Panis, belongs to that class of epic hymns to which attention was first drawn by Windisch, and which since then has been very fully treated by Oldenberg under the name of akhyāna-hymns, and by Geldner and Pischel under the name of itithāsa-hymns. But of the frame-story which formed the setting of the dialogue we know but little. The Brhaddevatā (ed. R. Mitra, viii. 24 ff. = p. 221), to be sure, gives in twelve stanzas a brief outline of which the essential points are these: The Panis, a class of Asuras, living beyond the river Rasā, steal and hide Indra’s cows. Brhaspati sees their hiding-place and, on his information, Indra sends Saramā in quest of the cows. Being asked by the Panis about her errand, she tells them that she has come in search of Indra’s cows. “Never mind the cows,” the Panis reply, “stay here as our sister” (mā sarame gāṣ tvam ihā ‘smākaṁ svastā bhava). Saramā, while she rejects this offer and other gifts, declares herself willing to be bribed into silence by a draught of the milk of the hidden cows (nā ‘ham iocchāṁ svac- tvaṁ vā dhanāṁ vā | pibeyāṁ tu payas tāsāṁ gavāṁ yās tā nīgu-katha). After this wish has been gratified, she again crosses the Rasā and returns to Indra. Indra asks her: “Hast thou seen the cows?” And she, at the instigation of the Asuras, replies: “No.” Thereupon Indra in wrath beats her. She, terror-stricken and throwing up the milk, runs back to the Panis. But Indra, following the track of the milk, drives against the Panis, slays them, and recovers the cows (pupraccē ‘ndraç ca saramāṁ kaccid gā draṣṭavyāt āsi | sā nēti pratyuvāce ‘ndram prabhāvād ārasaṣya

2 Verhandlungen d. 33. Versammlung deutscher Philologen, etc., in Gera, 1878, p. 28.
3 ZDMG. xxxvii. 54; and especially xxxix. 52.
4 Vediache Studien, i. 243; ii. 1 and 293.

vol. xix.
H. Oertel,

Hī | tāṁ jaghāṇa tadā kruddha udgirantā payas tātaḥ | jagāma sā bhayodvijnā punar eva paṇin prati | payasaśa tasya paddhat-yaḥ rathena harivāhanaḥ | gatvā jaghāṇa ca paṇin gāy ca tāh punar āharaç.

This story, as will be seen at once, cannot have formed the setting for RV. x. 108. The Saramā of the Brhaddevatā who betrays Indra and the gods for a mess of the stolen milk, and, beaten by Indra, shows him against her will the way to the Paniś, is utterly different from the haughty Saramā of the Rig-Veda who refuses their offer of friendship (vs. 10, nā 'hāṁ veda bhrāt- tvāṁ nō svasevām).

We must therefore look elsewhere for the legendary setting of RV. x. 108. Sāyaṇa does not help us; for in his commentary on the hymn he has unfortunately been napping. Instead of following his excellent habit of supplying, by way of introduction or interwoven in his notes, the pertinent frame-story from some Brāhmaṇical source,—and whatever may be said against his exegesis, he must be given credit for wide and accurate reading in the Čruti-literature, not inferior to that of the Dutch scholars in their classics,—he is here satisfied with giving us a barren sketch of a few lines recounting that "when the cows of Brhaspati, Indra’s chaplain, had been driven off by certain Asuras called Paniś, hirelings of an Asura by the name of Vala, and had been hidden in a cave, the divine bitch, Saramā, was sent by Indra, at Brhaspati’s request, in search of the cows. And she, having crossed a large stream and having come to Vala’s stronghold, discovered these cows in their hiding place. At this juncture the Paniś, with friendly condescension, had the following conversation with her." The barrenness of this introduction is so much the more provoking, because Sāyaṇa knew the version of the Saramā-story as given in the Čaṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa. Here certainly was the place to give in full this story, to which he briefly alludes in his note on RV. i. 62. 3 in these words: "Concerning this there is the following story (ākhyāna). The bitch of the gods was called Saramā. When the cows had been driven off by the Paniś, Indra sent this Saramā in search of these cows, even as in this world a hunter would send forth his dog in search of game gone to the woods. And this Saramā spoke thus: ‘O Indra, I will go under this condition, that thou wilt give to our offspring the food belonging to these cows, viz., milk, etc.’ He said: ‘Yes.’ And so the Čaṭyāyanaśaka says: ‘Food-eating I make
thine offspring, O Saramā, who hast found our cows (annādīnīṁ te saram e prajāṁ karomi yā no gā anvavindaḥ).’ Then going she learned about the abode of the cows. And having learned it, she told it him. And having been informed about the cows, this Indra, slaying this Asura, regained these cows."

If the Āśāyana version of the legend has thus been lost to us by Sāyana’s negligence, the only other Brāhmaṇical version¹ of which I know is that of the Jāminya Brāhmaṇa (ii. 438 ff.). The wording of the fragment of the Āśāyanaṇaka preserved by Sāyana (on RV. 1. 62. 3) and just quoted is identical with JB. ii. 440. 2; and on the basis of the material which I collected in this Journal, xviii. pp. 15–48, we are entitled to infer a close similarity between the versions of the Āśā. B. and the JB., which latter I here subjoin.² It is given à propos of the jyotiṣṭoma, goṣṭoma, and āyuṣṭoma, which in the order 1. jyotiṣṭoma, 2. goṣṭoma, 3. āyuṣṭoma, 4. goṣṭoma, 5. āyuṣṭoma, 6. jyotiṣṭoma, are distributed over the six days (=two tridua) of the Abhipatva-ceremony.³

JB. ii. 438. 1: atha ha vai pāṇayo nāṁb ‘sura’ devānāṁ gorakṣa āsva. tābhīr ahā ‘pātaṣṭhuh.’ tā ha rasāyāṁ nirudhyā valena ‘pi dadhuh. 2. te devā atikupya lepus’ suparnē ‘mā no gā anvicche ‘ti. tathe ‘ti. sa ha ‘nuprapapāta. 3. tā ha ‘nv-añgāma rasāyāṁ antarvalena ‘pihitāḥ. tasmai hā ‘nvāgatāya sarpiḥ kṣiram āmikṣāṁ dadhī ‘ty etad upanidadhuh. tasya ha suhita āsa. tāṁ ho ”cus suparnāi ‘sa eva te balir bhavisyaty

¹ Nor does the legend seem to appear in the post-brāhmaṇical epics; though the finding of Sītā by Hanumat is compared by H. Jacobi (Das Rāmāyaṇa, 1898, p. 138) with Saramā’s search of the cows.
² These passages, by the way, conclusively prove the correctness of Oldenberg’s assumption (ZDMG. xxxix. 77): “Hierher (i. e. to the ākhyāna-hymns) möchte ich den Dialog von Yama und Yami (x. 10) rechnen, und ebenso den der Saramā und der Paṅs (x. 108); wenn auch die Verse dieser Gesprächs eine prosaische Ergänzung, eine Erzählung dessen was dem Gespräch vorausging und was ihm nachfolgte, vielleicht nicht unbedingt verlangen, so wird doch einem Ausleger, der die Ākhyāna-Form als eine von den vedischen Poeten gern und häufig gehandhabte anerkennen, die Annahme derselben auch für diese Sūktas sich wohl empfehlen.”
³ Cf. AB. iv. 15 ; KB. xxi. 1f.; TS. vii. 4. 11; Kāṭh. xxxiii. 8; CB. xiii. 5. 4. 3, with Eggeling’s note on CB. iv. 5. 4. 2 = SBE. xxvi. p. 408, and Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur, p. 156.
⁴ -ah. ¹ pātaṣṭus. ⁵ alikupalapus. ¹ ochete.
etad annam mā nah pravoca iti. 4. sa ha punar āpapāta. taṁ ho "cun suparṇa'vīdo gā iti. kā kirtiś cit gavām iti ho 'vāca. 5. esai 'va kirtir gavām iti tasya he 'ndro galam' pilayann' uvāca gosy evā 'hain kilā tavo 'ṣuo mukham iti. sa ha daddhārapān va "mikṣāṃ vo 'dāsa. so 'yaṁ babhāva yo' 'yaṁ vastantā bhūtikaḥ prajāyate." 6. taṁ ha tac chapā'cīlajana' te jivanāṁ bhūyāy yo no gā anuvidya tā' na prāvoca iti. tasya he 'tad' grāmasya jaghanārdhe yat pāpiṣṭhān taj jivanam.

439. 1. te sararamā bruvan sarana imā nas tuvaṁ gā avicche 'ti. tathā 'ti sā ha 'nuprasasāra. sā ha rasām ajagāma." 2. tāṁ ho 'vāca plosye tvā gāđhā11 me bhaviṣyaśa 'ti. plaṣava me 'ti ho 'vāca na te gāđhā11 bhaviṣyaśā 'ti. 3. sā ha 'vācaya karnāḥ plosyāmanentā saśāra. sā he "kṣaṇa cakre kathau nu mā punī plaṣeta hantā 'syāi gāđhā "sānī 'ti. tāṁ ho 'vāca mā mā ploṣṭā gāđhā te bhaviṣyaśā 'ti. tathā 'ti. tasyāi ha gāđhā11 āśā. sa ha gādhenā 'tisārā. 4. tā ha 'nāgaṇam raśayām antarvalenā 'pihiṭāh. tasyāi ha 'nāgaṇatāyāi tathā 'va sarpiś kṣīrām amikṣāṁ dadhi 'ty etad upaniṣadhaḥ12" 5. sā ho 'vāca nā 'ham etāva apriyaḥ devānām. avidāṁ yad vo 'pniyāṁ.13 ta u vai devānaṁ steyān kṛtvā carathāṁ 'tisāṁ vai aham gavāṁ padavir asmi. na mā lāpaṇyādhe ne 'ndṛasya gā upahārisāṭhāvā iti. 6. sā ha 'nacīsī upasaśāha. jarāyup aprāṇī" tad14 viveda. tad dha cakāda. tāṁ hāi 'ka upajāgaṇ tyam iva vai ghnati15 saramā járu khādati 'ti. tad idam apy etarhi niścāranam tyam iva vai ghnati saramā járu khādhati 'ti. jarāyup ha sā tac cakāda. 7. sā" ha punar uṣṇāra. tāṁ ho "uos sarame 'vīdo gā iti.

440. 1. avidaṁ iti ho 'vāce 'mā raśayām antarvalenā 'pihiṭāh. tā yathā 'manyadhyam evam ājīkṛṣate 'ti. 2. tāṁ ho" 'nāra16 uvāca" 'nnādīm are te sarame praṣṭāṅ karōma17 ya no gā anavāda iti. te hāi 'te vidarbhēṣu mācālaś18 sārāmeyyā api ha pārāduṁ19 mārayantī. 3. te devā etam abhīplavam samabharan. tenā" bhīyāplavanti. tad abhīplavasyā 'bhīplavatvam.

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1 galem. 2 upīgyāyatī. 3 vayo. 4 bhūmika. 5 pārjāyate. 6 śvālajana. 7 tā. 8 prav. 9 jayan. 10 After this is added the evident gloss: eṣa ha vāt sa raśe eva 'ruḍāk samudrasya (genitive! cf. Delbr. A. S., p. 188, § 112) tāpāyata('/). 11 gāḍhā. 12 goyā. 13 Note the masc. 14 upāparādhaḥ. 15 pniyāḥ; the short ś also in the Mābh., cf. Whitney, Roots, Verb-Forms, etc., s. v. ac, but a correction to s seems probable. 16 aprāṇī. 17 tāṁ. 18 smati. 19 ed. 20 ha. 21 dāndra. 22 vā. 23 māc. 24 lāṁ. 25 tenend. 26 bhīplavam.
The rest of the chapter is purely ritualistic. I subjoin a translation of the legend in the J.B. version.

438. 1. Now the Asuras called Paniś were the cowherds of the gods. They made away with them. At the Rasā they penned them up and hid them in a cave. 2. The gods, exceedingly wroth, said: “O Eagle, search after these our cows.” “Yes.” He flew after them. 3. He came upon them hidden in a cave at the Rasā. Before him, when he had come, they placed this, viz., liquid butter, milk, clotted curds, sour curds. He was well sated with this. They said to him: “O Eagle, this shall be thy tribute, this food; do not betray us.” He flew away again. They (the gods) said to him: “O Eagle, hast thou found our cows?” “What news is there about the cows?” he said. 5. “This news,” said Indra, compressing the eagle’s crop. “I for one am the mouth (to declare that) thou hast stayed among the cows.” He (the eagle) threw up a drop of sour curds or some clotted curds. That same became the camphor-plant which grows here in spring. 6. Indra thus cursed him (the eagle): “May thy sustenance be of bad origin,” who, having found our cows, hast not informed us. Thus his sustenance is the worst that is (found) in the rear of a village.

439. 1. They said to Saramā: “O Saramā, do thou search after these our cows.” “Yes.” She set out after them. She came to the Rasā. 2. She said to her: “I shall swim thee (unless) thou wilt become fordable for me.” “Swim me,” she (the Rasā) said, “I shall not become fordable for thee.” 3. She (Saramā) laying back her ears came forward in order to swim her. She (Rasā) considered: “How, indeed, should a bitch swim me? Come, I will be fordable for her.” She (R.) said to her (S.): “Do not swim me; I will be fordable for thee.” “Yes.” There was a ford for her. By means of the ford she (S.) crossed over. 4. She came upon them (the cows) hidden within a cave at the Rasā. Before her when she had come they placed, just as (they had done) before, this, viz., liquid butter, milk, clotted curds, sour curds. 5. She said: “I am not so unfriendly to the gods. I have

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1 The emendation of the corrupt text is tentative only.
2 Hemacandra’s identification of drapsa with ‘sour milk’ may be the result of the abbreviation of a compound like this, of which Francke has collected examples in ZDMG. xlv. 481 and Wiener Zeit. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl. viii. 241; cf. also Geldner Ved. Stud. ii. 274.
3 This emendation is a mere make-shift.
found what I may obtain of you. You, verily, have stolen from
the gods. Truly of these cows I am the guide. You shall not
make me prate, you shall not keep Indra's cows." She\(^1\) . . . . pre-
vailed. The outer membrane of the waters—that she found. That
she split open. One cried out against her: "As if she were to
kill that one, Saramā splits open the outer-membrane."\(^2\) Even
now there is this reproach: "As if she were to kill that one, Sar-
amā splits open the outer-membrane." For she did split open that
membrane. 7. She came back again. They (the gods) asked
her: "O Saramā, hast thou found the cows?" 440. 1. "I have
found them," she said, "hidden within a cave at the Rasā. Be
pleased to take them just as you thought." 2. Indra said to her:
"Food-eating, wench, I make thy offspring, O Saramā, who hast
found our cows." And indeed among the Vidarbhans the māca-
las\(^3\), descendants of Saramā, kill even tigers. 3. These gods
prepared this Abhiplava-ceremony. By means of it they sailed over
(ābhī + phū). That is the etymology of the term Abhiplava.

It will be seen that chapters 439-440 above give an excellent
setting for RV. x. 108. The correspondence between hymn and
prose version is close even in details; the atiśkādo bhīyāsā tān
na āvat tāthā rasṭyā atarān pāyānai (RV. x. 108. 2.) is elabo-
rated in JB. 439. 2-3; and the spirit of Saramā's reply to the
offer of the Panis is alike in RV. x. 108. 10 and JB. 439. 5.

Without chapter 438, the story in the JB. version would tally
exactly with the Rig-Vedic account. In both Saramā remains
faithful to the gods, while in the Bṛhaddevātā she betrays them.
This latter motif is retained in the JB. in the introductory chap-
ter. But it is not Saramā who appears in the JB. in the rôle of a
traitor, but the eagle, who is first sent out by the gods in search
of the cows. If it should seem surprising and unnatural that it
should yield to the temptation of a draught of milk, we must
remember that the haṁsa has become proverbial in Indian litera-
ture for its ability to separate the milk from the water;\(^4\) and, at VS.

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\(^1\) The next word is not clear to me, the reading is evidently faulty.
What follows, especially the tyam, is also somewhat obscure.

\(^2\) jāru = jārdyu, heretofore only in the compound jārujā, Ait. Up. v. 4.

\(^3\) If the reading is correct, it may be the name of a breed of dogs.
The compounds karimācala and gajamācala are given by grammarians
in the sense of 'lion.'

\(^4\) Professor Lanman in a paper read some years ago before the Ameri-
Can Oriental Society, but not yet printed, has collected a large number
of post-Vedic passages dealing with this taste of the haṁsa for milk.
xix. 73, we read the same of the kruṇc (aḍbhyaḥ kṣetraṁ vyāpibat kruṇā āṅgiraso dhiyā, where the Commentator, apparently for this very reason, assumes a transformation of the kruṇc into a haṅsa, noting kruṇ haṅsa bhūtvā).

I do not venture to determine the relation of these versions to each other. It might be surmised that the JB. version is an attempt to fuse the two conflicting legends of the Rig-Veda and the Bṛhaddevatā, keeping Saramā’s character clean without sacrificing the motif of the betrayal of the gods. But such an assumption would, after all, rest on almost purely subjective grounds, and could no more be proved than the view that the Bṛhaddevatā-version is a condensation of the JB. form could be disproved.

II. The Ritual of Burial according to the Jāmśītiya Bṛhāmaṇa.

To W. Caland’s indefatigable industry we owe a very complete digest of the ancient Hindu Ritual of Burial,¹ based upon the (partly unpublished) texts of thirteen schools. A glance at Caland’s sources (p. iv-x) will show the scarcity of ārti-texts dealing with the funeral rites. As such the Jāmśītiya account is of some interest, while at the same time it is the oldest document of the school of the Sāmavedins for which the sūtras of Lāṭyāyana and Gāūtama have hitherto been our earliest sources.

As in CB. the funeral rites are incidentally dealt with in the JB. in connection with a possible mortal illness of the sacrificer, his death being considered as one of many disturbances of the sacrifice which call for an expiation (prāyacchiti).

JB. 1. 48. 1. sa yado ūpatāpi syād yatrā ’syā samaiṁ subhāmi- spaṣṭaṁ’ syā tad brāyād iha me ‘gnimś manthate ’tī ’cyaro hā gado bhavitoh. 2. yady u tan na yaṁ asmāl lokāt presyād athāi ’nam ādādir. 3. nānāsthālyor agni’ opya hareyur anvāhā- rypadananād uilmukam. 4. ādādir ājñāpātrāṇi sarpī apo

¹ On vi + āḍpā see Oldenberg, GGN. 1893, p. 342.

¹ Die Altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche, in Verhandlungen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afd. Letterk. Deel i. No. 6. Amsterdam, 1896. In the following I refer to this paper by ‘Caland’ with the page added. The pitṛmedhasūtras of Bāūdhāyana, Hīranyakeśin and Gāūtama have lately been edited, also by Caland, in the Abhandlungen f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. x. no. 3, Leipzig, 1896. For a brief summary of the burial rites see also Hillebrandt, Ritual-Litteratur, 1897, p. 87-97.

¹ B. sam. ⁴ A. sanbhūti.- ⁵ -gni; read, perhaps, -nīn.

⁴ B. C. -i. ⁷ A. vopya; B. devya; C. tapya.
5. te yanti yatā ʿsyā samaṁ subhūmispāṣṭam bhavati. tad asyā ʿginīn vi-
haranti.

“If he (the agnihotrin) should fall ill—where he may have a
level [plot of ground] such as is a favorable spot, he should say:
‘Here churn my fire.’ It is possible, indeed, that he may re-
cover. 2. If not, if he should depart this world, then they should
take him. 3. After throwing two fires into two separate pots,
they should snatch a fire-brand from the anvāhāryapacana-fire.
4. They should take the sacrificial vessels, liquid butter, water,
wood, the anustaraṇi-victim, a razor, a pair of nail-scissors. 5.
They go where he has a level [plot of ground] such as is a favor-
able spot. Thus they transfer his fires.”

1. On the transfer of the fires of the sick aḥitāgni in the hope
that he may recover, see Caland, p. 5, §1 with note 11.—subhūmi-
spaṣṭam here and in 5 offers difficulties. As second member of
the compound spaṣṭam might be conjectured, for if subhūmispāṣṭam
were ‘plainly a favorable spot’ the order of the members of the
compound ought to be reversed, as in spaṣṭākṣara, spaṣṭāmbuj.
For subhūmi compare Caland’s critical note 3 on Hiraṇyakeśin’s
Pitṛmedha S. p. 331 and Gobh. GS. 1. 4. 5, subhūmiḥ kṛtvā, with the
Commentary, subhūmiḥ cōbhanāṁ bhūmiḥ kṛtvā. The require-
ments for a subhūmi, of which evenness is one, are collected by
Caland, p. 31, §14.

3. Cf. Caland, §11, p. 19 ff. As to the transfer of the sacrificial
fires, the JB. ritual is peculiar in taking along two (the āhavaniya
and the gārhapatya) fires in two separate pots, but a fire-brand
from the daksīṇāgni. According to the other texts all three fires
are taken along in separate pots.—agni opya as in ČB. xi. 5. 1. 13
tasmāt ha sthālāyam opya ‘गिनिः pradaduḥ. Our text apparently
knows nothing of the circumstantial procedure of generating the
three fires within the pots (such as the ČB. describes; Caland p. 19),
but seems to imply that they were simply put into the vessels.—
yajñapātrāṇi, etc., cf. Caland, p. 21; on the anustaraṇi especially,
p. 22, note 5.

47. 1. athā ʿsyāṁ dīci kūpāṁ khātvā vāpanti keśapnaprāṇi.
2. uptvā keśapnaprāṇi nakh anikṛntanti. 3. nakhān nikṛtya
nirāntrain kūvanti. 4. nirāntrain kṛtvā nispurīṣāṁ kurvanti.
5. nispurīṣāṁ kṛtvā pāṇiubhiḥ kūpe purṣam abhisaṁvapanti.

1 A. kṛṭṭa-; B.C. kṛṭtānete.
A. C. saṁbhūtisp-; B. sumisp-; H. subhūmasp-.
1 I do not think that the parallels adduced there are weighty enough
to warrant a change of the MSS. reading.
pāpmānam eva 'syā tat prachādayanti. 6. pracchādyā' "nātṛānī
pratyavadāyāi" 'nam āharanti. 7. tam antarenā 'gīnī nīdhāya
gārhapatya ājyān viśāyā ca tātṛgīhīrān grāhāvā gatvā
"havanîye samiśatī anvārabdhe" juhoty āyaṁ vāi tvād
asmād asī tvam. etad āyaṁ te yonir asya yonis
tvam. pitā pūtraṇā lokakrī jātaveido nayā' hi
enaṁ sūkṛtāṁ yatā loko 'smād vāi tvam ajāya-
thā esa tvaj jāyatāṁ svāhā 'ti. 8. so 'ta āhutimayo
manomayo přānamayaḥ cakṣūrmayaḥ gṛotramayo vāmaya
rūnaya yajūrmayaḥ sāmamayo brāhmanayo hiraṃmayo 'mṛtās
sambhavati.

47. 1. "Then, having in this quarter dug a hole, they cut the
hair and the beard. 2. Having cut the hair and the beard,
they trim the nails. 3. Having trimmed the nails, they take out
the bowels. 4. Having taken out the bowels, they remove the
faeces. 5. Having removed the faeces they (throw them) in the
hole (and) carefully cover them with sand; thus they cover his
evil. 6. Having covered them, having replaced the bowels, they
take him. 7. Having deposited him between the fires, having
melted the ājya-butter over the gārhapatya-fire and purified it,
having taken four ladlings, going up, he makes oblation in the
āhavanīya-fire which is supplied with kindling wood, while he
touches (the corpse, with the words): 'He verily is of thee, of
him thou art; thus he is thy womb, his womb thou art. (As a
father unto (his) son, O world-making Jātavedas, do thou lead him
where the world of the righteous is; verily, from him thou wast
born, let him be born of thee; svāhā.' 8. He thence comes
into being possessed of oblation, of mind, of breath, of sight, of
hearing, of speech, of ōc, of yajus, of sāman, of brahman, of
gold, immortal."

1. ff. The cleaning and dressing of the corpse takes place at the
burial-spot as with the Rāgāyanīyas and Mādhuyāndinas (Caland, p.
39, § 20), not previous to the conveyance of the body to the place of
burial (Caland, p. 14, § 7). This accounts for some of the imple-
ments taken along by the funeral procession (above, JB. 46. 4).

4. 5. The disemboweling of the corpse, etc., is not approved of by
the other schools (Caland, p. 15) which mention it, save by the Cāṭ-
yāyana Brāhmaṇa as quoted in Hiraṇyakeśin's Piṭṛmedhasūtra (ed.
Caland) p. 37. 3, athāi 'nam udare viśāyā nirāntraṁ nispuṁśan

1 A. -cchāly; B.C. -kṣaly. 1 A. lp— B. ārabdhe. 4 sic.
5 hirāydhmaiṇāḥ; C. hiraṃmayoḥ.
H. Oertel,

krītvā 'vaṭe purīṣam avadhāya prakāṣāya pratyavadhāya sarpīṣā pūrayati 'ti cātyāyanakam. (Hiranyakeçin opposes this practice much on the same ground as the CB. xii. 5. 2. 5: prayā hā 'syā kṣo-
dhukā bhavati). We thus have here another point of contact be-
tween the JB. and the Cat.B. But it seems noteworthy that the
direction of the Cat.B. with reference to the anaś on which the
corpse is conveyed to the burial-place. viz. kṛṣṇāvahā syāt (quoted
in Hiranyakeçin's Pitṛmedhasūtra, p. 35. 6, anaś vahanti 'ty eke
kṛṣṇāvahā syāt iti cātyāyanakam) has no parallel in the JB.1

7. Cf. Bāudhāyana's Pitṛmedhasūtra, p. 4, 6 athāi 'nam adāyā
'tarvedi prākyuṣam āśādayanti atra havir āśādayita ity atha
gārhapātā āyāh viāpyo 'tāṣya sruçi caturyāhīnā gṛhitvā pre-
tasya dakṣīṇaḥ bāhum anvāraḥbhyā juhotti. Cf. on the whole, Cal-
and, p. 13.—The words uttered during the oblation are not RV. x
14. 1. which Bāudhāyana prescribes (p. 4, 10) but almost identical
with the mantras Cat.K. CS. iv. 14. 86, ayaḥ vāi tvām āsmād
ayaḥ te yonis tvām āsyas yoniḥ. jātavedo vaiāhavā i'nah sṛṣṭa
yatra lokaḥ. ayaḥ vāi tvām ajanayad ayaḥ tvad adhiāyataṁ,
asū svaḥa, and TĀ. vi. 1. 24, ayaḥ vāi tvām āsmād adhi tvam etad
ayaḥ vāi tad aṣya yonir aṣi. vaiśvānaraḥ putraḥ pita lokākṣe
jātavedo uṣa 'nadh sṛṣṭaḥ yatra lokaḥ. Cf. also TĀ. vi. 2. 8 āsmād
tvam adhi jāto 'si tvad ayaḥ jāyataṁ punaḥ. ayaṇe vāiśvā-
naḥsya evaṁya lokāya svaḥa ; TĀ. vi. 4. 12, āsmād tvam adhi jāto
'śy ayaḥ tvad adhi jāyataṁ. ayaṇe v. s. l. s.; Kāuḍ. S. 81. 80, āsmād
vāi tvām ajāyathā ayaḥ tvad adhi jāyataṁ. asū svaḥa ; Ārya.
G. S. iv. 3. 27, āsmād vāi tvām ajāyathā ayaḥ tvad adhi jāyata
asmād vāi svaṁya lokāya svaḥa. But this mantra, among the
Tāṭṭṭṭirīyaśa, follows the upoṣāya, Caland, p. 62, § 32 a with note1st.
Here also belongs JB. i. 2. (second half) tad yadā vāi mana ukṛ-
mati yadā prāṇo yadda caksur yadda crotam yadda vāg etam eva 'gnin
abhigachati, aṭāh 'syā dhārīṁ cāryiṁ leṣu eva 'gnīv anupravādi
yatvā asmā vāi tvām ajāyathā eṣa tvāj jāyataṁ svāhe 'ti. so 'tā āhūtimayo
manomayaḥ prāṇamaṇāḥ caksur-
mayas crotamaya vāmaya vyājumaya sāmamayo bhra-
mamayo hiranyamaya 'mrtaṁ saṁbhavati. amṛtā haṁ 've 'sya
prāṇaḥ bhavanyo amṛtaḥ cāryam idāṁ kurute. so 'mrtaṁvam ga-
cchati ya evam vīdvin agniḥotram juhotti.

