

## CHAPTER 2

# The Knowledge of the Crow (*vāyasavidyā*): *Gārgīyajyotiṣa*, *aṅga 19*

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### Introduction

Bird watching and divination are known the world over and have been studied in ancient cultures of the Etruscans, Greeks, Romans, Mesopotamians, and Egyptians.<sup>1</sup> Little attention, however, has been given to it in the early South Asian context. In this paper, I present an early example of bird divination in the form of crow omens, which occurs in the Sanskrit literature of Brahmanic Astral Science (Jyotiḥśāstra). It is found as chapter or *aṅga* 19 in the *Gārgīyajyotiṣa*, called “knowledge of the crow” (*vāyasavidyā*), and consists of seventy omen verses in *anuṣṭubh* meter dealing with divination by means of the crow.

Although the majority of verses are actual omens with the distinctive protasis-apodosis syntactical structure, there is metrical text at the beginning that locates these omens in a Brahmanic social and religious context. The textual structure of these beginning verses is a familiar one in which a useful body of information is appropriated into a Brahmanic system of knowledge (*śāstra*) by a literary enculturation technique, already apparent in the Sanskrit medical literature of Ayurveda. It entails grafting Brahmanic-specific verses at the beginning and end of a body of knowledge that was deemed to contain useful and important information.<sup>2</sup>

In this chapter the useful knowledge (*vidyā*) is a set of omens in verse form that derived from a local tradition of bird diviners, which is not too dissimilar from traditions of ancient Near Eastern bird diviners. One might, therefore, speculate that versions of omens travelled with caravans and military expeditions along the silk road into the Hindu Kush and eventually into what is now Pakistan and Punjab, where speakers of mixed dialects began the process

1 See Zysk 2022, Bouché-Leclercq 1882 [1963], Burkert 1992, and Scheid 2003. In ancient Egypt, early focus was placed on oneriocitica, but by the Graeco-Roman Period (1st–2nd cent. CE), the Demotic divination books included the behaviour of different animals, and these manuals were either collections of omens of individual animals or a single animal, such as the lizard or gecko (Prada 2017 and Quack 2006). Ancient China focussed on pyro-osteomancy, which utilised mainly the scapulae of different animals, the most common being cattle, and turtle plastrons (Flad 2008). Animals also figured in the yin and yang distinction and are described in terms of the four elements, the cardinal directions and the seasons (Smith 1991: 183–84).

2 Zysk 1999, 2021.

of preserving and transmitting the divinatory knowledge of bird watchers and diviners. A collection of these omens was then eventually compiled by a certain Garga, coming down to us in its present form around the beginning of the Common Era, according to Mitchiner.<sup>3</sup>

The chapter of crow omens shows certain similarities in both language and content to the Buddhist *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* found in the *Dīvyāvadāna* coming from the Northwest of the subcontinent. The earliest part of this text that refers to bird divination (*śakuna*) dates from at least the fourth century CE, although its specific collections of omens on the “call of the crow” (*vāyasaruta*) is not earlier than the ninth century. It is clear that a form of bird divination was recorded in a Buddhist legend from as early as the fourth century.<sup>4</sup>

A brief synopsis of the chapter provides an overview of its contents and points to a similarity to a non-Indian tradition of bird divination occurring among the Etruscans of ancient Italy.

## Division of the chapter

According to a single late manuscript (C), the chapter can conveniently be divided into four sections:

1. Crows’ calls at night, etc. (1–25)
2. Army on the march (26–42)
3. Crows’ nests and offspring (43–56)
4. Crows’ food offerings and method of observation (57–70)

Collections of omens corresponding to the first two sections occur in four other versions. One is in the same collection, *Gārgīyajyotiṣa*, at *aṅga* 42.9–29, “the call of all beings” (*sārva-bhūtaruta*), which bears the internal colophon, “the call of the crow,” (*vāyasaruta*). Another is found in the Buddhist *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, “the call of the crow” (*vāyasaruta*); in a later, greatly expanded and reworked form at Varāhamihira’s *Brhatsaṃhitā* chapter 94, “the call of the crow” (*vāyasaruta*), and in an abbreviated form as “the mark of the crow” (*vāyaseṅgita*) in the *Brhadyaṭrā* by the same author. Similarities between Garga’s versions and that of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* are given in the following chart.<sup>5</sup>

Sections 1 and 2 find common ground in *aṅgas* 19 and 42, while sections 3 and 4 are particular to *aṅga* 19, which also shares specific content with the Buddhist version.

From the perspective of the history of science, *aṅga* 19 introduces the set of omens with a reasoned explanation and methodology that might be found in any current bird watcher’s field guide, including the classification of types by the bird’s color, behavior, and habits.

3 Mitchiner 2002.

4 Zysk 2022, 2023.

5 See notes to translation for analysis of these parallels.

<i>Gārgīyajyotiṣa</i>		<i>Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna: vāyasaruta</i>
<i>aṅga</i> 19	<i>aṅga</i> 42	
15	26	
20	29	38
27–28	9–10	
30	15	36
35		30
43–44		50–52
50d–51		53
53		19

Table 2.1: Parallel passages

### Eight kinds of crows based on color

Verses 3–5 provide a list of eight different kinds of crows or corvids. They are color-coded and arranged in descending order from best to worst, based on their rarity. Although it is impossible to identify each type precisely, nevertheless, based on the list of probable Corvidae compiled from the *Handbook of Birds of India and Pakistan* by the ornithologists Ali and Ripley (see Table of Corvidae),<sup>6</sup> the following are possible matches for Garga's eight types of crows.

1. *White, king of crows: the albino. It is the rarest of the corvids.*

Figure 2.1: Albino raven<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Ali & Ripley 1913[1972].5: 98–266.

<sup>7</sup> Picture detail of a photograph by Kirkamon Guapo Cabello, <http://tinyurl.com/2h947j6t> (CC BY-SA 4.0)

*2. Blood-red:*

1020. West Himalayan Redcrown Jay: vinaceous fawn colour (or pinkish brown).  
 1046. Himalayan Redbilled Chough: Jet-black, with bright red legs and red bill.  
 1027 Himalayan Redbilled Magpie: blue-black head with red bill.  
 1045. Himalayan Yellowbilled or Alpine Chough: Glossy jet black; yellow bill; bright red legs.

*3. Variegated:*

1062. Waxwing: dumpy chestnut, pinkish brown, yellow-tipped tail; wings dark, white, and yellow with brilliant scarlet tips, black throat; grey rump; and chestnut tail. "Bushy crest, black throat, brilliant wing-pattern and yellow-tipped tail make its identity unmistakable."  
 1029. Kashmir or Whiterumped Magpie: Black and white strongly contrasting plumage with black tail.

*4. Tawny:*

1042. Large-spotted Nutcracker: Chocolate and umber-brown with white spots and black bil.

*5. Yellow:*

1025. Western Yellow-billed Blue Magpie: Purplish blue with black head, neck and breast; white nape and underparts; yellow bill, and bright orange legs.  
 1045. Himalayan Yellowbilled or Alpine Chough (see above #2).  
 1062. Waxwing (see above #3).

*6. Grey (poetically described as the colour of a rain cloud)*

1049. Indian House Crow: glossy black with dusky grey or mouse grey nape, neck, upper breast, and upper back.  
 1053. Jackdraw: Slaty black, silvery grey hind-collar with greyish white eyes.  
 1030a. North-western Tree Pie or 1031 Western Himalayan Tree Pie: Sooty grey head, neck, and breast; greyish tail; and white-black wings.

7. *Dark-blue/black: Any Corvid that is dark but not jet-black.*

8. *Jet-black:*

1059. Punjab Raven: glistening jet black.

1052. Rook: glossy jet black, 1058 Eastern Carrion Crow: glossy jet black.

1061. Brown-necked Raven: glistening jet black.

There are generally several possibilities for each type of corvid listed in this chapter of Garga, making an exact match problematic. It is noticed, however, that all the colors mentioned can be found on one or several of the corvids from the regions that constitute the West and Northwest of the Indian subcontinent.

Number	Name	Region	Colour	Call
1020	West Himalayan Redcrown Jay	West Pakistan and Punjab	Vinaceous fawn colour (or pinkish brown)	Harsh <i>shak</i> ; screeching and swearing "snake alert"; <i>ko-kaw-tee</i>
1022	Blackthroated Jay	NW hills of Pakistan	Vinous-grey with black head and white wings	Sams as 1020
1023	Green Magpie	Lower Himalayas from Garhwal eastward through Nepal	Bright leafgreen tail with cinnamon-red wings, and black band on nape	Repeated: <i>peep-peep</i> or <i>kik-wee</i> .
1025	Western Yellowbilled Blue Magpie	Outer Himalayas from Pakistan eastward	Purplish blue with black head, neck and breast; white underparts and nape, yellow bill, and bright orange legs	Piecing <i>quirer-pig-pig</i>
1027	Himalayan Redbilled Magpie	Himachal Pradesh eastward	Same as 1025 with red bill	Same as 1025

Number	Name	Region	Colour	Call
1029	Kashmir or Whiterumped Magpie	Mountains of NW Pakistan and India; Gilgit, Upper Indus Valley, Afghanistan	Black and white strongly contrasting plumage with black tail	Subdued rasping <i>querk</i> or <i>kick</i> ; in alarm, a loud harsh <i>kekky-kekky-kekky</i> run together as a rattling note
1030a	Northwestern Tree Pie	Lower ranges of western Himalayas from Pakistan west to Dehra Dune	Sooty grey head, neck, and breast; greyish tail; and white-black wings.	Loud harsh: <i>kitter kitter kitter</i> or <i>ke</i> (or <i>ka</i> )- <i>ke-ke-ke-ke</i> strungout as a rattling call; metallic <i>ko-ki-la</i> or <i>ku-lo-bee</i> (or <i>bob-o-link</i> ); very metallic <i>ta-chuck chuck chuck</i> ; a long-drawn <i>mee-ao</i> in breeding season.
1031	Western Tree Pie	Rajasthan south through Gujarat	Same as 1030a	Same as 1030a
1037	West Himalayan Tree Pie	Foothills and outer ranges of Himalayas from Jhelum Valley into Punjab	Predominantly sooty-grey.	Nasal: <i>kokil-ko-ko-ko</i> ; singing: <i>tūtūti-kākā</i> (or <i>kā-kā-kāk</i> ) comical and long drawn: <i>kree-ee-chuk</i> ;
1042	Larger-spotted Nutcracker	Pakistan and NW India; Baluchistan, Gilgit; Iran, Afghanistan	Chocolate and umber-brown with streaked white spots and black bill	Single <i>gurr</i> or <i>kurr</i> or <i>kraak</i> , sometime run together
1045	Himalayan Yellow billed or Alpine Chough	Himalayas of Pakistan and India; Gilgit Kashmir eastward; Iran, Afghanistan	Glossy jet black; yellow bill; bright red legs	Musical: <i>quee-ab</i> or <i>cree-ab</i>

Number	Name	Region	Colour	Call
1046	West Himalayan Redbilled Chough	Pakistan and India; Kashmir	Jet-black, with bright red legs and red bill	Musical: <i>chiān chiāo</i> ; <i>piu-piu-piu</i> ; high pitched and squeaky: <i>kbew</i> and <i>jack</i> and <i>chee-o-kab</i> and <i>kor-quick</i> , with a far-carrying and often with a ventriloquial effect; sometimes a loud clear <i>quoik</i> in alarm
1048	Sind House Crow	Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab, NW regions	Same as 1049	Shrill: <i>quab quab</i> or nasal <i>kaan kaan</i> ; musical <i>kurrrrrrr</i> ; subdued: <i>kree-kree-kree</i>
1049	Indian House Crow	All India and Pakistan except Kerala	Glossy black with dusky grey or mouse-grey nape, neck, upper breast and upper back	Same as 1043
1052	Rook	Pakistan and NW India. Baluchistan, Gilgit, Punjab, Iraq, Afghanistan	Glossy jet black	Same as 1043 but mellower and distinctive with a large vocabulary to express various emotions and situations.
1053	Jackdraw	Kashmir, N. Baluchistan, Pakistan, Punjab, Afghanistan	Slaty black, silvery grey hind-collar with greyish white eyes	Single note: <i>chack</i> or <i>jack</i> or <i>kwai</i> : softer and more musical than other crows; sometimes in quick repetition in different keys

Number	Name	Region	Colour	Call
1054	Himalayan Jungle Crow	Pakistan and NW India for Baluchistan eastward including Gilgit	Black with metallic purplish sheen and heavy black bill	Deep hoarse: <i>help help help</i> ; relaxed: <i>krrreak</i> like a soliloquy; sounds like “a hollow bamboo drawn across the wooden spokes of a wheel (like a wooden rattle) with many amusing variations but all the same tone.”
1058	Eastern Carrion Crow	N. Baluchistan, NW India, Gilgit, Kashmir	Glossy jet black	Harsh sounds like raven. When at rest and relaxed, softer notes in “meditative fashion.”
1058a	Eastern Hooded Crow	NW India, Pakistan, Gilgit, Afghanistan, Iran	Pale drab grey mantle and underparts with glossy black plumage on head, wings, and tail.	Same as 1058
1059	Punjab Raven	N. Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab, NW India, Pakistan, Kutch, and Afghanistan	Glistening jet black	Deep, hoarse frequent <i>prük prük</i> , reminiscent of a wooden cow bell. Large vocabulary with some calls musical.
1060	Tibet Raven	High-altitude trans-Himalayan (4000–5000m).	Same as 1059.	Common call: high-pitched musical <i>kreeük</i> or <i>keeb</i>
1061	Brown-necked Raven	Sind, Baluchistan, Afghanistan	Same as 1059	Same as 1059 and 1069



Number	Name	Region	Colour	Call
1062	Waxwing	NW India, Baluchistan, Kashmir, Nepal, Asia Minor, N and SW Iran	Dumpy chestnut, pinkish brown, yellow-tipped tail; wings dark, white, and yellow with brilliant scarlet tips, black throat, rump grey, chestnut tail, “Bushy crest, black throat, brilliant wing-pattern and yellow-tipped tail make its identity unmistakable.”	High sounding: zeee zeeee when ready to fly.
1063	Grey Hypocolius or Shrike-Bulbul	Rare vagrant: Sind-Baluchistan, Sind, Gujarat, Afghanistan and Arabia	Glaucous blue-grey-black colour; wings black with white tips, tail long, blue grey.	“Unmistakable squeaking note,” but very pleasant. Largely silent except in flock, then noisy.

