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ABSTRACTS

OF THE

TWO HUNDRED AND FOURTEENTH

MEETING

SAN DIEGO

APRIL 4TH–7TH 2003

(Includes Program Changes)



PROGRAM OF THE 214th MEETING

CHANGES

Papers Withdrawn

48. IRINA KUZNETSOVA, University of Newcastle
Between Concretization and Abstraction: Tracing the Development of Ideas from the Vedas to the Epics
86. NATHAN WASSERMAN, The Hebrew University
Ancient Near East: The Playground of Word Play: Methodological Considerations of Akkadian Puns and *jeux de mots*
98. MARTIN SCHWARTZ, University of California, Berkeley
The Oldest Iranian Poetry: The Old Avestan Hymn to Hauma in Gathic Transformation
133. JAROSLAV STETKEVYCH, University of Chicago
The *Tardiyyah* Transformed: Developments in the Arabic Hunt Poem from the Early to Late 'Abbasid Period
134. SUZANNE P. STETKEVYCH, Indiana University
The Dove and The Crow: Myth and Politics in Two Elegies from al-Ma'arrī's *Saqt al-Zand*

Program Additions

86. SCOTT NOEGEL, University of Washington
Ancient Near East: Pungent Puns with a Punative Punch: Contextualizing Ancient Near Eastern Word Play

A. Ancient Near East I: AOS/NACAL: Linguistics.

PETER T. DANIELS, New York City, Chair (2:00 p.m.–5:30 p.m) *Salon I-II*

1. DAVID TESTEN, Saint Paul, Minnesota

West Semitic Subject-Clitics

The paradigm of the so-called “stative” endings of Akkadian is typically discussed within the context of verbal inflection. While there are indeed verb-like structures which feature these endings (e.g., *pars-a:ku* “I have been divided”), these are more usefully viewed as periphrastic formations constructed around the derived verbal adjective. *Pars-a:ku*, in which the 1 sg. ending *-a:ku* is found attached to the adjective *paris-* “(having been) divided,” is thus simply a subset of the broader construction-type *sharr-a:ku* “I am king,” in which the “stative” ending reflects the subject to which the substantive (*sharr-* “king”) serves as predicate.

It remains to be asked how the (morpho)syntax of the “stative” construction is best analyzed. Does the *-a:ku* ending represent a suffixed copula (*sharr-a:ku* “king-am (I)”) or a suffixed subject (*sharr-a:ku* “king-(am) I”)? It will be suggested that the latter model is actually appropriate, and that the so-called “stative” endings are (or at least originated as) clitic pronominals. As such, they may be regarded as nominative-case counterparts to the familiar oblique pronominal suffixes (accusative *-(an)ni*, genitive *-i/ja*, dative *-am/nim*).

There is of course no counterpart to the Akkadian “stative” paradigm in the West Semitic languages, but it will be suggested that a set of West Semitic constructions may be identified which will profit from a comparison with the Akkadian “subject-clitics.” The constructions in question feature oblique-case pronominals functioning in subject/agent/topic roles, and the question should be asked whether they reflect a replacement of the early Semitic ancestor of the *-a:ku* paradigm by one or another of the more stable oblique paradigms.

2. PETER T. DANIELS, New York City

(There Are) Three Models of Script Transfer: The “Misunderstanding” Model

Little attention has been paid to how script typology changes when a script is adapted to a new, previously unwritten language. Transfers of scripts take place in three ways: (1) If a well-established scribal tradition exists in the “donor” community, and the “recipient” language is well known to the adapters of the script to it, then there will be little or no change in the new script, and it may or may not contain particularly apt solutions for re-cording the quirks of the recipient. (2) If a grammatical tradition already exists for the recipient language, so that recipient scholars already have considerable understanding of its phonological system, then the result is a script carefully tailored to the language’s quirks (I have discussed these before, e.g. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* [Urbana] 30 [2000]: 73–86.) (3) If the would-be scribes of the recipient language learn only a little of how the donor script works, on that misunderstanding they can build a new writing system. The most familiar example is the transformation of the consonant-only Phoenician script into the Greek alphabet, where the laryngeal etc. letters were reused as vowel letters. This “misunderstanding” model clarifies the two most mysterious script transfers: the origins

of Egyptian hieroglyphics, and of the West Semitic consonantary. It has long been surmised that Egyptian writing was probably “stimulated“ by Sumerian writing, but they are graphically very different. But if the Egyptian proto-scribe learned only that the Sumerian scribe used the same character everywhere a word occurred, and did the same, then the consonants-only logography/phonography follows from Egyptian morphology, which relies on internal vowel changes. Similarly, the West Semitic proto-scribe learned of Egyptian writing only that it notated consonants — not that some of the characters represented three, some two, and some one consonant, and all the rest.

3. HERRMANN JUNGRAITHMAYR, Frankfurt University

The Afroasiatic Verbal Paradigm in -U (‘Subjunctive’)

It is well known that there is a verbal form ending in -u (-o) in Cushitic which in general has a subjunctive/hortative meaning.

Compare e.g. in Saho:

<i>faak<u>e</u></i>	<i>faak<u>a</u></i>	<i>faak<u>o</u></i>
I opened	I open	that I open

(Vergari/Vergari, *A Basic Saho-English-Italian Dictionary*, Asmara 2003)

Or, in Kaḫeena (J. Crass, pers. comm.), *haam-* is ‘to go’, *haam-o* ‘that I go’ and *haam-u* ‘shall I go ?’. It is still to be clarified whether the two back vowels, u and o, denote two shades of hypotactic ‘subjunctivity’ (jussive, hortative, etc.) or whether they merely represent two different phonetic realisations, perhaps depending on stress, of one and the same underlying morphoneme.

In Chadic, some languages of the east (Chad) and the west (Nigeria) display verbal paradigms (almost) identical in form and meaning. Compare, e.g., in Mokilko:

<i>'ood<u>i</u>b<u>e</u></i>	<i>'i<u>i</u>d<u>i</u>b<u>a</u></i>	<i>k-ood-<u>o</u></i>
(I) pulled out	(I) pull out	That you pull out

Or, in Tangale (west):

<i>yil<u>e</u></i>	<i>m<u>o</u>-n yil-<u>u</u></i>
lifted	that I lift

The paper will further investigate whether this common Chado-Cushitic verbal paradigm will ultimately be relatable to similar verb forms in Semitic and/or Berber.