JB. i. 48. 1. athāi 'tāṁ cītan' cīvanti. tasyām evam ādadhā-
ti. 2. tasya nāsikayos sruvāu nidādhyād dakṣīṇahaste juhūṁ

1 Similarly the quotation from the Cat.B. given by Lāṭ.ČS. i. 3. 24 with
reference to the subrahmaṇya-assembly is without a parallel in the
JB. (cf. JAOS. xvii. 84). But I am doubtful whether by Čātyāyanaka
the Brahma is necessarily meant. It is quite possible that the term
includes the Sūtras. Some quotations from the Čātyāyanaka in the
Ugapranthasūtra and in Bāudhāyana's G.S., to which Caland was kind
enough to direct my attention, have a distinct sūtra-tone.

1 A. cintām.
savya upabhṛtam urasi dhruvām mukhe 'gnihotrahavanāṁ
cīrṣatac camasam īlopavahanaṁ karnayoh praśitrahare
udare pātriṁśi samavattadhānāṁ\ 1
dhayan drṣadupale śiṣne
ṣamyām upasthe kṛṇājinaṁ anuprāśanāṁ śphayai pāṛṣvayor
musala ca cūrpe ca patta ulūkhalam. 3. paripūṣānti yaśnāpā-
trāṇy upari dadhati. 4. apo mṛṇmayāṁ abhyavaharanti
dadatv eva 'yasmayāṁ. 5. athāṁ 'nami sarpiśā bhuyupārayantī
yaśnāpātreṇ saripi uśīcanti.

1. Now they construct the funeral pyre. On it they place
him. 2. He should put down on his nostrils two sruva-ladles; in
the right hand the jhuḻa-ladle; in the left (hand) the upabhṛ-
ladle; on the chest the dhruva-ladle; on the mouth the agnihotra-
ladle; on the head the camasa-beaker for carrying the īḻa; on the
ears the two prāṣitra-vessels; on the abdomen the vessel
containing the cuttings; on the testicles the upper and the lower mill-
stones; on the penis the wedge; on the pudenda the skin of the
black antelope; behind the back the wooden sword; on the ribs
two pestles and two winnowing baskets; at the feet the mortar.
3. The other sacrificial vessels he puts on top. 4. They throw
the earthen (vessels) into the water, while they give away the
iron (vessels). 5. Then they fill him up with liquid butter.
They pour liquid butter into the sacrificial vessels."

1. The directions for the construction of the funeral pyre, etc.,
are here omitted. Cf. Caland, p. 35 ff. § 17. The text passes on at
once to the pāṭracayana (Caland, p. 49, § 27). The similarities and
differences in the distribution of the implements over the body will
be seen from the following tables. 4

1. ARRANGED ACCORDING TO PARTS OF BODY.

Head (cīrṣata, cīrṣataḥ, cīrṣatah, cīrṣān): kapālāṇi A, H, B, Ç;
kapālāṇi samopādhaṇāṁ ca camasam L; kapālāṇi sama-
vattadhānāṁ ca camasam G; camasam praṇīta-praṇayaṇaṁ
kapālāni cāi 'ke Kāṭ; praṇīta-praṇayaṇaṁ camasam B;
camasam praṇīta-praṇayaṇaṁ CB; camasam īlopavahanaṁ
J; īdācamasam K; upasādaniyam kūrcam B; upasādaniyam
īdāpātraṁ ca H.

Hairtufts (gīkhaṇyām): vedam H.

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1 -Im. 2 A. -ṭaṭa-. 3 B. -ṭaṭh; C. -ṭaṭh. 4 A. abhyahar-. 4A. om.
4 Abbreviations: A = Āגל. GS.; B = Bāḍhāyana's pitṛmedhasūtra;
Ç = Čaṅkh. ČS.; CB = Çatap. Br.; G = Gāutama’s pitṛmedhasūtra;
H = Ḥiraṇyaśakaścīn’s pitṛmedhasūtra; Kāṭ = Kātyāyana’s ČS.;
L = Lāṭy. ČS.; J = Jām-inlaya Br. A few other texts referred to by Caland were
not accessible to me.
Forehead (lalāte): ekakapālam H, B; prācitraraṇam L, K, G.
Eyes (akṣayoh): hiranyācakalāv ājyāsravā vā H, B.
Mouth (mukhe): agnīotravaṇānim J, CB, Kāṭ, L, G, H, B, K.
Teeth (dantam): grāvāḥ A, C; [yadi grāvāgo bhavanti] H.
Jaws (hanvoh): ulākhalamusale H.
Throat (kaṇthe): agnīotravaṇānim C; dhruvām K.
Trunk
Shoulders (aśe): [dekṣine] mekṣam [savye] piṣṭodevasanīm B.¹
Chest (urasi): dhruvām J, CB, Kāṭ, L, C, A, G; dhruvām arani ca H, B; puroḍaṃ K.
Waist (madhye): tamram H.
Ribs (pārṣaṇoh): gūpe CB, Kāṭ; gūpe chittā vāī 'kam H, B; musale ca gūpe ca J; pārṣaṇu C; sphyovaseṇu G; [pārṣe dekṣine] sphyam A, K, C; [pārṣe savye] upavesam K; kṣyājinam C; agnīotrevaṇānim A.
Groin (ᵱaṁṣayoh): sāmāyaṇakumbhyāu B, [yadi samṇayati] H.
Navel (nābhāyam): ājyasthālim H.
Abdomen (udare): pāṭrīm L, K, G; pāṭrīn samavadattadhānām ca camaṃam A, pāṭrīn samavadattadhānim J, CB, Kāṭ; samavadattadhānim C; piṣṭasanyavanīnivā pāṭrīm H; dārumpāṭrīm B; [kukṣyoh]¹ camaṃsu sāmāyaṇāpidaḥānīc ca āpahavanām ca B.
Pudenda (upaśtham): kṣyājinam J, L, G; cāmyam A; arani C.
Penis (ciṣe): cāmyam J, CB, Kāṭ; vṛṣaṇām cāmyam ca H, B.
Scrotum (ḍuṇayoh, ṛṣaṇayoh): arani Kāṭ; dṛṣadupale J, H, B; [ḍuṇayor ante] vṛṣaṇaṃ avanv ulākhalam ca musalaṃ ca CB.
Hand (haste, pāṇu deksine): juhūṃ J, B, K, A, G, C, L; juhūṃ sphyam CB; juhūṃ sphyam ca Kāṭ; sphyam juhūṃ ca H.
Leg
Thighs (croṣṣoh): cakaṭam K; avadhāryasthālim caruṣṭhālim ca B.

¹ The Māṇavas, according to Caland, place the juhū and upabhṛt on both shoulders.
² Read gūpe for gārpaṃ in Bāudh. p. 10, 16.
³ The Māṇavas, according to Caland, place here the puroḍaṃ (-pāṭrī).
Loins (ūrvōḥ): araṇī Ḍ.; ulūkhalamusale ṇ; [asṭhīvatoṣ ca] ṇ.
(antareṇo "rūḥ): anyāni yajñapātrāṇi ṇ; Kōṭ, Ḍ.
(antarā, antareṇa saktiṇi): avačiṣṭāni ḍ; avačiṣṭāni
pāṭrāṇi ṇ; çamyaḍryṣṭadupale yac ca na "deṣ/iyāmaḥ"
L, Ḍ.
(anusākham, anusākhī): musalam ṇ, Ḍ.
Upper leg (ukhasya daksīṇasya daksīṇatāḥ): ulūkhalam ṇ, Ḍ.
Knee-cap (asṭhīvatoḥ): ulūkhalamusalam ṇ; ulūkhalamusale
[ūrvōḥ ca] ṇ.
Lower leg (jaññghāyōḥ): ulūkhalamusale ṇ.
Feet (pattāḥ, pādayoḥ): ulūkhalam ṇ; agnihotrapātrāṇi ṇ; upā
vaharanīyaḥ kāraṃ ṇ; upāvaharanīyaṃ ṇ; agnihotrastrāh
lim ajyasthālim ca ṇ; çūrpaṃ ṇ, Ḍ.; çūrpe bhittva cái'kam
A; çakaṭaçūrpe ṇ; çūrpaçakaṭe ṇ.
Back (anupṛṣṭham, pṛṣṭhe): sphyam ṇ, Ḍ.; kṛṣṇinam ... pra
stirya ... tasminn enam ... nipadya ṇ; B.
Indefinite: upari pariṃciṣṭāni yajñapātrāṇi (dadhati) ḍ.

2. ARRANGED ACCORDING TO INPLMENTS.
agnihotrahaṇam: kaṇṭhe ṇ; pāṛcye savye ṇ; mukhe ṇ, ṇ; B,
Kōṭ, ṇ, Ḍ, ṇ, B, ṇ.
agnihotrapātrāṇi: pattāḥ ṇ.
agnihotrastraḥśālam: pādayoḥ ṇ.
anvihārasyāḥśālam: çronyoḥ ṇ.
araṇī: urasa ṇ, ṇ; úrvōḥ ṇ; urṣṇayaḥ ṇ; Kōṭ; upasthe ṇ.
aviṣṭāni, pariṃciṣṭāni, anyāni yajñapātrāṇi; yac ca na "deṣ/iyā
maḥ": antareṇa sakthinī ṇ, ṇ; antarā sakthinī ṇ; antar
eṇo "rūḥ ṇ; B, Kōṭ, ṇ; upari ṇ.
dvajįasthālim: pādayoḥ ṇ; nābhyām ṇ.
dvajyārvadu: aksṇoḥ ṇ; B.
'idācaṣamāṃ': ciraṣi ṇ.
idāṇāṭraṃ: ciraṣaṭha ṇ.
idopavahanaṃ (camasam): ciraṣathā ṇ; kukṣyoḥ ṇ.
upabhṛtam: haste savye ṇ, ṇ, B, Kōṭ, ṇ, A; pāṇāu savye ṇ; B, ṇ;
G, ṇ; L.
upāla v. dṛpadupale.
upavasam: pāṛcye savye ṇ; K. Cf. sphyopaṣvadu: pāṛcyaḥ ṇ; G.
upāśādaniṣam (kūrcam): ciraṣaṭha ṇ; B, ṇ.
upāvaharanīyaṃ (kūrcam): pattāḥ ṇ.
ulūkhalam: pattāḥ ṇ; ukhasya daksīṇasya daksīṇatāḥ ṇ; L, ṇ.
ulūkhalamusale: jaṅghāyōḥ ṇ; asṭhīvatoḥ ṇ; úrvor asṭhīvatoṣ
ci ca ṇ; úrvoh ṇ; hanvoḥ ṇ; anvag añgdayor ante ṇ; B.
ekakapālam: latāṭe ṇ; B.

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1 Cf. Caland’s note on Gāutama, p. 90. 2 =idāpātrī, Caland, p. 51.
3 The Mānavas, according to Caland, place the juhā and upabhṛtam on
both shoulders.
4 Cf. Caland, p. 58, note144.
kumbhī, v. sāmāṇyakumbhīyau.
kūrca, v. upasādāniya and upāvaharaṇiya.
krṣṇājīnam: upasthe J, L, G; ... prastirya ... tasminn enam ... nipadya CB; pārṣve savye C.
grāvīrāb: dats A, C, [yadi grāvīra bhavanti] H.
camasam: madhye H. Cf. also iḍācamasa, iḍopavahana, praṇitā-
prayāyana, samavattadhāna, samoptadhānana.
carusthātim: cṛṇyoy B.
juhūm: hāsie daksīne J, H, K, A, B, Kāt; pāṇu daksīne CB, L, Č, G.
dārupāṭrim1: udare B.
drṣadupaile: aṇḍayoh J, B, H; antareṇa sakthini L, G; amā
putraḥ kurvita A. K.3
dhruvam: urasi J, CB, Kāt, G, L, Č, A, B, H; kaṇthhe K.
pāṭrim4: udare A, K, L, G.
pāṭyau: pārṣvayoh C. Cf. also agnihotrapāṭana, iḍāpātra,
dārupāṭi, piṣṭhasahyavani, piṣṭodvapani, puroḍaṇa, samo-
vattadhānāni.
piṣṭhasahyavaninim4(pāṭrim) : udare H.
piṣṭodvapaninim4: aḥse savye B.
puroḍācām4: urasi K.4
prṇiṭṭhīprayāyanaṃ (camasam): cīrṣaṇ CB; cirasī Kāt; cīra-
staḥ B; karne savye Č.
prṇiṭṭhihararāyaṃ: [bhittvā] karṇyoy B; karne daksīne Č;
lalāṣe L, G, K.4
prṇiṭṭhiharāyaṇe: karṇyoy J, CB, Kāt; [bhittvā cā 'kam] H.
musalam: anusaktham L; anusaktthi G.
musale: pārṣvayoh J. Cf. also ulūkhalamusale.
meṣṭham: aḥse daksīne B.
vrṣāravam': cīne H. B.
vrṣāravān: aṇḍayor ante CB.
vedam: cīkāhyāṃ H.4
çakṣam: cṛṇyoy K; pāḍayoh G. Cf. also çūrpaçaṣaṇē.
çakṣaçaṣurē: pāḍayoh G.
çāyam: cīne J, B, H, Kāt; cīṇasayy 'nte CB; upasthe A;
antareṇa sakthini L, G.
çūrām: pāḍayoh C, L, K.
çūrē: pāṛvayoh CB, Kāt, J; [cīṭṭhā vā 'kam] B; pāḍayoh
[bhittvā cā 'kam] A. Cf. also çūkṣaçaṣṣurē.

1 The Mānasas, according to Caland, place the juhū and upabhṛta on both shoulders.
2 = iḍāpatrī, Caland, p. 51.
3 Cf. Caland, p. 51f.
4 Cf. the discussion of these vesels in Caland, p. 50.
5 The Mānasas, according to Caland, kukṣyoh.
6 So also, according to Caland, the Mānasas.
7 Cf. Caland, p. 52. * The Mānasas, according to Caland, on the head.
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cūrṇaṇāvahāviso: pādayoḥ C.
samavattadhānānim (pātrīm) udare J, Č, B, Kāt, C.
samavattadhānānim (camaśaṃ) udare A; cīrasi G.
samoptadhānānim (camaśaṃ); cīrasi L.
śāṅkṛayakumbhyāvu: vāṅkaṇyayoḥ B, H.
śāṅkṛayakumbhyāvu: kuṅkaṇyayoḥ B

sphyaṃ: amṛpyaṭham J; prṣhe B; pāṇāu daksīṇe CB; daksīṇa-
haste Kāt; haste daksīṇe H; pāṛye daksīṇe A, K, C. Cf. also
sphyaṃ under upaveṣa.

siṭhālī, v. āgniḥotraṣṭhālī, anvāhāryaṣṭhālī, ājyaṣṭhālī, caruṣṭhālī.

sruvao: nāśikayoḥ K.
sruvāṇu: nāśikayoḥ karnayor vā G; nāśikayoḥ J, CB, Kāt, L, B, H, C [ḥitkta cāi 'kam'] A. Cf. also ājasruvāṇu.

The differences between the J.B. and the other younger Sāma-
texts are noteworthy, see under avaṇṭhāṇī, utākṣharaṇa, dṛṣṭiṣṭa, pṛāṇaṛaṇa and -nam, musala, cānyam, cūpe with cūraṃ and
caṇaṇcaṃpe, samavattadhānim and -nam, sphyaṃ and sphyopa-
veṣa.


49. 1. athāi 'tām anustāraṇāmānāyanti. 2. tām prakṛ-
ya trir apasīlaṃ; paryānāya kūte' hanyāt. pradaksinām hāi
'kē paryānāyanti.' tad u tātā nu kuryāt. 3. tasyāi vāpāṃ'
utkhiḍyā cīrṣṇī' parivayānī' hastayor matisnī' hṛdaya
hṛdayāni bāhūr bāhū. yaṭhaṅgana eva tarāny aṅgāni vicin-
vantī. 4. athāi 'nam cūrmanā prorṇvanti svaya tānā
sāmrā ṛlmavae ti. 5. saṁśtiryaḥ pādiṣayanī. 6. sa tathāi
va cikirṣeṣa yathāi 'nam āhavanīyā pruthamo gaṇech tad enām
devalokah pratyāgaḥcacyath aṭha yathā 'nvāhāryacacanas tad
enām pitrolokaḥ pratyāgaḥcacyath aṭha yathā gārhaṇyatas tathā
śmin loke prajāya ca' paçuhīc ca pratītiṣṭhāti.

7. tasyo 'pādiṣayat dhūma eva parīrām dhunoti. 8. sa yad
dhunoti' tasmād dhunāḥ. dhunū ha vā i namā 'sah. taṁ dhū-
ma iti paroṣkṣam uccaṣeṣe paraṅkṣenāi va. paroṣkṣapražā 'iva hi
dvāh. 8. dhūṃmad vāi rātrīm apyeta rātriyā ahār ahno
apocchantaṃpaksānum poccantaṃpakṣād' ṣūryamānapaṇām

1 = ṭiṣṭāvṛ, Caland, p. 51. 2 = ṭiṣṭāvṛ, Caland, p. 51.

4 The Mānasas, according to Caland, on the abdomen.
5 B.C. -him. 6-'to. 7 A. nāhanyām. 8 A. pāyā. 9 A. vacām.
10 'si. 11 parivay-. 12 B. mṛtasim; C. matisi. 12 B.C. bāhma.
14 A. cūṇa. 15 A. saṁsthīya. 16 A. gnicos tāmin. 17 A. om.
18 All MSS. have short u. 19 A.B. -e. 20 A.B. om. 21 B.C. ākho.
22 A. pocchantaṃpakṣam; B.C. pocchantaṃpakṣam.
23 A. evoreṇaṇiṣṭāvṛ; B.C. apocchantaṃpakṣād.
ąpūrasyamānapakṣānān māsam. te atra māsē parivān cā "euc
cā sangacchāte. 9. taṁ haṁ rtānām eko yaṁ kūṭahasto ra-
mīnā pratyavetya prochat kiśi. puruse 'ti.

50. 1. taṁ pratibrūyād

vicakṣaṇād rtavo reta ābhrītām
ardhamasyayāṁ prasutāt pūrayāvata

iti. yaṁ adō vicakṣaṇāṁ somāṁ rājānam juhvatī tat tat.
tam nā puṁsa kartavya erayadhvam

iti. puṁsaḥ hy enam etat kartavya erayante. 16
puṁsoḥ kartavyāṁ mātary āsiṣikta

iti. mātary hy enam āsiṣicatī.

sa upajāya 17 upajāyamānas

trayodasaṁ dvādaçaopamāśa

iti. esa trayodaśa ya esa tapati.

saṁ tad vide. prati tad vide. hanta maṁ rtavo mṛtāṁ āna-
yadhvam dvādaçaopadaseṇa pitrā tayā mātrāṁ tayā grad-
dhayān tenā 'mnādyena tenā satyena. ahar me pitāṁ rātrīṁ mātā.
satyan asmi. 19 tam ma rtavo 'mrtaṁ ānayadhvam 16
iti. 2. taṁ ha rtava ānayante. yathā vidvān avidvāṇāṁ

yathā jānanaṁ ajñāntam evaṁ hai 'nam rtavā ānayante. 19

tam hai 'tyarjayanete. 18 sa hai 'sa na manusyo ya evaṁ veda

devanāṁ ha vai so eko ya evahvīt. 4. taṁ haṁ manojavasāḥ

pitarac ca pitamahāḥ ca pratyaṣcachantī tame khiṁ na āhārīr
iti. 5. tān pratibrūyād yat khiṁ ca puṇyam 16 akaraṁ 19 tad yuṣ-
mākam iti. tasya puṭrā āyam upayanti pitaras śādhuṁtyāṁ

dīvintaṁ pāpakṛtyāṁ. sa evam etat tredhā 18 vibhajyāṁ 'tasya

salokatām apyeti ya esa tapati.

"1. Then they bring that anustaraṇī-victim. 2. After sprinkling
it and having caused it to be led around three times to the left,
he should deal it a blow against the forehead. Some indeed lead
it around to the right. But let him not do so. 3. Cutting out
its omentum they envelop his head with it; (they place) the kid-

1 A. -o. 2 A.C. tam. 3 A.C. aha. 4 A. ānām; B.C. rtānām.
5 All MSS. -māsam; and prasūtāḥ. 6 A. eda. 7 -si. 8 B.C. or.
9 A. inserts itī m. 10 A. orayantī. 11 kartār.
12 All MSS. have this sandhī.
13 All MSS. have the sandhi upajāyo 'paṇ-. 14 A. mām. 15 mṛta. 16 A. om. 17 A. pıkā 18 A. rātrīṁ.
19 B.C. repeat satyaṁ asmi. 20 A. mṛta. 21 A. drā-. 22 vīvāhāya.
27 A. -la. 28 tyajaya-. 29 A. aha; C. ubha; B. maha. 30 B.C. -h.
31 B.C. kar. 32 A. -kṛtyā; B.C. -kṛtyā. 33 A. tedhā.
neys in his hands, the heart on his heart, the fore-legs on his arms. They severally arrange the other limbs on his corresponding limbs. 4. Then they cover him with the skin saying: 'Thrive by thine own body.' 5. Having spread all (the parts of the anusthana) they set the (pyre) on fire. 6. He should endeavor to do it in this way: If the āhavaniya-fire should reach him first, then the world of the gods approaches him; and if the anvāhārya-pacana-fire, then the world of the Fathers approaches him; and if the gārhapatya-fire then he stands firm in this world with progeny and cattle.

7. Of him being set on fire the smoke shakes (off) the body. Because it shakes therefore it is called dhuna. For it is dhuna by name. Mystically they call it dhūma, by a mystic (appellation). For the gods are fond of the mystic. 8. From the smoke it goes unto night, from night to day, from day to the dark fortnights, from the dark fortnights to the bright fortnights, from the bright fortnights to the month. There, in the month, both body and life-spirit come together. 9. Him one of the seasons, which has a hammer in its hand, having descended by means of a ray, asks: 'Who art thou, O man?'

50. He should make answer: 'O Seasons, from the illustrious one seed hath been brought hither, the half-monthly (seed) from the begotten one, from him who is connected with the fathers.' Because they offer here illustrious king Soma, that (is meant) by it. 'Make me as such arise in a man as the maker.' For they thus make him arise in a man as the maker. 'From the man as the maker pour (me) into the mother.' For he (the man) pours him into the mother. 'As such am I reborn, being born anew, the intercalary month of the twelve, through the thirteendo fold one.' He is the thirteendo fold one who burns here. 'Of this am I aware; this have I ascertained. Come, O Seasons, lead me, the immortal, thither, through the twelvefold (and) thirteendo fold father, through this mother, through this faith, through this food-eating, through this truth. Day is my father; night is my mother. I am truth. As such, O Seasons, lead me, the immortal one, thither. 2. Him the seasons lead thither. As one who knows (leads) him who does not know, as one who understands him who does not understand, even so the seasons lead him

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1 'Faith' in James' sense of the word (ii. 14–18); cf. Oldenberg, ZDMG. l. 448 ff.
thither. They bring him across. 3. Not a man is he who knows thus; verily one of the gods is he who thus knows. 4. Manojavas’ Fathers and Grand-sires come to meet him saying: ‘What hast thou brought for us from hence?’ 5. To them he should make answer: ‘Whatever good deed I have done that is yours.’ Such an one’s sons enter upon the inheritance, the Fathers upon his good actions, the enemies upon his evil deeds. Having thus made this threefold division, he enters into the same world with him who burns here.”

1. On the leading around and the slaughter of the anustaraṇi see Caland, p. 40f, §§ 22, 23 and p. 54, § 28. 2. apasalām seems to be ñīra. ḫay.

2. The meaning of kūṭa in kūṭahasta (below, 9.) is certainly ‘hammer’; cf. Geldner, Ved. Stud. i. 188 f.; v. Bradke, ZDMG. xlvii. 458; Bloomfield, ibid. xlvii. 546; v. Bradke, KZ. xxxiv. 156 f. In order to translate it so here also a change to kūṭena (which Professor Bloomfield suggested to me) would be necessary. I have hesitated to emend thus, because I yet feel quite uncertain whether kūṭa always means ‘hammer’ and not also ‘forehead.’ Without entering into the question in detail, I venture to call attention to the fact that the passage ÇB. iii. 8. 1. 15, tasya na kūṭena praghnanti mānuṣaḥ hi tan no eva paçcāt kāraṇam pitṛdevatyah hi tat, offers difficulties whichever of the two meanings may be chosen. If we translate ‘forehead’ (with Sāyaṇa and Eggeling), the instrumental instead of the locative is very offensive. If, on the other hand, we translate ‘hammer,’ the evident contrast between kūṭena and paçcāt kāraṇam is destroyed. An emendation of kūṭena to kūṭe would make the passage simple but beg the question.

3. mataśeṇ, the stem elsewhere is mataśaṇa; the term is evidently synonymous with τρικαῦ, cf. Weber, Indische Stud., ix. 248. Sāyaṇa on RV. x. 168. 3 agrees with this view.

4. The formula svayā tanva etc. does not appear to occur elsewhere. Professor Bloomfield, who was good enough to search for parallel passages among the slips of his MS. concordance, writes me that the formula at TS. iv. 3. 4. 1 (also in VS, TB, MS, and ṚPaṢ) svānasah tanuvā sāh viçavaś is the closest parallel to it.

5. For this augurium cf. Caland, p. 58, § 30, where the other passages are grouped together; the tād evaḥ devalokaḥ pratyāgacchati of our text supports Caland’s (p. 59 note)” rendering of Āṣv. GS. iv. 4. 2, svargaloka evaḥ prāpād (svargaloka for -lokas, not -lose). The prajyā ca paçubhiç ca pratiṣṭhāti is not found in any of the parallel passages and seems inappropriate.

The ritualistic part ends here; the rest is upaniṣad-like.

7. ṣādhū in the sense of ‘to shake off, to free one’s self from,’ is elsewhere used in the middle, e. g. AB. iv. 24. 1 迦ridva eva

1 Perhaps kūṭa ‘forehead’: kūṭa ‘hammer’: kipku ‘forearm’: kipku ‘handle’ (helve of an axe).
tābhīr (i.e. upasadbhīr) dhunute; Kauṣ. Up. i. 4 tat suktaduṣṣkṛte dhunute [B. C. E. dhunvate], which the commentator illustrates by the simile aṣva ivā romāṇī kampanena, evidently with reference to Chānd. Up. viii. 18. 1 aṣva ivā romāṇi vidhīya pāpam caṇḍa ivā rahor mukhāt pramucya dhātātā parīram etc.