Table 2.2: Coidae, according to Ali &amp; Ripley 1913 [1972] (vol. 5)

### Three ways crows express the truth

According to the principles underlying bird and animal omens in Garga, birds communicated the decree of the gods (*devavibhita*).<sup>8</sup> In this section, decree of the gods is replaced by “Truth” (*satya*), which is invested in all eight kinds of Corvidae, but the most predominant transmitter of truth is the black one, which is the most common. Likewise, these birds have different characteristics that include beauty, character, and speech, and communicate the truth in three different ways: by what they carry in their beaks, by their call, and by what and the way they dig with their claws (vv 5–7). These are the means used to divine the gods’ messages from the crows. It also is clear that the flapping of the wings is always an inauspicious sign (vv 13, 17), and that crows are the special omen birds consulted on military campaigns (v 26).

8 Garga 42.6: *tasmān me devavibhitaṃ cārataḥ prathamam śṛṇu | mṛgā nānāvidhā devaiḥ pakṣiṇāś ca prayojitāḥ ||*.

## Nesting and offspring

Verses 43–56 introduce new items into crow divination: nesting habits, procreation, and egg production. These categories add aspects to the observation of birds found fully expounded for the first time in Garga’s text. The Buddhist version also has verses on the same subjects.<sup>9</sup>

In relation to the directions in which the nests are built, the author introduces an association between the four cardinal directions and the four castes of Brahmanism, beginning with the warrior (*kṣatriya*) in the east and ending with the priest (*brāhmaṇa*) in the north (vv 47–48).

These avian characteristics, therefore, likely come from a tradition of bird-divination that was common to both collections of bird omens, existing in the Northwest of the subcontinent, where Buddhism was actively practised from the early centuries of the Common Era.

## The food offerings and the observation of crows

The final set of verses (57–70) introduces another unique feature to crow divination that is also found in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, where these omen birds are revered as “oblation eaters” (*balibhojana*).<sup>10</sup> One can, therefore, assume from the references that some kind of ritual was also carried out involving the feeding and observation of corvids for the purpose of divination. In addition, these verses offer an insight into the method employed to divine the meaning of the birds’ sounds and behavior. A very similar technique finds a parallel in ancient Etruscan bird divination from about the ninth to the first century BCE, where the emphasis was placed on the flight of birds.

## Cross-cultural bird divination

In this section, we look at bird watching and bird divination in two diverse cultures in antiquity. One is found among the people from the western parts of the Indian subcontinent and the other was utilized by the Etruscans who live in parts of modern-day Italy. The underlying conceptual and structural similarities indicate that they likely derived ultimately from a common source.

## The Indian bird divination

The Sanskrit text wraps the whole process of bird watching into a package of religious rituals that involved the feeding of corvids with various kinds of offerings (*bali*) that took place yearly, half-yearly, or monthly. The information is sketchy, but it is possible to outline the procedure involved in the bird watching ritual. A series of food offerings was prepared over a period of three days and an observation grid was constructed consisting of the cardinal and

9 Śka 44–53. Zysk 2023: 136–37, 140.

10 Śka 3, cf. 6–9 where specific oblations are mentioned (Zysk 2023: 133, 138).

ordinal directions. Beginning with east, the direction of the rising sun, the diviner placed a specific oblation at each of the eight directions, moving clockwise. The directions are identified as the eight protectors of the directions (*dikpālas*), where the ritual for their worship is found in the Brahmanic texts describing the domestic rituals known as the *Gṛhyasūtras*.<sup>11</sup> He then summoned the birds with glad tidings and burnt incense. When they arrived, he observed the corvids that came to eat the offering, paying particular attention to their direction, behavior, and call. Based on this information, he was able to prognosticate future events. A prediction was then made based on the following classification of the apodoses of the directions, and the corresponding food offerings, where the inauspicious directions indicate danger and auspicious directions indicate peace and well-being:

1. east – inauspicious – destruction of the village – sesame porridge with clarified butter
2. southeast – inauspicious – fire – rice gruel with meat
3. south – inauspicious – death-black barley porridge with rice grains
4. southwest – auspicious – dominion – boiled rice with milk curds
5. west – inauspicious – danger – flour cakes or a meal of rice in barley flour
6. northwest – both auspicious or inauspicious – storm – food with barley grains
7. north – inauspicious – strike of the sword – food with milk
8. northeast – both inauspicious and auspicious – rain

The list of directions and predictions indicates that only one (SW) of the eight was truly auspicious, both NE and SW are ambiguous, auspicious for farmers, but inauspicious for those on the move, such as a military on campaign, thus leaving the majority to be inauspicious. The final, NE direction, lacks the mention of a food offering.

In addition to the food offerings, the ritual utilized noise, prayers, and incense. This is an example where an extra-Brahmanic system of knowledge, i.e., bird divination, was integrated into a Brahmanic context by the use of a pre-existing ritual procedure.

The special directional circle for bird divination appears also to have been used for both travelers and sedentary people. Among the travelers there were primarily armies on a military campaign and merchants in caravans.

The Indian method of bird watching and divination using a grid divided according to the cardinal and ordinal directions bears a striking resemblance to the bird watching techniques in the ancient Etruscan tradition of bird divination. The principal differences between them include an underlying Brahmanic social and religious procedure and the specific focus on corvids.

11 Especially *Bhāradvajaṛhyasūtra* 3.13–14 (Einoo 2005: 116).

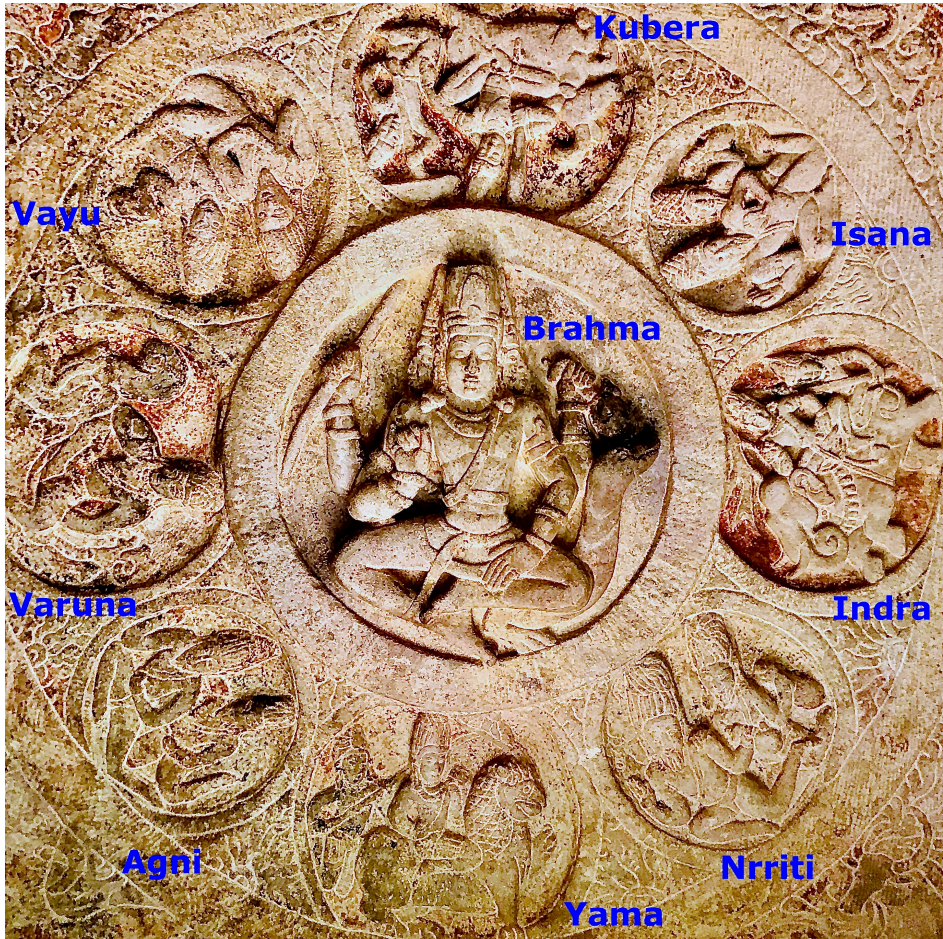
Image of the eight *dikpālas*

Figure 2.2: Cave 3 ceiling, Badami Hindu cave temple Karnataka 3, 6th cent.  
(copyright: public domain)<sup>12</sup>

These representations of the eight earth protectors illustrate the two different configurations of the cardinal and ordinal directions with the principal deity at the center. They occur in the form of either a circle or a 3x3 square placed on the ceiling where it represents the spatial division of the heavens, which is the same as the configuration used in Etruscan bird divination.

12 Image by Sarah Welch. <http://tinyurl.com/mrxxt7a7>



Figure 2.3: Ceiling Panel. Īvara Temple. Ariskere, Karnataka, 13th cent.

Photo by permission of Corinna Wessels-Mevissen

### Etruscan bird-divination

Scholarly opinion suggests that Etruscan bird divination probably came originally from the ancient Near East, travelling northward and westward with traditions of diviners who specialised in both bird watching and hepatoscopy.<sup>13</sup>

J. Linderski's comprehensive study of the decrees from bird divination in Latin sources (1986) indicates that a specially demarcated place called the *templum augurale*, duly structured

13 Burkert 1992: 46–53.

and consecrated, was designated for reading the omens from the flight of birds. It was used in all important decisions and especially in military operations. In Roman times, the flight of birds was largely replaced by the behavior of chickens which were used especially for divination before engaging in war to decide whether or not to enter into battle.<sup>14</sup> The function of observation and the announcement of the signs were under the purview of the magistrates in ancient Rome, who employed augurs to help with ritualized procedures of bird divination and to advise them on the meanings of the signs. Their duty was to carry out auspices which, coming from the Latin *auspicium*, involved “the observation of birds.”<sup>15</sup> The augurs were the intermediaries between the human and divine worlds and had the ability to read the messages sent from the gods to man via the birds.<sup>16</sup> Although the information on bird divination is far more extensive in Roman times than in the earlier Etruscan period, we can get a good idea of the older form of bird divination from the available sources.

In the Etruscan system, as reported by M. Terentius (116–27 BCE) in his *On the Latin Language*, we learn that the *templum* or observation platform was etched on the ground with a special stick (*lituus*). The divisions marked out on the surface of the earth were to mirror the divisions of the sky where the gods resided. The birds received their message as they flew between the two worlds and transmitted it to man via the direction of their flight.

First, a circle was divided by two perpendicular lines, so that the four parts corresponded to the cardinal directions. It was constructed so that, while facing south, the front (*antica*) was south and the back (*postica*) was north; the left (*sinistra*) was east and right (*dextra*) was west. The four cardinal points were expanded to include the four ordinal directions, yielding from the archaeological data a total of eight directions. The bird watcher or diviner was believed to have sat at the centre and observed the flight of birds from different directions. His field of vision was to extend to a grove of the trees in the distance, which implies that the observation point was in the open.<sup>17</sup> Similar observation posts were a regular part of the military camps of armies on the march, since augurs were consulted daily to find out how best to prosecute war.<sup>18</sup>

Several archaeological sites indicate precisely how the observation platforms were constructed and laid out. Their overall construction bears a striking resemblance to the Indian observation site for corvids outlined above. One location designated as the *templum augurale* is found in Bantia, Lucania, Italy, and dates from the first century BCE. It was a place constructed in such a way that six “cippi” or limestone markers were placed to make a 3 x 3 square, each row of which being 3.30 meters apart and oriented in a north-south direction, to confer both the cardinal and ordinal directions (see illustrations). Each cippu bears an acronymic

14 Linderski 1986: 2175, 2229.

15 Scheid 2003: 112; Linderski 1986: 2195–2196.

16 Linderski 1986: 2229.

17 Kent 1938: 273–275 (Varro 7.6–9); Bouche 1882 [1963]: 19–23.

18 Scheid 2003: 114.

inscription whose meaning remains controversial.<sup>19</sup> According to one interpretation, they are abbreviated omens; for example the one to the southeast portends *biva*, “the bird brings a good omen” (*bene iuvante ave*), and the one to the northwest reports *cavap*, “bird comes from a bad place, bringing pestilence” (*contraria ave augurum pestiferum*).<sup>20</sup> Rather than situated in the center, the augur was located at the west cippus facing east, as in the case of the Indian corvid-watching ritual described above.