4. JOSEPH L. MALONE, Barnard College and Columbia University (Emeritus)

Morphophonological Variation in the Aramaic Verb of the Onkelos and Jonathan Targums

The Aramaic language of the Onkelos and Jonathan targums presents a striking variety of alternate verb shapes. For instance, the heavy-suffixed forms of the simple imperfective may appear: conservatively, with the 2nd schematic (stem vowel) reduced to schwa, as in [ti9běrún]; or in “aufgesprengt” shape, with an excrescent vowel between 1st and 2nd radicals with 2nd schematic elided, as in [ya9avdún]; or the same but with the prefix vowel reduced to schwa, as in [tě9ibrún]; or, possibly, the same with 2nd schematic schwa preserved rather than elided, as in [tě9iběrún]; or, possibly, the same with the prefix vowel preserved as a full vowel rather than reduced to schwa, as in [ta9abědún]. Taking off from forms like [ti9běrún] as the null case, it is possible to account for all the other shapes — not limited to those listed here —

by appealing to four independently needed processes applying in a fixed order, each one independently of the others having the option to apply or not to apply. The processes are *excrescence*, *haplology*, *promotion*, and *reduction*. For instance, with all options taken: **ti9ēbrún** exc → **ti9ēbērún** hap → **ti9ēbrún** prm → **ti9ibrún** red → [tē9ibrún]. The ordering of processes is largely intrinsic, each one setting up an imbalance repaired by its successor though apparently none of the imbalances are structurally serious enough to out-and-out require repair, and thus the general optionality. The synchronic content and order of the processes likely hold diachronically as well, though perhaps tempered by some synchronic consolidation and streamlining. The analysis, basically digested from chapter four of my book in progress *The Morphophonological Evolution of the Classical Aramaic Verb*, finds orderliness at a relatively modest price in a significant congeries of forms whose heterogeneity has traditionally stirred up suspicion of textual corruption.

5. ALAN S. KAYE, California State University, Fullerton

Two Alleged Arabic Etymologies

This paper demonstrates that two deep-rooted Arabic etymologies are erroneous. The first deals with Spanish *ole* ‘Bravo!’ — not an Arabic loanword from *Allaah* ‘Allah’. The second deals with the Arabic word *lughā* ‘language’ – said to be an Greek loanword *logos* ‘word’. There is a good Semitic etymology for this root with cognates in Syriac and Hebrew.

6. BLANE W. CONKLIN, University of Chicago

Semitic Roots Beginning with a Sibilant, Ending with /rg/ or /rk/

In this communication I will present the results of a cross-Semitic phonological and lexical study of roots which begin with one of the three sibilants, /s¹s²/s³/ (or /š/ś/s/, respectively), which have /r/ as their second root consonant, and which end in either a voiced or voiceless velar stop, /g/ or /k/, respectively. The impulse for this investigation was the sense that the phonological and semantic similarities between some of the roots that fit this description have tended to obscure the existence of distinct roots in the various dictionaries. Theoretically, there are six different possible roots, /s¹rg/, /s²rg/, /s³rg/, /s¹rk/, /s²rk/, and /s³rk/. By isolating specific semantic links and applying historical phonological correspondences, my research shows that five of the six roots are indeed attested, while the last of these is not. Two specific applications of this study are that the Hebrew roots /śrg/ and /śrk/ are in fact distinct, not phonetic variants of the same root, and that the Dead Sea Scroll Hebrew term /srk/ is probably not Semitic, but a Persian loan word perhaps via Aramaic.

7. MARIA YAKUBOVICH, University of Chicago

The Development of Sibilants in Assyrian dialects

In this presentation, I would like to investigate the possible ways to reconstruct Assyrian sibilants using the affricate theory. Of special interest is the development of the PS *s (traditional *š=s₁) before dental stops, illustrated by the table below:

	Old	Middle	Neo-
Babylonian	-šT-	-LT-	-LT-
Assyrian	-šT-	-LT-	-SS-

The change ŠT>LT in Middle Assyrian can be explained in two different ways. On the one hand, we can say that the situation in Assyrian dialects was the same as in Babylonian i.e., Old Assyrian had a lateral sibilant which merged with *l in the position before -T- in Middle Assyrian. On the other hand, one can argue that Assyrian dialects did not possess any laterals and the Middle Assyrian examples with ŠT->LT are only graphic borrowings from Babylonian. The second solution is preferable in view of the phonetically natural correspondence between OA -ŠT- /st/ and NA -SS- */ts/ > */tʃ/ > /ʃ/, which can hardly be reconciled with any phonetic interpretation of LT in Middle Assyrian.

In this connection, I will discuss the interaction between Middle Babylonian and Middle Assyrian graphic systems. In particular, I will dwell on the relative chronologies of the graphic shift ŠT->LT in both dialects. In conclusion, I would like to place my results in a broader framework of phonetic and phonological evolution of sibilants in Akkadian.

B. Ancient Near East II: Archæology of the Ancient Near East. MARK W. CHAVALAS, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse, Chair (2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) *Salon III*

8. ELIZABETH CARTER, University of California, Los Angeles
Elusive Complexity: New Data from Late Halaf Domuztepe in South Central Turkey
[No abstract]
9. MICHEL FORTIN, Université Laval
A Report on Tell 'Acharneh
[Withdrawn]
10. MARIE-HENRIETTE GATES, Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey
A Late Middle Bronze Age Monumental Building at Kinet Höyük (Cilicia, Turkey)
[No abstract]
11. SUSAN DOWNEY, University of California, Los Angeles
Greco-Roman Syria: The Temple of Zeus Megistos
[Withdrawn]
12. ANN STEINSAPIR, California State University, Long Beach
The Dynamics between Landscape and Sacred Architecture during the Roman period (1st c. BCE to 3rd c. CE) in Syria and Lebanon
[Withdrawn]

C. Inner Asia. DENIS SINOR, Chair, Indiana University (2:00 p.m.–3:00 p.m.)
Salon VIII

13. BARBARA KELLNER-HEINKELE, Freie Universität Berlin

Biblical Characters in Islamic-Turkish Garb

Muslim religious tradition cherishes a large number of legends which may or may not go back to the Jewish and Christian Bible texts. Over the centuries, Muslim authors retold these legends - often entitled “Stories of the Prophets” (*qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā*) — in ever new words and enriched them with new colorful details. Among the authors writing works in the *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* genre in Arabic, al-Ṭabarī, al-Kisāʾī and al-Thaʿlabī are the best known.

This paper deals with the Middle Turkic work *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* by al-Rabghuzi (1310). Although inspired by earlier qisas works in Arabic and Persian, al-Rabghuzi’s text shows originality in regard to content and style. This paper will examine the composition and narrative style as well as some of the differences from earlier works by comparing a number of the major legends such as the stories of Adam, Yusuf and Musa.

14. DENIS SINOR, Indiana University

The British and Sixteenth-Century Central Asia

The failure of the attempts to reach China and India by a northern sea-route prompted British merchants to explore an alternative land-route leading through Central Asia. Foremost among them was Anthony Jenkinson whose journeys undertaken in the 1550ies deserve more attention than they have received from students of Central Asia.

D. Islamic Near East I: Islamic Civilization: Papers in Memory of Franz Rosenthal, 1914–2003. PHILIP F. KENNEDY, Chair, New York University (2:00 p.m.–4:00 p.m.) *Salon VI*

15. BO HOLMBERG, Lund University

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and his Hunting *Risāla*

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ibn Yaḥyā al-Kātib (c. 686–750) was a distinguished secretary in the Umayyad administration. Later writers like al-Jāḥiẓ, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi and Ibn an-Nadīm attest to his fame. He seems to have exerted a great influence on Arabic prose literature. Several of his epistles are of a descriptive nature. The hunting *risāla* belongs to this category. In prose form it deals with a theme well known from the *ṭardiyya* (hunting poem). It is a literary masterpiece, which invites to an analysis of rhetorical devices, compositional technique and ideological background. Though ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd’s writings belong to an early stage in Arabic prose literature, they have not yet been given due attention in scholarly research. The present paper will try to identify the distinctive character of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd’s prose in relation to poetry as well as to subsequent *adab* prose literature. The hunting *risāla* will serve to illustrate the distinctive character of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd’s prose.