8. I have retained the strange apocchanti (1. yās + apa) pāka, but I am unable to explain the feminine of the prior member.


Before taking up single points I give the parallel passage JB. i. 18, adding for the sake of connection, the preceding seventeenth chapter.

JB. i. 17. 1. dve ha váva yoniś devayonir hāi tvā 'nyā manuyayonir anyā dvā u hāi 'va lokāva devaloko hāi 'va 'nyō manuyaloko 'nyāḥ. 2. sā yā manuyayonir manuyalokā eva sa tatvā striyāt prajananam ato 'dhiyā prajāh prajāyante. 3. tasmād u kalyānītā jāyām ıccheta kalyānāma atāma sambhavāti iti. tasmād u jāyāṁ juguesemānen mama yonādī mamma loke 'nyās sambhavāti iti. 4. tasya vāī sambhāvītātā prāṇāt agra śravicanty atha retas śicayate. sa imān prāṇāntā kalpātā abhinivartate tasmād u samānasātā 'va retas atmāt saha bhavati tādṛśa jāyate. 5. tathaī 'ya deva- yonir devalokāḥ. yad hāvanīya eva haiva vāīdevayonir devalokāḥ. tasmād yo garbhapatye jihyyād atra taṁ karoti 'ty evai 'nymā manyan. 6. sa yāj juhoti yas taddhu karoty etasyām evai 'ta ādevayonir ātmānāt śiścati so 'sya śrmā 'mūṣminā dāžte sambhavati sa hāi 'vah śivān devātmā devyojinir ekātmā hāi 'vai 'kayonir etad avidvān. 7. sa yasmād lokād eva śiścito prāśi—

i. 18. 1. tasya prāṇaḥ prathama utkrāmati. sa hāi 'va devbhya ācāra ity āsyā sādhu kṛtām śiśi pāpam śiśi. atha hā 'yāḥ dhūmena saha 'ṛdhva utkrāmati. 2. tasya hāi tasya rātva dvāravāpās tebhya hāi 'tena prabruvita.

viścānaṃ śiśi rātva reta abhātram
ardhamāyāṃ prasatītā vistasvataḥ.

1-viścānaṃ śiśi rātva reta abhātram
ardhamāyāṃ prasatītā vistasvataḥ.
H. Oertel,

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10 1 to vide. praeti 1ad vide. hanta hā "gatam 1 ma 1 ṛtavo
mṛta 1 ānayadhvaṃ iti. 3. taṁ ha ṛtava ānayante yathā vidvān
avidvatvāsahī yathā jānanaḥ ajānantam evah hāi "nam ṛtava
ānayante. taṁ hā 'tyarjayante. 4. sa hāi 'tam āgacchati tapan-
tam. 5. taṁ hā "gataṃ prachathī kas tvaṃ asi 'ti. sa yo ha
nāmnā va gotreṇa va prarūte taṁ hā "ha yas te 'yam mayy ātmā
'buddh eṣa te sa iti. 6. taṁsa hā "tman pratītattam ṛtavaṃ10 saṁ-
palayaṇa padṛṣṭam apakāraṇti. taṣṭya hā 'horātre lokam āpnu-
taḥ. 7. taṁsa u hāi 'tena prabruvita11 ko 'ham asmi suvas tvaṃ.
sa tvān svargyanaḥ svar agām iti. 8. ko ha vai praśāpatīr atha
hāi 'vaśvīd eva svargaṅ. sa hi svuar gacchati. 9. taṁ hā "ha
yasyaṃ tvaṃ asi so 'ham asmi yo 'ham asmi sa tvam asy ehi 'ti. 10.
sa etam eva sukrītarsam12 apyeti. taṣṭya putrā dāyam upayanti
piṭāraṇa sādhukṛtyām. sa hāi 'vaśvīd evāṃ dvātīdāvā dvātīā eva
ekāt-
ma hāi 'vai 'kaddāya etad avidvān aṅgihotraṃ juhoṭi.

17. 1. "Verily there are two wombs, the one the divine womb, the
other the human womb; and, indeed, there are two worlds also,
the one the divine world, the other the human world. That is the secret
part of woman; from thence progeny is born. 3. Therefore one
should desire an excellent wife [thinking:] 'Let an excellent (sec-
ond) self of me come into existence.' And therefore one should
seek to guard13 one's wife [thinking:] 'Let in my womb, in my
world another (self) come into existence.' 4. Verily of him being
about to come into existence the breaths enter first; then the seed
is emitted. He returns these breaths (to the?) spaces; and therefore
of its being similar seed, whichever kind it (the seed) may be, such a
one is born. 5. Thus also this divine womb is the divine world.
What the dhāvanśya [-fire] is, that indeed is the divine womb, the
divine world. Therefore who should make oblation in the gārha-
patya [-fire], of him they would think: 'He maketh him there.'
6. In that he makes oblation, in that he does good, he thereby
emits the self into this divine womb. That self of his comes into
existence in yonder sun. He knowing thus has two selves, two
wombs; verily one self, one womb has he who does not know
this. 7. If from this world one knowing thus departs—

18. 1. —his breath goes up first. That explains to the gods: so
much good was done by him, so much evil. Then along with the

1 All MSS. samaḥ.
2 All MSS. ma; C. inserts 'dya. 4 A. B. mṛta. 1 All MSS. vid-
3 A. janaṇ; B. C. -ṇ. 1 So A; B. C. jan-
4 A. tvajajayantesa; C. tvajajayante.
5 For the next few lines C. is utterly corrupt and I have not noted
the var. lect. (cf. JAOS. xvi. 289).
10 A. ṛtava. 11 A. -brav-. 12 A. saṁk-
13 The usual meaning of the desiderative of 'gup, viz., 'avoid,' does
not fit here.
smoke he goes up. 2. Of this same one the seasons are doorkeepers. To them he should make answer thus: 'O Seasons, from the illustrious one seed hath been brought hither, the half-monthly (seed) from the begotten one, from him who is connected with the Fathers. Make me, as such, arise in a man as the maker. From the man as the maker pour (me) into the mother. As such am I reborn, being born anew, through the twelfeold one as the thirteenth, intercalary month. Of this am I aware; this have I ascertained. Come, ye seasons, lead me the immortal who have come.' 8. Him the seasons lead. As one who knows one who does not know, as one who understands one who does not understand even so the seasons lead him. They bring him across. 4. He approaches him who burns. 5. Him, having come, he asks: 'Who art thou?' When he announces himself either by his [personal] name or by his family [name], he says to him: 'This self of thee that hath been in me that same is thine.' 6. Him having hastened into this self, when about to escape the seasons grasping his foot, drag away. Of him day and night obtain the world. 7. To him he should make answer thus: 'Who (ka) am I, heaven art thou. As such I have gone to thee, the heavenly heaven.' 8. Verily Prajāpati is who (ka), and he who knows thus is heaven-going. For he goes to heaven. 9. He says to him: 'Who thou art, that one am I; who I am, that one art thou; come!' 10. He approaches this sap of good deeds. His sons enter upon the inheritance, the Fathers upon good conduct. One knowing thus offers the agnihotra having two selves, two inheritances; he who does not know thus (offers it) having one self, one inheritance.'

I now proceed to take up single points in order.

JB. 1. 49. 9. The conjecture rtunām is based on the vocatives and nominative rtavaḥ which follow in 50. 1, 2. and JB. i. 18. 2 rtavo dvārapāḥ.

50. 1. In constituting the text of the stanza I have kept as closely as possible to the MS. reading. Accordingly ardhahāmāyaṃ in verse 2 must be taken as qualifying retas; the Kāsu. Up. has paṅcadaçaṭāt instead.—prasutāt is taken in the active sense ('zeugend') by Boehtlingk, for which AV. xii. 1. 63 is cited in PW. Though the active seems to be favored in this latter passage by the context, Bloomfield translates it there as past ptcp. The passage here is too obscure to admit of a definite conclusion. There may be a pun between ṣa subtract and ṣa 'begot'.—vicakṣaṇa as epithet of the soma is common in RV. The explanation of the Brāhmaṇa does not favor Deussen's interpretation of pitṛyāvataḥ as neuter sing.—In verse 8 Deussen conjectures ādārayadhvam, but the context seems to

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1 §§ 5 ff. are identical with JUB. iii. 14. 1 (cf. JAOS. xvi. 173 and 289).
me to favor imperatives.—In verse 4 Kauṣ. Up. reads puṁsaḥ kartṛd. —I have hesitatingly accepted the reading ādiṣṣīktā. If this reading
is correct, it might be taken as a perfect imperative (Whitney, § 818),
or as an imperative of a reduplicated aorist without thematic vowel
(Whitney, § 867) and with irregular reduplication after analogy of
the reduplicating presents: for the grammarians demand ādiṣṣicat
(Whitney, Verb-Forms 4 sic.)¹ The sandhi at 50. 1 and the reading
of B.C. at 18. 2 (-tas) pointing to a past ptcp. (in which case a change
to mātary (read -i) ādiṣṭad becomes necessary) may be merely an
attempt to correct an unintelligible form.—By reading upājāya in
verse 5 for jāya of the Kauṣ. Up. the metre is restored.—In verse 6
even the two JB. versions differ, the one reading trayodaṃcena dvā-
daṃpamāsaḥ, the other dvādaṃcena trayodaṃcapanamāsaḥ, while Kauṣ.
Up. has dvādaṃcatriyādaṃcena upamāṣa dvādaṃcatriyādaṃcena pitṛ. The first reading seems to make the easiest, viz. ‘I come into existence
through (the year of) thirteen months as the (intercalary) month added to the twelfth (month).’—sah tad vide etc. bears
out one of the most brilliant emendations of Boehtlingk.
2. The change to avidvāṅsaṃ and ajānantam seemed to be de-
manded by the sense.
3. manjavasasaḥ i. e. Yamasya, as at VS. v. 11 manjavasā tvā
pitṛbhūr daksīṇataḥ pātu with the Commentator.
5. Cf. Journal, xvii. 46; no. xi. 1. for a parallel passage from the
Cātāyana Brāhmaṇa.

III. Indraya kilbiṣṇi.

§ 1. When Indra, in consequence of the guilt incurred through
the murder of Viṣṇuśa and Vṛtra, has fled from heaven, the
gods choose Nāhaṣa as Indra’s successor. But intoxicated with
his newly acquired power, the latter gives himself up to carnal
pleasures, and even lusts after Indra’s wife Cañ. And when the
gods attempt to dissuade him from his evil plans by expropriating
on the sinfulness of his acts, he justifies himself by a reference to
Indra’s record (MBh. v. 11. 4 ff.):

evam ukto na jagrāha tad vacaḥ kāmamohitaḥ.
atha devān uvāce ‘dam indrain prati surādhīpah:
ahalayā dharsitaḥ pūrvam rṣipatiḥ yaçaśeśini
jivato bhartur indreṇa. sa vah kiṁ na nivāraṁ,
balāṇi ca nṛpaṁśaṁ kṛtāṁ nīreṇa vai purā
vaidharmyāṇy upadhāg caiva. sa vah kiṁ na nivāraṁ.

“Thus addressed (by the gods), he, blinded by passion, did not
take to heart their words. But the great lord of the gods spoke

¹ Deussen takes it as indicat. of the aorist, changing to ādiṣṭiṣṭa.
² Var. lect. dvādaṃcatriyādaṃcena māso.
thus to the gods with reference to Indra: 'While her husband was yet alive, Ahalyā the renowned wife of a rṣi, was formerly ravished by Indra. Why did you not restrain him? And many deeds were formerly committed by Indra, harmful to men and unrighteous, besides deceitful tricks. Why did you not restrain him?'” Again MBh. xiii. 40f. relates at great length the precautions which the rṣi Devaśarman must take in order to protect during his absence his wife Ruci against Indra, puruṇāndaraḥ ca jānīte parastrikāmācaṇīrṇam; and Devaśarman’s faithful pupil Vipula taunts Indra (41. 20) in the most scathing terms with his former experience when he suffered for a similar attempt on Ahalyā. Similar references to Indra’s immorality are not rare in the epic (cf. Holtzmann, ZDMG. xxxii. 293f.). Nor must these traits in Indra’s character be regarded as late developments of a degenerating mythology. There is ample proof that they go back to the Brāhmaṇa period, and evidence that they antedate even this. If the Vedic hymns offer but little material of this kind, this fact is simply due to the character of these poems. They are invocations and songs of praise—nahī nav daṇa mahi-māṇam indriyāṁ svār gṛṇānta ānapūḥ (RV. viii. 3. 13)— in which allusions of this sort would be manifestly out of place. An argumentum ex silentio would therefore here be patently wrong.1 Although Bharadvijā calls Indra ádṛaghaūca (RV. vi. 22. 2), the Vedic poets were certainly not ignorant of such examples of Indra’s bad faith as Ludwig2 and Bloomfield3 have collected. It seems evident that such legends as these form the background for an occasional general allusion to Indra’s fickleness like RV. vi. 47. 16; 17... aṁyām-anyam utinčtyāmānah... pūrā pūrveśuṁ sakhyā viṇakti viśāṃturasno āparedbhītī,4 “wont

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1 The very fact that the hymns so frequently mention Indra’s indulgence in soma (e.g. RV. vii. 22. 2, yās te mādo yūjaḥ cārur āti yéna vṛtānḥ kārpaṇaḥ kāne śat just indra prabhūvase mamatuḥ; vii. 32. 28, yā vīpūnya abhi vratā sōmasya māde indhāsaḥ indra devayā caśati; viii. 15. 4, tāṁ te mādāṁ guṇīmansi, etc.) is to my mind conclusive evidence that it was not regarded by the poets as ‘drunkenness,’ or in any way blameworthy, māde hi yāmā dādāti naḥ (RV. viii. 1. 21).

2 Commentary, vol. vi, p. 202, s. v. ‘worthbruch Indra’s’ and ‘adroha.’
3 Bloomfield, JAOS. xv. 161, AJPh. xvii. 453, and Atharva Translation, SBE. xiii. 522.
4 Cf. the close parallel in Goethe’s Iphigenie, vss. 1754 ff., Es wenden die Herrscher | Ihr segnendes Auge | Von ganzen Geschlechtern | Und meiden im Enkel | Die eh’mals geliebten | Still redenden Züge | Des Ahnherrn zu sehn.
to help on now the one now the other... he turneth away from his old friends and, changing,' goeth with new ones."

On the other hand Indra's sensuality is amply exemplified in the legend of Dirghahjivā (MS. iii. 10. 6; AB. ii. 22. 10; TMB. xiii. 6. 8, 10; JB. i. 101–103; Schol. to Pāṇini iv. 1. 59), and the similar story at KB. xxiii. 4 with its parallel Kāth. xiii. 5 (Weber, Ind. Stud. iii. 479 note; v. 453), which latter is connected by Weber (Ind. Stud. v. 249) and Bloomfield (SBE. xlii. 547) with AV. vii. 38. 2. The antiquity of the Ahalyā story (of which the epic is so fond) is assured by the reference to it in the subrahmanya formula. Equally old is the motif of Kāth. xiii. 5.

As Indra there lives disguised as a woman among the Āsuris, so he lives in female shape in Vṛṣṇaçva's family (cf. JAOS. xviii. p. 34). In the Rigveda itself Indra's epithet sāhasramuska clearly belongs here, and is illustrated by Sāyana (on RV. vi. 46. 3) by this citation from the Kāṇṣītakins: 'yāṁ kāṁ ca striyam samhavann indro bhogalohipataya svacarire parvani-parvani cephān sasārja.'

§ 2. Aside however from these and other occasional references, there are in the Brāhmaṇas a number of parallel passages in which a formal indictment, as it were, is drawn up against Indra. The type of these is AB. vii. 28, yatre 'ndrāṁ devaṁ paryavrājan visvaruḥpaṁ tvāstrum abhyamañsta vytram asṛta yatāṁ sālavṛkebhyah prādūār arumaghaṁ avadhīd bṛhaspatēḥ pratyavadhīd iti tatre 'ndrāḥ somapūkheṇa vyārdhyata, etc.; "When the gods shunned Indra, saying: 'He hath intrigued against Viṣvarūpa, Tvaśṭr's son; he hath slain Vytra; he hath given the Yatis to the sālavṛka-wolves; he hath killed the Arurmaghas; he hath interrupted Bṛhaspati,' then was Indra excluded from the soma-draught." A similar list of misdeeds is boastfully enumerated by Indra himself at Kāus. Up. iii. 1, triśrāṇāṁ tvāstruṁ ahaṁ arumukhān yatāṁ sālavṛkebhyāḥ prayaccham bahuḥ saṁdhā atikramya divi prahlādiyān

1 vīdṛturūṣaḥ = vītarfurīṃ, RV. i. 102. 2.
2 A fuller treatment of this will appear elsewhere.
4 At RV. vii. 19. 32 he takes muskāni = tejāṣa, but apparently for no other reason than that the epithet there appears in an Agni-hymn.
5 Cf. also Geldner, Ved. Stud. ii. 88 (on RV. x. 86. 9) on Indra's marital relations.
atram aham antarikṣe pāulomāṇ prthivyāṁ kālākāñjān; "I killed the three-headed son of Tvāṣṭṛ; I gave the Arunmukhas, the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves; transgressing many a covenant I smote in heaven the Prahlādīyas, in the atmosphere the Pāulomāṇs, on earth the Kālākāñjas"; and at least two counts are given in Čānkha. ČŚ. xiv. 50. 1–2, indra vāi triśirṣaṇāṁ tvāṣṭram ahañat. arunmukhān yatin sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prāyaçchat. tāṁ sarvāṁ bṛhatāṁ abhyakroçan; “Indra killed the three-headed son of Tvāṣṭṛ, he gave the Arunmukhas, the Yatis to the sālāvṛka-wolves. At him all creatures were wroth.”

To these must now be added the chapters from the JB. which I subjoin.

JB. ii. 134 indraṁ vāi bṛhatāṁ paryacaksata triśirṣaṇāṁ tvāṣṭram avadhāṁ yatin sālāvṛkebhyaḥ prādāṁ arunmukhān avadhāṁ bṛhaspatē pratyavadhāṁ saṁdhāṁ saṁhītāṁ atītya namucer āsurasya pāram prāchāṭṣīd iti, etehyena devakūṁdvyasāṁ sa ha rānyāna eva cacārā nabhaya-vayana devān. sa u ha devān uvāca yājyata me tī. ne tī ko 'cur etā vāi tvayā saṁdhā atītā etānī devakūṁdvyasāṁ kṛtaṁ na tva yājyisyām iti. atho hā 'syā 'gnir eva sakhitaṁ' īvā "sa. devēṣu sa u hā 'gnim uvāca tvam mā yājaye 'ti. tathē 'ti ko 'vāca sa vāi nu tāṁ devēṣv icchāmi" yena tva saha yājaye-yam iti. sa ha tāṁ devesu na viśveda yenā 'nāṁ sahaḥ yājvayisat. sa ho 'vāca na" vāi nu" tāṁ devesv vindamī yena tva saha yājaye-yam iti. tāṁ vā mā tvam eva yājaye 'ti. tathē 'ti. so 'gnir" ātmanāi 'vā "rdhyata." tam anuśītuvaṁ atanuta. tenāi 'nam ayyāyata. tasya sadāṣas sarvam pāṃmānanāṁ niradahaḥ. sa yathā 'hir ahicchāvai nirmeyeta yathā mūñjacā śākānāṁ" viśved evam eva sārvasmat pāṃmano nirācayata. sa eso 'pahatapāpam tapayti esa ha vā indraḥ." sa ya uktottasāṁ syād yo 'bhīkhyāyeta sa etena yajeta. sadayā" hāi 'vā 'syā sarvam pāṃmānanāṁ" niradahāi" sa yathā 'hir ahicchāvai nirmeyeta yathā mūñjacā śākānāṁ viśved evam eva sārvasmat pāṃmano nirācayata.

1 B. C. and Sāyana on RV. v. 34. 4 kālākāñjān; D. kālākāñjān; F. kālākāñjān.
2 All MSS. -cīṇāpāth. 3 D. sāl. 4 A. arūrīkānā. 5 All MSS. -kīṭbīṣ. 6 All MSS. -kīṭb- D. -bīṣā. 7 D. -ā. 8 A. -ta. 9 A. acha. 10 A. ra.
17 A. nāmadras. 18 A. uttottara. 19 All insert ha.
20 D. pāṃmānaṃgnaḥ; hence possibly pāṃmānam agnir should be read.
21 All nidādha.
"The creatures condemned Indra, saying: 'He hath killed the three-headed son of Tvasţar, he hath given the Yatis to the sālārvka-wolves, he hath killed the Arurmukhas, he hath interrupted Bṛhaspati, transgressing the covenant he had covenanted he cut off the head of the Asura Namuci.' From these sins against the gods he walked away into the forest not descending (?) to the gods. He said to the gods: 'Perform a sacrifice for me.' 'No,' they said, 'these agreements thou hast transgressed, thou hast committed those sins against the gods. We will not perform a sacrifice for thee.' Now, Agni might have been called his best friend; so among the gods he spoke to Agni: 'Sacrifice for me.' 'Yes,' he said, 'but I desire some one among the gods with whom I may sacrifice for thee.' He did not find any one among the gods with whom he might have sacrificed for him. He said: 'I cannot find any one among the gods with whom I might sacrifice for thee.' 'Then do thou alone sacrifice for me.' 'Yes.' Agni by himself succeeded. He performed this agniṣṭut. With that he sacrificed for him. With it he at once burnt away all his (Indra's) evil. As a serpent would get rid of its skin, as one would pull the blade of the reed-grass out of the sheath, even so he got rid of all his evil. He burns having cast off all evil. For this is Indra. If one should be much talked about, if they should reproach him, he should sacrifice with this (agniṣṭut). At once he burns off all his evil. As a serpent would get rid of its skin, as one would pull a blade of reed-grass out of the sheath, even so he gets rid of all evil."

Probably Sāyaṇa is quite right in connecting RV. v. 34. 4,
with the Brahmana stories just quoted. The thought is clear: The Valiant One does not flee even from him whose father or mother or brother he has slain; even of one thus offended he demands offerings; nay even from guilt does the Collector of Wealth not shrink. Sāya glosses: kilisitā pitrādhyayak-
tān ne "satēna ca lati na bibheti và, indrasyā 'stotrihān hatir
indro yatīn sañvākebhyah prāyacchad antarikse' pāuronān
prthivyān kālakāñjān arunmukhān yatīn sañvākebhyah prā-
yccham ityādī pritiṣu prasiddhā.

§ 3. Of the legends referred to in the above indictment, that of the Yatis is frequently and variously related in the Brahmanas. Most of the passages have already been collected by Weber in his note on AV. ii. 27. 5 (Ind. Stud. xiii. 191) viz. AB. vii. 28 ; TS. vi. 2. 7. 5 ; TMB. viii. 1. 4 ; xiii. 4. 16 ; xiv. 11. 28 ; xviii. 1. 9 ; xix. 4. 7 ; Kāṭ. viii. 5 ; xi. 10 ; xxv. 6 ; xxxvi. 7 (in Ind. Stud. iii. 465) Čānkh. ČS. xiv. 50. 2. To these may be added TS. ii. 4. 9. 2 ; MS. i. 10. 12, p. 152; and JB. i. 185 which runs as follows:

trāikakubham annādyakāmā kuruśa. indro yatīn sañvākebhyah prāyacchati, teṣām adyamānānām trayāh kumārāh' pary-
apīṣyanta rāyovājā prthuraśmirī byhadgiri, ta' indram astuvan, tān' abhrāt kīmkāmā mā kumārās sutthe 'ti, bihrīpya eva no
mabhavann ity abruvan. tān antara 'ḥsator' adhyāsyata. tā aṣya tīrāh kūkubho 'lambanta. ime vāi lokās saha santas tṛdēh
vyājyān, tāṇa tṛdēh' 'mūdyaṃ anuvyat. ta u esaṃ trayānāṁ
lokānānām tīrāh' kūkubho 'nūdāyami' alambanta. sa aikṣatāti
'tām oḍ vai trayānāṁ lokānāṁ tīrāh kūkubho 'nūdāyami' ava-
rūndhīya ' tene 'nās tīrāh kūkubho 'pahareye' 'ti. sa' etat ...

1 Cf. RV. iv. 18. 12, kās te mātāraṁ vidhāvām avakrat ; Pischel, Ved. Stud. ii. 51.
2 He quotes here (evidently from memory, hence the transposition) the passage Kāṣ. Up. iii. 1.
3 C. prācyā. 4 C. om. 5 C. kām-. 6 A. prathurāmī; C. prathar-
aśmi. 7 A. tār. 8 C. stugēthā. 9 C. mānya-. 10 C. 'susāyor.
11 A. vāyaḥs. 12 A. tṛsā; C. tṛdēyā. 13 C. om. 14 C. 'nādyakāmanam.
15 A. avālam-. 16 A. āṅkṛte. 17 A. avāruḥā. 18 A. avāharata.
19 This whole sentence to 'pāharata is wanting in A.
"He who desires food should use the trāikakubha-sāman. Indra gave the Yatis over to the sālavṛka-wolves. While they were being eaten, three boys were left, Rāyovṛja, Prthuṛca, and Bhadrigrī. They praised Indra. He said to them: 'With what wish, O boys, do you praise me?' 'Support us, O Bounteous one,' they said. He threw them over his shoulders. They clung to his three points. Verily these worlds which had been together separated in three parts. In connection with these [worlds] food also separated in three parts. And they clung to the three points of these worlds, to food. He considered: 'If I should obtain the three points of these three worlds, food, I should thereby carry off these three points.' He thus praised with the... gyakta-[sāman]. With it he obtained the three points of these three worlds, food; with it he carried off these three points. Because he obtained the three points of these three worlds, food, that is the reason for calling it the trāikakubha-[sāman]. That same is the sāman for the obtainment of

1 C. eta (space) gyak.-  C. avaruṇḍhiyate.  3 C. tena.  4 C. harata.
5 A. C. avār-.  6 C. trekakubhaḥtvam.
7 A. varuṇḍhisā_; C. varuṇḍhisā_.  8 A. avarundhe.
9 A. āindrīri ti ca; C. āindriṭcaḥ.  10 C. āindriḥ s-.
11 C. puṣapaṇa.  12 A. smātman.  13 C. vaḥ.  14 C. om.  15 A. paṇvak-.
16 C. kṣetra-.  17 A. prathar; C. prathur.
18 C. -giram.

This, and what follows it not quite clear to me. The Commentator to TMB. viii. 1. 4. glosses the parallel passage by svakupav adhimihāya.
food. He obtains food, he excels his own (people) in food who knows thus.

186. And this sāman also pertains to the powers (indriya). It is Indra's triplet. It is Indra's sāman. Its niḍhana is 'Indra.' There are three powers in man: the self, offspring, cattle. These same he thereby encompasses within himself. He said to them: 'What does the first wish? the second wish? the third wish?' Rāyovāja said: 'I desire cattle.' He gave to him the īḷa. For the īḷa is cattle. Again Pṛthuraṃsi said: 'I desire nobility.' He gave to him nobility. He is Pṛṣṭhu Vāṃya. Again Brhadgiri said: 'I desire food.' He gave him his wish.'