Another example comes from Marzabotto near Bologna, which was located on the Reno River with access to the Adriatic Sea. From the sixth century BCE, it was a center that exploited the important metal iron, essential in weaponry.<sup>21</sup> The *templum augurale* at Marzabotto had a raised platform, resembling a religious altar, on which an observational grid was inscribed. It appears that the observation spot for the augur was located in the center; the overgrowth of trees over time has obscured the boundary line.

### The *templum augurale*

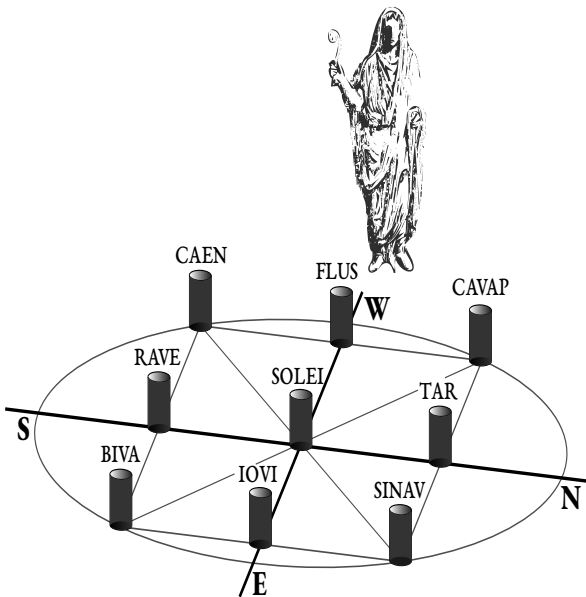


Figure 2.4: Auguraculum cippi, in rows 3 x 3, Bantia, after Torelli 1995

19 Scheid 2003: 120.

20 Magli 2015: 1640.

21 Banti 1973: 9.

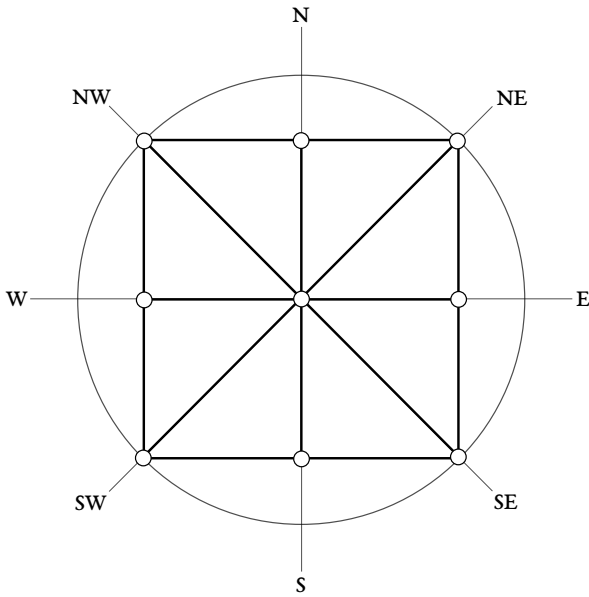


Figure 2.5: Orientation according to cardinal and ordinal points, Bantia, after Torelli 1995



Figure 2.6: Auguraculum of Marzabotto. Gottarelli, A. 2003: 142





Figure 2.7: Cippi, Bantia, Torelli 1966: 315

## Concluding remarks

In both methods of bird divination, one from Northwest India and one from Italy, a designated area, demarcated by the cardinal and ordinal directions, was used specifically for divination through the observation of birds. In both cases, the diviner faced eastwards; and in the example from Karnataka, India, the eight *dikpālas* were arranged in a 3 x 3 manner, exactly the same as found at Bantia, Italy. The similarities at these fundamental levels do not appear to be coincidental, but rather rely on a common template and methodological procedure for bird watching and divination, which were based on an orientation by means of the cardinal and ordinal directions.

In the Indian version, the eight directions are given the names of the eight protectors of the directions (*aṣṭadikpāla*) in Hinduism, which illustrates an aspect of Brahmanic enculturation. Additional differences between them, such as the flight of birds versus the behavior and call of corvids and the ritual practice of food offering based on the domestic rituals of the *Gṛhyasūtras*, are but adaptations based on local beliefs, customs, and practices. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that these similarities point to a common source of origin.

One final bit of information that could tie Indian bird divination to the Greek world comes from the classical historians' accounts of Macedonian divination described by F. S. Naiden. According to Naiden, Alexander employed six Macedonian royal seers, of whom Aristander was the favorite, being skilled in different forms of divination. Another was Strymon, who specialized in bird-watching with a focus on crows. The only source on Strymon comes from Posidippus (c. 310–240 BCE), who writes in his *On Omens* (*Oionoskopika* 35):

The Thracian hero Strymon, a diviner, who was submissive to the crow, was the supreme master of omen birds. Alexander assigned this title to him, for three times he defeated the Persians, after having been furnished with answers from his crow.<sup>22</sup>

22 μάντις ὁ τῶι κόρακι στρύμων[ν] ὑπ[ο]κείμεν[ο]ς ἦρωσ Ἐρήϊξ ὀρνίθων ἀκρότατος ταμίης: ὧι τόδ' Ἀλέξανδρος σημήνατο, τρίς γὰρ ἐνίκα Πέρσας τῶι τούτου χρηράμενος κόρακι. Edition based on Austin & Bastianini 2002: 56. Cf. Austin & Bastianini 2002: 57, and Naiden 2023: 231.

As a specialist in crow divination, Strymon was apparently given a special title in Alexander's army because of his success in providing the predictions leading to auspicious outcomes. Moreover, this is the only place in the Greek literature that crows are attested in the context of divination.<sup>23</sup>

The connection between a Greek crow diviner in Alexander's army and the unique Sanskrit collections of crow omens suggest a common source that might look to Greeks in the north-western parts of the Indian subcontinent in the centuries just preceding the Common Era.

These two examples of extra-Indian bird watching and divinations suggest the possibility of two trajectories of influence. One is a Greek, and the other is Etruscan via Rome.

## Translation

### I: Calls during the day and at night

1. After paying homage to the divinities and Brahman-sages, I shall teach the behavior of crows as was previously instructed by Brahmā.
2. Brahmā, the knower of reality, taught that there are eight species of crows. I shall teach (you) all of them according to the crow's colors.
- 3–4 White is the king of crows; next best is blood-red; variegated is third; tawny is fourth; yellow is known as the fifth; the sixth resembles a dark cloud; the seventh is dark blue/blackish; and the eighth is black all over.
5. Thus are the eight species of crows, on which Truth is based. But, even though this is the case, crows are seen as black for the most part.
6. As crows have (different characteristics) such as beauty, character, and speech, (so also) in a different way than this, crows emit sounds of many kinds.
7. They communicate danger when they "drag" (things away), . . ., and when they cry out, there is lamentation.
8. One should know that [the call] "khaḍva" (indicates) strife; and (the call) "khaṭa-khaṭa" (indicates) capture. In the case of calls that are harsh and combative, one should recognize (that there will be) a fury with weapons.

23 Naiden 2023: 231, where he says that the title is "hero," which he doubts is true, along with the three battles of Granicus, Issus, and Gaugamela. Referring to Lucian's *The lover of lies* (21-22), he says "Perhaps Aristander mentioned crows in his lost book on divination" (*ibid*). I could not verify this in Lucian's work.

9. If it should call “kaṭ,” there is at once meat; and when the female of the flock makes the call “ketaka,” it is because it is released during sexual intercourse (?).
- 10–11. And if it calls “kutu-kuḍa,” one should recognize that the Kunti-oil (?) is harmful. In the case of a changed voice, there would be gold. In the case of crows having voices like thunderclouds or like a wagon, it indicates rain. (If it makes the call) “kovā,” one gains a daughter; and (if it makes the call) “vyokuḍiha”(?), (one obtains) prosperity.
12. Having grasped the message (the crows) call out, if it indicates a sign of confidence, then one should know that it is indicated that excellent food is connected to the place.
13. If one crow should utter an indication in a mixed voice while in the presence of cow-dung, then it announces abundant cow’s milk where there is food.
14. If a crow calls out while extending its wings widely, it indicates that the food becomes tasteless and that there is strife at this place.
15. If a calm crow calls out in a sweet sound, “it has gone; it has come back,” then there is the return of the traveler.
16. If a crow calls out exactly (the words) “it has gone, it has gone,” (then) by it, one would shortly come to know that (there will be) a letter that announces a delay (in the traveler’s return).
17. If a crow, arriving on top of a house and gathering up its wings, calls out, then one should know that a fiery glow is nearby.
18. Or, if crows shaking their beaks to the sides (call out), then it indicates an extended journey (?) to the south-eastern direction and danger of fire.
19. If a crow calls out smoothly in a loud voice, (while standing) on a house’s thatch roof, it indicates an ominous great cloud.
20. If crows call out at wells, on the wetlands, and at lakes and rivers, thus it then indicates rain.
21. If (a crow), after taking grass and sticks with its beak, flings (them) into water, then one should know that the crow has indicated the (eventual) plundering of the village.
22. If a crow, being in close contact (with other crows), circling around and settling down in a village, (calls out) from an inauspicious place, then, it portends danger in the region.
23. When twilight time is luminous (i.e., inauspicious) and crows (call out) in every direction (and) disappear at the end of the twilight, they portend horrific danger.
24. If crows appear in the sky at night, call out, and (then) take refuge on houses, one should know that there is panic in the region.

25. Crows that call out in trees with milky sap (situated) in the north-west or in a direction other than north are proclaimers of peace.

## II: Army on the march

26. Because of the (possible) annihilation of the army, one should observe changes during military campaigns. And, (therefore) the status of the campaign is always indicated by crows.

27. When a crow calls out sweetly and distinctly to the traveler, then it is recognized that if it is on the left, there is the attainment of the objectives; if it is on the right, he does not attain his objectives.

28. Now, a crow on the right of him who is on his way back brings about his objective; and he, being glad, will enter (his) home; but, (if it is) on his left, it is not esteemed.

29. If a crow, having taken refuge in a tree with milky sap on the path, calls out sweetly on the left, it portends peace and the attainment of the objective.

30. If a crow clings to the head of a traveler on the path, then this man may be wounded by either a sword or a snake.

31. If an inauspicious crow, whose eyes survey the men on the ground from above (?), calls out, it portends danger in the village and their destruction.

32. Or, if a crow, having picked up a stick (with its beak), stands facing away from the men, then the road is occupied by thieves; it (i.e., the crow) forbids that path.

33. Or, if (a crow, picking up) either grass or a long stick like a snake, drags it (facing away from the men), then, the road is occupied by a snake; it (i.e., the crow) forbids that path.

34. If a crow, picking up a torn piece of cloth (in its beak), stands facing away (from the men), or if picking up a *palāśa* leaf or a birch-bark leaf, it retreats, it portends the attainment of bitumen (and) because of the act of dragging, it portends the destruction of cloth.

35. If it picks up lac, turmeric, or red Indian madder (in its beak) and approaches cautiously, then one should know that the crow has motivated the acquisition of gold.

36. Or, if picking up something white like candied sugar or milt (in its beak), it approaches cautiously, then, one should know that the crow has motivated the acquisition of silver.

37. (If a crow) utters loud sounds with movements to and fro in front (of a man), it portends a turning around (or retreat); it (i.e., the crow) forbids that path.

38. If crows eat the leaves of a felled tree, it portends various food and various (kinds of) corresponding drink.

39. Where crows establish a colony without (seeking) food, it indicates the heat from fire (i.e., campfire), a clandestine division (of forces), and the arming for battle at this place.

40. When there is a traveler on the road, if the bird touches him with both its wings on his head, limbs, or clothes, (then) it intends (to communicate) severe disease.

41. If a crow claws apart (a man's) two sandals or (his) clothes, (then,) the man will meet with terrible danger within seven days.

42. If (a crow) makes a sound consisting of one or two closely connected, salubrious, tranquil, and sweet syllables without tumult, (it portends) both auspiciousness and inauspiciousness.

### III. The crows' nests and offspring

43. If crows make nests in tall trees (or) nests that have disappeared in small trees, it is a sign of drought.

44. If crows make inferior (nests) in the lower parts of trees, . . . .

45. If crows make nests in trees with milky sap, in flowering trees, and in fruit-bearing trees, it is a sign of peace and abundant food. If the nest-building (occurs) at the time when the hot season is emerging, it is an auspicious (sign).