16. BEATRICE GRUENDLER, Yale University

Martyrs of Love in *The Malady of Hearts* (*Iṭilāl al-Qulūb*) by al-Kharāʿiṭī

The Malady of the Hearts (ed. Gharīd al-Shaykh, Beirut 1421/2001) by Abū Bakr M. b. Jaʿfar al-Kharāʿiṭī (d. 327/938) represents an early specimen of books on profane love, and in particular the ethical strand — as opposed to the belletristic strand, represented for example by his near-contemporaries Ibn Dāwūd (d. 297/910) and al-Washshāʿ (d. 325/937). This ethical strand characteristically relies more on Koran and *ḥadīth* as sources for the study of love. The attitude towards love is in general more judgmental, but not consistently so, for controversial *ḥadīths* or sensational stories are cited without commentary.

Therefore *The Malady of the Hearts* is an appropriate source to ask the question of whether the interpretation of love-death as martyrdom already existed at the lifetime of its author in the late 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th century. He cites the (later famous) love-martyrdom *ḥadīth* as well as a good number of stories, scattered throughout the book, which unite the themes of love and death in prose and poetry. A cohesive concept does not emerge, but explicit and implied interpretations of love death as martyrdom stand side by side with warnings of love’s destructive powers and the injunction to show mercy to lovers.

17. SHAWKAT M. TOORAWA, Cornell University

ʿUbaydallāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ṭayfūr, d. 313/925

In the preface to his translation of volume 38 of *The History of al-Ṭabarī* (*The Return of the Caliphate to Baghdad*), Franz Rosenthal noted that “The great historical work of ʿUbaydallāh b. Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, who died only a few years after al-Ṭabarī, is not preserved.” (p. xiv). That history is ʿUbaydallāh’s continuation of his father Ibn Abī Ṭāhir’s own history of Baghdad, the *Kitāb Baghdād* (of which only one volume survives). “What little we know of it,” Prof. Rosenthal goes on to note of ʿUbaydallāh’s history, “is based on sparse quotations in later authors (which have yet to be collected).” In this paper, I collect those quotations (from *inter alia* the *Wafayāt al-ʿayyān* of Ibn Khallikān and the *Khīṭaṭ* of al-Maqrīzī), and characterize ʿUbaydallāh’s history to the extent the quotations and other evidence allow.

The only biographical notices devoted to ʿUbaydallāh are a four-line entry in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (ed. Tajaddod, p. 164) and a 5-line micro-biography in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s *Tārīkh Baghdād* (#5490). Mining those, as well as material in the *Nishwār al-muḥāḍarah* of al-Tanūkhī, the *Badāʾiʿ al-badāʾiḥ* of al-Azdī, the *Mukhtaṣar al-tārīkh* of Ibn al-Kāzarūnī, and elsewhere — and building on my *EI*² entry (10:761–2) on him — I also construct a fuller biography of ʿUbaydallah.

Franz Rosenthal was quite right in underscoring the importance of Ibn Abī Ṭāhir’s history (and signaled by Keller in 1908), which he aptly described as “a pioneering and highly successful effort in the field of political local historiography” (*EI*², 3:693). In this paper I follow his lead with ʿUbaydallāh’s history.

18. DAVID C. REISMAN, University of Illinois, Chicago

Medical Autobiography and Ibn Riḍwān

Rosenthal first noted the highly stylized character of the autobiography of the eleventh-century physician Ibn Ridwan, preserved for us by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa. This

paper explores that stylization by tracing the ethical virtues Ibn Riḍwān accords his lifestyle and character to statements about the ideal physician found in the Arabic Hippocratic and Galenic medical corpus. It also elaborates further on the idea of “literary subversion” by Arabic biographers, first outlined in my “Stealing Avicenna’s Books” (2003), by analyzing Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a’s reaction to Ibn Riḍwān’s self-representation in which each virtue adumbrated by Ibn Riḍwān is replaced with its corresponding vice by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a.

19. SHAUN E. MARMON, Princeton University

TBA

[No abstract]

E. South and Southeast Asia I. JAMES L. FITZGERALD, University of Tennessee, Chair (2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) *Salon VII*

History and Literature

20. WALKER TRIMBLE, University of Pennsylvania

The Pragmatics of Brāhmaṇical Sūtra Organization

The sūtra is one of the world’s more extraordinary genre terms, as well as one of the oldest and most widespread. However, with a couple of notable exceptions, the Brāhmaṇical Sūtra as a genre has received scant attention. No doubt this is due to the its tremendous diversity of subject matter, vicissitudes of interpretation, and the lack of materials for the study of its historical context. There are also things about sūtra texts that seem to defy logic; one of which is the sequence and course of arguments that individual aphorisms follow. Subjects often seem to be jammed together pell-mell with nothing but the passing mention of a word to connect them. Using examples from Śrautasūtras, the *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* and the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, this paper will employ the pragmatic techniques of conversational implicature and presupposition to explain some irregular aspects of sūtra organization and will argue that these techniques may help to provide the cultural contexts of the formation of the sūtra when historical sources are silent.

21. RICHARD SALOMON, University of Washington

The Name of Taxila: Greek Τάξιλα, Sanskrit *Takṣaśīlā*, Pali *Takkasilā*, Gāndhārī *Takṣasaīla*

The name of the ancient metropolis of the northwest of the Indian subcontinent is amply attested in classical sources in such words as Greek Τάξιλα / Ταξιλης and Latin *Taxilla*, *Taxilae* / *Taxilus*. But it has never been explained how these forms are to be reconciled with the best-known Indic forms *Takṣaśīlā* (Sanskrit) and *Takkasilā* (Pali). A clue to the problem lies in the form *takṣaīlaami* in a Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī inscription from the Dharmarājikā stūpa at Taxila. This word was emended by Konow in his standard edition of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (*Corpus inscriptionum indicarum* 2.1, 1929, p. 90) to *takṣa[ś*]īlaami*, on the grounds that the actually inscribed form was “evidently a slip of the pen.” But among the avadāna texts in the recently discovered Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts in the British Library, the form *takṣaīla-* occurs three times, evidently with reference to the city in question, showing that Konow’s emendation was uncalled for. Thus the classical forms of this toponym, Τάξιλα etc., seem to

have been based on a local Gāndhārī pronunciation such as *takṣāila*, or possibly even on a contracted form of this word such as *takṣila*, which is attested once in Mathurā lion capital inscription R (Konow, op. cit., pp. 48–9).