This is clearly an elaboration of the legend in TMB. xiii. 4, 16 (and also very briefly told at viii. 1. 4.). śnṛo yatān sālāvṛkṣebhayān prāyacchati. tēṣām traya uḍaśīṣvanta prthuraṃsir brhadgirīn rāyovājaḥ. te bruvaṇ ko na imān putrān bharīṣyati 'ti. aham iti śnṛo 'bravuit. tān adhiniḥdhāya parāśvya acarād vṛdhayaṁ tān vṛddhayātvā 'bravuit kumārakā varān vṛṇḍhvam iti. kṣatram mahyam ity abrasiv prthuraṃṣiṁ. tasmā etena pārthuraṃṣena kṣatram prāyacchati. kṣatrkāmā etena stūvita kṣatraye 'vā' sṛya prakāśo bhavati. brahmavarcasam mahyam ity abrasiv brhadgirīṁ. tasmā etena bārhadgireṇa brhamavarcasam prāyacchati. brahmavarcasakāma etena stūvīta brahmavarcasī bhavati. paścān mahyam ity abrasiv rāyovājaḥ. tasmā etena rāyovājiyena paścān prāyacchati. paṇkāmā etena stūvīta paścān bhavati.

The shorter passage (viii. 1. 4) introduces the story exactly like the longer versions just quoted. But after aham iti śnṛo 'bravuit it continues: tāṁ trikakub adhiniḥdhāya 'carat. sa etat sāmā paścyat. yat trikakub apaścyat tasmā trikakubham. The Commentator glosses: trikakup by tryucchitapradesa śaṇ svakakupu adhiniḥdhāya; which is quite similar to Śaṇaṇa’s explanation of the same word at RV. i. 121. 4, trikakup triśu lokesu 'cohrita śnṛorāh.'

1 Commentary glosses rathe ṛopaya; but it evidently corresponds to the antarā 'śayor adhyāṣyata of the JB. version.
2 The text of the Bibl. Indica reads paricāryy acaran; but a 3d pers. sing. is wanted. Its force is that of an authority with the participle following, cf. Delbrück, Altind. Synt. p. 290. The Comment. has: vṛddhayaṁ poṣayan, paryacaran (ī) paricāryāṁ kṛtān, evam vṛddhayātvā punar abrasiv; where paryacaran clearly stands for -at.
3 Comm. supplies sāmā
d
4 Comm. supplies pārthuraṃsena brahmāsāmānā.
5 Elsewhere he usually glosses kakubh by dīc.
The Buddhistic technical terms upādāna and upādisesa.—By
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The meaning of the word upādāna, the ninth nidāna in
the paticca-samuppāda, and of the kindred upādi, has been
much discussed, without any altogether satisfactory and uni-
versally accepted result. Yet for the interpretation of the phi-
osophical system of Buddhism it is of considerable conse-
quence that both terms should be correctly understood; for the first is
a pivotal link in the celebrated formula of causation which the
legend represents as the third and crowning insight gained by
the Buddha on the Night of Enlightenment, and the second is
intimately connected with that subject of interminable contro-
versy, Nirvāna. Of upādāna, in particular, a distinguished scholar
has lately put forward a singular misinterpretation, which results
in a mistaken view of the whole causation-formula, and thereby
in a misconception of some of the essential parts of Buddhist
psychology. By an examination of the use of these words in
the Piṭakas, it seems to me not impossible to establish their mean-
ing somewhat more definitely and coherently than has hitherto
been done, and thus to throw some light upon the notorious
obscurities of the paticca-samuppāda. A preliminary study
directed to this end is here offered.

I. The word upādāna is ordinarily translated “attachment,”
or “clinging to existence,” a meaning which its etymology natu-
 rally suggests, and which is definitely assigned to it by Buddhaghoza.¹ This signification is commonly regarded as indicating
that the ninth link of the paticca-samuppāda is virtually a repe-
tition of the eighth, tanhā; so Mr. Warren,² “the relation of
desire to attachment is that of identity.” Some late Buddhist
commentators, however, who are followed by Burnouf,³ define
upādāna in strictly physical terms as “the conception of the
embryo.” Finally, M. Senart, in his paper “Apropos de la

² JAOS. vol. xvi. p. xxvii.
³ *Introduction*, p. 475.
théorie bouddhique des douze nidānas,” has lately propounded a third and surprising view of the matter, which he bases upon the frequent use of the compound upādānakkhandhā. M. Senart holds that upādāna is only an abbreviated expression for this compound; in other words, that it is a collective designation for the five skandhas. “Upādāna, plusieurs textes le démontrent, n’est qu’une réduction pour upādānaskandhas, ou, plus complètement, pañca upādānaskandhas. Ces skandhas sont compris en bloc sous le chef d’upādāna.” Childers’s translation of upādānakkhandhā, “the skandhas which have their roots in upādāna,” M. Senart declares to be wholly arbitrary. Since, however, the five skandhas already appear, more or less distinctly, in the second, third, fourth, sixth, and seventh terms of the paṭicca-samuppāda, this interpretation makes it necessary to regard the formula as extremely repetitious; and from this supposed repetitiousness M. Senart draws his principal argument for the derivative, composite, and practically meaningless character of the formula as a whole. But both premises and conclusion are, I believe, entirely erroneous.

The identification of upādāna with upādānakkhandhā seems to be so altogether groundless that only the eminence of the authority by whom it is made can justify any serious criticism of it. Out of the four passages cited by M. Senart in proof of it, the three which I have been able to consult prove nothing remotely like the interpretation which they are intended to substantiate. The first two are merely different versions of a familiar passage in the Dhamma-cakkappavattana Sutta. Here, in the exposition of the first Noble Truth, it is said, saṁkhittena pañce upādānakkhandhāpi dukkhā, “in short, the five upādānakkandhas are painful.” This text, of course, throws no light whatever upon the relation of the two elements in the compound word. The remaining passage is a section from the Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā given by Burnouf (Intro. p. 475). Two alternative interpretations are there offered for upādānakkhandhā: (a) upādānakkhandhā = upādāna[saṁbhūtah]skandhāh, “c’est-à-dire les attributs produits par la conception,”—a translation identical, so far as the relation of the elements of the compound

1 Mélanges Charles de Harlez, 1896, p. 284.
is concerned, with Childers's; (b) upādānakkhandhā désigne les attributs qui sont l'origine ou la cause de la conception.” In short, the commentator of the Abhidharma-köpa-vyākhya by no means identifies upādāna and upādānakkhandhā, but he allows the reader to understand by the latter term either “the skandhas that are caused by upādāna,” or “the skandhas that are the causes of upādāna” (both interpretations, as we shall see, are to be accepted). Thus there appears no evidence for M. Senart’s interpretation. On the other hand, that interpretation is directly contradicted by numerous passages in the Sutta Pitaka, which make both the distinction and the relation between upādāna and upādānakkhandhā sufficiently plain. Thus in Saññutta Nikāya 22. 48 (ed. Feer, vol. iii. p. 47) we have the following: “What, O monks,” says the Blessed One, “are the five skandhas? Whatever form (rūpaṃ) there is, past, present, or future, near or far, etc.—that is called rūpakkhandha.” So of the four other skandhas. “And what are the five upādāna-skandhas? Whatever form there is, past, present, or future, near or far, etc., which is connected with the āsavas and subject to attachment (upādāniya),—that, O monks, is called rūpupādānakkhandha.” Here it is sufficient to observe that a distinction is obviously made between the skandhas as such, and the skandhas as subject to upādāna. A similar distinction is indicated at Saññy Nik. 22. 7 (Feer, iii. p. 15), where the mind is said to be characterized by upādāna in so far as it takes any (or all) of the skandhas for a substantive Self. This, of course, corresponds strictly to only one of the four sorts of upādāna; viz., attavādupādāna; but the demarcation between the several sorts is not in any case a very rigid one.

It is sufficiently evident, then, that upādāna is by no means “merely an abbreviation for upādānakkhandhā.” The view that has been criticised may, however, serve to remind us that there certainly was for Buddhist thought a particularly close connection of ideas between upādāna and the skandhas. It may be worth while to attempt to state precisely what this connection was; although the matter seems, indeed, fairly obvious.

It is just this relation which a great part of the Khandha Saññutta (Saññy. Nik. 22), is devoted to expounding, at tedious length and with a great deal of repetition. To this Saññutta in general the reader may be referred. A couple of typical state-

1 Saññy. Nik. 12. 7, Feer, iii. p. 3.
ments taken from it will suffice for quotation here. From Saṅy. Nik. 22. 63: rūpaṁ kho dhante upādiyamāno baddho Māraṁ, anupādiyamāno mutto Pāpimato, “Through attachment to form [or the other skandhas] one is bound by Māra, but by non-attachment one is released from the power of the Sinful One.” From Saṅy. Nik. 22. 121: katame bhikkhave upādāniyā dhammā, katamam upādānām. Rūpaṁ. pe. upādāniyo dhammo, yo tattha chandarāgo, taṁ tattha upādānam; “What, O monks, are the things subject to attachment, and what is attachment? The skandhas are the things subject to attachment; and whatever passion and desire exist in connection therewith, that is the attachment connected with the skandhas.”

In view of the exposition in the Khandha Saṅyutta I venture to state summarily the signification of upādāna and its relation to the skandhas as follows: upādāna is specifically that result of desire which consists in the habitual identification of one’s will and interests with the skandhas, i.e. with the conditions of ordinary sentient, and especially (Saṅy. Nik. 35. 110) of physical, existence. It is thus, on the one hand, dependent upon the skandhas for its source and origin; but on the other hand, as its place in the paṭicca-samuppaṁda shows, the existence of upādāna is what leads directly to the formation of a new combination of skandhas in the next succeeding birth. It is this latter side of the notion which has given rise to the definition of the word that is offered by the Mahāyāna commentators cited by Burnouf (l.c.), “the conception of the embryo.” In any given birth, a man’s individual existence consists in the aggregation of skandhas which has resulted from his upādāna in a previous birth. The continuance of these existing skandhas can be in no wise affected by anything which he may do in the present life. But he may or may not identify his will with, attach his whole being to, these existing skandhas; and upon this it will depend whether the dissolution of the present group shall be followed by the formation of a new one, or not. As distinguished from taṁhā, upādāna seems to be the chronic condition of the will to which the particular cravings of desire lead; the more a man is given over to desire, the more his entire existence becomes bound to, and dependent upon, the transitory, insubstantial, and worthless conditions of sentiency and bodily form. An instructive comparison can also be drawn between the distinctive significations of upādāna and karma as causes of rebirth. The word karma came
to Buddhism with a long history behind it, and with its own set of moral ideas which had grown up around it. The morality to which it referred was simply the ordinary morality of social and religious propriety; the rewards which it implied were merely the blessings of rebirth in a more desirable state of existence,—in one of the heavens, in a wealthy family, or the like. This morality and this system of rewards Buddhism retained; but it added thereto a wholly new conception, namely, that of absolutely passionless, motiveless action; and a new sumnum bonum, namely, the cessation of rebirth altogether and the attainment of Nirvāṇa. For the general idea of the influence of moral causes in affecting future destiny, Buddhism adopted the old word, karma. But the pre-philosophical doctrine of karma apparently took the necessity of rebirth in some form or other as a matter of course. Since, therefore, the Buddhistic conception asserted the possibility of putting an end to rebirth, it implied that rebirth simply as such, apart from its particular form, must also have a cause; and for this special cause of rebirth per se, the name upādāna was used. It will, then, usually be found, I think, that for the general notion of moral causation the word karma is employed; but that, when there is occasion to distinguish between the old sort of virtue and its reward, which Buddhism accepted, and the new sort, which Buddhism propounded, there is a clear difference of usage between the two expressions. Karma, in this special sense, is the cause of the particular condition in which a man is reborn,¹ while upādāna is the cause of the fact of rebirth in itself.² Thus a man who has not entered the Paths, and so has not begun to extinguish upādāna at all, is still capable of creating for himself good rather than bad karma. If this general distinction be borne in mind, it will, I think, make the paticca-samuppāda seem rather more significant and intelligible than it would otherwise appear. The formula, though not expressing strict temporal sequence, falls broadly into three parts, the first (links 1–2) referring more particularly to past existences; the second (3–9), to the present existence; and the third (10–12), to future existences. The first section begins with Ignorance (i. e., of the Buddhist Dharma), and ends with apāṅkhārā, which are

² Cf. the passages cited above, and MP. p. 82. 12.
equivalent to karma in its more general sense; what is asserted is that those who have never known the truth revealed by the Enlightened One have of necessity been subject to the law of karmic causation, and so to rebirth; this is, so to say, the pre-Buddhistic era, and therefore the pre-Buddhistic term is used for the cause which carries the sequence over into the next stage. But the "present" existence of the second section is characteristically an existence described with reference to the special doctrine of Buddhism; the being who is in this stage, is, as it were, conceived as potentially acquainted with the saving truth of the impermanence of all composite things and the worthlessness of all skandha-existence; and consequently the cause and transitional link at the end of the section (9), which, if it be not extinguished and salvation be not gained, will lead to repeated birth after death, is here spoken of, not simply as karma, but as the peculiar cause of rebirth itself, which has been discovered by the Buddha,—i.e., as upādāna. The indeterminate future existences of the third stage are briefly summarized under the ordinary colloquial expressions for the great termini of human life,—bhava, jāti, jaraśarana,—and the sorrow inevitably connected therewith.

From this point of view the whole formula of causation becomes, I think, reasonably intelligible, and the value traditionally assigned to it can be understood. To conceive, as M. Senart does, that the paticea-samuppāda is a virtually meaningless affair of shreds and patches, is to go a long way towards missing the point of certain of the most interesting and essential doctrines of Buddhism. In spite of a considerable residue of obscurity, the formula has, in general, a distinguishable meaning and an important one. Buddhism,—I speak throughout, of course, of the Buddhism of the Pitakas and of the orthodox commentators,—is essentially a system of spiritual discipline based, not upon a metaphysic, but upon a psychology of sensation. It is this, of course, which sharply differentiates it from the other important Hindu philosophies, which are highly metaphysical. It seems to be difficult for European expounders of Buddhism to keep this distinction steadily in mind. There is a tendency to assimilate the doctrine to the type of the metaphysical systems.1 Thus one

1 A corresponding tendency appears in the interpretation of the practical side of the system, to make the essence of the Buddhistic conception of virtue lie in "union,—the sense of oneness with all that is," etc., while sorrow and evil are "in fact the result of the effort of the
of those who have done most to advance Buddhistic studies has been led to lend his weighty sanction to an unfortunate suggestion of Mr. Waddell's for the interpretation of the very first of the nidānas; the suggestion, namely, that the Ignorance there referred to is "an Ignorant Unconscious Will to Live, identical with what is now generally known to occidentals as Hartmann's Absolute." But this, surely, is almost enough to disturb the Bhagavat in the quietude of Nirvāṇa. Buddhism knows nothing of any ontological absolute, and it has a really morbid antipathy to the Unconditioned. The first nidāna simply asserts that salvation depends ultimately upon a certain theoretical insight; namely, an insight, not into any ultimate truths about the prime substance and metaphysical essence either of the universe or of man, but into a certain simple psychological analysis of the nature and value of human sensation and volition. Now, just this analysis is concisely packed into the middle and longest section (3–9) of the paṭicca-samuppāda. The terms used there, perhaps even the ideas, are doubtless largely borrowed ones; but the arrangement and application of them is certainly original and characteristic. It is impossible here to attempt to review this analysis, and to show how the skandhas are somewhat obscurely referred to in the nidānas between 1 and 8. The analysis ends with the seventh term of the formula, the completed and concrete fact of Sensation, with which, for the first time, appear determinations of worth, the pleasure-pain characteristics. Hereupon arises the activity of the sensuous will in the form of desire and aversion (8); and from this there ensues that habitual volitional attitude of upādāna which seeks, with inevitable failure, to find fixity and a stable satisfaction in what is inherently changeful and transitory. The fact of imperma-

individual to keep separate from the rest of existence." This, in reality, is not an original Buddhistic notion at all, but Vedāntic. The spirit and tendency of Buddhism is far more pluralistic than monistic. In the sense in which the doctrine recognizes individuality, the individual is inherently "separate from the rest of existence," and always remains so. This separateness consists in the individuation of the sequence of karmic causation. Only the substantive permanence, not the separateness, of the Self is denied. For Buddhism, so to put it, a longitudinal section of existence would show no Ego, but a cross-section at any given moment would show an irresolvable individuation.

1 Buddhism in Tibet, p. 112.
nence, which is the cause of this failure, is not made explicit in
the formula itself, but is given in the complementary formula of
the Three Characteristics. It may almost be said that the paṭicca-
samuppāda, properly understood, and the tilakkhana for a com-
mentary upon its middle section, constitute all the absolutely
indispensable theoretical impedita with which Buddhism bur-
dens itself.

II.

We may now turn to consider briefly the meaning of the
element upādi- in the compound upādisesa. This compound has
usually been translated, "having the five skandhas remaining;"
and saupādisesa nibbāna and anupādisesa nibbāna are rendered
respectively as the condition of the Arahat before, and his con-
dition after, the dissolution of the skandhas, i.e. before and
after his physical death (cf. Childers s.v.). Upādi is thus rep-
resented to be what M. Senart has taken upādāna to be,—a sum-
mary designation for the skandhas. But upādi (according to
Childers's etymology, which is the usually accepted one) is virtu-
ally the same word as upādāna, in a form adapted to composi-
tion; and we have seen that upādāna, at all events, is no more a
name for the skandhas than 'hen' is a name for 'hen's-egg.' It
is, therefore, surprising, if true, that substantially the same word
should have two so different meanings. The only hypothesis, I
think, that has been offered to account for it, is one suggested
by Professor Rhys Davids: "A comprehensive name for all the
skandhas is upādi, a word derived (in allusion to the name of
their cause, upādāna) from upādā, to grasp." This, however,
is an explanation that hardly explains. The improbability of
such a change of meaning led Oldenberg to argue, in an admira-
ble discussion appended to his Buddha (English tr., p. 433), that
upādisesa has primarily nothing to do with the skandhas, but
means simply, "having a residue of attachment remaining." His
contention is fortified by some citations which come near to
being conclusive as to the prevailing, though not quite universal,
usage; and to these citations those interested may be referred.
Oldenberg's view seems, however, to have been pretty commonly
ignored or rejected by subsequent expositors, who cling rather to
the theory of Childers. The question is rendered somewhat
difficult and complicated by the confusing similarity between
upādī and upādhi, which allows a large chance for scribal errors,
and by the uncertain etymology of both these words. The Skt. word *upādhi* is a technical term in the *Nyāya*, and in the *Sāṃkhya*, where it signifies the elements of phenomenal existence. This, according to E. Müller and J. Dahmann, is the equivalent of the Pāli *upādi*, while Böhtlingk, Childers and Rhys Davids derive *upādi* from *upādā*, and regard *upadhi* as the Pāli representative of Skt. *upādhi*. Both derivations seem to be etymologically possible; the meaning of *upādi* must therefore be settled rather by an examination of its use than by etymological arguments. I can only contribute here a few points, relevant but not necessarily conclusive, in favor of the view that *upādi* means the same thing as *upādāna*.

For light upon the original signification of Buddhistic terms we naturally turn first to the Sutta Nipāta. The word *upādīsēsa* occurs there in three connections. At p. 135 (ed. Fausböll), and repeatedly in a similar context we have the following: *evaṃ sammā dvayaatanuypassino bhikkhuno... phalaṃ patikaṅkhavā, diṭṭhe va dhamme aṅgīṇa sati va upādīsesa, anāgāmīta, “to the monk who rightly attends to this twofold truth, this result follows: either he attains in this world to perfect knowledge, or else, if *upādi* remains, he becomes an Anāgāmin.” To be *upādīsesa* is here described explicitly as the characteristic attribute of the Anāgāmin, just as perfect insight is the attribute of the Arahant. The obvious antithesis is between “perfect insight in this life” and *upādīsesa*. Now the customary translation of this passage, “if at death the skandhas still remain he will attain to non-returning,” makes the antithesis almost pointless. In the first place, the words “at death” are a gratuitous interpolation, since the time referred to may equally well be that of entering the Third Path. Again, it is incorrect to speak of the skandhas as “still remaining” at death; the skandhas do not remain but only their cause, which produces new groups in the next birth. This consideration alone is sufficient to make the more usual rendering of *upādīsesa* improbable; for if the word really meant “having the skandhas remaining,” it could not properly be applied as the differentia of the Anāgāmin, since until death both Anāgāmin and Arahant have the skandhas remaining, and after death neither can be said to do so. More-

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over, if *upādisesa* is the especial epithet of the earthly life of the Arahat, it is difficult to see how it can at the same time express the characteristic which distinguishes the Anāgāmin from the Arahant. Finally the passage seems to indicate the presence of *upādī* as the cause which prevents the disciple from reaching the Fourth instead of the Third Path. In short, then, it appears to be not only justifiable but necessary to render *upādisesa* here by "having remaining a residue of attachment (*upādāna*)."

The second instance of the word in the Sutta Nipāta occurs at v. 354 (cited also by Oldenberg). Here the question is raised concerning a certain monk recently deceased: "Has he entered Nirvāna or is he *saupādisesa*?" The Buddha replies,—recalling how fully the monk has accepted and followed the Buddhist doctrine,—that he has entered Nirvāna. Not only, then, is it clear, as Oldenberg points out, that, since the monk is already dead, *saupādisesa* cannot be peculiarly an epithet of the Arahant before his death; but we may also note that the point upon which the inquirer wishes to be assured, is whether this monk, obviously far advanced in the Paths, had quite, or merely almost, reached perfect freedom from attachment,—i.e. whether in his lifetime he had reached the stage of the Arahant or only that of the Anāgāmin.

Once more, the word occurs at Sutta Nipāta, v. 878, with the negative prefix:

\[\text{Ettāvat' aggam pi vadanti h' eke}\
\text{yakkhassa suddhinā idha pāṇḍitāse}\
\text{tesaṁ pun' eke samayam vadanti}\
\text{anupādisese 'kusala' vadānā;}\]

"thus some learned men say that the chief thing in the world is the purification from the demons; some, again, say that religious observances are the chief thing; but the truly wise say that the chief thing consists in being anupādisesa." No one familiar with Buddhist modes of thought could suppose that anupādisesa here means merely the extinction of the (present) skandhas, i.e. physical death. To the man who has once become freed from desire it is indifferent whether he lives or dies; to regard death, in itself, as the *sumnum bonum* would be the least Buddhistic of sentiments. Plainly, the word anupādisesa in this passage means that moral condition of freedom from attachment which is the goal of the true Buddhist’s aspiration.
In the Sutta Nipāta, then, it would appear, first, that *upādisesa* or *saupādisesa* never refers primarily to the persistence of the five skandhas, but always to an ethical state; and, second, that the word, so far from describing the Arahant either before or after his death, is precisely what serves to distinguish the Anāgāmin from the Arahant, while the special superiority of the latter consists just in having got rid of *upādi*. Compare with this the numerous other texts, e. g. *Saṅyā. Nik.* 23. 85, in which freedom from attachment is spoken of as the mark of the Arahant.

In accordance with these results we should be warranted in rendering *saupādisesa nibbāna* and *anupādisesa nibbāna* respectively as “proximate” and “complete” freedom from attachment. Another phrase in which the Anāgāmin and Arahant are at once grouped together and contrasted is *orapāram* or *pārapāram*, “the hither and the further shore” (see the first sutta of the Sutta Nipāta, and Childers, p. 336). The “hither shore” is the state of the Anāgāmin, who has rid himself of the first five *saṁyojanas*, or fetters, but has five still remaining. The Arahant, who “has crossed both the hither and the further shore,” has thrown off all the ten *saṁyojanas*. The *saṁyojanas* are roughly synonymous with *upādāna* (v. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 430); so that this form of expression seems to be precisely parallel to *saupādisesa* and *anupādisesa nibbāna*. Both phrases indicate the Anāgāmin as one who has just fallen short of the religious perfection of the Arahant by reason of a slight residuum of *upādāna*.

It remains to say that, although the oldest and probably the most numerous texts thus point to the interpretation of *upādisesa* suggested by Oldenberg, other passages might be cited in favor of the more usual view; so that the matter cannot be regarded as finally settled. The discrepancies in usage may, as I have suggested, prove to be explicable as due to scribal errors resulting from the homophony of *upādi, upādhi* and the Sānkhyan *upādhi*.
Apāṁ Nāpāt in the Rīg-Veda.—By Dr. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, Oberlin, Ohio.

The expression apāṁ nāpāt, which occurs a number of times in the Rīk, has long been regarded, with one or possibly two exceptions, as merely a name of Agni. From this opinion Bergaigne dissents to some extent; for he holds that Apāṁ Nāpāt is to be identified not only with Agni but “with liquid fire, that is to say, with Soma,” and with Savitr. In support of his view he offers quite an extended argument. Without agreeing with his conclusions, it may be safe to assert that there is more in the question than has been commonly recognized, since the truth may possibly lie somewhere between the commonly accepted view and that put forward by Bergaigne. It is the object of this paper to review briefly the facts in the case, and to state the reasons for the belief that the whole story may not yet have been told.

A few passages in which apāṁ nāpāt occurs can be easily disposed of. In iii. 9. 1, a hymn to Agni, nāpātam is used in apposition with a pronoun of the second person, which is repeated in the following stanza, where Agni is addressed by name. In this passage apāṁ nāpātam plainly refers to Agni. An equally clear case is found in i. 148. 1, also a hymn to Agni, where nāpād is in apposition with a relative pronoun whose antecedent is agnaye. If these two passages stood alone in the Rīk, apāṁ nāpāt, “son of the waters,” would be regarded as a mere descriptive expression, similar to many others—similar, in fact, to sūnāh sāhasah, “son of might,” which is used of Agni in the second passage, agnaye . . . sāhasah sūnaye.

That no further value should be attached to the words in this connection, is implied by a passage in a hymn to Savitr in which they occur, i. 22. 8; for, in this case, nāpātam is in apposition with savitāram, so that Savitr also is called a “son of the waters,” and there appears to be no reason why the usage in the three passages should not be regarded as the same.

There is another hymn to Savitr, however, in which a different use of the words occurs, x. 149. 2; for here there is no other word in the stanza to which they can be surely referred. The passage reads: “Whence sprang forth the firm-set gathering-of-the-

¹ La Religion Védique, i. 167, ii. 17–20 and 36–41, and iii. 15.
waters, O Apāṃ Napāt,—of that, Savitṛ knows." As there is nothing peculiar in the insertion of a vocative referring to some other personality in a hymn to one of the gods, it is unnecessary to refer āpāṃ napāt to Savitṛ; but, if it does not refer to him, the expression must be used in this case as a proper name. A similar usage appears in two hymns to the Waters. In vii. 47. 2, the Waters are called upon to "let Apāṃ Napāt, the horse-driving-one, set-in-motion" their wave most sweet. There is nothing further in the stanza to establish his identity. Again, in x. 30, he appears three times with no other designation. In stanza 3, the priests are urged to honor him with an oblation and to press the sweet Soma for him, while he is expected to give them the "beautifully-clarified wave." In 4, he is spoken of as one "who shines within the waters with-no-need-of-kindlings, whom the inspired call upon at sacrifices"; and he is asked to "give the sweet waters with which Indra increases his courage," a practice which is also referred to in vii. 47. 2, already mentioned. In 14, the priests are told to seat the Waters, "in-company-with Apāṃ Napāt, on the sacrificial-straw." These five passages, taken by themselves, imply the existence of a divinity called Apāṃ Napāt; but that is all.