46. If they build nests in the northern and the north-eastern branches of trees, it is a sign of peace and abundant food.

47. If crows build a nest on the eastern side of a tree, then, there is danger to warriors at the place; and if in a withered tree, there is defeat.

48. Thus it is with the classes of merchants, workers, and priests, respectively. The crows by their colonies of nests portend injury according to the directions.

49. Now, a nest at the doors of a palace or prostitute's house announces the rainy season. Making (a nest) on the city gate, watch tower, or on banners, (the crow) portends danger.

50–51. When the nest of crows occurs in the hollow of a tree, great rain clouds begin to form; and crows having three chicks (indicate) famine. In the case of crows that are barren, that have one chick, or when they make their nest anywhere on its (i.e., a withered tree's) limbs (?), (it also indicates famine).

52. Or, if one sees that they are coming together (in a flock), it portends great danger. If (a crow) sent forth (from the flock?) on the left calls in reply to an encamped army or caravan, then, it generates (i.e., portends) that danger is about to spring forth from that region.

53. Or, if (a crow) swoops down on a caravan from behind or from the left, it indicates that the crow proclaimed that there is an army at that place.

54–55. If (it should call out) from the east, there is the destruction of the village; if from the southeast, there is fire; if from the south, death should be recognised; if from the southwest,

dominion; if in the west, one knows there is danger; if in the northwest, there is a storm; in the north, there is the stroke of the sword; (and) if from the northeast, rain.

56. In this way, one should recognize the call of crows in the quarters. In the inauspicious directions, it portends danger; in the auspicious directions, it portends peace.

#### **IV. The crow's food offerings and observation**

57. Now, I shall speak about the crows' food (offerings) according to the quarters. When there are (food) offerings, crows indeed portend what is auspicious and inauspicious.

58. In the east, the oblation should be sesame-porridge mixed with clarified butter. In the southeast, one should give rice gruel mixed with meat.

59. One should know that it is black-barley porridge (mixed) with rice grains in the south. In the southwest, the oblation for the crows is traditionally known as milk curds with boiled rice.

60. But, in the west, it is flour cakes or a meal of rice with barley flour. In the north(west), it is food with barley grains; and in the north, it is food with milk.

61. Thus, on all occasions, the twice-born, who has been engaged (in preparing the ritual and the offerings) for three nights, should present these food offerings in the respective quarters as they have been taught.

62. (He should say:) "Let the crows meet. The eastern (crows), the southeastern, the southern, the southwestern, along with the western, the northwestern, the northern, and northeastern (crows)."

63. (He should continue) "Let the truth-speaking crows in truth individually receive these food oblations offered by him who prepared them."

64. He whose truth is that of the seers and the godhead, whose truth is that of Brahmā, uttered: "May you crows receive these food offerings at this place."

65. The twice-born, who has approached (the site), should stand facing eastward with joined hands (and) offer the oblation to the east. Now, in case of the other (quarters), he should stand (facing) according to the appropriate quarter.

66. At that place, he should call out glad tidings to the previously mentioned crows. He should offer everything at the place: incense and a little food oblation.

67. And (if) he should observe their behavior (and) their call, then, the bird portends (his) every pleasure, battle, and affliction at that place.

68. In this way, a king should carry out (the offering of food oblations to crows) in a year, in six months, or else monthly. He should present the oblation for the sake of the omens.

69. He should not restrain, capture, or kill the crows; and when one (of them) has died, he should cremate it with pieces of wood; and then he will attain success.

70. Thus in the beginning, the lord Brahmā taught this true knowledge concerning crows to both Śukra and Vasiṣṭha.

### Colophon

Thus (ends) the knowledge of crows in the *Gārgīyajyotiḥśāstra*.

## Critical Edition

### Introduction

Nine manuscripts were used in this edition of Garga 19: DCBhRHEBM, and Q, all of which have been previously described;<sup>24</sup> but their descriptions occur again in the list of references. These constitute the most important manuscripts, which fall into three distinct groups: DC, BhR,<sup>25</sup> and HEBM, with Q finding similarities in all three groups, but mostly with HEBM and BhR. It is important to note that C is the most Sanskritic witness, reflective of a more recent handling of the text. It includes verse and chapter numbers and introduces colophons to mark divisions, which are not found in any other witness. *Aṅga* 19 of D corresponds to chapter 62 in C's enumeration. I should point out that the folia in C were mixed, so that the proper sequence should be 86b, 86a, 87b, 87a, 88b, 88a. The parantheses with a "+" or "-" followed by a number next to the sigla or siglum, e.g., BhR (+1 or -1), indicate the reading has either too many or too few *akṣaras* to fit the meter.

### The language of Garga, *aṅga* 19

In this section, I wish to highlight some linguistic characteristics of the Garga's language in this chapter. A full discussion of these is found in the comments to the verses. Together they indicate a text composed in a form of Sanskrit that includes many non-Sanskrit elements that resemble what has come to be known as Buddhist Sanskrit.<sup>26</sup> Already in his edition of Garga *aṅga* 41, Mitchiner recorded some linguistic characteristics of Garga's Sanskrit. These features of language led him to conclude that the text was "influenced by Prakritic or hybrid Sanskritic forms."<sup>27</sup> In the following list, I have included references to forms discussed in Edgerton's *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol 1: Grammar (BHSG),

24 Zysk 2016.2: 464–468.

25 BhR's reading at v 14 confirms that the Bh is a copy of R.

26 Zysk 2023.

27 Mitchiner 2002: 33.

Vol 2: Dictionary (BHSD).<sup>28</sup> The number of similarities to the Sanskrit of the *Divyāvadāna* strongly points to a form of Sanskrit found in the north-western regions of the Indian sub-continent during the centuries bracketing the Common Era, which Brough preferred to call “Buddhist Sanskrit.”<sup>29</sup>

The apparatus contains variants from the different witnesses to provide a better overview of the various Prakritic and vernacular forms that occur and thereby facilitate a more complete understanding of the transmission of the text.

### 1. Vowels and Consonants

- a *ā* for *a* (66; BHSG 3.5)
- b *s* for *ś* [esp. *√vās* for *√vāś* (14–17, 19–20, 24–25, 31, 34, 52); BHSG 2.63]
- c *ṣ* for *ś* [39 (Ms C); BHSG 2.59]<sup>30</sup>

### 2. Internal sandhi

- a *sarpimiśra* for *sarpirmiśra*, “mixed with clarified butter” (58; BHSG 4.41)
- b *tilodana* for *tilaudana*, “sesame porridge” (58; BHSG 3.70)
- c *dadhyodana* for *dadhyaudara*: “boiled rice with milk curds” (59; BHSG 3.70)

### 3. Mixing of numbers in a single verse

13 (most Mss), 14 (certain Mss), 22 (certain Mss); BHSG 25.4.  
However, this could be the result of corruption or scribal error.

### 4. Use of irregular gerund

12, 32, 34–36; BHSG 35.9.

### 5. Simplified use of cases

- a accusative for locative (29, 40; BHSG 7.23)
- b genitive for instrument (26; BHSG 7.60)

### 6. Switch in noun gender

2 (n to f), 55, 56, 60 (m to f); BHSG 6.5.

28 Edgerton 1953 [1985].

29 Brough 1954; Zysk 2023.

30 Brough 1954 suggests that the fluidity of sibilants could well be the result of Nawari scribal practices.



## 7. Vocabulary:

- a *māsa* for *māṃsa*, “meat” (9, CDIAL # 9986, p. 572).  
 b unique words

*upakarman* = *upakaraṇa*, “food” (13; cf. BHSD 133)  
*apasamdhya*, “end of twilight” (23)  
*vyāḍa*, “snake” (33; cf. BHSD 517)  
*niḍīyate* (*ṅḍī* + *ni*), “swoop down” (53)  
*bhaṇḍāra*, “combative” (8)  
*saritā*, “river” (20; cf. BHSD 283)

In addition to these, other features of language are noticed: in the apodosis, several different verbs meaning “to speak,” are used in the sense of “to portent,” indicating that the result is pronounced or spoken. As previously mentioned, manuscript C represents the most Sanskritic version and hence the most recent readings, which includes corrections, reflective of an editorial process. The meter for all the omen-verses is *anuṣṭubh*.

## Text and Critical Notes

## I: Calls during the day and at night

*devatābhyo namas kṛtvā brahmaṛṣibhyas tathaiiva ca |*  
*brahmaproktam pravakṣyāmi vāyasānām viceṣṭitam || 1*

[devatābhyo] daivatebhyo QBM; [kṛtvā] nūtvā D; [vāyasānām viceṣṭitam] ... QBD (unmarked gap).

## Comment

In a, D's *nūtvā*, “having shouted,” “having praised,” expresses the same meaning, but then *namas* would have to be *namo*. The omens in this chapter are adapted to a Hindu social and religious context and brought into, preserved, and transmitted in the Brahmanic system of knowledge.

*aṣṭau vāyasajātyas tu brahma provāca tattvavit |*  
*tān sarvān sampravakṣāmi yathārūpaṃ ca vāyasāḥ || 2*

[aṣṭau ... sampravakṣāmi]... QBM (unmarked gap); [-rūpaṃ] -rūpās DHEBhR, -rūpās C, styās QBM.

## Comment

Emendation is required in d.

*śveto vāyasarājaḥ syāt tato raktas tathāparaḥ |*  
*śabalas tu tṛtīyaḥ syāc caturthas tv aruṇo bhavet || 3*

tato] kṣato D; syāc] syāt D

*Comment*

The corvids are ordered according to their color, with light colors being best and dark colors being worst. Although albino corvids exist, they surely must be rare and, therefore, dearly prized.

*haritaḥ pañcamo jñeyah ṣaṣṭo nilābrasannibhaḥ |  
saptamaḥ kṛṣṇavarṇaḥ syād aṣṭamaḥ kṛṣṇa eva ca || 4*

ṣaṣṭo] vaṣṭo D; aṣṭamaḥ kṛṣṇa] aṣṭamaḥ syāt kṛṣṇa C

*Comment*

The repetition of *kṛṣṇa*, “black,” in *pādas* cd implies perhaps degrees of blackness: the former, with the addition of *varṇa*, “color,” is lighter, i.e., “color like black,” i.e., blackish; and the latter with *eva* is “just back,” i.e., black all over. The more common dark-colored corvids are last in the order of preference, implying a ranking based on rarity.

*iti vāyasajatyo ’ṣṭau yāsu satyaṃ pratiṣṭhitam |  
evam eva tu bhūyiṣṭhaṃ kṛṣṇā dṛśyās tu vāyasāḥ || 5*

dṛśyās tu] dṛśyanti EHDC, dasyāṃte Q, dasyāṃta BM, daśyās tu BhR

*Comment*

Reconstruction of d is based on BhR. The word *satya*, “Truth,” (with an upper-case T) has a special meaning in this Brahmanic context. It refers to the divine truth or the will of the gods. The eight corvids are the specific species of birds through which the gods communicated their will in the form of omens. By far the most common corvids are some degree of black in color.

*kāntiprākṛtibhāṣādyā vāyasānāṃ yathā bhavet |  
ato ’nyathā bahuvīdhā vāco muñcanti vāyasāḥ || 6*

kānti-] kārtti- DCHE; -bhāṣādyā] -bhāṣāyāṃ BhR; -vidhā] -vidhāṃ C; muñcanti] muñcati HERQBM.

*Comment*

In addition to the bird’s variegated appearance, their sounds are also distinguished.

*karṣantīti bhayaṃ prābuḥ . . . |  
. . . rudīte rodanaṃ bhavet || 7*

karṣantiti] kaṣatiti BhRQBM; bhayaṃ] bhavaṃ D; ...] karavidety avibhramaṃ D, (?)ara viṃdeyi bibramaṃ C, karaviṃde vibhramaṃ HE (-1), karaviṃdeti vibhramam BhR, kara vibhramaṃ QBM (-3); ...] śarirapākṣadhunine ... D (marked gap), śarirapāśavade C (-1), śarirapā ... re EHB (marked gap), śarirapāre BhRQBM (-2).

*Comment*

This verse is tentative due to possible textual corruption in *pādas* b and c. BhR provide the basis for a possible reconstruction of b: *karaṃ vindanti vibhramam*, “they find aggression in the claw,” which means that they dig violently with their claws. In c, most witnesses indicate a gap in the text. Only D provides the basis for a reconstruction: *śarirapākṣadbūnane*, “when there is shaking of their bodies and wings.” The verse appears to express the ways by which the birds communicate fear or danger: when they drag things away; (when they vigorously dig with their claws ?); and when they cry out, (flap their wings, and shake their bodies ?) there is distress expressed by weeping.

*khaḍveti kalabaṃ vidyād bandhaṃ khaṭakhaṭeti ca |*  
*kharabhaṇḍārāśabdeṣu śastrakopaṃ vijānayet || 8*

khaḍveti] ṣaḍveti CQB, ṣaḍjeti D; khaṭakhaṭeti] ṣaṭaṣaṭeti D; khara-] ṣara- QBM.

*Comment*

The word *bhaṇḍāra*, meaning “combative,” only occurs in lexicons. The variants in some of the manuscripts point to different transcriptions of the crow’s calls, where *kb* is pronounced as ṣ.