But questions still remain as to the original form and etymology of the Sanskrit name *Takṣaśilā*. On the one hand, it could be argued that the Sanskrit form is more or less original, while the Gāndhārī form *takṣāila* reflects a secondary change within that language, since there are other sporadic cases of the elision of original intervocalic s among the British Library Kharoṣṭhī scrolls (e.g. *baihoda* = Skt. *vāśībhūtaḥ*, *Bakia* = *Vāgīśa*). On the other hand, there is also reason to suspect that the Sanskrit name reflects a folk-etymological interpretation of an underlying, perhaps non-Indo-Aryan toponym. Among the indications of this are the unusual correspondence between the Sanskrit and Pali forms of the name, *Takṣaśilā* and *Takkasilā*, as well as other peculiar spellings such as *takkhasilā*- in the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodorus. The data available is unfortunately not sufficient to permit a final determination of the etymology, but a non-Aryan substrate name, perhaps related to the local ethnonym Ṭakka, is still a distinct possibility.

22. K. G. VASANTHA MADHAVA, Vijaya College and Calicut University

Kaḍatas as Sources for Later Cultural History of Coastal Karnataka

Besides inscriptions, *Kaḍatas* as sources for the cultural history of Western Karnataka are appraised. The latter emerged from about 16th century. and onwards as indigenous, private documents, written on black pieces of cotton cloths with white pencil. They contain some contemporary interesting socio-economic-religious matters also. The nature of the *Kaḍatas*, their classification, their availability and their utilization for reconstruction of the later cultural history of the region, are noted. Contributions of the scholars in the area of the study of *Kaḍatas* is briefed.

Epigraphical information on the cultural history of the region after the sixteenth century is inadequate or meager. Most importantly, here *Kaḍatas* are very useful as they provide information in some detail on cultural aspects of the region.

Further, the writer here has examined such documents, published and unpublished noticed by him. The *Āchāra-Vichāra* (ceremonial observances in the religious rituals), *Devata Kaṭṭalegalu* (customs and usages observed especially in temples) and *Jaati Kattalegalu* (conventional regulations, customs to be observed and practices by each community in social and religious spheres) etc that otherwise not as much known, interestingly enough, can profitably be ascertained from the documents.

The writer has also attempted to compare historical matters from the *Kaḍatas*, wherever possible, with relevant inscriptions for corroboration or clarification or supplementing them or for establishing antiquity.

Buddhism

23. JASON NEELIS, University of Florida

Two Buddhist *Avadānas* involving Courtesans in a Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript

Two brief summaries of edifying narratives with courtesans (Gāndhārī *ganiga* / Sanskrit *gaṇikā*) as primary characters belong to a set of nine *avadānas* written on the verso of a first century C.E. Kharoṣṭhī manuscript in the British Library collection. The primary text on the recto is a set of *sūtra* texts edited by Mark Allon as

Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-Type Sūtras (Gandharan Buddhist Texts 2, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London: 2001). Unlike the *sūtras*, the Gāndhārī *avadānas* in the British Library Kharoṣṣhī manuscripts were original compositions mostly written by the same scribe as a series of *pūrvayogas* (or previous-birth stories) examined by Timothy Lenz in *A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-Birth Stories* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 3, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London: 2003). As pointed out by Lenz, similar formulæ in the *avadānas* and *pūrvayogas* call for the story summaries to be expanded in greater detail, probably in oral narrations.

In this paper, Gāndhārī *avadānas* involving courtesans are compared with other stories about courtesans in Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist literature. While direct parallels are difficult to identify, the Gāndhārī *avadānas* provide very early manuscript evidence for the development and transmission of courtesan motifs in Buddhist literature. Since an emphasis on the temporary qualities of attraction to the female body is missing in these two fragmentary summaries, the courtesans in the Gāndhārī *avadānas* do not appear to conform to the image of courtesans in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

24. OSKAR VON HINÜBER, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg

Perspiration and Inspiration of the Buddhist Lawyer: The *Sedamocakagāthās*

As an appendix to the Theravāda-Vinaya, the Parivāra is little studied, and still less, if any, research has been devoted to the *Sedamocakagāthās*. This brief text comprises 43 verses containing puzzles on intricate legal matters. Consequently, these verses are mostly difficult to understand without the help of a commentary, and, once they are understood, seem to contain strange juridical jokes only. Still, verses from the *Sedamocakagāthās*, funny as they are, are quoted by commentators to demonstrate certain difficult problems. Therefore, the verses were obviously meant not only to be entertaining, but also to sharpen the awareness of systematic legal thinking and of certain means of interpreting the rules of the Vinaya. The legal and literary position of the *Sedamocakagāthās*, which exist in two different versions, will be discussed. Moreover, this brief introduction to a neglected piece of Buddhist literature and to certain hermeneutical methods of the vinayadharas will be illustrated by ancient (not old!) jokes, which exhilarated most likely generations of legally minded Buddhist monks.

25. MARILYN EDWARDS LEESE, Berkeley, California

The Last Vestiges of Buddhist Monastic Art in Western India

Even though patronage of the Buddhist arts continued in eastern India into the ninth century, it used to be commonly assumed that artistic production in western India's Buddhist cave monasteries had seen its day by this time. The relatively recent discovery of "medieval" caves Panhale Shivram, of course, has altered that assumption. As a corollary, this paper focuses on the painted ceiling of Cave 41 at Kanheri. Depicting a series of five seated Buddhas, the painting draws on but reinterprets a tradition established by Kanheri's fifth and sixth century sculptures. This paper will use detailed photographs to discuss key aspects of the paintings: a) the joint working process of painters responsible for their execution; b) their style and iconography relative to the earlier sculptural programs at the site and ninth century sculptures from eastern India; c) their relationship to ninth century cave inscriptions

at Kanheri; and d) their role in establishing a “western Indian style” evident in later painted manuscripts representing the Jain and Hindu traditions. The paper will conclude that these paintings at Kanheri represent continuing monastic patronage at the site as well as a seemingly sudden halt in artistic activity, to be followed up a century later in a highly syncretic form at Panhale Shivram.

F. Islamic Near East II: Religion. MICHAEL CARTER, University of Oslo, Chair (4:30 p.m.–6:00 p.m.) *Salon VI*

26. TODD LAWSON, University of Toronto

‘Alī in the Qurʾān: A “New” Book by Rajab Bursī (d. 1411)

Recent scholarly discussions of the Shīʿī attitude towards the ‘Uthmanic recension of the Qurʾān emphasize the enduring historical skepticism of that community. A new publication (Beirut 2003) confirms such a conclusion. The form and contents of Bursī’s *Five Hundred [Qurʾānic] Verses Revealed Specifically About [ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib] the Commander of the Faithful* provides a hitherto unavailable and largely unknown source for this discussion. A description, including discussion of the manuscript base, of the publication will be offered. That this book has been published so recently suggests a re-invigoration or revival at a popular and public level of what is sometimes referred to as a “primitive” or “pre-Buyid” Shīʿī attitude towards the sacred book. This controversy, while never completely dormant, has more often than not been consigned to the relative seclusion and discrete privacy of the *madrasa*, or technical and forbidding works of Qurʾān commentary.

27. ROBERT MORRISON, Whitman College

The *Tashayyūʿ* of Nizām al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī (d. c. 1330 C.E.)