In the hymns to all the gods, Apāṃ Napāt appears, in the same manner, a number of times. The fostering care of "Pūsan accompanied-by-all-the-gods" is sought in x. 92. 13; then that of Apāṃ Napāt; then that of Vāyu; while Ahi Budhnyā, who appears elsewhere in these hymns in close connection with Apāṃ Napāt, is mentioned in the preceding stanza. It is to be noted that Agni appears only in stanza 2, where he is spoken of as the established promoter of the sacrifice. In vii. 35. 13, Aja Ekāpād, Ahi Budhnyā, the Gathering-of-the-waters, Apāṃ Napāt, and Pṛṣṇi are invoked. In this hymn, the dual divinity Indrāgni appears in the first stanza and Agni in the fourth. In the preceding hymn, vii. 34, Agni is invoked in stanzas 8 and 14: in the latter, he is spoken of as "consuming-the-offering because of adorations," and is asked to favor the worshipers; while in 15, the friendship of "Apāṃ Napāt, united-with-the gods," is sought, and it is requested that he be kind to the worshipers. The singer goes on (16) to speak of praising "Ahi, the water-born (abjām), with hymns"; and he then begs that Ahi Budhnyā, "Dragon of the Deep," may not bring the worshipers into trouble. Again, in vi. 52. 14, while "all the gods, worthy-of-sacrifice, the two worlds, and Apāṃ Napāt," are called upon to hear the singer's
“hymn-of-devotion,” Agni appears in the sixth stanza in company with Indra, Sarasvatī, and Parjanya, and he is invoked in 12 as hātṛ. In 16, the dual divinity Agni-parjanyān appears. Turning to ii. 31. 6, Apāṁ Napāṭ is found in company with Ahi Budhnya, Aja Ekapād, Trita, the Chief-of-the-Rbhus, and Savitṛ. He is spoken of as “driving-horses (āṣuhēṃa) with skill and vigor,” though there is doubtless a play upon the last two words, dhiṣṭaṇā. In another hymn to all the gods, vi. 50, stanza 13, the favor of Savitṛ is sought; then that of Apāṁ Napāṭ; then that of “Tvasti, united-with the gods (and their) wives,” devēhīr jānibhiḥ sajōṣā; etc. Agni is invoked in 1, with Aditi, Varuṇa, Mitra, etc.; and he is again addressed in 9, both by name and as “son of might,” sūno sahasa.

In these passages there is nothing to identify Apāṁ Napāṭ with Agni. There is, however, a passage in a hymn to all the gods, v. 41, in which Agni is supposed to be called “son of the waters.” In stanza 9, Āptya is called upon to assist the singer, who then makes him say, or puts himself in his place as saying, in 10:

“The scion of the earth-born bull, Apāṁ Napāṭ, I, Trita, praise with well-prepared-hymn; like Ētarī, Agni is sung of with loud-sounding-hymns; the flaming-haired consumes the fire-wood.”

In order to make nāpātam apāṁ refer to Agni in this passage, it is necessary to regard the “scion of the earth-born bull,” vṛṣṇa .. bhūmyāṣya gārḍhaṁ, as Agni. But it is quite as legitimate to regard the “earth-born bull” as Agni, who is often called vṛṣṇa; and, by this interpretation, Apāṁ Napāṭ becomes the offspring, gārḍhā, of Agni, not Agni himself. In fact, there seems to be an actual contrast between Apāṁ Napāṭ and Agni, which, though slight, is still felt in the stanza.

There are yet two other passages in hymns to all the gods in which Apāṁ Napāṭ is mentioned. In i. 122. 4, the “two-lordly-ones,” yaspadā, are called upon to “bring forth Apāṁ Napāṭ” and “the mothers (the waters-in-the-clouds) of the rushing agile-one.” In the following stanza, a desire is expressed for the “generosity of Agni”; but there is nothing in this to identify the two. Addressing the gods, in i. 186. 3, the poet says that he sings of their “beloved guest, of Agni”; but he does not mention Apāṁ Napāṭ until the fifth stanza, Varuṇa and others coming between. In 5, he says: “For us also let Ahi Budhnya joy prepare; as to (her) young the swelling-one (new-milk-cow), so-to-speak, presses onward, (so does) the stream, with which let us speed Apāṁ Napāṭ whom stallions swift-as-thought convey.”
But there are still two hymns to Agni in which Apāṁ Napāṭ appears, and both are instructive. In singing the praises of Agni, the poet says, x. 8. 5: “Thou art the eye of Order great—the herdsman; thou art, when order (holy-work) thou essayest, Varuṇa; thou art, O creature-wise-one, Apāṁ Napāṭ; thou art (his) envoy, whose sacrifices thou tastest.” If in this passage, apāṁ nāpāṭ is taken as a mere general descriptive term, it loses all its force; for there is little point in the statement, “thou art a son of the waters.” If, on the other hand, it is taken as a proper name, and the words bhūvo apāṁ nāpāṭ are regarded as parallel to those which correspond to them in the preceding pāda, bhūvo várūna, it becomes a clear case, in each instance, of that peculiar Vedic practice of doing homage to a god by identifying him with some other god, from whom he is entirely distinct. On this basis, the statement becomes as vigorous and striking as is the preceding one, “thou art Varuṇa.” The stanza, however, may not be convincing, since the other interpretation is possible; and the passage might easily lead to confusion, if taken in connection with the two first cited. But fortunately the case does not need to rest on this stanza. In vi. 13, a hymn in which Agni is addressed as “son of might,” sūno sahasa (saḥ), in three different stanzas; 4, 5, and 6, the third stanza reads: “With force the mighty-ruler slays the dragon; the sage, O Agni, takes booty from the niggard; whom thou O wise-one, Order-born, with riches, united-with Apāṁ Napāṭ, dost prosper.” In this stanza, the phrase sajōṣa nāprāṭ is not to admit of no escape from the conclusion that Agni and Apāṁ Napāṭ were originally two different gods. In a passage cited above, vi. 50. 13, the same word, sajōṣa, is used of Tvaśṭr and the gods with their wives, and it often has this sense of ‘united with.’ Still, it must be remembered that the Hindu mind is capable of some remarkable conceptions, and that Agni is asked to bring Agni to the sacrifice, vii. 39. 5, while Indra is represented as his own grandfather, x. 54. 3.

Only the hymn addressed to Apāṁ Napāṭ, ii. 35, remains. Although its final stanza (15) is addressed to Agni, it seems to have nothing to do with the rest of the hymn and has long been regarded as a late addition. All the other stanzas have reference to Apāṁ Napāṭ. In 1, the “water-born,” nādyō, is asked to find pleasure in the poet’s hymns of praise, and he is immediately named as Apāṁ Napāṭ, the “driver-of-horses,” āçuhēmā. In 2, he is spoken of as the begetter of all creatures, the form of praise
so often used of the gods, and he is also called "kind," aryó. In 3, the "beaming waters stand round about the beaming, shining Apāṁ Napāt." In 4, the "not-pouting young purifying waters stream about him young; with mighty flames, he richly shines with-no-need-of-kindlings, clothed-in-ghee (clarified-butter), in the waters." That he needs no kindlings, anidhmá, has already been noted in x. 30. 4. In 5, the "three goddess wives gladly-furnish food for him, the unwavering god; for to the deep-valleys, so-to-speak, he flows forth in the waters; he sucks the beestings of those-having-their-first-young." In 6, his birth is said to have taken place in heaven, and it is added that "neither hardships nor wrongs can reach the not-to-be-disregarded-one in (his) crude cloud-castles yonder." In 7, he "shines forth within the waters, for the giving-of-good to the worshiping-one." In 8, he is spoken of as the one "who, in the waters, with divine flame, holy, imperishable, shines forth far-and-wide," and the "other creatures" are said to be merely "his branches." According to 9, "erect, clothed with light, Apāṁ Napāt verily betakes-himself to the bosom of the oblique-ones (the falling-rain); carrying his pre-eminent majesty, the golden-colored streams move about (him)." The theme of 10 is the golden color of Apāṁ Napāt; and it is also said that "letting-himself-down from (his) golden birth-place, bestowing-gold, he gives food to this-one (the singer)." According to 11, "his face increases, and (so does) the dear secret form (name) of Apāṁ Napāt, whom the young-maidens (the waters) kindle unitedly, in-this-way (itiṁ),—golden-colored ghee is his food." This stanza is somewhat in dispute, however, and the "young-maidens" are regarded by some as the fingers. Still, the stanza strongly resembles 4 of the same hymn. In 12, it is stated that he is worshiped "with sacrifices, with obeisance, (and) with oblations"; and the poet then continues, "(his) peak I make-bright, I gladly-furnish with chips, I cover with food, I praise with hymns." It is to be noted that biṁa, "chip," occurs only here, in the Rik. In 13, the poet says: "He, verily, the bull (uṣṭrā), begot in those (waters) the scion (gārbhāṁ); he, verily, the young, took-to-the-breast, him (the waters) caressed; he, Apāṁ Napāt, whose-color-cannot-be-blotted-out, with the body of another, so-to-speak, is-active here." The hymn properly concludes with 14: "(Him), on this highest station standing, with undimmed (rays) ever shining, the waters, to their son, ghee as food conveying, of-their-own-accord with draperies fly about (conceal), swiftly-streaming." Stanza 15 reads: "I proffer, O Agni,
security to man, I proffer also, to the generous, excellent-praise; all that (every thing) is propitious which the gods favor; mightily let us, rich-in-heroes, sing at the sacred-assembly." The stanza is, in part, found elsewhere, ii. 1. 10; 2. 13; 23. 19; and ix. 86. 48.

The only stanzas of this hymn, excepting 15, which can be regarded as at all suitable for Agni, are 11 and 12; for 10 is better suited to the lightning pure and simple. But 11 appears to be only a variation of 4, which, again, is perfectly appropriate for lightning. If 12 refers to the kindling of a fire, the statement of 13, that "Apañ Napāt is-active here with the body of another, so-to-speak," must still be reckoned with, although an apparent rather than a real union with another's body seems to be applied. This stanza should also be compared with v. 41. 10, cited above; for it seems to bear out the suggestion that Apān Napāt was the son of Agni, as well as of the Waters, or Rain-clouds, who, in true Hindu fashion, are spoken of as his "mothers," in i. 122. 4, also cited above, and still more plainly as Agni's mothers, in iii. 9. 2. This, however, proves nothing as to relationship. If stanza 15 had any place in the original hymn, which is very doubtful, it was probably due to this apparent reference to Agni in the beginning of stanza 13, combined with the seeming reference to Apān Napāt's likeness to Agni in its concluding pāda. It is of course possible that this stanza furnished the ground for adding 15 later on, although it seems quite as likely that it was the result of a confusion of the two gods in the popular mind. It should be added, finally, that there is a possible reference to Agni in stanza 6, which begins: "There (was) the birth of the horse (Agni?) and of him (Apān Napāt), in heaven," ṛpoṣyatra jānimasya ca svār.

Enough has possibly been said to show that Apān Napāt is probably not to be regarded merely as the lightning form of Agni, an explanation which is frequently given; but there are other evidences yet to be adduced. Apān Napāt was an Indo-Iranian god, if he is not still older; for there is a god Apān Napāt in the Avesta, whose individuality is very marked. He is often referred to immediately after a god "Ātar, the son of Ahura Mazda," while "the holy waters, made by Ahura," are frequently mentioned just after him, in turn. If it is claimed, since Agni

1 See Sacred Books of the East, xxiii. pp. 5-6, 14, 36, 88, etc., and cf. 299, etc.
does not appear in the Avesta, that the two were probably one in Indo-Iranian times, it must be remembered that Ātar has also disappeared from the Vedic beliefs, although his name has survived in Atharvan, ‘Fire-priest.’ Now, Ātar, like Agni, is related to both fire and lightning; and, if Agni himself has disappeared from the religion of the Magi, his characteristics have survived in the persons of Ātar and another Avestan god. It is believed that the worship of fire is very old, that the earliest fire-cult probably had reference to the destruction of evil spirits, and that this function originally belonged to Agni alone. But if this is true, and it seems reasonable, it naturally follows that Indra Vītra-han is probably considerably younger than Agni Vītra-han, who appears in some of the oldest hymns in the Rik; and, in that case, Agni, in his character as ‘spook-killer,’—x. 87. 1, and 162. 1, with iii. 15. 1, and vii. 8. 6, a very old hymn, by the way,—is to be likened to Verethraghna, the fiend smiter par excellence of the Avesta; for the comparison of Indra with Verethraghna will hardly stand the test of a careful analysis and may therefore be dismissed. 4

That Agni was originally a god of the lightning, the lightning that strikes and leaves fire behind it, there can be no doubt. That Agni still retains his character as lightning in parts of the Rig-Veda is, however, of itself, no more reason for identifying him with Apān Nāpāt, who never appears clearly in any other rôle, than is the fact that Savitṛ, Pūṣan, and Viṣṇu were all sun gods a reason for identifying them with Sūrya. There seem, in fact, to have been other gods of lightning, such as Trita (Macdonell, l. c., p. 69), and possibly Aja Ekapād (ib., p. 74) and Rudra (Hopkins, l. c., p. 112), not to mention the “long broad son of the mist,” dirgham prthūṁ mihō nāpātam, led onward by the Maruts (i. 37. 11, which may, however, refer to the rain); but no one thinks of identifying any of these with Agni. It should be noted incidentally that the demon Čuṇa is also called a “son of

2 See Hopkins, Religions of India, p. 153, and Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 95
3 For a fuller statement, see Bibliotheca Sacra, lv. pp. 103, 104, and 107, footnote 5.
4 See Kaegi (trans. by Arrowsmith), The Rig-Veda, p. 85; M. Bloomfield, in JAS., xvi. pp. 1 ff.; R-V., i. 143. 2, and 164. 2, ii. 1. 1, iii. 9. 2, vii. 15. 4; etc.
the mist,” v. 32. 4; but this simply shows how loosely Vedic expressions are often used.

As Agni was lightning—probably the blinding flash—and fire (later the sun also), so Apãm Napât was lightning in its most remarkable and conspicuous form, the distant descending bolt, the fascinating and awe-inspiring “chain-lightning,” which, like a molten stream of fire, seems to reach from heaven to earth. This was “the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord” of the Avesta (SBE., xxiii. p. 14); and this was the Vedic god who, “erect, clothed with light, betakes-himself to the bosom of the oblique-ones,” and “whom stallions swift-as-thought convey.”

While Agni became more and more conspicuous, Apãm Napât seems to have waned in popularity, until he was so far forgotten that a confusion arose concerning the two uses of the expression apãm napât; and Apãm Napât, the “Son of the Waters,” sar ‘vapr, was swallowed up in Agni, a “son of the waters,” as he was occasionally (twice in the Rik) called, since he too, because of his original lightning nature, was supposed to have been born of the rain-clouds. To the same source is to be traced the myth of his hiding in the waters; for this myth probably had no connection originally with Apãm Napat, beyond the mere fact that both he and Agni were forms of lightning which, appearing when the thunderstorm was at its height, seemed to disappear in the clouds from which they came. But a further source of confusion is possibly to be found in the expression apãm garbhah, “scion of the waters,” which is several times used of Agni (i. 70. 3, iii. 1. 12 and 13, iii. 5. 3, vii. 9. 3, and doubtless i. 164. 52, and ix. 97. 41), and also in the fact that Agni is once, ii. 1. 5, called a “horse-driver,” apukhêma; but, while these expressions may have been fruitful in producing a confusion of the two gods, they cannot, as words are used in the Rik, be taken as valid ground for any belief in an original identity of the two.

The conclusion seems to be warranted, therefore, that Agni and Apãm Napât were once distinct gods,—gods of the lightning, who were, however, associated with each other and were much alike in certain particulars; and that this association and resemblance ultimately resulted, possibly at the close of the Vedic period, in a confusion and union of the two, as a result of which Apãm Napât was absorbed by Agni.¹

¹ See the following article, “The Original Hindu Triad.”
The Original Hindu Triad.—By Dr. Herbert W. Magoun, Oberlin, Ohio.

The number three is indissolubly connected with the religious history of India. Its sacred character appears conspicuously in the Rig-Veda, and the modern Hindu triad—Brahma, Viṣṇu, Čiva—is familiar to all who have even a slight acquaintance with India or its people. But there have been other groups of three gods in the religious history of the Hindus; and, while the origin of the divine triad, as well as that of the sacredness of the number three, may never be fully known, it is interesting to note whatever may throw any possible light on the subject.

In one of the early Brahmanical writings, the Vedic investigator Yāska tells of certain scholars, more ancient than himself, who maintained that there were but three gods, although many names were used in speaking of them. The only gods whom these scholars admitted to exist were, a deity located on the earth, Agni; a deity dwelling in the atmosphere, to whom they allotted two names, Indra or Vāyu; and a deity whose home was in the heavenly regions, Sārya. These three, then, constituted a triad, the earliest of which there is any mention; for, although groups of three gods can be found as far back as the Rig-Veda itself,—as, for example, Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman, and the three Ṛbhus,—an ordinary group of three gods can hardly be called a triad, since a triad should possess marked differences, either in their field of action or in their characteristics.

In speaking of this early Brahmanical group of gods, a recent writer (Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 69) says that the second member of the group was probably originally Treta, whom he further regards as a god of lightning. Later on in the book (p. 93), he concludes that the mystical threefold nature of Agni, as fire, lightning, and sun,—for the identification of Agni with the sun is also Vedic,—was the prototype of the groups, Sun, Wind, Fire, and Sun, Indra, Fire, which, though not Vedic, are ancient. He also calls attention to Agni's three dwelling places, in the order usually given, heaven, earth, and the waters, i.e., the rain-clouds. The position here taken must at once strike the reader as a reasonable one, on the whole; and it must be accepted, unless
a simpler and more natural one can be found. The notion that
the light and heat of the sun came from the same source as the
light and heat of a fire is based on a simple association of ideas,
and need, therefore, produce no difficulty. By a similar process,
Agni Vāidyuta and Trita may have also come to be identified as
lightning, or the “middle Agni.” It may be an interesting ques-
tion, however, whether there are not other possible elements in
the problem, and whether the origin of the groups mentioned
cannot be pushed still further back. It is the object of this paper
to consider briefly a few points looking in that direction.

The position has already been taken, in the preceding paper,
“Apān Napāt in the Rig-Veda,” that Apān Napāt and Agni
were originally distinct gods, and that Apān Napāt was the name
given to that phenomenon of the thunderstorm which is com-
monly spoken of as chain lightning. It may not be out of place
to briefly refer to the reasons for this belief.

The name Apān Napāt is very old. If it is not Aryan, it is at
least Indo-Iranian; for it appears not only in the Rik but also in
the Avesta as the name of a god. In the Avesta, he is “the tall
lord,” or “the swift-horsed, the tall and shining lord”; or, as
another translator has it in other portions of the Mazdean scrip-
tures, he is spoken of as “lofty,” “kingly and brilliant,” “glit-
tering-one,” etc.

In the Rik, he is a “driver-of-horses,” ii. 35. 1, and vii. 47. 2;
he is a god “whom stallions swift-as-thought convey,” i. 188. 5;
he “shines in the waters (rain-clouds, or rain-in-the-clouds) with-
no-need-of-kindlings,” ii. 35. 4, and x. 30. 4; “his birth (is) in
heaven, (and) no wrongs can reach (him) in his cloud-strongholds
yonder,” ii. 35. 6; he “shines far-and-wide with divine flame, in
the waters,” l. c., 8; “(standing)-erect, clothed with light, (he)
seeks the bosom of the oblique-ones (the streaming-rain); bear-
ing his preeminent majesty, the golden streams press around
(him),” l. c., 9; “golden-colored,” he descends from a golden
seat, l. c., 10; “here (on earth), he is-active in another’s body
(fire?), so-to-speak,” l. c., 13; and, “bringing (him) food, the
waters, of-their-own-accord, quickly veil (him) standing on the
highest station with undimmed (rays),” l. c., 14. It is hardly
necessary to say more, so perfectly does the whole description fit

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1 Darmesteter in Sacred Books of the East, xxiii. pp. 5-6, 14, 98, 98,
etc.

2 Mills, ib., xxxi. pp. 197, 204, 219, 319, 326, etc.
the distant descending bolt. His food is supposed to be clarified butter, i.e., 11 and 14, probably because of the sudden flame which it produces when poured into a fire; while the swift veiling by the waters doubtless refers to the sudden withdrawal of the bolt from sight. Apām Nāpāt, then, is a god of lightning pure and simple, and he seems to have had that character from the beginning.

Turning now to Agni, it will be observed that he is essentially the god of fire, and the antiquity of his fire character is attested by the Latin ignis whose proper meaning is simply 'fire.' But that he was originally the lightning-kindled-fire is to be inferred from the fact that the Grecian myth, according to which fire first came from heaven, is to be traced in the Rig-Veda (Hopkins, Religions of India, pp. 108–110), and also from the fact that Agni has, in parts of the Rik, a lightning character. Agni, then, from his original character as the lightning-kindled-fire, or, better, the lightning-stroke-which-results-in-fire, developed, as a Vedic god, a twofold nature, i.e., he became both fire and lightning; but, by a later extension, he also came to include the sun, and this gave him his mystical threefold character as fire, lightning, and sun.

Such a genesis seems, at least, to account most readily for all his peculiarities, even to the function of 'spook-killer,' rakṣohān, x. 87. 1, etc.; for the ancient Hindus, like their modern brethren, believed that the air about them was infested with spooks and goblins of various kinds. To suppose that fire is fatal to evil spirits, seems, under ordinary circumstances, like a strange notion; but, to one who has seen the stroke, the lightning-kindled-fire becomes a most natural death-dealer to the goblins of the air. As a rule, such a stroke is simply a terrible blinding flash; for a distant observer can hardly be aware of the stroke at all, except by inference. Occasionally, a sudden streak of dazzling light, more or less approaching the horizontal, may be seen by some one looking in the direction taken by the bolt; and its effect upon the mind can hardly be described. The sudden passage of a large swift-winged bird just over the head may sometimes produce a startled sensation akin to that produced by the flight of the lightning's bolt; but nothing else in nature approaches it. For this reason, it is not strange, perhaps, that Agni, in his lightning character, is sometimes the 'eagle' in the Rik (see M. Bloomfield, in JAOS., xvi. 1 ff.); and, if his name means 'Agile-one,' as is supposed, it was certainly appropriate.
No wonder that the superstitious Hindu observer, or his ancestors, felt that such a stroke must have proved fatal to many a spook, and this original idea of the lightning-stroke-in-the-fire can still be traced in passages to Agni, the ‘goblin-smiter’; as, for example, “pierce him (the sorcerer) thou slinger with (thy) dart, (thou) keen-one,” tám ástā vidhyā párvā sipánah, x. 87. 6. To the lightning side of his nature, doubtless, is also to be traced the epithet vytrahán, ‘dragon-slayer,’ which is applied to Agni alone with any frequency, if Indra be omitted. The blinding flash does not always strike, nor does it always leave fire behind it when it strikes; but it would very soon tend to be regarded, for the most part, as Agni just the same, and, if some chance beholder were to see a tree cleft by a sudden thunderbolt, it would be a very simple and a perfectly natural bit of reasoning which would lead to the conclusion that Agni could and actually did smite the ‘cloud-dragon’ also in like manner. Whether the Vṛtra, i.e., the ‘cloud-dragon,’ myth arose from a lack of rain or from a fear lest the light was to be snatched from men, would not affect the question; for, when the blinding flashes begin to come, not only does the rain descend but the heaviest clouds also pass over and the light begins to return.

But close observers must soon have noticed that there was a third form of lightning no less conspicuous than the other two; and the wonderful play of the cloud-bolts in the sky, which also often produce a blinding flash, may well have excited the wonder and admiration of a primitive people in a land of violent thunder-storms such as both the Hindus and their ancestors seem to have inhabited. Very soon also the question must have suggested itself whether this third form of lightning was not after all the god who destroyed the ‘cloud-dragon,’ since he always appeared so high up in the air where the ‘sky-dragon’ was, and since he always seemed to be smiting something there just as Agni was sometimes seen to do on the earth. Speaking of him as the ‘third-one,’ he may soon have come to be simply ‘Third,’ and it is possible that this was the way in which Trita got his name.

As the conviction grew that Trita, ‘Third,’ was the real smiter of the ‘cloud’ or ‘sky-dragon,’ the myth would naturally tend to become attached to him even more strongly than it was to Agni; and, when Indra at length displaced him and became the supreme god of the storm, it was to be expected that he would also usurp the function of ‘dragon-killer’; for it must be remem-
bered that Trita, as well as Apāṁ Napāt, was probably an Indo-Iranian god, while Indra seems to have been purely a Hindu creation.

Just here it may be noted that Apāṁ Napāt never appears in the role of a 'fiend-smiter' in either the Rik or the Avesta. In the latter, to be sure, when Ātar, 'Fire,' and Azhi Dahāka (the Avestan sky-dragon) are battling for "the awful Glory that cannot be forcibly seized, made by Mazda," i. e., the light (physical and sacerdotal); Apāṁ Napāt seizes the "Glory" when it flees to "the sea Vouru-Kasha," or the upper air (see SBE. vol. iv., Introd., pp. lxii-lxiii, and vol. xxiii. pp. 297-9); but he takes no other part in the fight. If, now, Apāṁ Napāt is the lightning form of Agni, as is commonly supposed, and if the epithet vṛtraḥāṇ was transferred to Agni from Indra, as is commonly held, it is difficult to understand, on a priori grounds, why Apāṁ Napāt never has the character of a fiend-smiter, even if he does not receive the epithet vṛtraḥāṇ; for assuredly it is the lightning side of Agni which is most prominent in both Agni Vṛtraḥāṇ and the dual divinity Indrāgni. See RV., iii. 20. 4, i. 59. 6, x. 69. 12, etc., and i. 108, v. 86, vi. 59, vii. 93, etc. Again, since the Zend word Verethraghna, from its etymology, must originally have been an adjective, and since the Avestan god Verethraghna is identified with the sacred fire of the Parsis, which was the great spook-killer of the Magi, it appears that Agni Vṛtraḥāṇ and Verethraghna were, in all probability, closely related; but Verethraghna and Apāṁ Napāt have no connection in the Avesta. In short Agni and Apāṁ Napāt must have been decidedly distinct in the early days.

It is perfectly clear to us, to be sure, that the two kinds of lightning are really identical; but to assume that the early Vedic Hindus or the Indo-Iranians possessed the same knowledge is to attribute to them a degree of intellectual power in the analysis of natural phenomena which their whole religious history belies. If they ever discovered the actual identity of the two, it must have been the result of some accidental combination of circumstances, the full force of which they would be very slow to admit. In fact, just such an accident might account for the statement which appears in ii. 35. 13, "Apāṁ Napāt is-active here in another's body, so-to-speak," i. e., when he appears on earth, he looks like Agni; but this does not prove the identity of the two.
Turning again to Trita, it will be noticed that he is called Ṛṣṭyā, 'dwelling-in-the-waters,' i.e., the clouds; and the title is significant. If the three gods are grouped together, we shall have: 'Agile-one,' the fire-producing-stroke or the blinding-flash, who is active on the earth; 'Son of the Waters,' the distant-descending-bolt, who is born in heaven and descends from his golden seat, and is therefore a god located in the air; and 'Third Whose-home-is-in-the-clouds,' a divinity of the sky. In other words, the three will constitute an incipient triad which must be very ancient.