*kaṭiti bhāṣate sadyaḥ māsaṃ syāt ketaketi ca |*  
*rutaṃ maithunasyocārāt kārake syāt kulastrīyaḥ (?) || 9*

bhāṣate] cāṣate DHEQBM, cāsane C; sadyaḥ] sadyam C, śadyaṃ QBM; māsaṃ] māmsaṃ BhR; ketaketi ca] sutakepi ca BhR; ruta-] luta- CBhRQBM, lūta DHE; maithunasyocārāt] maithunatocārāt BhR, maithunocārāt DCHEQBM (-1); kārake] kapūte BMQ; syāt kulastrīyaḥ] syā kṣatastrīyaḥ QBM.

*Comment*

Corruption obscures a definition. In b, *māsaṃ* with the loss of *anusvāra* in the archetype reflects a form of Prakrit (CDIAL #9986, p. 574; cf. Zysk 2016.2: 473, 476). In c, note the variants, *l* for *r* in *ruta*. The last two *pādas* are uncertain, but point to the sounds made when the birds are mating and suggest that the sound emanates from the female. The discussion of sexual sounds points to familiarity with the *citkāras* of Kāmasāstra.

*kuntitailaṃ (?) vijānīyād gbātaṃ kutukudeti ca |*  
*vikāre taṃ hiranyaṃ syād varṣaṃ meghasvareṣu ca || 10*

kunti-] kuti C; tailaṃ] taira BhR, tela QBM; kutukudeti] kurukudati BhR, kurukudeti QBM; vikāre] kikāre DCHEQBM; megha-] madhya- BhR.

*Comment*

Since *pādas* d and 11ab are connected, verses 10 and 11 must be understood as one unit. This syntactical anomaly points to a previous version of the text that might have been in another meter or in prose. In a, *kuntitailam* is uncertain, and probably corrupt. The word *kunti(i)* is found often as personal name, but in some cases *kunti* refers to a place. According to the Mūlasārvastivāda Vinaya, it is a city visited by the Buddha after leaving Nandivardhana and before reaching Karjūra where is located the *caitya* of Kaniṣka.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, *kunti* could refer to a city in northern part of modern Maharashtra state, known for its oil (*taila*). In b, the mimicking sound has variations in the witnesses, and in c, the variant *kikāre* gives no meaning, so *k* could be a misreading of *v*.

*vā taṃ śakaṭaśabdeṣu vāyaseṣv abhinirdiṣet |*  
*kovā iti labhet kanyāṃ vṛddhiṃ vyokuḍiheti ca || 11*

vyokuḍiheti] vyokūdbriteti BhR.

*Comment*

The last sound transcribed into Devanāgarī is uncertain. BhR has *vyokūdvriteti* (*vyokūdvrita-iti*). Otherwise, it could be read as *vyokuḍ-iba-iti* (BhR: *vyokūḍ-vrita-iti*), “here [if it makes the sound] “vyokuḍ, ...”

*yal liṅgaṃ vyāhared gṛhya śraddhāliṅgaṃ udāharet |*  
*tal liṅgaṃ aśanaṃ vidyāt saṃpannaṃ deśasaṃśritam || 12*

yal liṅgaṃ vyāhared gṛhya] jaligaṃ vyāharetyatya QBM; śraddhāliṅgaṃ] ādhāliṅgaṃ QBM (-1).

*Comment*

The construction of this omen is complicated and highly irregular, beginning with the abnormal gerund *gṛhya*. The conditional phrase is indicated by the use of the optative mood. In b, *śraddhā* could be a mistake for *śrāddha*, but the manuscript evidence does not support it. The latter would indicate a *śrāddha* rite of honoring the departed ancestors, where there are ample tasty oblations offered. The former, on the other hand, implies secure homes, where tasty foods are in ample supply.

*piṇḍitaṃ cet svaram kuryād gomaye ca samīpataḥ |*  
*gorasaṃ vāyasaḥ prāha prabhūtam upakarmani || 13*

gomaye ca samīpataḥ] gomaye ca gomaye ca gomaye samīpataḥ QBM; gorasaṃ] gāsaṃ (-1) QBM; vāyasaḥ] vāyasāḥ DCHEBhR; prāha] prāhuḥ All witnesses.

31 <https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/kunti>.

## Comment

In d, *upakarman* does not exist in the lexicons, but has the same meaning as *upakarāṇa*, “doing a service,” “help,” or “food” in Buddhist Sanskrit (BHSD 133). The context points to the last meaning. The mixing of number is found in most witnesses, where the protasis is singular and the apodosis is plural. This again points to corruption, which confuses the meaning. Therefore, emendation is required to maintain continuity.

*vistīrya pakṣau vipulaṃ yadi vāseta vāyasaḥ |*  
*arasaṃ tad bhaved annaṃ kalabaṃ cātra nirdīset || 14*

pakṣau] pakṣe All witnesses; vāyasaḥ] vāyasāḥ QBM; arasaṃ . . . nirdīset] wanting Bh.

## Comment

*Pādas* cd are wanting in Bh, but are found in R, making R the witness used for Bh.

*āgataṃ gatam ity etat yadi vāseta vāyasaḥ |*  
*śānto madhuranirghoṣaḥ proṣitāgamaṇaṃ bhavet || 15*

āgataṃ . . . vāyasaḥ] wanting Bh; āgataṃ] āhataṃ All witnesses.

## Comment

The first two *pādas* are missing in Bh, but are found in R, indicating that Bh is a copy of R. In a, all witnesses read *ābataṃ*, “wounded, hurt, beaten,” which would yield: “it has gone, it has been wounded.” This requires an inauspicious apodosis which all witnesses read as auspicious. A more plausible reading requires the emendation to *āgataṃ*, “has come back,” “returned.” Likewise, the reading *etat* could be emended to *eva*, “just,” as in *pāda* a of the next verse. This verse implies that the sounds of the crows sometimes came in the form of Sanskrit phrases that only the diviner could interpret. A slightly different version of this verse occurs at *aṅga* 42.26:

*svāgataṃ cāraṇaṃ kurvan gṛhadvāri yadā bhavet |*  
*iṣṭaṃ samāgamaṃ brūyāt tadā vā prasthitaḥ priyaḥ ||*

And when [a crow] is at a doorway of a house, crying “welcome,” it announces the sought-after reunion with the dear ones who have set out (on a march).

Both protases quote words of welcome that are expressed in slightly different ways. Verse 19.15 contains the manner in which the welcome is made; and its apodosis expresses that the traveler returns safely from his journey. Being easier, it reflects perhaps a later version of 42.26.

*gataṃ gatakam ity eva yadi vāseta vāyasaḥ |*  
*lekham etena jāniyāt kṣipraṃ yaś ca ciraṃ vadet || 16*

gatakam] kagatakam C (+1); vāyasaḥ] vāyasā QBM; lekham] lekhām DHEBhR, leṣām CQBM; yaś ca] yadi DC, ya HE (-1); ciraṃ] varam BMQ.

*Comment*

This omen is a slightly different version of the previous one, since *pādas* ab are similar in both verses (even Q repeats 14cd). Emendation required in c.

*gṛbasyopari tu hy āyan yadi vāseta vāyasaḥ |*  
*paḥṣena pracayan vidyād agnidābaṃ upastbitam || 17*

paḥṣena] na D (-2); pracayan] pranayaṃ C.

*Comment*

In c, *pracayan* is a first class, Vedic present participle from the √ci, “to gather.” The expression “gathering up its wings” (*paḥṣena pracayan*) indicates that it is flapping its wings. The fiery glow is an ill omen that points to the campfires of the enemy, portending an impending battle and/or destruction by fire.

*tunḍāni ca vidhūnvantaḥ pārśve vā yadi vāyasaḥ |*  
*diśy āgneyaṃ pravāsaṃ ca diśyād agnibhayaṃ tadā || 18*

vidhūnvantaḥ] C, vidhunvantaḥ DHEBhR, vidhunvataḥ BM; pārśve vā ] pārśve QBM (-1), pāśva HE (-1), yāś caiva BhR.

*Comment*

In b, *pārśve*, “to the sides,” (singular with plural meaning) implies that the crows shake their beaks from side to side. The construction of *pāda* c, again, is irregular. A better, but still metrically incorrect reading would be *āgneyadiśi pravāsaṃ diśyād*. The word *pravāsa* means a travel abroad leading to a foreign residence, i.e., an extended journey.

*gṛhavalike tu yadā snigdhaṃ vāsati vāyasaḥ |*  
*svareṇa mabatā dīptaṃ mabāmeghaṃ vinirdiśet || 19*

gṛhavalike] gṛho valike All witnesses; svareṇa] jvaroga- BhRQ.

*Comment*

Another possible reading in a is *gṛbe valike*, which could be the intended meaning of the witnesses, where *o* is misread for *e* in Devanāgarī script. In c, *dīptaṃ* normally means inauspicious. In this case, it seems to indicate “lightning,” i.e., great cloud with lightning, which is ominous. The omen is ambiguous since rain is both auspicious and inauspicious. The onset of the monsoon rains is auspicious to villagers and farmers, but wholly inauspicious for travelers, such as soldiers, traders, and mendicants.

*udapāneṣu anūpeṣu sarassu saritāsu ca |*  
*vāyasā yadi vāsante varṣam evaṃ vinirdīset || 20*

sarassu] śaratsu DQ, sarāṃsi BhR; saritāsu] saraḥsu D.

*Comment*

The word *saritā* is the Buddhist Sanskrit feminine form of *sarit* (BHSD 583). The verse finds parallels in both Śka and *aṅga* 42.

Śka 38  
*svareṇa parituṣṭena tīrbhavṛkṣeṣu vāsati |*  
*ūrdhvamukhaṃ tathā vakti vātavṛṣṭiṃ vinirdīset ||*

(If a crow) calls out with a glad voice in the trees by a bathing place; and if it speaks with an opened and upturned beak, it indicates wind and rain (i.e., monsoons).

Garga 42.29  
*udapāneṣu kūpeṣu sarassu saritāsu ca |*  
*yatrāriṣṭo vadet tuṣṭo varṣaṃ tatrādīśen mabat ||*

Where a contented crow<sup>32</sup> calls out at wells, caves, pools, or rivers, it indicates abundant rain at that place.

All three versions speak of rain as the final outcome. Garga 19.20 and 42.29 derive from a common source, while Śka offers a more nuanced version.

*tṛṇakāṣṭhāni saṃdaśya prakṣipati yadodake |*  
*grāmaghātaṃ tato vidyād vāyasena niveditam || 21*

saṃdaśya] samdasya C; yadodake] yatodake HEBhRBM, tatodake Q; vāyasena niveditam] vāyase san-  
 niceṣṭitam D, vāyase sanniveditam C, vāyase sanniveditam HE, vāyase niveditam Q (-1), vāyase sanivedi-  
 tam BM.

*Comment*

Apparently, the casting away or dropping of the things used in a crow's nest-building indicated the eventual destruction of the nests (i.e., habitats) where humans live.<sup>33</sup>

*dīptasthānād yadi grāme abhiniya tu vāyasab |*  
*saṃyogī maṅḍalībhūtas tasyāṃ diśi bhayaṃ vadet || 22*

32 The word *ariṣṭa* is the omen bird *par excellence*, the crow, or more generally a corvid.

33 I thank Philipp Maas for this insightful suggestion.

dīptasthānād] saptasvānād (?) C; vāyasah] vāyasāḥ BM, vāsāḥ H (-1), vāmāḥ E (-1); maṇḍali-] maṇḍalam  
Q; -bhūtas] -bhūtās DC, -bhūtaṃ BhRQ.

*Comment*

Some witnesses use both the singular and plural. In a, *dīptasthānād* can also mean “from a blazing place,” i.e., a place exposed to the sun, which is inauspicious as indicated by the apodosis.

*saṃdhyā velā yadā dīptā vāyasāḥ sarvato diśam |*  
*aṣasam̐dhyam̐ praliyante bhayam̐ śaṃsanti dāruṇam̐ || 23*

diśam] diśe D; bhayam] bhaye D.

*Comment*

In b, *dīptā*, here, means the blazing direction, i.e., facing the sun, which being luminous is always inauspicious. The grammar of this verse is loose. The word *aṣasam̐dhyā* does not occur in lexicons and is therefore unique. It has the sense of when the twilight has gone away or ends.

*yad antarikṣe vāsante rātrau dṛśyante vāyasāḥ |*  
*gr̥beṣu ca vilīyante vidyād deśasya vidravam̐ || 24*

vāsante] vasate D, vasati C, vasata HEQBM; dṛśyante] dṛśyanti C

*Comment*

*Pāda* b is metrically defective in all witnesses but C, where it is an emendation. The word *vidrava*, “panic,” in the apodosis also occurs at Śka *khañjarīṭakajñānam* 10b (Zysk, 2023: 159, 161). The √li + vi, “to meld away,” has the sense of hiding away or taking refuge.