This presentation will further explore the Shiite affiliations (*tashayyūʿ*) of the Qurʾān commentator and scientist Nizām al-Dīn al-Nīsābūrī (d. c. 1330 C. E.), primarily through his voluminous Qurʾān commentary *Gharāʾib al-Qurʾān wa-rahāʾib al-furqān* (GQ). Nīsābūrī was born in Qom, and he acknowledged ‘Alī’s claims to authority in the colophon to GQ. Additionally, Nīsābūrī’s comments on Q4:24 upheld the possibility of *mutʿa* marriage. This presentation will, then, place the impact of Nīsābūrī’s Shiite affiliations on his religious thought in the context of broader trends within Shiism.

My preliminary investigations of GQ have found that Nīsābūrī frequently espoused opinions that he attributed to Shafiite legal texts. (Robert Gleaves has noted other cases of Shiite scholars following Shafiite texts.) I am currently researching whether Nīsābūrī arrived at such views through study with Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1311 C.E.), an astronomer who was also a Sunnite *qāḍī* in Sivas. Shīrāzī may have been the conduit through which Nīsābūrī obtained, for his scientific work, the patronage of Seljuk viziers. Earlier research has suggested that Nīsābūrī’s consistent defense of philosophy in GQ is a result of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī’s (d. 1274 C.E) attempt to introduce Ibn Sīnā’s philosophy into Shiite *kalām*. Indeed, Nīsābūrī’s scientific work reflected an intimate knowledge of some of Ṭūsī’s texts.

Throughout GQ, Nīsābūrī included substantial *excursi* on matters of *kalām*, so further examination of these passages will help to determine the extent to which

Nisābūrī reflects Ṭūsī's influence. Nisābūrī may not lie wholly under Ṭūsī's spell or within the trend of Shafiite Shiites.

In any case, a more thorough understanding of the breadth and depth of Nisābūrī's *tashayyus* is necessary for completing his intellectual biography.

28. SULEIMAN A. MOURAD, Middlebury College

The *Ṭabaqāt* Genre as Propaganda Manuals: al-Ḥakīm al-Jushamī and his *Sharḥ 'Uyūn al-Masā'il*

When the late Egyptian researcher Fuad Sayyid edited and published (in 1974) the only copy of *Ṭabaqāt al-mu'tazila* (On the Generations of the Mu'tazila) by the theologian and judge al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1024), he commented that 'Abd al-Jabbār's work was copied by the Mu'tazila/Zaydī theologian al-Ḥakīm al-Jushamī (d. 494/1101) into the latter's *Sharḥ 'uyūn al-masā'il* (yet in manuscript). The only significance of al-Jushamī was that he continued 'Abd al-Jabbār's work to include two additional Mu'tazila generations: from 'Abd al-Jabbār to his own time. The judgment by Sayyid marginalized the text of al-Jushamī in modern scholarship, as it became perceived to be insignificant to our understanding of the Mu'tazila movement. I propose to present a paper that argues:

1) Al-Jushamī did not simply reproduce the text of 'Abd al-Jabbār. He supplemented it extensively by including as Mu'tazila or ancestors of the Mu'tazila a larger number of distinguished early Muslim figures, who by his time were presented in Sunnī *Ṭabaqāt* as forerunners of Sunnī Islam. The most astonishing example is the Umayyad caliph 'Umar II Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz.

2) Al-Jushamī's motivation from doing so was to demonstrate the noble lineage of the Mu'tazila in a far more complex way than his two predecessors, Abū al-Qāsim al-Balkhī al-Ka'bi (d. 319/931) and 'Abd al-Jabbār, in what seems to be a reflection of the intense controversy at that time over legitimization.

3) The *Ṭabaqāt* al-mu'tazila by the Zaydī theologian from Yemen Ibn al-Murtaḍā (d. 840/1437) is based entirely on that of al-Ḥakīm al-Jushamī.

The conclusion will emphasize the need to reexamine the *Ṭabaqāt* genre as works of propaganda intended in the first place to grant legitimization for particular groups; hence enlisting as founding fathers as many distinguished early Muslim figures as possible.

29. STEVEN JUDD, Southern Connecticut State University

The *Muḥaddith's* Diet: An Apple a Day Makes You Stupid?

Embedded in the biographical literature on early Islamic *muḥaddiths*, I have found a variety of peculiar references to the diets of influential scholars. For instance, Ibn Sīrīn routinely weighed his food before eating, al-Zuhrī refused to eat apples and a number of scholars commented on the relative merits of raisins from Medina and dates from Basra. These references typically appear in isolation without any hint of explanation of their meaning.

It is tempting to dismiss these dietary crumbs as yet another peculiarity of the *ṭabaqāt* literature, or to concoct pietistic explanations for cuisine choices. Further research, however, suggests that these early *muḥaddiths* were in fact health-conscious in their own way. They ascribed (correctly or incorrectly) specific salubrious and/or

detrimental qualities to particular foods and manners of eating. It is also apparent that prestigious scholars passed on their dietary preferences to their students, creating a sort of *muḥaddith*'s diet.

This paper examines the tidbits of dietary information found in biographies of important *muḥaddiths* and attempts to trace their origins. It suggests that the early *muḥaddiths* had their own dietary culture built on a combination of folklore about the qualities of specific foods and emulation of earlier scholars.

A. Ancient Near East III: Sumerian Language and Literature. JERROLD S. COOPER, Johns Hopkins University, Chair (9:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m.) *Salon I-II*

30. GONZALO RUBIO, Pennsylvania State University

Reading Sumerian Names, or How to Split Hairs on a Bald Head

In Assyriological scholarship, several ubiquitous Sumerian names know at least two competing transcriptions: Gilgameš vs. Bilgameš; Baba vs. Ba`u; Nidaba vs. Nisaba, etc. This paper will attempt to reassess the philological, epigraphic, and linguistic variables involved in these seemingly alternative readings. Special attention will be given to the nature of the Sumerian logo-syllabic writing interface.

31. CALE JOHNSON, University of California, Los Angeles

Decomposing Lexical Aspect in Sumerian

Implicit in Yoshikawa's theory of grammatical aspect is a rather complex model of lexical aspect. In particular, what Yoshikawa termed "telicity" seems to have played a central role in his understanding of the semantic differences between the three lexical classes that he identified: reduplication, affixation and alternation. These concerns were reiterated and elaborated in one of Yoshikawa's last papers, "On the Aspectual Difference between *tùm* and *túm-mu*" (1993). But no explicit decomposition of the semantic features of these lexical classes has been proposed subsequently.

Based on the decomposition of Vendlerian aspectual categories (Vendler 1967) proposed by Agha (1993, 127–153), three features, [+punctate], [+durative], and [+segmentable change of state], are tentatively assigned to Yoshikawa's lexical classes (there is no simple one-to-one correspondence between these three features and the three lexical classes in Sumerian) and subsequently tested for semantic consistency in terms of attested variation in class-determining diagnostic constructions: $\sqrt{-de3/-dam}$ and $\sqrt{-a}$. Once these semantic features are established, they may shed considerable light on what are otherwise often thought of as exceptional constructions such as *hamtu*-reduplication and the so-called plural verbs.