It may not be unreasonable to suppose that the original Hindu triad, or an Indo-Iranian triad, was so constituted. But, since the blinding flash came down from the clouds as well as the distant bolt, Agni was occasionally spoken of as a "son of the waters," and this fact may have ultimately led to a confusion of the two. Whatever the cause may have been, Apān Napāt seems to have been so overshadowed by the remarkable development of Agni that he lost his character as a distinct god and was then practically absorbed. In the meantime the light and heat of the sun had come to be attributed to Agni; and, as the sun is evidently higher than the lightning, it was a natural step forward to assign to the sun the highest position, while Trita dropped back into second place. In time, Trita's turn also came; and, as he yielded his chief feats and characteristics to Indra in other things, he may well have been displaced, as god of the atmosphere, by his more popular rival.

Just what connection Vāyu had with the matter when the triad finally emerged from the nebulous state into a well recognized group, cannot be determined, beyond the mere fact that, as god of the wind, he was naturally the god of the atmosphere; but, in any case, his connection with the latter triad came rather from his relation to Indra than from any association with the other gods concerned.
The Milk-drinking Hāṇisa of Sanskrit Poetry.—By Charles R. Lanman, Professor in Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

The Hindus say that the bird called haṇisa has the faculty, out of a vessel of mingled milk and water, to separate and drink the milk and leave the water. To this wide-spread popular belief frequent allusion is made in the literature; and for it there must be some basis in the facts of natural history.

The facts which gave rise to the belief are in my opinion the following: the aquatic bird haṇisa lives on lakes that abound in lotuses, and subsists in a measure upon the underground stalk of the lotus plant (such a stalk is called bīsa), whose joint (granthi), when crushed (bhagna), exudes a juice designated by the word kṣīra, which is also a common name for milk. Thus the bird, as it floats on the lake, may be said to drink kṣīra or milk out of water.

For the sake of students of Sanskrit and others, it may be worth my while to assemble some of these allusions in the literature. And again it may be useful to put together the statements about the character and habits of the haṇisa in order to subject them more easily to the criticism of students of natural history.

But first a word as to the general scope of these allusions. They are indeed often made directly in praise of the noble haṇisa, and to show its superiority for instance to the heron; but oftener still, the point of the allusion is the marvelous discrimination,¹ fine and clear, displayed in the separation of things so hopelessly mixed as milk and water.²

Beautifully appropriate uses of our fable are made by the philosophers. Thus in the Tattva-muktāvali³ we read: “Others

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¹ Mentioned already by H. T. Colebrooke in a note to H. H. Wilson’s “Analytical account of the Pancha Tantra” (1824), Works, ed. Rost, iv. p. 5. Benfey cites the note, Panchatantra, ii. p. 367.
² The intimacy of this mixture is praised by the poets as absolute and complete (Sprüche, 2024), and it is thus a type of the closest friendship and mutual devotion (ib. 2026).
see not the difference when water is mixed with milk, but the swan at once separates the milk and the water; so too when the souls are absorbed in the supreme Brahman, the Lord,—the faithful, who have received the Guru's words, can at once draw a difference between them." Again, the Sāṅkhya aphorism, iv. 23, says: "By him who is free from passion what is to be left [i.e. Nature] is left, and what is to be taken [i.e. Soul] is taken; as in the case of the swan and the milk." And again, the beginning of the second vallī of the Kaṭha Upaniṣad says: "The better is one thing, and the more agreeable is another. . . . The wise man weighs them both well, separates them (vi-vinakti), and chooses the better." Čaṅkara, in his Bhāṣya, illustrates this by the fable of the haṁsa. Vi-vinakti is from the same root as vi-vecana which is used of the haṁsa's exploit.

First then—some of the allusions. The introduction to the Pañcatantra contains the familiar stanza anantapāram etc., which, as I thought it a fit motto for a brief Sanskrit grammar that I was minded to make, I Englished4 as follows:

An endless science, as we know, is grammar.
And life is short; the hindrances are many.
Essentials keep, leaving the non-essential,
As swans drink up the milk, but leave the water.3

Here we may notice the passage in Kālidāsa's Čakuntalā,4 where an invisible being behind the scenes is threatening the buffo's life. Here the king promises that his arrow, which he thinks to let fly, shall slay the villain and spare the buffo—with the same uncommon discrimination that the haṁsa uses as betwixt the milk and the water.

In Böehlingk's Indische Sprache, 2d ed., the following numbers make express mention of the haṁsa's gift:
243, anantapāram, from Pañcatantra, introd. 5;
245, anantapātram, from Old Čaṅkaya, xv. 10;
544, ambhojini, from Bhartṛhari, Nītīpataka, 18;

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1See the interesting comment hereon in J. R. Ballantyne's Sāṅkhya Aphorisms, 3d ed., London, 1885, p. 303.
2A dozen years ago, more or less. It has since then been put to this very use by R. Fick, Praktische Grammatik der Sanskrit-Sprache, Wien, no date, p. VII.
3See F. Kiellhorn's note to this stanza in the Notes to his edition.
4Near the end of act vi., especially the stanza 155 (Böehlingk) or 189 (Pischel).
4923, prájnas tu, from MBh. i. 74. 91=3078;
6211, vivāsajñhita-, from Rāja-taraṅgini, vi. 275;
7358, haṁsaḥ vṛeto, from Subhāṣītnāva;
7606, vedādyanekāpastrāṇi, from the same.

About the stanzas from the Sprüche a few words may be of interest. No. 4923 is from the old Epic story of Čakuntalā, where she says: “On hearing good and evil counsel, a fool takes the evil, as a swine does filth, and a wise man takes the good, as the haṁsa the milk.” Čāṇakya’s verses, badly mutilated, are recognizable in the famous Śūdraḥubam seu grammatica Sam- serdamica . . . auctore Paulino a S. Bartholomaec, Rome, 1790, p. 19. Bharatṛhari’s stanza is thus rendered in Abraham Roger’s Offne Thür zu dem verborgenen Heydenthum, Nürnberg, 1663, p. 506–7: “Wann Bramma auf seinen Träger Aṃsas’ zornig ist, kann er ihn zwar wol aus seinem Wasser-pfuhl vertreiben; aber ihm gleichwel die Macht nicht benehen, dass er (wofern Milch und Wasser untereinander vermenget) die Milch nicht solte allein trinken, und das Wasser überlassen können.”

The Indian anthologies contain chapters, certain sections of which form a kind of Oriental bestiary. Among these are sections made up, wholly or in part, of epigrams concerning the haṁsa. Four such collections may be noticed:
The Paddhati of Čārṇagadhara [A. D. 1363], ed. by P. Peterson, Bombay, 1888. Nos. 796–814 are called haṁsāṁyoktayāḥ.
The Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva [A. D. 1400–1450], ed. by P. Peterson, Bombay, 1886. Nos. 689–717 are about haṁsas and sūrāsas.

In all these stanzas from the Indian anthologies, the material is similar or in good part identical, and of course from very diverse sources. Among these stanzas, the following two make reference to the kṣīra-nīra-vivevana: in Čārṇagadhara, only no. 797; in Vallabhadeva, nos. 697 and 716; in Parab’s collection, nos. 6, 10, 15, and 20; in Bhāṣavaḍeṣa’s, nos. 2, 14, and 18. Of

1 Aṃsaḥ [haṁsa] sind ein Geflügel, fast wie die kleinen Endvögel [Enten].—Roger.
these, 797, 15, and 2 simply repeat Bhartṛhari's stanza; 6 = Sprüche 7358; and 10 and 14 are a pleasing quotation from Bhā-
minivilāsa, i. 13, ed. L. R. Vaidya, Bombay, 1887. Thus there
are five with new allusions, namely 697, 716, 20, 18, and 10=14.

Of the many stanzas without these allusions, almost all are
interesting and instructive as to the character and habits of the
haṅsa. Richest in points of description are perhaps Vallabhade-
va's nos. 715 and 710, which read thus:

No. 715. "His beauty is enchanting; charming his mate.
For drink, he has the sweet juice of the lotus; and for a play-
ground, the waters. Among the lotuses is his dwelling; their
pollen is his ornament. He subsists on the excellent underground
stalk of the lotus. His friends are the sweet-humming bees.—
Free from servile labor, poverty, and humiliation, happy lives
the haṅsa!"

No. 710. "There are everywhere waters clear as pearl, with
lotus-roots whose knots show milk when they are crushed;'
abundant draughts of lotus-juice; 'sand-banks fit for sport and
play. What means this, then, O haṅsa, that thou take up thine
abode in this horrid, muddy, old pool, beset with impudent
shrieking herons?"

Kālidāsa's Meghadūta, stanza 11, is relevant at this point.
The Yakṣa says to the cloud that is to bear the message to his
wife, "The rāja-haṅsas, eager to get to lake Mānasa, will be thy
companions as far as mount Kāllāsa, having pieces of the shoots
of the bīsa as their provisions for the journey (pātheya or viasti-
cum)." H. H. Wilson says: "The Rājahansa is described as a
white gander, with red legs and bill, and together with the com-
mon goose is a favourite bird in Hindu poetry. Not to shock
European prejudice, I have in all cases substituted for these
birds, one to which we are rather more accustomed in verse, the
swan." In rendering haṅsa by 'swan' instead of 'gander,' or
'goose,' Wilson has been generally followed; but Jerdon says,
under the Cygnidae, that there are no swans in India. Kālidāsa
again speaks of the bīsa as the pātheya or viaticum of the rāja-

1 madhu. — bīsa: cf. Vallabhadeva, 717. — 'Stalk-knots with milk
that appears (vilasant) upon breaking (bhaṅga).— Lit. 'tāmarasa-
extract or -liquor.'

1 The Megha Dutta, translated, etc., London (reprint of Calcutta ed.),
1814, p. 83.
haṇśa, to wit, in his Urvāci. And again, in the same play, at the end of act i., as Urvāci ascends to the sky, Purūravas says that she has torn his heart out of his body, as the rāja-haṇśi tears the stringy fibre out of a lotus-stalk, the end of which she has broken off.

Professor R. G. Bhāṇḍārkar, in reply to my inquiry, kindly wrote me a letter dated Poona, July 16, 1888. From it a part of the words or of the substance may be given. “The physical facts, as distinguished from poetic fancies, that may be gathered from the allusions to the bird in Sanskrit poetical works appear to be these: 1. The birds are white, some having dark and others red bills and legs. 2. They feed on lotus-stalks (bīṣa). This lotus is of the Nelumbium order. They are also spoken of as fond of the water-lily of the kumuda species. 3. They pass their time in large lakes or ponds or on sand-banks of rivers. 4. They migrate about the setting in of the rains, i.e. about the middle or end of May, to the North, and must be supposed to come to India in the beginning of the cold season, i.e. about the end of November.”

He then cites C. J. Jerdon’s Birds of India, vol. iii., and especially Jerdon’s notices of the family of the Anseridae. One species, Anser cinereus, corresponds, says Jerdon, to the wild goose or gray lag-goose of England, and is a common winter visitor to the North of India, extending its migrations to Central India, but rarely seen further South. It is sometimes met with in small parties of from four to twenty; occasionally in vast flocks, which feed on young corn, grass, etc., and during the heat of the day rest on some sand-bank in the large rivers or in the middle of a tank. The Anser Indicus is a goose that appears to be peculiar to India and probably the adjacent countries north of the Himalayas, where it breeds. It is chiefly a winter visitor to India.—So far Jerdon.

Habits and character of the haṇśa. The mode of flight of the wild geese as they migrate northward or southward is spoken of in characteristic phrase in the Rigveda, iii. 8. 9, haṇśā iva greṇico yatānāḥ, “like wild geese that move in single file (Gāṇe-march);” so i. 183. 10. Their swiftness (java) is praised at

1 Stanza paṭcāt saras, Bollensen, no. 94, Parab and Telang, iv. 31.
2 See Kathā-saṅit-sāgara, lxxix. 129-32, Bombay ed.
3 Although Jerdon does not speak of the Anseridae as feeding on lotuses, the point is not doubtful.
Sutta-nipāta, 221, as against the slowness of the gaudy peacock. Their breeding-place and true home is the Himālayan lake Mānasa, whose glories are the subject of many a verse, and with which the every-day waters of India are set in contemptuous contrast. Their fondness for sandy banks is implied in the Čakuntalā, where the king, speaking of the unfinished background of the picture of Čakuntalā, sends for his brushes, saying, “The river Mālinī must yet be painted in, with a pair of havīsa resting on its sandy bank, and the Himālayan foot-hills behind it.”

Their beauty or splendor (cobbhā) surpasses that of a thousand herons. Their angry pride is the subject of a beautiful epigram, Čāṇḍaṅghāra, 800. Their superb dignity is told in the stanza, “When near him the harsh chattering jacana shrilly shrieks, the rāja-havīsa either goes away or keeps silent”;

Und wenn auf Erden gleich
Bliede kein Lotosteich,
Doch scharrte nie der Schwan
Im Miste wie der Hahn.

The lofty devotion of Sumukha, so touchingly described in the Jātaka-mālā, xxii., may be a figment of Ārya-cūra’s piety; but it is significant that it is ascribed to a havīsa.

Dr. Elliott Coues of Washington, in most kindly response to my ornithological queries, propounds the following interesting solution of the milk-drinking fable: The members of the swan, goose, and duck tribe, and the flamingos also, have a series of lamellae on each edge of each mandible, which serve as a sieve for straining food from the water which they take in. A little poetic fancy would easily turn this habit into the exploit of separating “milk” (i. e. food or nourishment) from “milk-and-water” (i. e. water with food in suspension).

I think this can hardly be right: first, because the fable attributes this strange power, not to all of the Lamellirostres

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1 This is on mount Kālliṣa and is a sacred place of pilgrimage.—
3 Parab, p. 367, no. 5.—Čāṇḍaṅghāra 798, Vallabhadeva 699, Parab, p. 367, no. 8, Sprüche 408,—many variants.—Ç, 811, Vall. 691, Parab, p. 367, no. 9, Sprüche, 5220.
Milk-drinking Hāṃsas of Sanskrit Poetry.

(not, for example, to the cakravāka or Anas Casarea), but only to the hañsa and rāja-haṃsa; and, secondly, because this particular word for milk, kṣīra, is never used for food or nourishment in general. Kṣīra is used of the milk of cows, goats, and women, and especially of the milky juice of the broken stalks of flowers. And a Sikh gentleman, Mr. Hari Singh Puri, on a visit here from India, assured me last week that the juice from the crushed or broken lotus stalks is milky in color.

It remains to inquire whether this fable can be traced back to Vedic literature. The stanzas RV. x. 131. 4, 5, and especially the occurrence of the word vy āpibas, used elsewhere of "separating mingled liquids in drinking," hardly prove the fable to be known to the Rigveda; but I refer the reader to the learned discussions of the passage by Bloomfield and Oldenberg.

The Yajurveda, on the other hand, does speak of a bird, a kruñc or curlew, which can separate and drink the milk from water with which it is mingled. The passage occurs in the Māitrāyani Samhitā, iii. 11. 6, in the Kāṭhaka, xxxviii. 1, in the Vājasaneyī, xix. 72–79, and in the Taṅtirīya Brāhmana, ii. 6. 2–4.

I quote from the first-named text:

adbhvyāḥ kṣīraṁ vyāpibat
kṛāṅṅaṁ aṅgirasā dhiyā . . .
adbhvyāḥ sōmaṁ vyāpibac
chāndodbhir hañsdā peciśat, etc.

Other mention of this power of the curlew I have not found save in two passages from the Pāli Buddhist literature. One is from the Udāna, viii. 7, "The wise man leaves the evil as the milk-drinking curlew the water," vidvā pajahātī pāpakaṁ koṅko khirapako va ninnagam. The other is from the Sūmaṅgala-vilāsaṇī, p. 305, where Buddhaghosa likens a true disciple to a curlew, because, if a bowl of spirits and water were put to his mouth, only the water would enter it and not the spirits; just as,

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1 E. g., Čakuntalā, ed. Pischel, st. 59, sammilanti.
2 Cf. Mahīdhara's vibhucya pitavān.
3 JAOS. xv. 148 ff., 159. And Göttinger Nachrichten, 1899, no. 9. The story of the milk-drinking eagle (suparṇa), cited above by Oertel, JAOS. xix. 102, 101, does not refer to the milk-separating power now under discussion.
4 Cited by Dr. R. Morris, Journal of the Pali Text Society for 1887, p. 160.
he continues, if a mixture of milk and water were offered to the kruco-birds, only the milk would be taken by them and not the water.

Sāyaṇa, in his comment on TBr. ii. 6. 2, says that the haṁsa is the soul in living beings, and that Indra, taking on its form, drank the soma, separating it from the water; and then, with some other curious remarks¹ suggested by the passage, adds the following illustration (p. 660):

_yathā loke kruṇ kruṇca-pakṣi... dhiyā sva-buddhyā kṣiram addhyo vivicyāpiyat, kṣīra-pātre sva-mukhe prakṣipte sati, mukha-gata-rasa-samparkāt, kṣirāṇaḥ jalaḥ saṃcobhitā vivicyete, tatra jala-bhāgam parityayya kṣīra-bhāgam eva pibati,—taṁvaḥ ayam indro ’pi soma-rasam jala-bhāgād vivicya pibati._

Here the point of most interest for us seems to be that the milky part of the mixture is coagulated by contact or mingling (samparkāt) with the fluid (rasa) in the mouth (mukha-gata) of the bird when it puts its bill (mukha) into the vessel (pātra).

Now by a singular coincidence, Śwāmī Abhedānanda, a Bengali gentleman, calling at my study last week on the same day as Mr. Purī and while my mind was upon the subject of this essay, told me that his teacher had explained the haṁsa-fable to him by saying that there was a secretion in the bird’s mouth which coagulated the milky part of the mixture,² so that the resulting curdy portions became easily separable. Whether there is any acidulous rasa or any rennet-like rasa in the haṁsa’s mouth, I must leave to the ornithologists. At any rate, the Śwāmī’s theory seems to be essentially like that of Sāyaṇa.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., June 7, 1898.

¹ E. g. evam indro ’py asāram parityayya ekasminn api pātre sāram eva svi-karoti, p. 661.
² Somewhat after the fashion of rennet? But see Johnson’s Universal Cyclopaedia, 1898, vol. ii., p. 218, s. v. Cheese, on the character of the action of rennet, etc., in coagulating the curd.
Shamgar and Sisera.—By George F. Moore, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.

It has long been recognized that Jud. iii. 31, which tells how Shamgar killed six hundred Philistines with an ox-goad, was inserted by one of the latest editors of the book. It has not, however, been so generally observed that certain recensions of the old Greek version (codd: 44, 54, 56, 59, 75, 76, 82, 106, 134 H-P; sub obel. 121), together with the Hexaplar Syriac, Armenian, and Slavic versions, have the account of Shamgar’s exploit a second time after xvi. 31. Here, immediately following Samson, the Philistine-fighter is quite in order. Comparison of the renderings in the two places shows that the verse was not repeated at the end of c. xvi. by an editor of the Greek text, but was found there by the translators in their Hebrew manuscripts, and in a form more original than that which we now read in iii. 31. The introductory formula, καὶ ἀνέστη μετὰ τῶν Σαμ-ψών Σαμεγαρ νῦν Ἐναν = יִקְּמָה אֶת־הָעָבָר בֵּית אֶּנָּן יִקְּמָה אֶת־הָעָבָר בֵּית אֶּנָּן relates closely to xx. 1, while in iii. 31 the Hebrew has the awkward and unparalleled יִשְׂרָאֵל מָשָׁרָה הַלְּכַל בֵּית פַּאָה (LXX. ἀνέστη). There is thus good reason to think that the verse at first stood after the story of Samson, and was subsequently, for some reason, removed to a place between Ehud and Barak.

That Shamgar cannot have been the original hero of this story is proved both by the earlier position of the verse (following Samson), and—more conclusively—by the fact that the Philistines did not appear upon the scene till long after the time of Deborah and Barak. The natural hypothesis is that the name of the champion was accidentally corrupted to Shamgar, under the influence of v. 6, which necessarily led to the transposition of the verse from the end of c. xvi. to the end of c. iii.

In Jud. v. 6 “the days of Shamgar ben Anath, the days of Jael,” are the time of distress and humiliation for Israel which

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1 See Budde, Richter, 1897, p. x; also SBOT. Judges, on xvi. 31.

2 For a conjecture about the origin of the notice, see Judges (International Critical Comm.), p. 106.
preceded the rising of the tribes under Deborah and Barak. The words “in the days of Jael” are rightly noted by many critics (since Geddes) as a gloss. But when these words are rejected and it is shown that the deliverer of iii. 31 was not Shamgar, there is no reason for regarding Shamgar as an Israelite at all; it is, on the contrary, much more probable that he was the oppressor under whom Israel groaned. This view is strongly confirmed by the name itself; Shamgar is not a Hebrew nor even a Semitic word, and ben Anath is without even remote analogy among Hebrew proper names.

Sisera, against whom the Israelites rose in revolt, was then the successor, and probably the son (see Jud. v. 28 ff.) of Shamgar.

Now, Shamgar ben Anath and Sisera are not Canaanite names. Anath is a goddess worshipped, not only in ancient Palestine, but especially by the Hittites in Northern Syria; a Sangar was king of Gargamiš—then the chief city of the Ḥatti—in the days of Ašurnaṣirpal and Sahanassar II (9th cent. B. C.). The name Sisera is naturally compared with the numerous Hittite names on Egyptian monuments ending in -sira. The Assyrian inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon (8th cent.) make repeated mention of a Pisiris or Piseri, king of Gargamiš. Shamgar and Sisera thus both point to a non-Semitic people north of Palestine. Marquart’s conjecture, however, that for הַרְשָׁעָה יָנוֹרֵים, though applauded by Ruben, is not supported by the topography of the poem.

Shamgar ruled in Palestine; Sisera appears in the Song at the head of the kings of Canaan. The two names bring us thus upon an historical fact of great importance. In the days of Deborah and Barak a foreign (“Hittite”) dynasty was established in Palestine; the Canaanite city-kings, at least in the vicinity of the Great Plain, were its vassals.

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1 Moore, Judges, 1896, pp. 106, 143; Marquart, Fundamente, 1896, p. 2; Budde, Richter, 1897, p. 42; Ruben, Jewish Quarterly Review, x. p. 558.

2 Judges, p. 143, Marquart, Ruben.

3 Judges, pp. 106, 112.
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,
AT ITS
MEETING IN HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT,
1898.

The Annual Meeting of the Society for 1898 was held in Hartford, Conn., on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Easter week, April 14th, 15th, and 16th.

The following members were in attendance at one or more of the sessions:

Barber, Miss Gottheil
Bliss, F. J. Gray
Blodget Grieve, Miss L. C. G.
Bloomfield Grieve, Miss L. H. R.
Brooks, Miss Harper, W. R.
Corwin, Miss Hart
Driscoli Haupt
Ewell Haynes, H. H.
Ferguson Hopkins
Gilman Hoppin

Jackson Jastrow, M. Jr.
Lanman
Lawler
Macdonald
Martin, W. R.
Mead
Mitchell
Moore
Oertel

Paton
Prince
Remy
Scott
Torrey
Tow
Van Name
Ward, W. H.
Wright, T. F.

Bishop
Fairbanks
Gillett

[Total, 39.]

The Society met on Thursday afternoon at 3 o'clock, in Hosmer Hall of Hartford Theological Seminary, and was called to order by its President, President Daniel Coit Gilman, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The minutes of the last annual meeting, held in Baltimore, April 22d, 23d, and 24th, 1897, were read and approved.

The report of the Committee of Arrangements was presented by Professor Macdonald in the form of a printed program, with a recommendation that the morning sessions of the Society begin at half-past nine o'clock, and the afternoon sessions at three o'clock. Professor Macdonald also presented to the Society an invitation from the Faculty of Hartford Theological Seminary to a reception in the Case Library from half-past four to six o'clock on Thursday afternoon; and a communication from the Colonial Club extending the members of the Society the hospitality of the Club. The recommendations were adopted, and the invitations accepted with the thanks of the Society.

vol. xix.

11
The Corresponding Secretary, Professor Hopkins, reported that a large number of letters had been received from scholars to whom the Whitney Memorial Volume had been sent. As the tributes to the memory of Professor Whitney had already appeared in the volume itself, these letters contained, for the most part, only formal acknowledgments.

An invitation has been received from the Committee on the Organization of the Twelfth Oriental Congress, through its President, Professor Angelo de Gubernatis, to the American Oriental Society to take part in that Congress, which will be held in Rome, beginning on October 2d, 1899.

The Saxon Missionary Conference announces a prize of 1000 Marks for a scientific treatise, in English or German, on the following subject: "Darstellung der religiösen und philosophischen Grundanschauung der Indi nach den Vedas, Upanisachs und der Brahmanischen (besonders Vedânta-) Philosophie und Beurtheilung derselben vom christlichen Standpunkte aus." The officers of the Conference desire to call the particular attention of American scholars to this prize, and to invite their competition.

Professor Erman, of Berlin, on behalf of the Commission appointed by the Royal Academies of Berlin and Munich and the Royal Societies of Göttingen and Leipsic to prepare and publish a Dictionary of the Egyptian Language, laid before the American Oriental Society the plan of the work, and invited its cooperation in the collection of materials. To the completeness of this Thesaurus, which is designed to include all words that have been preserved in hieroglyphic or hieratic texts, it is important that the inscriptions and papyri not only in public museums but in smaller and private collections should be at the disposal of the Commission; and all members of the Oriental Society who have knowledge of such inscriptions or papyri are earnestly requested to send to the Commission copies, squeezes, or photographs of the same.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the names of recently deceased members, as follows:

**CORPORATE MEMBERS.**

Professor Henry Driscoll, of Columbia University, New York City.
Mr. Ralph B. C. Hicks, of Harvard University.
Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, Conn.

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1 Full particulars in regard to the nature of the essay will be found in an inset at the end of *ZDMG*. Bd. ii. Heft 2; copies of this circular may also be obtained from Professor Hopkins. The manuscript must be sent in by June 30, 1899. The judges are Professor Windisch and Dr. Lindner in Leipzig, and Dr. von Schroder in Innsbruck.

2 This communication was received too late to be presented to the Society at its meeting. A Committee to collect a catalogue of the Egyptian material in this country was appointed in 1897; see Journal xvii. 386.
Remarks were made on the life and work of Professor Drisler by Professor Hopkins and Professor Jackson; on Mr. Hicks, by Professor Lanman; on Mr. Trumbull, by President Gilman and Dr. Ward; and on Mr. Webb, by Professor Lanman and Professor Moore.

The Report of the Treasurer, Mr. Henry C. Warren, for the year 1897, was presented through Professor Lanman. The Committee appointed at the last meeting to audit the Treasurer's accounts (Professors Toy and Lyon) reported as follows:

The undersigned, appointed a Committee to audit the books and accounts of the Treasurer of the American Oriental Society for the year ending December 31, 1897, find the same to be properly kept and correctly cast. They find the entries for all monies expended by the Treasurer to be properly vouched, and satisfactory evidence that all funds and balances reported in his statement are in his possession.