*deśasyottarapūrveṇa pareṇottarato 'pi vā |*  
*vāsantaḥ kṣiravṛkṣeṣu vāyasāḥ kṣemavādinaḥ || 25*

vāsantaḥ] vāsanta DCHEQBM; vāyasāḥ] vāyasā All witnesses; kṣemavādinaḥ ||] kṣemavādinaḥ ||25|| iti  
rātreṣu bhāty ubhaṃ svarādi || C

*Comment*

C adds a colophon that marks the end of the section on calls during the day and the night. Here the orientation is according to the cardinal and ordinal directions, which implies a fixed location.



## II: Army on the march

Verses 26–42 constitute a unit of omens that focus on an army on campaign. Among them we notice a shift to an egocentric orientation of space, using the terminology of right, left, front, and back, which is reflective of movement with a non-fixed point of reference. The theme is also found with several similarities in *āṅga* 42.9–29 and *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, “Vāyasaruta.”

*senānāśād vikārāmś ca prasthāneṣv abhilakṣayet |*  
*vāyasānām samuddiṣṭam gatisthānam ca sarvadā || 26*

senā-] sanā- HEBhRQBM; abhilakṣayet] apilakṣayet DC; -diṣṭam] -diṣṭo D, -diṣṭā C.

### Comment

Here again the genitive has the sense of the instrumental, which is expected with the use of the past passive participle (*samuddiṣṭa*). With this verse there is the new theme of an army on the march. Changes in the campaign are to be noticed; and appropriate manoeuvres are indicated by crows.

*prasthitasya yadā samyag vāyaso madhuraṃ vadet |*  
*vāme ’rthasādhano jñeyo dakṣiṇo ’rthān na sādhatet || 27*

-sādhano jñeyo] sādhanā jñeyā BhR.

*dakṣiṇas tu nivṛttasya vāyaso ’rthakaro bhavet |*  
*vāme na śasyate hr̥ṣṭo gr̥haṃ pravīśate tathā || 28*

śasyate] spr̥syate D; hr̥ṣṭo] dvaṣṭo M.

### Comment

This and the previous verse find parallels at *āṅga* 42.9–10:

*dakṣiṇād vāmabhāgād vā nibodheta pṛthag dvijān |*  
*ariṣṭo nāma śakuniḥ prasthitasya yathā bhavet |*  
*vāmato ’rthakaraḥ sa syāt dakṣiṇo ’rthān vināśayet || 9*  
*puram̐ praveśyamānasya grāmaṃ vā yadi vā gr̥haṃ |*  
*dakṣiṇe śobhano ’rthaḥ syād vāmatas tu vigarbitaḥ || 10*

One should pay attention to birds individually on either the right or the left side. For him who has set out (on a journey), if a crow is on the left, there is the accomplishment of the objective; but (if it is) on the right side, it causes the objectives to be lost. 9.

For him being led into (i.e., re-entering) his town, village, or house, if (a crow) is on the right, the outcome is auspicious; but it is reprehensible, if it is from the left. 10

It appears that 19.27–28 present an easier version of the right-left distinctions, where the syntax of *pādas* 28cd is reversed. This suggests that 19.27–28 is the more recent of the two versions.

*madhuraṃ vyāharan vāmam kṣīravṛkṣam upāśritaḥ |  
pathi tu kṣemam ācaṣṭe arthasiddhiṃ ca vāyasaḥ || 29*

-vṛkṣam] -vṛkṣas D; upāśritaḥ] apāśritaḥ HEBhRQBM; pathi tu] pathika BhR.

*Comment*

Here either the accusative has the meaning of locative/adverb (*vāmam* for *vāme*) or it is a misreading of *m* for *e* in script.

*yasyābhiliyate mūrdhni vāyasaḥ pathi gacchataḥ |  
śastreṇa vā sa vidhyeta manuṣyaḥ pannagena vā || 30*

śastreṇa] śastrair HEBhRQBM.

*Comment*

In c, the word *vidhyeta* is passive from *vyadb*. The crow probably would only land on the head of a man who was already dead or dying. A slightly different version of this omen occurs at Śka 36 and *aṅga* 42:15.

Śka 36  
*yasya śīrṣe niśīditvā karṇam karṣati vāyasaḥ |  
abhyantare saptarātrān maraṇam yasya nirdīśet ||*

If a crow sits down on a man's head and tears away at his ear, it indicates his death within seven nights.

Garga 42.15  
*nīliya mūrdhani yadā vāyaso yasya bhāṣate |  
tadā tasya bhayaṃ vidyāc chastreṇa bbujagena vā ||*

If a crow, after alighting on the head of a man, calls out, then one should know that he has danger from a sword or a snake.

The protases of all three versions locate the crow on the man's head (*śīrṣa*, *mūrdhan*); and the apodoses are all inauspicious indicating imminent death (Śka) or the reason for the man's fatal injuries: attack with sword or snake bite, both of which are mentioned in both versions from Garga.

*yeṣāṃ abhimukho bhūmau dīpto vāseta vāyasaḥ |  
prasāryakṣo (?) bhayaṃ grāme teṣāṃ gbātaṃ vinirdīśet || 31*

dipto] diptau R; prasāryakṣo] prasārdakṣo C; bhayaṃ] bhasaṃ HEBhRBM; maṃsa Q.

*Comment*

The construction of this omen verse is complicated. In c, the word *prasāryakṣo* is uncertain. It appears to be composed of *prasāry+akṣo*, where *prasāri* is from *prasārin*, “coming forth,” extending,” i.e., a crow whose eyes are extending over or surveying (the men).

*nṛṇām vā yadi vā kāṣṭhaṃ gr̥hya tiṣṭhet parāṇmukhaḥ |*  
*caurais tu dhāryate panthās taṃ mārgaṃ pratiśedhayet || 32*

gr̥hya] gr̥hṇan BhR; caurais] corais M; dhāryate] cāryate All witnesses; panthās] pathas C

*Comment*

In b, *gr̥hya* is an irregular gerund; in c, BhR read the regular present participle *gr̥hṇan* and C has the irregular *panthās*. Both the gerund and noun are examples of vernacular or Prakritic influence. In c, emendation follows *dhāryate* at 33c. It is likely the *c* was read for *dh* in script.

*tr̥ṇaṃ vā yadi vā kāṣṭhaṃ dirghaṃ vyādaṃ ca karṣati |*  
*sarpeṇa dhāryate panthās taṃ mārgaṃ pratiśedhayet || 33*

nṛṇām ... pratiśedhayet] wanting C; tr̥ṇaṃ] nṛṇām BhR; dirghaṃ] dirgha DHBDM, dārva Q; vyādaṃ] vyāṃdaṃ BhR, vyaṃdaṃ HEBM, vyaḍaṃ Q; dhāryate] dhāryataṃ Q; taṃ] tri- DHEQBM.

*Comment*

This verse is wanting in C, and probably edited out because *pādas* a and d are identical to those in the previous verse. On *vyāda*, see BHSD 517. This and the previous verse are perhaps variants, where elements of one are found in the other. The long stick and the grass here symbolize a snake in the grass.

*vidalaṃ yadi vastraṃ ca gr̥hya tiṣṭhet parāṇmukhaḥ |*  
*palāśapattraṃ bhūrjaṃ vā yadi gr̥hyāpasarpati |*  
*vāyasaḥ śailalābhāya celanāśāya karṣaṇāt || 34*

vastraṃ ca] vastrāgraṃ D, vāstrāgo C, vastrātaṃ] HEBM, vāstraṃ taṃ Q; palāśa-] palāśa DC; bhūrjaṃ] bhūje DCHEQBM; celanāśāya] cet sa nāśāya BhR, ce la tiśāya Q; cela-] caila- D; karṣaṇāt] karmaṇām BhR, karmaṇi Q.

*Comment*

This omen has six *pādas* in *anuṣṭubh* meter. The irregular use of the gerund *gr̥hya* continues in this verse; and *s* for *ś* in DC could be scribal. In d, *gr̥hyāpasarpati* could be a mistake for *gr̥hyopasarpati* as found in 35d.

*lākṣābaridrāmañjiṣṭhām yadi gr̥hyopasarpati |  
suvarṇalābham jānīyād vāyasena pracoditam || 35*

-haridrāmañjiṣṭhām yadi] -habhedram api ... yadi Q (gap indicated); -haridrā-] haridraṃ BhR.

*Comment*

In d, the use of the irregular *gr̥hya* again points to Prakritic or vernacular influence and *gr̥hyopasarpati* could be a mistake for *gr̥hyāpasarpati* as found in 34d.

Śka 30 provides a verse with similar content.

*lākṣābaridrāmañjiṣṭhābaritālanahsilāḥ |  
jasyāharet puras tasya suvarṇalābham vinirdīset || 30*

(If a crow) fetches lac, turmeric, red Indian madder, yellow orpiment, or red arsenic in front of (a man, then) it indicates his acquisition of gold.

Common to both protasis are lac, turmeric, and red Indian madder; and both apodoses are the same, gold.

*śarkarāmatsyaśuklaṃ vā yadi gr̥hyopasarpati |  
rūpyalābham vijānīyād vāyasena pracoditam || 36*

gr̥hyopasarpati] gr̥hyopatiṣṭhati D, gr̥hyāpasarpati BhRM.

*Comment*

In b, irregular *gr̥hya* continues; and there is confusion in BhRM as to the construction of the main verb, giving rise to opposite meanings. It could mean either it retreats from (*apa-sarpati*) or moves cautiously towards (*upa-sarpati*) the men. Based on my observations of corvids when feeding crows, the bird usually picks up the item in its beak and moves cautiously away from me, since crows are generally timid around humans. In these three verses, I understand that it retreats where the apodosis is inauspicious and approaches where it is auspicious. It appears that the color of what the bird has in its beak indicates either gold or white silver, the latter less valuable than the former.

*agrataḥ parivartena vyāhareta babusvarān |  
parivartanam ākhyāti taṃ mārgaṃ pratiṣedhayeṭ || 37*

agrataḥ] agrato BhRQ; -svarān] -svarāt C.

*Comment*

*Pāda* d, or the apodosis, is the same as verses 32–33, so this omen verse might be out of place.

*vicchinnavṛkṣapatrāṇi yadi kbādanti vāyasāḥ |  
annaṃ vividham ākhyāti bhakṣaṃ ca vividhānugam || 38*

-vṛkṣa-]-dakṣa- D; khādanti] śādanti Q; ākhyāti] āśyāti Q; bhakṣam] bhakṣāṃś All witnesses; vividhānugam] vividhāt sa gāḥ D, vividhās ca gāḥ CHEBM, vividhānugāḥ BhR, vivāsvagāḥ Q (-1).

*Comment*

In a, D mixes up of letters *d* and *v*. *Pāda* *d* is corrupt in BhR's reading: *vividhānugāḥ* exhibits double sandhi *metri causa*. The logical connection between the protasis and apodosis eludes me, unless a felled tree indicates the presence of woodsmen with different kinds of food and drink.

*anāmiṣam saṃniveśam yatra kurvanti vāyasāḥ |*  
*agnidāham mithobbedam saṃnāham cātra nirdīset || 39*

anāmiṣam] anāmiṣe D, anāmiṣa- BM; -veśam] -veṣam C; kurvanti] kurvati D; vāyasāḥ] vāyasā Q; mitho-] midho- C.

*Comment*

In a, C shows a perhaps scribal confusion of sibilants. D's *anāmiṣe* suggests that it is a place where food is wanting. The connection between the protasis and apodosis is elusive.

*advānam praṣhito yas tu pakṣābhyāṃ sprśate khaḡaḥ |*  
*mūrdhni gātreṣu cele vā mahāntam vyādhim icchati || 40*

pakṣābhyam] pakṣibhyam All witnesses; cele] caile DCBhRQ, caine HEBM; vyādhim icchati] vyādhimamthati DCEHQBM.

*Comment*

In a, the accusative *advānam* has the sense of the locative, "on the road." In b, *pakṣibhyāṃ* could be a Prakritic variant. *Pāda* *d* follows BhR. All other witnesses read *manṭhati* or *mantḥati*, "he mingles," which does not fit and is probably corrupt. The use of *√iṣ*, "to desire," is unusual in these omen verses. I presume that it means that the bird desires to communicate that the traveler will suffer a deadly disease, especially since corvids rarely come close enough to touch a living person with its wings.

*upānahau vā vastram vā vāyaso yadi kuṭṭayet |*  
*abhyantareṇa saptāhād bhayam prāpnoti dāruṇam || 41*

upānahau] upānahō CBM; vāyaso] vāmaso Q; kuṭṭayet] kudayet QBM.

*ekākṣaram dvyakṣaram vā ca saṃsaktam anāmayaṃ |*  
*śāntam madhuranirghoṣam vyāhareta śubhāsubham || 42*

ca saṃsaktam] anāsaktam D, asaktam CHEBM(-1), yaḥ saṃsaktam BhR, ya saktam Q (-1); śāntam madhuranirghoṣam] śāntam ... rghoṣam Bh (torn page); vyāhareta] vyāharena na D, vyāharet BM (-1); śubhāsubham ||] śubhāsubham||42|| iti patrā || C.

*Comment*

The meaning of the verse is subtle: a call with only one or two syllables, even if auspicious in every other way, is not enough to predict an auspicious or an inauspicious outcome, so the result is inconsequential.