Agha, Asif. 1993. *Structural Form and Utterance Context in Lhasa Tibetan: Grammar and Indexicality in a Non-configurational Language*. New York: Peter Lang.

Vendler, Zeno. 1967. *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Yoshikawa, Mamoru. 1993. "On the Aspectual Difference between *tùm* and *túm-mu*." In *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William H. Hallo*, ed. M. E. Cohen et al, pp. 309–314. Bethesda: CDL Press.

32. FUMI KARAHASHI, University of Pennsylvania

The Penn Parsed Corpus of Sumerian (PPCS): A Preliminary Report

This paper will introduce a new project, the Penn Parsed Corpus of Sumerian (PPCS). The project is an interdisciplinary effort, taking advantage of the linguistic department of the University of Pennsylvania, which has been creating a data bank of tagged parse trees (primarily of English) and is a center for both corpus and computational linguistics. I will discuss the general scheme of the PPCS, its syntactic annotation system, and some expected contributions to Assyriology. For example, it will allow us to make a list of the complement options for individual verbs. Such a list is fundamental to the study of transitivity in the Sumerian verb.

33. ALHENA GADOTTI, Johns Hopkins University

Enkidu Revived

It is a general assumption that when Enkidu comes back from the Netherworld after having attempted to retrieve the *pukku* and the *mekkû* for his lord Gilgameš (“Gilgameš Enkidu and the Netherworld”, lines 238–43 and Tablet XII, lines 79–87), he is indeed dead, and that he is manifesting himself in the form of a phantom or a dream. This paper will argue that, at least for the Sumerian version, there is no evidence that this was the case. The physicality of the encounter between Gilgameš and Enkidu upon the latter’s return from the Netherworld, the absence of any reference to Enkidu’s death in the text, and a re-examination of the nature of the Sumerian term **si.si.ig** will be used to support this argument. The recently published version of “Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld” from the site of Tell Haddad/Meturan will also be discussed in this paper. A new order for the Sumerian compositions relating the deeds of Gilgameš, based on the Meturan catch-line at the end of “Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld”, and locating the latter before and not after “Gilgameš and Huwawa” will be supported.

34. MARY R. BACHVAROVA, Willamette University

The Performances of Gala Priests in Cross-Cultural Perspective

In my 2000 AOS presentation, I discussed the Sumerian dialect Emesal from a sociolinguistic perspective, noting that it was used for genres that cross-culturally belong to women — lament and fertility songs — and concluding that this was the reason it was considered to be a women’s language. I discussed the connection between genre and dialect, noting that geographical dialects can become characteristic of certain genres and then take on a new life beyond their original borders as literary dialects. I left unexplored, however, possible cross-cultural comparanda that shed light on the performance of such songs by cross-dressing gala priests, showing that men in traditional societies may wish to co-opt genres that belong to women, in order to make use of women’s biologically determined roles and powers, but to do so they must take on some of the characteristics of women. I draw on data from the Gabra tribesmen of Africa; mutiyettu drama of Kerala, India; the hijras (eunuchs) of India; the origin of the Sanskrit epic verse (shloka), according to the Ramayana; and Greek tragedy. These illustrate how the power of women’s lament and fertility songs is harnessed and put to use by men to meet their own aims, yet the desiring, protesting voice of women still rings clear.

35. NICOLE BRISCH, University of Michigan

Some Linguistic Changes in Old Babylonian Sumerian Literary Texts

This paper will attempt to show certain linguistic changes that the author observed while studying the Sumerian literary texts of the Larsa dynasty. Under consideration here are only certain changes that can be observed in the nominal morphology of Sumerian of the Old Babylonian period. Most notably one can observe changes in the use of case suffixes and a blurring of the distinction between the animate and inanimate classes.

This paper will also briefly explore whether or not these changes are indeed influenced by Akkadian, as most Sumerologists seem to hold. Moreover, the author would like to emphasize that linguistic changes, such as the ones that are visible in Sumerian literary texts of the Larsa and Babylon rulers do not represent a decline in quality. Instead, they represent “normal” changes that occur in every spoken or written language and also in situations of contact with another language.

36. PIOTR MICHAŁOWSKI, University of Michigan

Stalking the Great Wall of Sumer

If we are to believe modern historical surveys, one of the most important events in the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur was the erection of a great defensive wall, or line of fortifications, that was intended to keep out hostiles of the Amorite persuasion. We discuss this, but the ancients were rather reticent to write about it, the only mention of this wall is found in the year-names of kings Shulgi and Shu-Sin, in one laconic dedicatory inscription, and in a handful of literary letter that may or may not be later compositions. There is not a single reference to this great undertaking in any later Mesopotamian source.

Clearly, the information on the “Great Wall” presents a historical and historiographic problem that requires a serious investigation. Was there ever such a structure, and how would one go about construing arguments for and against its existence?

37. KATHRYN E. SLANSKI, Yale University

New Light on Chronicle P from an Unexpected Source: YBC 2242.

YBC 2242 is one of four Babylonian Entitlement Monuments (the artifacts formerly known as kudurrus) housed in the Yale Babylonian Collection. Although acquired by Yale in 1900(?), due to its lamentable state of preservation neither the text nor the relief sculpture has yet to be published. This paper will present the better preserved opening of the inscription, focusing on six lines that offer a striking parallel to a passage from the historiographic composition known as Chronicle P (Grayson, ABC Chronicle No. 22). The passage in question describes efforts instigated by the Middle Babylonian king Kadashman-Harbe to expel the Sutians from Babylonia. This paper will address some of the issues raised by this parallel, touching in particular upon the rationale behind the choice of such a passage for this Entitlement Monument, the impact this parallel has upon our understanding of Chronicle P and the events attributed there to the reign of Kadashman-Harbe, as well as responding to broader questions about the composition of Babylonian historiographic narratives.

B. East Asia I: Early Chinese Art and History. ANNA M. SHIELDS, University of Arizona, Chair (9:30 a.m.–11:30 a.m.) *Sonoma I*

38. YING-YING CHEN, University of Dayton

A Regional Bronze Art in the Middle Yangzi River Valley, South China

Bronzes were recovered in the Hunan Province, south of the Yangzi River, south China between 1930 and 2001. They were made in the 13th and 10th century BC, equal to the Late Shang and Western Zhou dynasties centered in the Yellow River Valley, north China.

Most archaeologists consider these bronzes part of the Shang and Western Zhou's bronze arts while some noticing their possible relationship to the Bai-yue ethnic people. This study examines both bronzes and the documentary sources from both art historical and archaeological angles in order to define the nature, function, and the ownership of these bronzes. A comparison study between bronzes from Human and the ones recovered in the Yellow River Valley in shape, pattern motif, and object combination suggests that the ones recovered in Human exhibit a distinctive regional art school.

An analysis of the provenances of the bronzes found in Human indicate that most of them came from the sacrifice pits on the terraces or banks of the main rivers that is different from central North China where most Shang and Zhou bronzes were found in tombs. As the Shang and Zhou's bronzes are well known in associations with the ancestor-centered worships, the ones from Human are proposed to be media in the nature-centered worships.