The analytical summary of the General Account is as follows:

**RECEIPTS.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance (less advance $699.75 from Charles River Bank, Dec. 1896 from old account, Dec. 31, 1896)</td>
<td>$1,667.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assessments (198) for 1897</td>
<td>$971.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Assessments (44) for other years</td>
<td>166.23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sale of publications</td>
<td>320.71</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reimbursements for author's extras</td>
<td>37.42</td>
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<tr>
<td>Income from funds (other than Bradley fund)</td>
<td>161.08</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total income for the year</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,658.39</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total receipts for the year</strong></td>
<td><strong>$3,938.56</strong></td>
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</table>

**EXPENDITURES.**

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<tr>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 matrices</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 1897, 8 reams paper at $8.30</td>
<td>26.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Journal, vol. xviii. pt. 1, printing</td>
<td>619.05</td>
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<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; binding 501 copies &amp; extras</td>
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<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; distribution</td>
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<tr>
<td>Journal, vol. xviii. pt. 2, printing</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; binding 495 copies &amp; extras</td>
<td>76.98</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; distribution</td>
<td>47.98</td>
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<tr>
<td>Journal, vol. xix. pt. 1, printing</td>
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<td>111.47</td>
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<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; distribution</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerical assistance</td>
<td>36.80</td>
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<td>Postage, express, etc.</td>
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<td>Job-printing and job-binding</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total disbursements for the year</strong></td>
<td><strong>2,050.18</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Credit balance on Gen'l Account, Dec. 31, 1897</td>
<td>1,273.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>****</td>
<td><strong>$3,328.56</strong></td>
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</table>
A statement from the Treasurer on the financial condition of the Society, accompanying his annual report, was read and referred to the Directors. The income of the Society in 1897 ($1,858.39) was two hundred and fifty dollars more than in any previous year; this increase being due in part to the growth of the Society, but chiefly to unusually large receipts from the sale of publications ($320.71), three Parts of the Journal (xviii. 1 and 2, xix. 1) having been issued during the year. The apparent excess of expenditures over receipts for the year, nearly four hundred dollars, is accounted for by the fact that the Whitney Memorial Volume, which was issued as the First Half of vol. xix. of the Journal (for January to June 1898) was paid for in 1897; this amount, approximating four hundred dollars, is thus really anticipated on the account of 1898, so that only the Second Half of vol. xix. remains to be paid for out of the income of the current year. There is reason to believe, therefore, that the next Annual Report of the Treasurer may show that this apparent deficit has disappeared.

The state of the funds is as follows:

A. PRINCIPAL OF SPECIAL FUNDS.


I. Bradley Type Fund (deposited in New Haven Savings Bank) $1,604.94 $1,069.78
II. Coheal Publication Fund (deposited in the Provident Institution for Savings, Boston) 1,000.00 1,000.00
III. Whitney Publication Fund (invested in eight shares of State National Bank stock) 1,000.00 1,000.00
IV. Life Membership Fund (deposited in the Suffolk Savings Bank, Boston) 75.00 75.00

B. BALANCES BELONGING TO GENERAL ACCOUNT.

V. Cash in Cambridge Savings Bank $2,222.07 $1,075.56
VI. Cash in Provident Inst. for Savings, Boston 131.83 171.75
VII. Cash in Suffolk Savings Bank, Boston 18.02 16.12
VIII. Cash on hand 10.00

6,046.86 699.75

Less due Charles River National Bank

$5,347.11 $5,018.19

The annual report of the Librarian, Mr. Van Name, showed that the accessions to the library during the past year have been 72 volumes, 114 parts of volumes, 167 dissertations and pamphlets, and one manuscript. The whole number of titles is now 4961; of manuscripts, 187.

The Editor of the Journal, Professor Moore, reported that in accordance with the instructions of the Directors, the Whitney Memorial Volume had been issued to the members of the Society as the First Half of vol. xix. (for Jan. to June, 1898); the Second
Honorary and Corporate Members.

Half (for July to December) was in an advanced state of preparation, and would be issued as soon as the Proceedings of the present meeting could be prepared and printed.

Professor Jackson called the attention of the Society to the "Orientalische Bibliographie," and urged upon the members the importance of supporting an undertaking which is of such vital concern to all orientalists, by assistance in furnishing bibliographical material, and by enlarging its subscription list.

The following persons, recommended by the Directors, were duly elected:  

HONORARY MEMBERS.
Auguste Barth, Member of the Institute, Paris.  
M. J. de Goeje, Interpresa legati Warneriani, and Professor in the University of Leyden.  
Alfred Ludwig, Professor in the German University of Prague.  
Gaston Maspero, Member of the Institute, Professor in the College of France, Paris.  
Cornelis P. Tiele, Professor in the University of Leyden.

CORPORATE MEMBERS.
Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D., New Haven, Conn.  
Mr. David Park Barnitz, Cambridge, Mass.  
Rev. Harlan P. Beach, Montclair, N. J.  
Dr. Frederick J. Bliss, London, England.  
Mr. Laurell W. Demeritt, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
Mr. Victor W. Dippell, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Miss Louise H. R. Grieve, M.D., New York, N. Y.  
Mr. Armenag H. Haigazian, New Haven, Conn.  
Rev. Dr. S. W. Howland, New York, N. Y.  
E. B. Landis, M.D., Chemulpo, Corea.  
Mr. Henry C. Lea, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Rev. Charles S. Macfarland, New Haven, Conn.  
Prof. William N. Mebane, Fredericksburg, Va.  
Prof. Edwin Knox Mitchell, Hartford, Conn.  
Rev. Dr. Philip S. Moxom, Springfield, Mass.  
Miss Ellen S. Ogden, Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
Mr. Arthur F. J. Remy, New York, N. Y.  
Mr. Alfred Stöckius, New York, N. Y.  
Mr. Charles W. Watts, Smithland, Ky.  
Mr. Lawrence P. Wolfe, New York, N. Y.  

[Total, 26.]

1 For convenience, the names of those who were elected at later sessions are included in this list. The full addresses are given in the revised List of Members, pp. 182 ff.
MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Rev. Dr. John H. Barrows, Chicago, Ills.
Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Bishop, New York, N. Y.
Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, New Haven, Conn.
Dr. Livingston Farrand, New York, N. Y.
Prof. Arthur L. Gillett, Hartford, Conn.
Mr. James H. Hoffman, New York, N. Y.
Prof. George L. Kittredge, Cambridge, Mass.
Prof. George T. Ladd, New Haven, Conn.
Mr. William W. Newell, Cambridge, Mass.
Rev. Dr. Minot J. Savage, New York, N. Y.
Prof. Edwin R. Seligman, New York, N. Y.
Prof. William G. Sumner, New Haven, Conn.

[Total, 14.]

Communications were presented by Messrs. Macdonald (No. 26b in the list below, p. 168ff), Bloomfield (No. 3), Gray (No. 5).

At half-past four the Society adjourned, to attend a reception given by the Faculty of Hartford Theological Seminary.

The Society met on Friday morning at half-past nine o'clock.
The President appointed Messrs. Ward, Jackson, and Haupt a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, to report on Saturday morning.

Communications were presented by Messrs. Gottheil (No. 4 in the list; by title), Haupt (No. 9), Hopkins (No. 12, by title; 13), Jastrow (No. 18, by title), Jackson (Nos. 15, 16), Johnston (Nos. 20, 21; by title, through Prof. Haupt), Lanman (Nos. 22, 24), Macdonald (No. 26a), Magoun (Nos. 27, 28; through Prof. Hopkins), Mills (No. 29; through Prof. Hopkins), Oertel (No. 30), Remy (No. 33), Ward (No. 39), Scott (No. 35), Prince (No. 31), Wright (No. 40), and Torrey (No. 38).

At one o'clock the Society took recess till three.

At three o'clock the Society met in the Chapel of the Seminary. The afternoon was devoted to the reading of communications of a less technical character, by Messrs. Blodget (No. 1 in the list), Bloomfield (No. 2), Haupt (No. 6), Jackson (No. 17), Lanman (No. 23), Scott (No. 36). Papers were also read by Professor Haupt on Tatooning among the Semites; by Professor Lanman on Indian epigrammatic poetry; and by Dr. Fairbanks on The chthonic gods of the Greek religion (No. 45).

At a quarter of six the Society adjourned.

The Society met for its last session on Saturday morning at half-past nine, with Professor Lanman, Vice-President, in the chair.
Professor Hopkins announced from the Directors that the next annual meeting of the Society will be held in Cambridge, Mass., April 6th, 7th, and 8th, 1899. Also, that they had appointed Professor G. F. Moore Editor of the Journal for the ensuing year.

The Committee appointed at the last meeting to secure members for the Section for the Historical Study of Religions reported through Professor Jastrow, explaining the measures which they had adopted. The committee, consisting of Professors Toy, Gottheil, and Jastrow (Secretary), was continued.

The Committee on a Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in America, by Professor Gottheil, reported progress, and was continued.

The committee to nominate officers reported through Professor Jackson; and by unanimous consent the ballot of the Society was cast for the following officers for the ensuing year:

President—President Daniel Coit Gilman, of Baltimore.
Vice-Presidents—Dr. William Hayes Ward, of New York; Professor Crawford H. Toy, of Cambridge; Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Cambridge.
Corresponding Secretary—Professor Edward W. Hopkins, of New Haven.
Recording Secretary—Professor George F. Moore, of Andover.
Secretary of the Section for Religions—Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of Philadelphia.
Treasurer—Mr. Henry C. Warren, of Cambridge.
Librarian—Mr. Addison Van Name, of New Haven.
Directors—The officers above named; and President William R. Harper, of Chicago; Professors Richard Gottheil, A. V. W. Jackson, and Francis Brown, of New York; Professors Maurice Bloomfield and Paul Haupt, of Baltimore; and Professor Henry Hyvernat, of Washington.

In accordance with the program, the rest of this session was devoted to the reading and discussion of papers on the History of Religions, as follows:—Professor Bloomfield (No. 43 in the list below), Professor Toy (Nos. 46, 47), Dr. Bishop (No. 42), Professor Jastrow (No. 19).

The remaining papers on the list were presented by title, or in brief synopsis; viz. Messrs. Macdonald (No. 25), Haupt (Nos. 7, 8, 10), Hopkins (Nos. 13, 14, 44), Yohannan (No. 41), Torrey (No. 37).

The following vote of thanks was unanimously adopted:

The American Oriental Society expresses its sincere thanks to the Faculty of the Hartford Theological Seminary for the use of their rooms, and for their kind reception; to the Colonial Club for its courtesies; and to the Committee of Arrangements for their efficient services.

At a quarter before twelve the Society adjourned, to meet in Cambridge, Mass., April 6th, 1899.
The following is a list of papers which were announced for presentation at the meeting. Those numbered 32 and 34 were not presented.

1. Rev. Dr. Henry Blodget, Bridgeport, Conn.; The worship of Heaven and Earth by the Emperor of China.

2. Professor Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University; On a proposed photographic reproduction of the Kashmirian Atharva-Veda, the so-called Pāippalāda Saṃhitā.

3. Professor Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University; Remarks on the myth of Purūravas and Urvāṇi.

4. Professor Richard Gottheil, Columbia University; Contributions to Syriac folk-medicine.

5. Mr. Louis H. Gray, New York City; The metres of Bhartr̥hari.

6. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; Some criticisms of the Polychrome Bible.

7. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; The Sumerian question.

8. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; The origin of the Hebrew nota accusativi.

9. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; Why is the suffix of the second person in Semitic -ka instead of -ta?

10. Professor Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; The termination of the construct state of the plural of masculine nouns in Hebrew.

11. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; Hindu guilds.¹

12. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; The village community in ancient India.

13. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; Epic diction in Sanskrit.

14. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; Religious phenomena of the plague in Bombay.

15. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University; Notes on certain dramatic elements in Sanskrit plays.

¹ Published in the Yale Review, May and August, 1898.
16. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University; Indo-Iranian contributions.

17. Professor A. V. Williams Jackson, Columbia University; On the death of Zoroaster.

18. Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania; On a certain funeral custom of the ancient Hebrews.

19. Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., University of Pennsylvania; Adam and Eve in Babylonian literature.

20. Dr. Christopher Johnston, Johns Hopkins University; Meissner's Supplement to the Assyrian Lexicon.

21. Dr. Christopher Johnston, Johns Hopkins University; Proverbial quotations in cuneiform epistolary literature.

22. Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University; The milk-drinking swans of India once more.

23. Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University; Walking the deasil.

24. Professor Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University; The occupations of priests and herdsmen as affecting Sanskrit diction.

25. Professor Duncan B. Macdonald, Hartford Theological Seminary; The religious attitude of Averroes.


27. Professor Herbert W. Magoun, Oberlin, Ohio; Apāṃ Napāṭ in the Rig Veda.

28. Professor Herbert W. Magoun, Oberlin, Ohio; The original Hindu Triad.


30. Professor Hanns Oertel, Yale University; Contributions from the Jāmīnīya Brāhmaṇa.

31. Professor J. Dyneley Prince, New York University; Prepositional usage in Assyrian.

32. President F. P. Ramsay, Fredericksburg College; The meaning of ל, especially in לָמֶה and לָמָן.
33. Mr. Arthur F. J. Remy, Columbia University; Indo-Iranian jana—zana.

34. Professor Frank K. Sanders, Yale University; The order of the early suras of the Quran.

35. Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa.; The Polynesian words in English.

36. Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa.; The “simplicity” of the savage.

37. Dr. Charles C. Torrey, Andover Theological Seminary; Note on the Kitāb Maṣāriʾ el-ʿUṣūq.

38. Dr. Charles C. Torrey, Andover Theological Seminary; Bethulia in the Book of Judith.

39. Dr. William Hayes Ward, New York City; Hittite gods in Hittite art.

40. Professor Theodore F. Wright, New Church Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.; The names of Jerusalem.

41. Rev. Abraham Yohannan, New York City; A brief description of some Syriac manuscripts just arrived from Persia.

In the Section for the Historical Study of Religions the following papers were presented:

42. Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Bishop, New York; A point of view for the study of religions.

43. Professor Maurice Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University; The theosophy of the Atharva-Veda.

44. Professor E. Washburn Hopkins, Yale University; How gods are made in India.

45. Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Yale University; The chthonic gods of the Greek religion.

46. Professor Crawford H. Toy, Harvard University; Taboo and morality.

47. Professor Crawford H. Toy, Harvard University; The “Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.”
Vol. xix.]  

Additions to Library.  

Additions to the Library.

April, 1896—April, 1898.

From the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vol. xii. 2, 3. Cambridge, 1896. 4".

From the American Antiquarian Society.

From the American Geographical Society.

From the American Philosophical Society.

From the Royal Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.
Verhandelingen der Koninklijke ACADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN TE AMSTERDAM. Afdeeling Letterkunde. Deel i. Amst., 1892–96. 8".
Verslagen en mededeelingen der Kon. Akad. van Wetensch. Derde reeks. Deel xii; Register, deel i–xii. Amst., 1896–97. 8".
Jaarboek der Kon. Akad. van Wetensch. 1896. Amst., 1896. 8".

From Mr. R. N. Apte.

From Mr. A. J. Arbeely.

From the Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, Münster.
Die philosophischen Abhandlungen des Jaʿqūb b. Išāq al-Kindī, zum ersten Male hrsg. von Dr. Albino Nagy. Münster, 1897. 8".
From the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Aitareya Brâhmaṇa of the Rig Veda. Vol. ii. 4, 5, iii. 1–5, iv. 1–3.
Avadāna Kalpa-tatā. Fasc. 5.
Bṛhad-Dharma Purāṇa. Fasc. 6.
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, translated. Fasc. 4, 5.
Nyāya Vārttikak. Fasc. 3, 4.
Parāśara Śṛṇvi. Vol. iii. 5.
S'rauta Śūtra of S'ānkhyāyana. Vol. iii. 4.
Tāttvārtha Sanhitā. Fasc. 39–42.
Tattva Chintāmaṇi. Vol. iv, pt. 2, fasc. 1, 2; v, fasc. 2–5.
Tul'Śa Sat'Śāi. Fasc. 5.
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Tabaqāt-f-Nāṣif. Index to the translation.

From the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.


From the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.


From the Asiatic Society of Japan.


From the Asiatic Society of Paris.


From Edward Atkinson, LL.D., Boston.

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From the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.

Notulen van de algemeenen en bestuurs-vergaderingen. Deel xxxii. 4, xxxiii, xxxiv. 1, 2. Batavia, 1895-96. 8°.

From the Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin.


From the Royal Library, Berlin.

Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin:

From Pandit Lala Chandra Vidya Bhaskara, Jodhpur.


From the Society of Biblical Archaeology.


From the Buddhist Text Society of India.


From the Buffalo Historical Society.

From the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press.

The Jātaka; or, Stories of the Buddha's former births. Translated from the Pali by various hands under the editorship of Professor E. B. Cowell. Vol. iii. Cambridge, 1897. 8°.

From Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, Breslau.


From Mr. Samuel F. Dunlap, New York.


From the Society of Ethnography, Paris.


From the Field Columbian Museum, Chicago.


From the German Oriental Society.


From the Gratz College, Philadelphia.


From the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.


From G. A. Grierson, Ph.D.


From Mr. Eduard Hahn, Berlin.

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From Professor C. de Harlez.

Teoh-hi, his doctrine and his influence. Par C. de Harlez. Louvain, 1896. 8°.

From A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Ph.D., Calcutta.

Annual address delivered to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 2 Feb., 1898, by A. F. R. Hoernle, President of the Society, 1897–98. Calcutta, 1898. 8°.

From Her Majesty’s Secretary of State for India.

Archaeological Survey of India. New imperial series:
Report on publications issued and registered in the several provinces of British India during the year 1895. Calcutta, 1896. fol.
Papers relating to the conduct of the pilgrim traffic to and from the Red Sea, 1884-95. Calcutta, 1896. fol.
Avesta, the sacred books of the Parsis. Edited by Karl F. Geldner. 1-lili. Stuttgart, 1886-96. 4°.

From the Italian Asiatic Society.

From the Trustees of the Sir Jamesjtee Jeejeebhoy Translation Fund.

From the Khedivial Library, Cairo.
—Catalogue of Turkish books. [Arabic.] Cairo, 1888. 8°.

From the University of Kiel.
Schriften der Universität zu Kiel aus dem Jahre 1895-96 (130); 1896-97 (89). Kiel, 1895-97. 8°.

From Prof. E. Kuhn.

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From Lady Meux, Theobald's Park, Hertfordshire.

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From l'École des langues orientales vivantes, Paris.

From the Musée Guimet, Paris.

From Rev. S. D. Peet.

From the Peking Oriental Society.

From the University of Pennsylvania.
Vol. xix. 12
178 *American Oriental Society's Proceedings, April, 1888.* [1888.]

*From Prof. George E. Post, M. D., Beirut.*


*From Charles Rice, M.d., New York.*

History of Buddhism in India, by Daranat'a. Translated from the Tibetan by V. Vasiliiev. [in Russian]. St. Petersburg, 1889. 8°.

*From Sundari Bala Roy.*


*From the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.*


*From the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society, St. Petersburg.*


*From the Faculty of Oriental Languages, University of St. Petersburg.*

Vostochnyi zametki. [Papers published by the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg at the 100th anniversary of the École des langues orientales vivantes, Paris.] St. Petersburg, 1895. 4°.

*From Mr. P. R. Subrahmanya Sastri.*


*From the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences.*


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The Zend I Javiti Shâda Dâd; or, The Pahlavi version of the Avesta Vendidad.

From the Smithsonian Institution.

From M. A. Stein, Ph.D., Lahore.

From the Editor, Maj. Richard C. Temple.

From the United States Geological Survey.
Extracts (12) from Mineral resources of the United States, 1886-98. 8°.

From the United States Bureau of Education.
Krisf smes of Kongl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Upsala.
Bd. i, ii, v. Upsala, 1890–97. 8º.

From the University of Upsala.

Dionysii Telmaharenos chronici liber primus. Textum e codice MS. Syriaco Bibliothecae Vaticanae transcritit notisque illustravit O. F. Tullberg. Upsaliæ, 1850. 4º.

Gregorii Bar Hebrei in Psalmos scholiorum specimen e codicibus MSS. Syriacist edidit O. F. Tullberg. Upsaliæ, 1842. 4º.

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Mālāvikā et Agnimitra, drama Indicum Kalidase adscriptione. Edidit O. F. Tullberg. Fasc. i. Bonae ad Rhenum, 1840. 8º.


Prof. J. C. Tornbergs Koreänöversättning granskad af J. T. Nordling. Upsala, 1876. 8º.

Ljöba bok översatt från grundspråket af J. T. Nordling. Upsala, 1877. 8º.


Om upppoksten af Gamla Testamentets kanon. Af Erik Stave. Upsala, 1894. 8º.


Dissertations, etc. (20) of the University of Upsala. v. y.

From the Trustees of the Victoria Jubilee Pahlavi Text Fund.


From the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna.


From the Anthropological Society, Vienna.

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From the Geographical Society, Vienna.

From Henry C. Warren, Ph.D.
Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. i-iii:
v. i. The Jātaka-Mālā; or, Bodhisattvāvadāna-Mālā, by Ārya-Cūra. Edited by Dr. Hendrik Kern. Cambridge, 1891. 8°.

From the Family of Prof. William Dwight Whitney.

From Prof. Edward J. Young.
LIST OF MEMBERS.

REVISED, MAY, 1898.

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

I. HONORARY MEMBERS.

M. AUGUSTE BARTH, Paris, France. (Rue du Vieux-Colombier, 6.) 1888.
Prof. RAMESHNA GOPAL BHANDARKAR, Dekkan Coll., Poona, India. 1887.
His Excellency, OTTO VON BORETSLINGE, 25 Hospital St., Leipzig, Germany.
1844.
Dr. ANTONIO MARIA CERIANI, Ambrosian Library, Milan, Italy. 1890.
Prof. EDWARD B. COWELL, Univ. of Cambridge, England. Corresponding Member, 1869; Hon., 1898.
Prof. BERTHOLD DELBRÜCK, Univ. of Jena, Germany. 1878.
Prof. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Univ. of Breslau, Germany. (105 Kaiser-Wilhelm St.) 1893.
Prof. M. J. DE GOLKE, Univ. of Leyden, Netherlands. (Vlist 15.) 1898.
Prof. IGNAZIO GUIDI, Univ. of Rome, Italy. (Via Botteghe Oscure, 24.) 1898.
Prof. HENDRIK KERN, Univ. of Leyden, Netherlands. 1888.
Prof. FRANZ KIELHORN, Univ. of Goettingen, Germany. (21 Hainholzweg.) 1887.
Prof. ALFRED LUDWIG, Univ. of Prague, Bohemia. (Celakowsky Str. 15.) 1898.
Prof. GASTON MASPERO, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Avenue de l'Observatoire, 24.) 1898.
The Rt. Hon. Prof. F. MAX MUELLER, Univ. of Oxford, England. Corresponding Member, 1884; Hon., 1889.
Prof. THEODOR NOERDKE, Univ. of Strassburg, Germany. (16 Kalbegasse.) 1878.
Prof. JULES OPPERT, Collège de France, Paris, France. (Rue de Sfax, 2.) 1898.
Prof. EDUARD SACHAU, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. (12 Wormser St., W.) 1887.
Prof. ARCHIBALD H. SAYCE, Univ. of Oxford, England. 1898.
Prof. EBERHARD SCHRADE, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. (30 Kronprinzen-Ufer, N. W.) 1890.
Prof. FRIEDRICH VON SPIEGEL, Munich, Germany. (49 Königin St.) Corresponding Member, 1868; Hon., 1869.
Prof. CORNELIS P. TIELE, Univ. of Leyden, Netherlands. 1898.
Prof. ALBRECHT WEBER, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. (58 Ritter St., S. W.) Corresponding Member, 1860; Hon., 1869.
Prof. ERNST WINDISCH, Univ. of Leipzig, Germany. (15 Universitätsstr.) 1890.

[Total, 24.]
II. CORPORATE MEMBERS.

Names marked with † are those of life members.

NAGELS J. ARBEELY, 45 Pearl St., New York, N. Y. 1893.
Prof. EDWARD V. ARNOLD, University College of North Wales, Bangor, Great Britain. 1896.
MRS. EMMA J. ARNOLD, 29 Greene St., Providence, R. I. 1894.
IRVING BABBITT (Harvard Univ.), 65 Hammond St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Prof. BENJAMIN WINSOR BACON (Yale Univ.), 39 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
Prof. MARK BAILEY, Jr. (State Univ. of Washington), 1019 Chestnut St., Seattle, Wash. 1891.
Hon. SIMON E. BALDWIN, LL.D., 44 Wall St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Miss ANNIE L. BARBER, 1626 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
DAVID P. BARNITZ, 30 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass. 1896.
Prof. GEORGE A. BARTON, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1888.
Prof. L. W. BATTEN (Episcopal Divinity School), 4905 Regent St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.
Rev. DANIEL M. BATES, St. Stephen's Rectory, Clifton Heights, Pa. 1890.
Rev. HARLAN F. BEACH, Montclair, N. J. 1898.
Rev. JOSEPH F. BERG, Ph.D., Montgomery, Orange Co., N. Y. 1893.
Dr. WILLIAM STUBBS BIGELOW, 60 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.
Prof. JOHN BINNEY, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Conn. 1887.
Rev. DAVID BLAUSTEIN, 41 Lyman St., Providence, R. I. 1891.
Prof. MAURICE BLOOMFIELD, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1881.
Prof. CHARLES W. E. BODY (General Theological Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1897.
Dr. ALFRED BOISHEBEUR, 4 Cours des Bastions, Geneva, Switzerland. 1897.
Dr. GEORGE M. BOLLING, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C. 1898.
Prof. JAMES HENRY BREASTED (Univ. of Chicago), 515 62nd St., Englewood, Chicago, Ill. 1891.
Prof. CHAS. A. BRIGGS (Union Theol. Sem.), 120 West 93rd St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Prof. DANIEL G. BRINTON, Media, Pa. 1888.
Miss SARAH W. BROOKS, 28 Inman St., Cambridgeport, Mass. 1896.
Prof. CHAS. RUFUS BROWN, Newton Theological Institution, Newton Centre, Mass. 1886.
Prof. FRANCIS BROWN, Union Theological Seminary, 700 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1881.
Prof. JOSEPH BRUNEAU, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. 1896.
Prof. CARL DARLING BUCK (Univ. of Chicago), 3748 Madison Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
Prof. SYLVESTER BURNHAM, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y. 1896.
Pres. GEO. S. BURBROUGHS, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1890.
Prof. HENRY F. BURTON, Rochester University, Rochester, N. Y. 1881.
Dr. W. C. CALAND, 498 Seeligersingel, Breda, Netherlands. 1897.
Rev. JOHN CAMPBELL, Kingsbridge, New York, N. Y. 1896.
Prof. A. S. CARRIE (McCombick Theological Seminary), 1042 N. Halsted
St., Chicago, Ill. 1890.
Pres. FRANKLIN CARTER, Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. 1873.
Dr. PAUL CARUS, La Salle, Illinois. 1897.
Miss EVA CHANNING, 90 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass. 1888.
Dr. FRANK DYER CHESTRE, United States Consulate, Buda-Pesth, Hungary.
1891.
Rev. HENRY N. CROB, 20 East 22d St., New York, N. Y. 1875.
Prof. CAMDEN M. COWEN, 1890 Sherman Ave., Denver, Colorado. 1894.
WM. EMMETTE COLEMAN, Chief Quartermaster's Office, San Francisco, Cal.
1885.
GEORGE WETMORE COLLES, 62 Fort Greene Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. HERMANN COTTERT, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1887.
Miss ELIZABETH S. COTTON, Easthampton, Mass. 1896.
SAMUEL VICTOR CONSTANT, 420 West 23d St., New York, N. Y. 1890.
Dr. FREDERICK TABER COOPER, 177 Waverly Ave., Yonkers, N. Y. 1892.
Miss LUTIE REBECCA CORWIN, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass.
1895.
Dr. CLARK EUGENE CRANDALL (Univ. of Chicago), 5455 Monroe Ave., Hyde
Park, Chicago, III. 1888.
MRS. OLIVER CRANE, 12 Concord Square, Boston, Mass. 1891.
Mr. STEWART CULIN (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 127 South Front St., Philadel-
phia, Pa. 1888.
Prof. EDWARD L. CURTIS (Yale Univ.), 61 Trumbull St., New Haven, Conn.
1890.
Dr. CHAS. H. STANLEY DAVIS, Meriden, Conn. 1893.
Prof. JOHN D. DAVIS, Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
LEE MALTHIE DEAN (Yale Univ.), 576 Iranistan Ave., Bridgeport, Conn.
1897.
LAURELL W. DEMERITT, 955 Greene Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1898.
Dr. P. L. ARMAND DE POTTER, 1466 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1880.
Rev. Dr. LYSDANDER DICKERMAN, 59 Washington Square, New York, N. Y.
1882.
Rev. Dr. SAMUEL F. DIXE, Bath, Me. 1883.
EPES SARGENT DIXWELL, 88 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1848.
Rev. D. STUART DODGE, 9 Cliff St., New York, N. Y. 1867.
Prof. JAMES F. DRISCOLL, St. Joseph's Seminary, Yonkers, N. Y. 1897.
SAMUEL P. DUNLAP, 18 West 22nd St., New York, N. Y. 1854.
HARRY WESTBROOK DUNNING, 76 W. Divinity, Yale University, New Haven,
Conn. 1894.
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Wilberforce Eames, Lenox Library, 890 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1897.