It is not an omen call. For example, the call “kā” or “kā-kā” carries little meaning. However, if it is repeated again and again, there is cause for alarm. In *pāda* b, if the relative pronoun is intended, then it must be in the nominative as in the reading of BhR, but that would require the other two words also to be in the nominative, resulting in the metrically incorrect: *yaḥ saṃsakto ’nāmayāḥ*, where the crow, as the subject, is both healthy and closely connected perhaps to the flock. Therefore, the text has been emended, so that the meaning is clear, i.e., the syllables are closely connected or come right after each other. Again, C indicates that this is the end of a section that is called “leaves” [*patrā(ni)*], i.e., the behavior of the crows, which includes the carrying of leaves in their beaks.

### III. The crows’ nests and offspring

Verses 43–56 introduce a new set of omens from bird watchers and diviners. They include signs based on when and where nests are built, such as location and direction, and on the number of eggs the bird produces. Both help to complete the bird watcher’s handbook of crow omens. Some omens in this section have variants in the Buddhist Sanskrit text of the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*’s “Vāyasaruta.”

*niḍāny ucceṣu vṛkṣeṣu yadi kurvanti vāyasāḥ |*  
*nivṛttāny alpavṛkṣeṣu tad anāvṛṣṭilakṣaṇam || 43*

niḍāny] atha vaṃśyādi niḍāny C; nivṛttāny ...-lakṣaṇam] wanting C.

#### Comment

Witness C indicates a new section by introducing it with “now begins the genealogy, etc.,” i.e., nest building and offspring, but lacks *pādas* cd of this and the next line.

*nīcair nīcāni kurvanti vṛkṣāṇāṃ yadi vāyasāḥ | 44*

nīcair ... vāyasāḥ] wanting C.

#### Comment

The word *nīcāni* could be a scribal mistake for *niḍāni*, “nests,” but not a single witness confirms it. This omen lacks an apodosis, indicating corruption. Moreover, witness C lacks these *pādas*.

For 43–44, Śka 50–52 provide a version, where the focus is on crops rather than rain. The implied meaning is that the higher up in the tree the nest is found, the better the crops will be.

*upari vṛkṣaśikhare yadā sūyati vāyasi |*  
*alpōdakam vijānīyāt sbale bījāni ropayet || 50*

*yadā tu madhye vṛkṣasya nilayam karoti vāyasi |*  
*madhyamaṃ varṣate varṣam madhyaśasyam prajāyate || 51*

*skandhamūle tu vṛkṣasya yadā sūyati vāyasī |  
anāvṛṣṭir bhaved ghorā durbhikṣam tatra nirdīśet || 52*

When a female crow gives birth on the crown of a tree, one should recognise that (even) little water will cause the seeds in the ground to grow (at that place). 50

But, when a female crow makes a nest in the middle of a tree, moderate rain will fall and a moderate amount of grain will be produced (at that place). 51

And, when a female crow procreates at a branch of a tree trunk (i.e., near the bottom of the tree), (then) there will be terrible drought that indicates famine at the place. 52

Garga's text seems to be saying something different. Although there is corruption, it would appear that nests in tall trees and hidden in small trees indicate drought and fewer crops, which would be the opposite of Śka.

*kṣīravṛkṣeṣu phulleṣu vāyasāḥ phaliteṣu ca |  
yadi nīḍāni kurvanti kṣemasaubhikṣalakṣaṇam |  
grīṣmanirgamane kāle nīḍānām karaṇam śubham || 45*

ca] vā DHEBMQ; grīṣmanirgamane] grīṣmaike nirgame BhR; nīḍānām] nīḍā HEQBM (-1).

#### Comment

Beginning with this verse, there is a set of four omens (45–48), which focuses on another set of parameters for the nest. They include the type of tree, the season, and the side of the tree with respect to the quarters (46–48), which points to a fixed location.

*pūrvottarāsu śākhāsu vṛkṣānām uttarāsu ca |  
yadi nīḍāni kurvanti kṣemasaubhikṣalakṣaṇam || 46*

pūrvottarāsu] pūdyottarāsu Q; śākhāsu] śālāsu HEBhRBM; uttarāsu ca] uttaram uttarāsu ca Q; kṣemasaubhikṣa-] kṣemaṃ saubhikṣa- BhR.

#### Comment

In a, a large group of witnesses (HEBhRBM) has *śālāsu*, “large branches” or “houses;” in c, *uttarāsu*, might also mean “in the upper” branches; but it more likely a juxtaposition to *pūrvottarāsu* in a. In d, BhR has *kṣemaṃ saubhikṣalakṣaṇam*, “peace (i.e., well-being) characterized by abundant food.”

*nīḍam purastād vṛkṣasya yadi kurvanti vāyasāḥ |  
kṣatriyānām bhayaṃ tatra śuṣkavṛkṣe parājayaḥ || 47*

kṣatriyānām ... parājayah] wanting Q; parājayah] parājayam C.

*Comment*

The mention of *kṣatriya*, “warriors,” identifies the Brahmanical social and intellectual context.

*evam vaiśyās ca śūdrās ca brāhmaṇās ca vibhāgaśah |  
yathādīśam piḍayanti vāyasā niḍasaṃcayaiḥ || 48*

evam ... saṃcaye] wanting Q; evam] sarve DC; -saṃcayaiḥ] -saṃcayeh D, -saṃcaye HEBMC.

*Comment*

In c, the verb of the apodosis, *piḍayanti*, “cause pain,” has the sense that they bring about injury in the form of pain to the different classes. Filling out the proper directional sequence, beginning with the warriors in the previous verse, this verse continues with the other classes (*varṇa*), moving clockwise from east, so that merchants are in danger when the nests are on the south side; workers, when on the west side; and priests, when they are on the north side. In terms of hierarchical sequence, it would appear that the warriors are first and priests last, pointing to a social environment such as a royal court, where members of the princely classes predominate. In other words, each of the four directions applies to a social class, beginning with warriors and ending with priests. The omen applies the cardinal directions to the four Brahmanic castes.

*prāsādaveśyadvāreṣu niḍam varṣām athocyate |  
gopurātṭālake kurvan dhvajeṣu ca bhayaṃ vadet || 49*

prāsāda-] ... da Q (unmarked gap); -veśyadvāreṣu] dvāraveṣu D, dvāraveṣu HEQBM, dvāraveśāni C; varṣām athocyate] vārṣikam ucyate DHEBMBhRQ; gopurātṭālake] gopurādālake D, goṣudāralakeṇa Q (+1); kurvan] pūrvan Q; vadet] bhavet D.

*vṛkṣasya suṣire niḍam vāyasānām yadā bhavet |  
mahāmeghāḥ pravartante trīśāvās caiva vāyasāḥ || 50*

niḍam ... vāyasāḥ] wanting BhRQ (unmarked gap); suṣire] sukhire CBhR, suṣire HE, suśirai BM, susire Q; mahāmeghāḥ] mahāmedhāḥ D. trīśāvās] trīśāyās C niśāyās D, nṛśāyās HEBM.

*Comment*

In 50d, *trīśāvāḥ* is the emended reading based on the mention of numbers of offspring in the following verse. D has *niśāyās*, “nights,” which makes no sense, and the other readings are corrupted.

*durbhikṣam anapatyeṣu ekaśāveṣu caiva hi |  
tajiṃṣeṣu (?) yadā niḍam vāyasāḥ kurute kvacit || 51*



durbhikṣam ... niḍam] wanting BhRQ (unmarked gap).

*Comment*

Verses 50–51 belong together, but there is also an indication of corruption from the unmarked gaps in BhRQ. Verse 51 speaks about where the nests are located and the numbers of offspring produced. At 51c, the compound *tajjāṃśeṣu*, “on the limbs born of it” (*taj-ja-aṃśeṣu*). The “it” (*tad*) implies the tree at 50a. Furthermore, that tree, being hollow, indicates a withered or dead tree that results from the lack of water. The apodosis (*durbhikṣam*) applies to both protases. Śka 53 gives an abbreviated version of the omens based on the number of chicks, including only the auspicious apodosis. Nevertheless, it points to the same tradition from which the text of *aṅga* 19 derived.

*caturaḥ pañca vā potān yadā sūyati vāyāsī |*  
*subbhikṣam ca bhavet tatra phalānām uditam bhavet ||*

When a female crow generates four or five chicks, then, it is said that there will be an abundance of fruits at that place.

Both protases include a specific number of offspring. Śka indicates that when the number is large, the outcome is auspicious, while Garga’s version expresses it in the opposite way: the lower number indicates an inauspicious outcome. Both use the number of offspring and come to the same result, but the Śka asserts a positive and Garga a negative outcome. Difference is found merely in the mode of expression.

*saṃgacchamānā dṛśyed vā tad ākhyāti mahadbhayaṃ |*  
*senāṃ niviṣṭaṃ sārthaṃ vā vāme sṛṣṭo ’nuvāsate |*  
*tasmād deśāt prayātavyaṃ bhayaṃ hy atra prajāyate || 52*

ākhyāti] ākṣatir BhR; senāṃ niviṣṭaṃ] senāniviṣṭā DHEBhRQBM; vāme sṛṣṭo ’nuvāsate] vāmeṣvoṣṭanu-  
vāsate BhR; vāmeśceṣṭo D; vāme śreṣṭo C, vāme sṛṣṭho HE; deśāt] deśān HEBhR.

*Comment*

Although corruption obscures clarity, the omen verse appears to be talking about flocks of crows. In d, the reading *sṛṣṭaḥ* is uncertain. D’s *ceṣṭaḥ* could refer to the bird’s gestures; but it is unconvincing. The emended reading of C, *śreṣṭhaḥ*, “the best [crow being] on the left ...,” is a possible alternative. The word *prayātavyaṃ* gives the sense that danger from war is about to break out in the region. In d, the use of the verb *prajāyate*, “generates,” is unusual in this context of omen verses. It means in this context that it generates a result, i.e., “it indicates or portends,” which is the common meaning of verbs in the apodosis. The birds on the left in this and the next verse, indicative of an inauspicious result, imply a return journey.

*prṣṭhato yadi vā sārthe vāmato vā niḍiyate |*  
*saṃgrāmaṃ nirdīśet tatra vāyasena pracoditam || 53*

niḍiyate] nijiyate Q.

*Comment*

The use of √ḍi + ni is not found in lexicons and therefore is unique. A variation of this verse occurs at Śka 19:

*sārthopari niṣīditvā kṣāmaṃ dīnaṃ ca vyābaret |  
nīpatet sārthamadhye 'smin caurasainyaṃ na samśayaḥ || 19*

If, after having settled down (in a tree) above a caravan, (a crow) calls out weakly and miserably (and) swoops down in the midst of the caravan, then, without doubt, there is an army of thieves (at that place).

The protasis of both omens includes a caravan and the bird's flight pattern of swooping down. The Śka focusses on the sound of the bird and Garga on its direction. Both apodoses are inauspicious with an underlying military theme: Śka has an army of thieves, and Garga has an army.

*purastād grāmaghātaḥ syād agnir dakṣiṇapūrvataḥ |  
mrtyur dakṣiṇato jñeyo nairṛtād uta śāsanam || 54*

agnir ] agni HEBhRQBM, agniṃ DC

*paścimāyāṃ bhayaṃ vidyād vāyus cottarapaścime |  
śastrapātaś ca saumyāyāṃ varṣaṃ cottarapūrvataḥ || 55*

vāyus cottarapaścime] vāyur uttarataḥ smṛtaḥ C, vāyasottarataḥ smṛtaḥ D, putrottarataś ca taḥ BM, vāyucottarataś ca taḥ HE.

*Comment*

This and the previous verse address the call of the crow from a fixed location, e.g., a campsite, a village or a temple, with the orientation indicated by both the cardinal and the ordinal directions. In 55c, the word *saumyāyāṃ* is in the feminine gender to agree with the implied *dīśi*. In b, *vāyu*, “wind,” in the sense of a moonson storm, could be both auspicious and inauspicious. It is auspicious for a farmer in the village, but inauspicious for a traveler on the road.

*evaṃ dikṣu vijānīyād vāyasānāṃ prabhāṣitam |  
dīptāsu bhayam ākhyāti śāntiṃ śāntāsu nirdīset || 56*

ākhyāti] ichaṃti BhR; nirdīset ||] nirdīset ||56|| iti veśyādi C

*Comment*

As indicated by C, this verse ends the section dealing with “a prostitute's house, etc.” In cd, *dīptāsu* and *śāntāsu* are in the feminine gender agreeing with *dikṣu* in a. In d, the word *śānti* in a Brahmanic context is a synonym of *kṣema* in a Kṣatriya context.

#### IV. The crow's food offerings

This section continues with the Brahmanic ritual terminology by listing the cardinal and ordinal directions along with their corresponding food offerings. The names include both the quarters (*dik*) and the eight guardians of the quarters (*aṣṭadikpāla*), known in Brahmanic literature. In the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, the oblations might well have indicated food items that a Buddhist mendicant could expect to receive as an offering. The ritual procedure specifies in which quarter a specific food is to be distributed to the birds, when the ritual is to be performed and its duration. The directions are listed using terms derived from the pantheon of largely Vedic gods. The construction of an observation site using the cardinal and the ordinal directions in these verses is reminiscent of the Etruscan *templum augurale*, which is marked out for the observation of birds' flights during divination (see introduction).