As the distribution and time span of these Human bronzes are consistent to the ones of the Bai-yue ethnic people displayed in the documentary sources, it is argued that they belonged to part of the Bai-yue people. The Bai-yue people might borrow the bronze technology from their Shang and Zhou neighbors, but they created bronzes with their own taste and used them in their own belief system.

39. CHRISTIAN SOFFEL, University of Munich

Translation of Tag Names in the *I Ching*

The *I Ching* (or *Book of Changes*) is one of the most famous documents of ancient Chinese heritage and has influenced almost all intellectual threads in East Asian history, including Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism and popular religions. The text is organized around 64 line diagrams, the so-called "hexagrams," each one bearing a tag-name that consists typically of a single Chinese character.

It is an open question whether in antiquity these hexagram tags were meaningless labels randomly connected with a certain diagram, or whether the literal meaning of the characters was perceived as an integral part of the *I Ching*. In traditional China this question was almost ignored: when writing their commentaries the Chinese scholars always were able to use these tag names without pondering whether their literal meaning was important or not. However, any Western translator of the *Book of Changes* is confronted with the choice of whether to keep the Chinese tag names without translation or to find an appropriate rendition in Western language. For example, James Legge (1815–1897) chose to leave the Chinese tags untranslated, while Richard Wilhelm (1873–1930) set himself the difficult task of finding German equivalents for them.

In this paper I will analyze some sources from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC and show that the tag names were mostly used as labels, but also that the literal meaning of the characters was an important issue for the Chinese at that time. This can be seen by comparing the tag names in different versions of the *I Ching*, and by the accompanying explanations in early commentaries. The semantic content of each tag name is so complex that it is virtually impossible to find an equivalent in any other language. Therefore, a translator probably would be well advised to keep the Chinese terms rather than to render them by a Western expression.

40. MARTIN KERN, Princeton University

Scribes and Scribes in Early China

The identity of those who wrote texts in early China has been a constant source of confusion. It has been subject to ideological claims (from the two sides of an oversimplified literacy/orality debate), misreadings of the classical sources (the belief that an early imperial scribe had to know 9,000 characters), and the problem that our earliest evidence of Chinese writing is fragmentary and selective. The word for “scribe” (*shi*) is also the one for “historian” and “astrologer,” and the early Chinese tradition together with modern scholarship have focused on the latter two meanings at the expense of the first one. Moreover, inquiries into the nature of the “scribe/historian/astrologer” are still being routinely conducted through discussions of the graph used to write the word *shi*, privileging a dubious “pictographic” approach over the phonological analysis of the word(s) in question. Altogether, the result is a common assumption that writing in early China was both widespread and highly prestigious — despite the fact that we know very little about the institutions of education that presumably prepared members of different social strata in the art and technology of writing. With my paper, I will first try to make explicit the implications of our current assumptions and how they compare to cases from other ancient cultures. Next, I will sort out the different meanings of the word *shi*, distinguishing high-ranking dignitaries who mastered the cultural tradition from low-level clerks in charge of preparing everyday administrative, economic, legal, and other materials. I will consider how inscriptions and manuscripts were produced, and what these procedures tell us about the social status and cultural competence of those involved. Finally, I will address how the evidence from excavated texts tallies with the received record regarding the identity of the *shi*.

41. ANTHONY E. CLARK, University of Oregon

Statesmen, Censors, And Consorts: Ban Gu’s Family History in the *Han Shu*

The final chapter of Ban Gu’s (A.D. 32–92) *Han shu* contains the most extensive personal family history to be recorded during or before the Han dynasty. Unlike his admired predecessor, Sima Qian (145–86 B.C.), Ban Gu relates little information about himself or his father. Rather than attaching his father and himself to the role of *taishi* (Grand-Historian/Astrologer), Ban Gu focuses on recording the full history of his family’s service to the state. In this paper, I examine how Ban Gu’s postface was structured as an argument in favor of his clan’s privileged and necessary relationship with the Han ruling house. Embedded in Ban Gu’s family history is an assertion of his clan’s alignment with the state, as well as traces of a belief that the Liu family was supernaturally appointed by Heaven to rule in perpetuity. This family history was written to support the notion that *tianming* is not related to moral superiority,

as assumed by the authors of Warring States texts, but is rather a predetermined distinction awarded by Heaven. Whereas the preponderance of previous studies have argued that Heaven's sanction was believed to have been acquired by exemplary moral standing, I suggest that in the case of Ban Gu and his father, Ban Biao, virtuous behavior was not a determining factor in acquiring *tianming*. However, Ban Gu wrote his family history primarily to link his own clan with the ruling family. The two families are not hierarchically equal, but nonetheless interdependent. Two strands of narrative emphasis are woven through Ban Gu's family history: a new Latter Han theory of *tianming*, and an assertion for his own clan's essential connection to the family who held Heaven's eternal Mandate.

C. Islamic Near East III: Law, Religion and Language. SHAWKAT M. TOORAWA, Cornell University, Chair (9:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m.) *Salon VI*

42. JOSEPH E. LOWRY, University of Pennsylvania

Qurʾān 6 (al-Anʿām): 135–153; A Minimalist Legal Philosophy for the Qurʾānic Community

S.D. Goitein situated in Q 5 (al-Māʾida):42–51 the “Birth-Hour of Muslim Law”, thus the title of the 1968 article in which he so argued. Goitein believed that he could pinpoint in that passage the moment when Muhammad came to view “the details of civil law as inseparable constituents of God’s message” and reasoned further, on the basis of the same passage, that “the idea of the Sharīʿa was . . . formulated by Muhammad himself.” In this paper I propose that a much more comprehensive and philosophically sophisticated — though not necessarily exclusive — expression of the Qurʾānic community’s views on law is to be found at Q 6 (al-Anʿām):136–153. Whatever the original purpose or context of the various sections that make up this passage may have been, I argue that it was put together by the Qurʾān’s compilers or redactors to perform three discrete but interrelated functions, viz.: (1) to provide a critique of pagan customs; (2) to provide a critique of Jewish law; and (3) to contrast these with a short and sensible list of general rules of behavior to guide the conduct of the Qurʾānic community. In particular I highlight and discuss the passage’s suggestion that the law of the Qurʾānic community consists of a very few general ethical principles, which it opposes both to complex and bizarre pagan rites on the one hand, and to punitive and burdensome regulations imposed by God on the Jews on the other.

43. DAVID R. VISHANOFF, Emory University

The *Risāla* of Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820): Its Structure, Composition, and Significance for Islamic Legal Theory

Despite several important studies, the structure and composition of al-Shāfiʿī’s *Risāla*, and its relation to subsequent legal theory, remain a puzzle. Several scholars have been driven to reorder the text or posit multiple stages of redaction in the late 3rd/9th century. Its reputation as the founding text of Islamic legal theory has been rightly called into question.