Carl J. Elomson, Hutto, Texas. 1891.

Prof. Levi H. Elwell, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1883.

Prof. Charles Carroll Everett (Harvard Univ.), 53 Garden St., Cambridge, Mass. 1859.


Prof. Henry Ferguson, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1876.


Frank B. Forbes, 56 Rue de la Victoire, Paris, France. 1884.


Jas. Everett Frame, Union Theol. Sem., 41 East 69th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.


Dr. William H. Furness, 3d, Wallingford, Delaware Co., Penn. 1897.

Prof. Basil L. Gildersleeve, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1888.


Prof. Daniel Colt Gilman, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1897.

Ralph L. Goodrich, Clerk of the U. S. Court, Little Rock, Ark. 1888.

Prof. William Watson Goodwin (Harvard Univ.), 5 Follen St., Cambridge, Mass. 1867.

Prof. Richard J. H. Gottreil (Columbia Univ.), 169 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1886.

Jacob Graff, Jr., 432 East 20th St., Baltimore, Md. 1888.

Louis H. Gray, 212 West 121st St., New York, N. Y. 1897.

Prof. W. Henry Green, Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1855.

Miss Lucia C. Graeme Grieve, 136 West 61st St., New York, N. Y. 1894.

Miss Louise H. R. Grieve, M.D., 136 West 61st St., New York, N. Y. 1898.

Karl Joseph Grimm, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1897.

Dr. J. B. Grossmann, 1442 North Sixth St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1894.

Rabbi Dr. Louis Grossmann, Temple Beth El, Detroit, Mich. 1890.

Chas. F. Gunther, 212 State St., Chicago, Ill. 1889.


A. H. Haigazian, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1898.

The Right Rev. Chas. R. Hale, Bishop of Cairo, Cairo, Ill. 1860.

Prof. Robert Francis Harper, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1886.


Prof. Samuel Hart, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

Dr. William W. Hastings, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. 1899.

Prof. Paul Haupt (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 2315 Linden Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1883.

Rev. Henry Harrison Haynes, 6 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
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Rev. Willis Hatfield Hazard, West Chester, Pa. 1898.
Col. Thou. Wentworth Higginson, 35 Buckingham St., Cambridge, Mass. 1899.
Prof. Hermann V. Hilprecht (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 403 South 41st St.,
Leonard Kenner Hirschberg (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 581 Gay St., Balti-
more, Md. 1896.
Prof. Edward Washburn Hopkins (Yale Univ.), 235 Bishop St., New Haven,
Conn. 1891.
Prof. James M. Hoppin (Yale Univ.), 47 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn.
1882.
Montague Howard, 264 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1891.
Rev. Dr. S. W. Howland, 830 West 50th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
Miss Annie K. Humphrey, 1114 14th St., Washington, D. C. 1873.
Prof. Henry Hyvernat, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D. C.
1889.
Prof. A. V. Williams Jackson (Columbia Univ.), 16 Highland Place,
Yonkers, N. Y. 1888.
Rev. Marcus Jastrow, 139 West Upsal St., Germantown, Pa. 1887.
Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 248 South 23d St.,
Rev. Henry F. Jenks, P. O. Box 143, Canton, Mass. 1874.
Prof. James Richard Jewett (Univ. of Minnesota), 266 Summit Ave., St.
Paul, Minnesota. 1887.
Prof. Joshua A. Joëffe (Jewish Theological Seminary), 736 Lexington Ave.,
New York, N. Y. 1894.
Dr. Christopher Johnston (Johns Hopkins Univ.), 709 St. Paul St., Balti-
more, Md. 1889.
R. P. Karkaria, Nepean Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, India. 1897.
Herbert Kaufman, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Miss Eliza H. Kendrick, Ph.D. (Radcliffe College), Hunnewell Ave., New-
ton, Mass. 1896.
Prof. Charles Foster Kent (Brown University), 168 Bowen St., Providence,
R. I. 1890.
Miss Elizabeth T. King, 840 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Rabbi George A. Kohut, 141 Pocahontas St., Dallas, Texas. 1894.
Rev. Paul Henry Land, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
E. B. Landis, M.D., English Church Mission, Chunlup, Corea. 1898.
†Prof. Charles Rockwell Lanman (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cam-
bridge, Mass. 1876.
Rev. Joseph Lanman, First Presbyterian Church, Princeton, Caldwell Co.,
Kentucky. 1896.
Rev. Robert J. Lau (Columbia University), P. O. Box 162, Weehawken, N. J.
1897.
Thomas E. Lawler, 39 May St., Worcester, Mass. 1894.
Prof. Caspar Levi, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1882.
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ROBERT LILLEY, 16 Glen Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. THOMAS B. LINDSAY, Boston Univ., Boston, Mass. 1888.
HENRY F. LINSBORT, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. 1896.
Rev. ARTHUR LLOYD, Koseigkiku College, Tokio, Japan. 1888.
Rev. LINDSAY B. LONGHACK, Spuyten Duyvil, New York, N. Y. 1897.
Gen'l CHARLES G. LOWING (Museum of Fine Arts), 1 Mt. Vernon Place, Boston, Mass. 1877.
ARTHUR ONCEEN LOVERJOY (Harvard University), 1689 Cambridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.
Percival Lowell, care of Russell and Putnam, 50 State St., Boston, Mass. 1893.
Prof. JULES LUCQUENS (Yale Univ.), 201 Bishop St., New Haven, Conn. 1873.
Prof. David Gordon Lyon (Harvard Univ.), 15 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.
Prof. Duncan B. MacDonALD (Hartford Theological Seminary), 811 Asylum Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1893.
Rev. Charles S. MacFarland, 23 E. Divinity, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. Herbert W. Magnon, 115 West Lorain St., Oberlin, O. 1887.
Rev. John R. Maroney, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Prof. Max L. Marquise, University of California, Berkeley, Cal. 1890.
Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1888.
Prof. David C. Marquis (McCormick Theological Seminary), 322 Belden Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1890.
Prof. Winfred Robert Martin, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1889.
Rev. Donald J. McKinnon, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1897.
Prof. Charles Marsh Mead, Hartford, Conn. 1897.
Prof. William N. MesBane, Fredericksburg College, Fredericksburg, Va. 1893.
Mrs. Helen L. Million (née Lovell), Hardin College, Mexico, Missouri. 1892.
Rev. Dr. Lawrence H. Mills, 29 Ilfrey Road, Oxford, England. 1881.
Prof. Edwin Knox Mitchell (Hartford Theol. Sem.), 57 Gillette St., Hartford, Conn. 1898.
Rev. Dr. Alfred Bernard Mollenke, 124 East 46th St., New York, N. Y. 1892.
Prof. Georgie F. Moore, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1887.
Prof. Paul Elmer More, 5889 Plymouth Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1893.
Prof. Edward S. Morse, Salem, Mass. 1894.
Rev. Dr. Philip S. MOXOM, Springfield, Mass. 1898.
Isaac Myers, 21 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.
Jens Anderson Ness, Johns Hopkins University (Box 443). 1897.
George Nathan Newman, 80 Bryant St., Buffalo, N. Y. 1891.
Prof. Hanns Oertel (Yale Univ.), 137 College St., New Haven, Conn. 1890.
Miss Ellen S. Ogden, B.L., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1898.
George N. Olcott, Ridgefield, Conn. 1892.
John Osborne, Ph.D., 104 Ellery St., Cambridge, Mass. 1890.
George W. Osborn, New York University, University Heights, New York, N. Y. 1894.
Rev. George Palmer Pardington, 194 Park Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1896.
Prof. Lewis B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1894.
Dr. Charles Peabody, 197 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass. 1892.
Profs. Ismar J. Perlitz, 710 Madison St., Syracuse, N. Y. 1894.
Prof. Edward Delavan Perry (Columbia Univ.), 133 East 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1879.
Rev. Dr. John P. Peters, 235 West 59th St., New York, N. Y. 1882.
Prof. David Philipson, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, O. 1899.
Prof. Samuel Ball Platner, Adelbert College, Cleveland, O. 1885.
Murray E. Poole, 21 East State St., Ithaca, N. Y. 1887.
William Popper (Columbia University), 260 West 93rd St., New York, N. Y. 1897.
Murray Anthony Potter (Harvard University), 18 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Prof. Ira M. Price (Univ. of Chicago), Morgan Park, Ill. 1887.
Prof. John Dyneley Prince (New York University), 31 West 38th St., New York, N. Y. 1888.
Hugo Radau, General Theological Seminary, Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1896.
Madame Zenaide A. Ragozin, 207 East 18th St., New York, N. Y. 1886.
Dr. George Andrew Rehner, Ghizeh Museum, Cairo, Egypt. 1891.
Dr. Charles Rice, Bellevue Hospital, New York, N. Y. 1875.
Prof. George Livingston Robinson, Knox College, Toronto, Canada. 1892.
Prof. Robert W. Rogers, Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J. 1888.
James Hardy Ropes (Harvard University), 39½ Shepard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Rev. William Rosenau (Johns Hopkins University), Baltimore, Md. 1897.
Sanford L. Rotter, 55 Oak St. (for care of E. J. Smith & Co., 65 and 67 Asylum St.), Hartford, Conn. 1894.
Miss Adelaide Rudolph, 434 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1894.
Mrs. Janet E. Ruete-Rees, Rosemary Hall, Wallingford, Conn. 1897.
†Prof. Edward E. Salisbury, 237 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1842.
Prof. Frank K. Sanders (Yale University), 77 Mansfield St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
Rev. Tobias Schanfarber (Johns Hopkins University), 2030 Madison Ave.,
Baltimore, Md. 1897.

Dr. H. Ernest Schmidt, White Plains, N. Y. 1866.

Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.

Dr. Charles P. G. Scott, Radnor, Pa. 1895.

J. Herbert Senter, 10 Avon St., Portland, Maine. 1870.


Prof. Henry Preserved Smith, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 1877.

Prof. Herbert Weir Smyth, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Penn. 1884.

Maxwell Sommerville, 124 North Seventh St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.

Dr. Edward H. Spieker, Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md. 1884.

Rev. James D. Steele, 29 West 93d St., New York, N. Y. 1892.

Prof. J. H. Stevenson, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn. 1896.

Mrs. Sara Yorke Stevenson, 237 South 21st St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1890.

Alfred Stöcklius, 78 East 118th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.

Alfred W. Stratton (Chicago University), 5602 Monroe Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1894.


Prof. John Phelps Taylor, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1894.

Prof. J. Henry Thayer (Harvard Univ.), 67 Sparks St., Cambridge, Mass. 1874.

Prof. Henry A. Todd (Columbia Coll.), 730 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1885.

Prof. Herbert Cushing Tolman, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn. 1890.

Dr. Charles C. Torrey, Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. 1891.

Prof. Crawford H. Toy (Harvard Univ.), 7 Lowell St., Cambridge, Mass. 1871.

Prof. Joseph Vincent Tracy, St. Mary’s Seminary, Baltimore, Md. 1893.


Prof. Charles Mellen Tyler, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N. Y. 1894.

Addison Van Name (Yale Univ.), 121 High St., New Haven, Conn. 1863.

Edward P. Vixing, 532 Market St., San Francisco, Cal. 1888.

Thomas E. Waggaman, 917 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1897.

Thomas Walsh, Yokohama, Japan. 1861.

Miss Susan Hayes Ward, Abington Ave., Newark, N. J. 1874.

Dr. William Hayes Ward, 130 Fulton St., New York, N. Y. 1869.

Miss Cornelia Warren, 67 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass. 1894.

Henry Clarke Warren, 12 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1882.

Rev. William F. Warren, Boston University, Boston, Mass. 1877.

Rev. W. Scott Watson, Towerhill (Guttenberg P. O.), N. J. 1893.

Charles Wallace Watts, Smithland, Ky. 1898.

Prof. J. E. Werren, P. O. Box 149, Abington, Mass. 1894.

Prof. Benjamin Ide Wheeler (Cornell Univ.), 3 South Ave., Ithaca, N. Y. 1885.

Prof. John Williams White (Harvard Univ.), 18 Concord Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1877.

Dr. Morris C. White (Yale Univ.), 48 College St., New Haven, Conn. Corresp. Member, 1899; Corp., 1880.
American Oriental Society.

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Miss Maria Whitney, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1897.
Mrs. William Dwight Whitney, 227 Church St., New Haven, Conn. 1897.
Dr. Earley Vernon Wilcox, Montana College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, Bozeman, Montana. 1896.
Frederick Wells Williams (Yale Univ.), 185 Whitney Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1895.
Rev. Dr. William C. Winslow, 325 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1885.
Dr. Albrecht Wirth. [Address desired.] 1894.
Lawrence P. Wolfe, General Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. Henry Wood, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1884.
Prof. John Henry Wright (Harvard Univ.), 38 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
Prof. Theodore F. Wright, 42 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1893.
Rev. Edward J. Young, 519 Main St., Waltham, Mass. 1899.

[Total, 274.]

III. MEMBERS OF THE SECTION FOR THE HISTORICAL STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

Rev. Dr. John Henry Barrows, 4812 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1898.
Rev. Dr. Samuel H. Bishop, 127 East 60th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
Dr. Arthur Fairbanks (Yale Univ.), 77 Elm St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Dr. Livingston Farrand, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. Arthur L. Gillett, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1898.
James H. Hoffmann, 25 West 97th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. George L. Kittredge (Harv. Univ.), 9 Hilliard St., Cambridge, Mass. 1898.
Prof. George T. Ladd (Yale Univ.), 204 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Rev. Dr. Minot J. Savage, 34th St. and Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. Edwin R. Seligman (Columbia Univ.), 324 West 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1898.
Prof. William G. Sumner (Yale Univ.), 140 Edwards St., New Haven, Conn. 1898.
Prof. R. M. Wenley, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1898.

[Total, 14.]
IV. CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Prof. GASPAGIO ISAIA ASCOLI, Royal Academy of Sciences and Letters, Milan, Italy.
Rev. C. C. BALDWIN (formerly Missionary at Foochow, China), 105 Spruce St., New York, N. Y.
Prof. ADOLF BASTIAN, Univ. of Berlin, Germany. 1868.
Pres. DANIEL BLISS, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria.
Rev. Dr. HENRY BLODGET (formerly Missionary at Peking, China), 318 State St., Bridgeport, Conn. 1858.
Rev. ALONZO BUNKER, Missionary at Toungoo, Burma. 1871.
Rev. MARCUS M. CARLETON, Missionary at Ambala, India.
Rev. EDMUND L. CLARK, Hinsdale, Mass. Corp. Member, 1887.
Rev. WILLIAM CLARK, Florence, Italy.
Judge ERNEST H. CROSBY, Rhinebeck, N. Y. 1890.
Rev. JOSHEP EDKINS, Shanghai, China. 1889.
A. A. GAROULIO, U. S. Legation, Constantinople, Turkey. 1892.
HENRY GILLMAN, 107 Fort St., West Detroit, Mich. 1890.
Rev. Dr. JOHN T. GRACEY (Editor of The Missionary Review of the World), 177 Pearl St., Rochester, N. Y. 1869.
GEORGE A. GRIERSON, Bengal Civil Service, Bankipur, Bengal. 1893.
Rev. LEWIS GROUT, West Brattleboro, Vt. 1849.
Rev. JOHN T. GULICK, Missionary at Osaka, Japan.
Dr. WILLIAM HASKELL, 96 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn. 1877.
Prof. J. H. HAYNES, Central Turkey College, Antak, Syria. 1887.
Dr. JAMES C. HEPBURN, Missionary at Yokohama, Japan. 1873.
Rev. SAMUEL R. HOUSE, M.D., Waterford, N. Y. 1855.
DASTUR JAMASPU MINOCHERERJI JAMASP ASAMA, Parsi Panchayet Lane, Bombay, India. 1887.
Rev. Dr. HENRY H. JESSUP, Missionary at Beirut, Syria.
Rev. Dr. SAMUEL H. KELLOGG, The Fire, Landour, Mussoorie, N. W. P., India. 1872.
Rev. Prof. ALBERT L. LONG, Robert College, Constantinople, Turkey. 1870.
Rev. ROBERT S. MACLAY (formerly Missionary at Tokio, Japan), President of the Univ. of the Pacific, Fernando, Cal.
Pres. WILLIAM A. P. MARTIN, Peking, China. 1883.
Dr. DIVIE BETHUNE McCARTER, American Presbyterian Mission, Tokio, Japan. 1877.
Prof. EBERHARD NESTLE, Ulm, Württemberg, Germany. 1888.
Dr. ALEXANDER G. PASCHATI, Athens, Greece. 1881.
Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET, Good Hope, Ill. 1881.
ALPHONSE PINAT. [Address desired.] 1871.
Rev. ELIAS RIGGS, Missionary at Constantinople (Bible House), Turkey.
Prof. LÉON DE ROSSY (École des langues orientales vivantes), 47 Avenue Duquesne, Paris, France. 1857.
Rev. Dr. S. I. J. SCHERSHEWSKY, Shanghai, China.
Rev. W. A. SHEDD, Missionary at Oroumia, Persia. 1892.
Dr. John C. Sundberg, U. S. Consul, Baghdad, Turkey. 1893.
Rev. George N. Thomassen, of the American Baptist Mission, Kurnool, Madras, India. (Now at 433 Fifteenth St., Brooklyn, N. Y.) Corp. Member, 1890; Corresp., 1891.
Rev. George T. Washburn, Missionary at Pasumalai, Madura, India.

Number of Members of the four classes (24 + 274 + 14 + 42 = 354.)

Societies, Libraries, etc., to which the Publications of the American Oriental Society are sent by way of gift or exchange.

I. AMERICA.

Boston, Mass.: American Academy of Arts and Sciences.
Chicago, Ills: Field Columbian Museum.

II. EUROPE.

Austria, Vienna: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Anthropologische Gesellschaft.
Prague: Königlich Böhmische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
Denmark, Iceland, Reykjavik: University Library.
France, Paris: Société Asiatique. (Rue de Seine, Palais de l'Institut.)
Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
Bibliothèque Nationale.
Musée Guimet. (Avenue du Trocadéro.)
École des Langues Orientales Vivantes. (Rue de Lille, 2.)
Société Académique Indo-Chinoise.

Germany, Berlin: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königliche Bibliothek.
Göttingen: Königliche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
Halle: Bibliothek der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. (Friedrichstr. 50.)

Germany, Leipzig: Königlich Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
Munich: Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Königlich Hof- und Staatsbibliothek.

Great Britain, London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
(22 Albemarle St., W.)
Library of the India Office. (Whitehall, SW.)
Society of Biblical Archaeology. (37 Great Russell St., Bloomsbury, WC.)
Philological Society. (Care of Dr. F. J. Furnivall, 3 St. George's Square, Primrose Hill, NW.)
List of Exchanges.

ITALY, FLORENCE: Società Asiatica Italiana.
ROME: Reale Accademia dei Lincei.
Netherlands, Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.
LEYDEN: Curatorium of the University.
NORWAY, CHRISTIANIA: Videnskab-Selskab.
SWEDEN, UPSALA: Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet.
RUSSIA, St. PETERSBURG: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk.
Archeologijii Institut.

III. ASIA.
CEYLON, COLOMBO: Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
CHINA, PEKING: Peking Oriental Society.
SHANGHAI: China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
INDIA, BOMBAY: Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
CALCUTTA: The Asiatic Society of Bengal.
The Buddhist Text Society. (86 Jaun Bazar St.)
LAHORE: Library of the Oriental College.
JAPAN, TOKIO: The Asiatic Society of Japan.
JAVA, BATAVIA: Bataviasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
TURKEY, CONSTANTINOPLE: Imperial Ottoman Museum.

IV. AFRICA.
EGYPT, CAIRO: The Khedivial Library.

V. EDITORS OF THE FOLLOWING PERIODICALS.
The Indian Antiquary (care of the Education Society's Press, Bombay, India).
Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (care of Alfred Hölder, Rothenthurm-str. 13, Vienna, Austria).
Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung (care of Prof. E. Kuhn, 3 Hess-st., Munich, Bavaria).
Indogermanische Forschungen (care of Prof. W. Streitberg, Freiburg, Switzerland).
Revue des Études Juives. (Librairie A. Durlacher, 88 bis, rue Lafayette, Paris, France.)
Revue Archéologique. (Rue de Lille, 2, Paris, France.)
Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (care of Prof. Bernhard Stade, Giessen, Germany).
Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. (J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipzig, Germany.)
Orientalische Bibliographie (care of Dr. Lucian Scherman, 8 Gisela Str., Munich, Bavaria).

Recipients: 398 (Members) + 58 (Gifts and Exchanges) = 356.
REQUEST.

The Editor requests the Librarians of any Institutions or Libraries, not mentioned above, to which this Journal may regularly come, to notify him of the fact. It is the intention of the Editor to print a list, as complete as may be, of regular subscribers for the Journal or of recipients thereof. The following is the beginning of such a list.

Andover Theological Seminary.
Chicago University Library.
Harvard Sanskrit Class-Room Library.
Harvard Semitic Class-Room Library.
Harvard University Library.
New York Public Library.
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

With Amendments of April, 1867.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ARTICLE II. The objects contemplated by this Society shall be:

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications, presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ARTICLE III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate and honorary.

ARTICLE IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ARTICLE V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Secretary of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and seven Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ARTICLE VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be ex officio members of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE VII. The Secretaries, Treasurer, and Librarian shall be ex officio members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

ARTICLE VIII. It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Five Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

ARTICLE IX. An Annual meeting of the Society shall be held during Easter week, the days and place of the meeting to be determined by the Directors, said meeting to be held in Massachusetts at least once in three
years. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, may also be held each year at such place and time as the Directors shall determine.

ARTICLE X. There shall be a special Section of the Society, devoted to the historical study of religions, to which section others than members of the American Oriental Society may be elected in the same manner as is prescribed in Article IV.

ARTICLE XI. This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep, in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters; and he shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President or the Board of Directors shall direct.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose.

III. a. The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society; and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

III. b. After December 31, 1896, the fiscal year of the Society shall correspond with the calendar year.

III. c. At each annual business meeting in Easter week, the President shall appoint an auditing committee of two men—preferably men residing in or near the town where the Treasurer lives—to examine the Treasurer's accounts and vouchers, and to inspect the evidences of the Society's property, and to see that the funds called for by his balances are in his hands. The Committee shall perform this duty as soon as possible after the New Year's day succeeding their appointment, and shall report their findings to the Society at the next annual business meeting thereafter. If these findings are satisfactory, the Treasurer shall receive his acquittance by a certificate to that effect, which shall be recorded in the Treasurer's book, and published in the Proceedings.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all manuscripts deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of five dollars; but a donation at any one time of seventy-five dollars shall exempt from obligation to make this payment.

VII. Corporate and Honorary members shall be entitled to a copy of all the publications of the Society issued during their membership, and shall
also have the privilege of taking a copy of those previously published, so far as the Society can supply them, at half the ordinary selling price.

VIII. If any corporate member shall for two years fail to pay his assessments, his name may, at the discretion of the Directors, be dropped from the list of members of the Society.

IX. Members of the Section for the Historical Study of Religions shall pay into the treasury of the Society an annual assessment of two dollars; and they shall be entitled to a copy of all printed papers which fall within the scope of the Section.

X. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAW.

I. FOR THE LIBRARY.

1. The Library shall be accessible for consultation to all members of the Society, at such times as the Library of Yale College, with which it is deposited, shall be open for a similar purpose; further, to such persons as shall receive the permission of the Librarian, or of the Librarian or Assistant Librarian of Yale College.

2. Any member shall be allowed to draw books from the Library upon the following conditions: he shall give his receipt for them to the Librarian, pledging himself to make good any detriment the Library may suffer from their loss or injury, the amount of said detriment to be determined by the Librarian, with the assistance of the President, or of a Vice-President; and he shall return them within a time not exceeding three months from that of their reception, unless by special agreement with the Librarian this term shall be extended.

3. Persons not members may also, on special grounds, and at the discretion of the Librarian, be allowed to take and use the Society's books, upon depositing with the Librarian a sufficient security that they shall be duly returned in good condition, or their loss or damage fully compensated.
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NOTICES.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.

Fifty copies of each article published in this Journal will be forwarded to the author. A larger number will be furnished at cost.

Arabic, Persian, Syriac (Jacobite and Nestorian), Armenian, Sanskrit, Tamil, Chinese, and Japanese fonts of type are provided for the printing of the Journal, and others will be procured from time to time, as they are needed.

GENERAL NOTICES.

1. Members are requested to give immediate notice of changes of address to the Treasurer, Mr. Henry C. Warren, 12 Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.


3. For information regarding the sale of the Society's publications, see the next foregoing page.

4. Communications for the Journal should be sent to Prof. George F. Moore, Andover, Mass.

CONCERNING MEMBERSHIP.

It is not necessary for any one to be a professed Orientalist in order to become a member of the Society. All persons—men or women—who are in sympathy with the objects of the Society and willing to further its work are invited to give it their help. This help may be rendered by the payment of the annual assessments, by gifts to its library, or by scientific contributions to its Journal, or in all of these ways. Persons desiring to become members are requested to apply to the Treasurer, whose address is given above. Members receive the Journal free. The annual assessment is $5. The fee for Life-Membership is $75.

Persons interested in the Historical Study of Religions may become members of the Section of the Society organized for this purpose. The annual assessment is $2.; members receive copies of all publications of the Society which fall within the scope of the Section.