*athopahārān vakṣyāmi vāyasānāṃ yatbādīśam |*  
*śubhāśubhaṃ hi śaṃsanti upahāreṣu vāyasāḥ || 57*

athopahārān] athopahān DH (-1), athopahāgan HQM, athopārāṃs ca BhR.

##### Comment

In a, BhR read *upārān*, which is a rare word that means “offenses,” and therefore must be a mistake. The *śaṃs* has the common meaning “to praise,” but in this context it means “to announce” or “to predict,” i.e., to portend.

*purastād upahārah śyāt sarpimiśraṃ tilodanam |*  
*yavagūṃ māṃsasammiśrāṃ dadyād dakṣiṇapūrvataḥ || 58*

sarpimiśraṃ] sarpirmiśraṃ HEBM; tilodanam] tilaudanam DC.

##### Comment

In b, the key witnesses read *sarpimiśraṃ* for the more correct *sarpirmiśraṃ* found in HEBM, and only DC have the correct Sanskrit form *tilaudanam*, which the others (HEBhRQBM) read the Prakritic *tilodanam*, where sandhi is compromised. Both cases point to Prakritic or vernacular influence.

*kṛṣṇadbhānyaudanam jñeyaṃ dakṣiṇe taṇḍulaiḥ saba |*  
*dadhyodanam hi nairṛtyāṃ vāyasānāṃ baliḥ smṛtaḥ || 59*

-dhānyaudanam] -dhānyodanam QBM; dakṣiṇe taṇḍulaiḥ] dakṣiṇenadhanaiḥ DC, dakṣiṇenadinaiḥ HEBM, dakṣiṇe taṇḍilaiḥ Q; dadhyodanam] dadhyaudanam DR.

##### Comment

In a, only a few insignificant witnesses (QBM) read the Prakritic *dhānyodanam*, while the key witnesses prefer the Sanskrit *dhānyaudanam*; however in c, it is the reverse, only DR read the Sanskrit

*dhānyaudanaṃ*, while the majority prefer the Prakritic *dhānyodanaṃ*. This indicates the influence from the vernacular or Prakritic speakers.

*apūpās tv atha vāruṇyāṃ vā yavyaṃ śālibhojanam |*  
*yāvakottarataś cāpi saumyāyāṃ dugdhabhojanam || 60*

bhojanam] bhog ... Q (unmarked gap).

*Comment*

*Pādas* cd refer to the north, but in different ways. I suspect that *pāda* c really refers to the northwest (*uttarapaścimā*), which is the logical direction in the sequence. It should be noted that the oblation in the northeast is missing in order to complete the sequence of cardinal and ordinal directions. This suggests that the text is incomplete and still in the formative stage.

*evaṃ dikṣu yathoddiṣṭān upahārān imān dvijaḥ |*  
*trirātropāṣṭhito bhūtvā dadyāt parvasu parvasu || 61*

yathoddiṣṭān] yathordiṣṭaṃ C, yathodiṣṭān BhRQ; imān ... parvasu] ... Q (unmarked gap); parvasu parvasu] parvam uparvasu D.

*Comment*

In d, the Sanskrit form is *upāsthito*.

*aindrāgneyās ca yāmyās ca nairṛtyā vāruṇaiḥ saha |*  
*vāyavyasaumyaraudrās ca samāgacchantu vāyasāḥ || 62*

aindrāgneyās ... vāyasāḥ] ... Q (unmarked gap); nairṛtyāṃ vāruṇaiḥ] nairṛtyā ... vāruṇaiḥ BhR (marked gap)

*Comment*

These directions are the eight protectors of the quarters (*aṣṭadikpāla*) found throughout Brahmanic literature. In b, the plural *vāruṇaiḥ* is perhaps honorific and *metri causa*. The use of *raudra* for northeast points to an early formulation of the eight, since it occurs in the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, and Sūtras, and is replaced by *īśāna* in the Purāṇas.<sup>34</sup>

*tatkṛtopabṛtān imān upahārān pṛthak pṛthak |*  
*pratigrhṇantu satyam vai vāyasāḥ satyavādinah || 63*

34 Wessels-Mevissen 2001: 9–10, 15.

tatkr̥topahṛtān ... pṛthak] ... pṛthak Q (unmarked gap). vai] eva All witnesses.

*Comment*

*Pāda* a is unmetrical and corrupt. A possible emendation could be *etān* for *imān*, but since the text is non-Sanskritic, it remains. *Pāda* c can be emended to be metrical.

ṛṣidevatāsatyena brahmasatyena vāyasāḥ |  
 akhyātam pratigrhṇīdhvam upabārān imān iba || 64

-devatā-] -daivatā- CBhR; -satyena ... vāyasāḥ] -satyena ... vāyasāḥ R (unmarked gap); pratigrhṇīdhvam] pratigrhṇīyād D, pratigrhṇītvā CHEBM, pretigrhṇātu Q.

*Comment*

The meter is irregular in *pāda* a. In c, only BhR have the regular Sanskrit readings. The others could result from scribal misreading or attempts at simplification. This verse calls the corvids to the ritual feeding and identifies those specific divine beings that bear Brahmā's truth communicated by the crows.

prāṇmukhaḥ prāñjalis tiṣṭhet pūrveṇopahared balim |  
 yathādīśam athānyeṣu tiṣṭhed abhyāgato dvijaḥ || 65

prāñjalis] prānalis Bh, prāṇnalis R; abhyāgato dvijaḥ] satyāhanū dvijaḥ D, abhyāsāhanū dvijaḥ C, abhyāhanū dviṭaḥ HE, abhyāgatā dvijaḥ BhR, abhyāhanū dvijaḥ BM, ibhyārha dvijaḥ Q.

*Comment*

In d, *abhyāgato* follows BhR, but emended to the singular form. Other witnesses could read *abhyābhūya*, "addressing" (the crows), after emendation. This would give a slightly better rendering: "he should stand, addressing (the crows), according to the quarters." The meaning is that the twice-born should first stand facing east and should offer the food to the east, and do the same for all the other quarters in a clockwise manner (i.e., east, southeast, south, etc.). Being the direction of the rising sun east is always the starting point.

tatrāhlādanān vāyasānām pūrvoktānām udāharet |  
 dhūpam alpōpahāraṃ ca sarvaṃ tatra nivedayet || 66

tatrāhlādanān] tatrāhlādanāt tat D (+1), tatrāhlādanā HEQBM, tatrāhlādanād C, tatra hlādi Bh, tatrāhlādi R; tatra nivedayet] tatrānivedayet Q.

*Comment*

*Pāda* a is metrically defective with an extra *akṣara*, and BhR's reading is also metrically defective. R could yield, "he, causing joy," but then the verb lacks an object. In c, all witnesses read *ā* for initial *a* in *alpōpahāraṃ*. It is a pattern in all the witnesses, reflective perhaps of Prakritic or vernacular influence.

This verse specifies that he should do things to make the crows refreshed and happy, which included food appropriate to the quarter and burn incense to purify the air.

*tac ca teṣāṃ nirikṣeta ceṣṭitaṃ vyāhṛtaṃ vadet |  
barṣaṃ yuddhaṃ atbo dainyaṃ sarvaṃ tatra nirvedayet || 67*

The verse is wanting in CR; tac ca] na ca HEBMQ, ta ca Bh.

*Comment*

The verse is suspicious because it is wanting in two trustworthy witnesses, C and R (but found in Bh). The reconstruction relies on Bh. The verse seems to be saying that if the twice-born observes the crows' behavior and recognizes the bird's call, then the bird will reveal all to him.

*evaṃ saṃvatsare kuryāt ṣaṇmāse vā mahīpatiḥ |  
māsānumāsam athavā nimittārthaṃ baliṃ haret || 68*

saṃvatsare] savatsaram BHRQ; ṣaṇmāse] ṣaṇmāsāṃ DHEBM, ṣaṇmāsāṃ C; māsānumāsam athavā] māsīmāsy athavā kāryaṃ BhR; māsānumāsam] māsam Q (-3).

*Comment*

This verse makes it clear that the offering of food oblations is meant to obtain the omens from the corvids that come to consume the food.

*na vārayen na gr̥bhñiyād vāyasān na ca ghātayet |  
mr̥te cāpi dabet kāṣṭhais tathā siddhim avāpnuyāt || 69*

*Comment*

The Brahmanic funeral practice of cremation is applied to these important omen birds.

*iti vidyām imāṃ satyāṃ vāyasānāṃ prabhāṣitām |  
brahmā śukravaśiṣṭhābhyāṃ provāca bhagavān purā || 70*

*Comment*

This last verse is reminiscent of the language of the Purāṇas, and offers the mythological origin of the omens. In this way, the text of the *vāyasavidyā* now becomes part of the Brahmanic system of knowledge (*śāstra*).

### Colophon

*iti gārgīye jyotiḥśāstre vāyasavidyā ||*

gārgiye jyotiḥśāstre vāyasavidyā] gārgiye jyotiḥśāstre vāyasavidyānam adhyāyaḥ BhR; gārgiye jyotiḥśāstre] gārgiye jyotiḥśāstra D, gārgījyotiḥśāstre ||62|| C, gārgiye jyotiḥ HEBM, gārgiyo jyotiḥ Q.

#### Comment

The colophon construction varies in the witnesses. BhR has the most complete colophon, which indicates it to be a chapter in the overall corpus; C numbers the chapter as 62; and D has Jyotiḥ for *jyotiḥ*, which is a viable alternative.

## Abbreviations

BHSD Edgerton, F. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*  
 BHSG Edgerton, F. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*  
 CDIAL Turner, R. L. *A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*  
 Śka Śārdulakarṇāvadāna

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Manuscripts used in the critical edition follow Mitchiner's sigla, and their manuscript descriptions are based primarily on Mitchiner and Pingree<sup>35</sup>, with additional information provided by me.

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- B No. 36370. Saṃpūrṇānand Sanskrit University, Varanasi. 140 folios. 14 lines per page. White paper, medium wove. Black ink. Devanāgarī script. No date. c. 1800 CE. Rev.
- H No. 2B/1288, Sanskrit Mahāvīdyālaya no. 34. Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi. 227 folios. 8 lines per page. Black ink. Devanāgarī script. Date: *saṃvat* 1939 (1882–3 CE).
- Bh No. 542 of 1895–1902, new no. 12. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. 225 folios. 9 lines per page. White Paper, fairly thick. Black ink. Devanāgarī script. Final colophon: *Samvat* 1881 (=1824–5 CE), *mabākṛṣṇa* 13, *trayodasī saṃpūrṇaṃ pustakaṃ*.

35 Mitchiner 2002: 24–28; Pingree 1971: 116–17; 1976: 29; 1981: 78; and 1994: 78.

- E No. 345 of 1879–80, new no. 35. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. 239 folios. 10–11 lines per page. Off-white paper, appears worn. Black ink. Devanāgarī script. No date, c. 1775 CE.
- Q No. 2549=2603. Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Alwar. 186 folios. 11 lines per page. Yellow-white paper, thick woven. Black ink. Devanāgarī script. *Samvat* 1912 (1855–56 CE). According to Mitchiner there is a comment at the end of the manuscript stating that it was “written by the Brahmin Nāthurāma and presented to the Mahārāja’s library in *Samvat* 1912.” I could not find this comment, but found the following: *vṛddhagargeṇa kṛtā ce yai (?) gārgāsaṃhitā saṃpūrṇa[m] mayā likhitā || samvat 1912. dā. pustakaśālāsarakāra alavara saṃ 1811 (or 1911).*<sup>36</sup>
- R No. 2548=2602. Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Alwar. 245 folios. 12 lines per page. White, glossy paper. Black ink. Devanāgarī script. No date, c. 1775 CE. According to O. L. Menaria, this manuscript is also incomplete.<sup>37</sup>
- D No. Th 319. National Library, Calcutta. 295 folios. 13 lines per page. White paper. Black ink. Devanāgarī script. No date, c. 1700 CE. Comments: folios contain the seal of Dr. Bhau Daji Memorial also known as the Bhau Daji Testimonial Collection, which was housed in the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.<sup>38</sup> Dr. Bhau Daji (1824–1874) was a prominent physician in Bombay, an amateur Indologist, and Vice President of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.<sup>39</sup>
- C No. 127 (=Tuljaskankar 16). Gangajala Vidyapeeth, Aliyavada, Gujarat. 241 folios. 11 lines per page. Photocopy of original in white coarse paper. Black ink. Devanāgarī. Date 21 May 1862. Text includes marginalia in the form of corrections and additions.<sup>40</sup>

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36 Cf. Menaria *et al.* 1985: 608f, where the text is described as incomplete and the *samvat* date of 1912 is given.

37 *Ibid.*

38 See Janert 1965: 35 #31.

39 See Pandya 2004.

40 Mitchiner 2002: 25, 29.



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