The difficulties presented by the text may be substantially alleviated if it is read as a sequence of three related but distinct parts, each with its own thesis and internal organization. These parts are distinguished by formal characteristics as well as

content. Part 1 (through ¶568) seeks to demonstrate that the Qurʾān is a clear, consistent, and comprehensive statement of the law, by using the Prophetic Sunna and analogy to elaborate on summary Qurʾānic injunctions, and by exploiting the many ambiguities of Arabic to reconcile conflicting texts. Part 2 (¶569–960) shows how to resolve conflicting traditions within the Prophetic Sunna, principally by exploiting linguistic ambiguities. Part 3 (¶961–1821) gives procedures for arriving at formally correct rulings when, even with the aid of the well-established Sunna, the Qurʾān does not yield definite answers to legal questions.

When read in this way, the text as it now stands appears sufficiently coherent to represent the minimally edited lectures of a single scholar, possibly al-Shāfiʿī. Furthermore, although the *Risāla* does not display the same structure as later legal theory manuals, it does introduce both the major hermeneutical problem of legal theory (the correlation of law with revelation) and the classical solution to that problem (the analysis of linguistic ambiguity.) This contribution was not ignored, but on the contrary was disputed and elaborated already during the 3rd/9th century. This paper thus reaffirms but also re-describes the central role of the *Risāla* in the development of Islamic legal theory.

44. MAIRAJ UDDIN SYED, University of California Los Angeles

Refusal and Acceptance of the Judgeship Position from the Eighth till the Eleventh Centuries

Much recent historiography has focused on the relationship between the state and the *ʿulamāʾ*, especially during the ʿAbbasid period. The debate revolves around the extent to which the *ʿulamāʾ* supported the various ʿAbbasid regimes and furthermore participated in the processes of governance. My essay explores one aspect of this larger problem. From the late eighth till the eleventh centuries, many prominent religious personalities were offered a position of judgeship by various political regimes, and these prominent personalities were recorded to have persistently refused, sometimes at the cost of being tortured. This paper explores how the rejection or acceptance of judgeship positions was described and justified in biographical and historical sources by both friendly and hostile narrators. By comparing the justifying reasons given for the rejection of the judgeship position with those given for those individuals who accepted the judgeship position I attempt to locate some of the cultural and ethical tensions which animated the relationship of the *ʿulamāʾ* with the state. In other words, both the rejection and the acceptance were seen not just as political acts, but also as ethical acts which spoke about the character of the individual's piety. Furthermore the narrative biographies of individuals who accepted and those who rejected the judgeship positions point to a larger debate about the role of the *ʿālim* or *faqīh* in the world and what his relationship with the state should be. Two distinct narrative roles emerge with differing attitudes towards state power: one is the role of the pious ascetic who refuses to partake in the corruption of the caliphal court, and thus refuses the position of the judgeship offered to him, and the other is the role of the wise *faqīh*, who accepts the position of the judgeship, and actively uses his power to bring justice to the world and restore the rights of the disadvantaged.

45. WALID SALEH, University of Toronto The Agonies of Grammar: al-Wāḥidī and the Crisis in Sunni Hermeneutics

In this talk I will draw attention to al-Wāḥidī (d. 486/1075), one of the most significant of *tafsīr* authors who has been so far woefully neglected among scholars. My reading of extensive parts of al-Wāḥidī's unpublished major work, *al-Basīṭ* (*The Expounded*), has convinced me that we have in this work one of the masterpieces of medieval commentaries on the Qurʾān. Not only was this work of paramount significance to the history of the genre, being widely influential, al-Rāzī, for example, used *al-Basīṭ* as a major source for his monumental work, but it promises to advance our knowledge of the language of the Qurʾān itself since this is one of the most exhaustive philological Qurʾān commentaries to survive from the classical period. Moreover, the Sunni al-Wāḥidī attempted in *al-Basīṭ* to resolve the crisis in the Sunni hermeneutical tradition. The crisis was instigated by the maturity of the field of philology and literary studies and the threat that such disciplines posed to inherited Sunni interpretations of the Qurʾān. The aim of my research ultimately is to write an informed history of the *tafsīr* genre based on an assessment of the major works produced in medieval Islam and their relationship with one other.

46. MICHAEL CARTER, University of Oslo

The Treatment of Sources in the History of Arabic Grammar

This paper examines the history of Arabic grammar from the perspective of the history of ideas. It particularly takes issue with the position of Jonathan Owens that a “context free” history can be constructed, and argues instead that the development of grammatical thought can only be properly interpreted by considering it in combination not only with its social and historical background (administration of a large empire of non-Arabic speakers, etc.) but also its ideological connections (theology and law both dependent on Arabic). Examples will be given of serious misinterpretations of technical terms and theory, and some still unsolved terminological problems will be mentioned. The paper will conclude with a brief review of the current state of research and the prospects of an increased tension between the Classical language and its modern reflexes, in which grammatical science will retain its relevance and importance in the troubled world of language reform.

47. TAHERA QUTBUDDIN, University of Chicago

Arabic in India: A Sacred Language

Arabic is considered a sacred language in India, perceived primarily through the lens of religion as the language of Islam and its holy book, the Qurʾān. The major factor imparting sacrality seems to be its detachment in India from mundane usage, contrary to its dual (secular and religious) usage in the Middle East. In India, Arabic is used in the main for religious purposes, such as reading the Qurʾān and memorizing *sūras* for recitation in ritual prayer. It is used at a broader level — although still connected with religion to a greater or lesser degree — for various other purposes, such as the study and composition of works of Islamic history, literature, theology, and philosophy, for engraving Qurʾānic verses on monuments, and for writing epitaphs. Its non-religious usage is marginal. Furthermore, its influence on Indian languages is usually related to religion, such that Arabic vocabulary terms pertaining to religion are often the ones most likely to be found incorporated in Indian Muslim languages. Overall, then, Arabic scholarship in India is equated with Islamic religious scholarship, and experts

in the Arabic language are often the same scholars considered to be authorities in religion. As such, both the Arabic language and scholars of Arabic are regarded with veneration. Moreover, because of this association with religious tradition, the language has preserved its traditional classical features, and resisted the impact of dialectical elements.

Although some good work has been addressed to related issues such as cataloging Indian Arabic works, coins and monument inscriptions, the theme at hand has not yet been addressed by scholars. In my paper, I propose to examine the predominantly sacred nature of the Arabic language as used in India under the rubrics of liturgy, religious education, composition of religious works, Arabic-Islamic nomenclature, inscriptions, and vocabulary incorporation into other Indian languages.

D. South and Southeast Asia II: The Sanskrit Epics. STEPHANIE W. JAMISON, University of California at Los Angeles, Chair (9:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m.) *Salon VII*

48. IRINA KUZNETSOVA, University of Newcastle

Between Concretization and Abstraction: Tracing the Development of Ideas from the Vedas to the Epics

[Withdrawn]

49. ALF HILTEBEITEL, George Washington University

Mapping Bhakti in the Sanskrit Epics

Disagreement over the status of *bhakti* in the two Sanskrit epics ranges from the view that it is late and interpolated wherever one finds it to the view that (as stated at least for the *Rāmāyana*) it is often “assured” by “conventions” even without being “foregrounded” (as per Robert P. Goldman and Sally Sutherland Goldman in the Introduction to their translation of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*, pp. 19 and 43). While I favor the latter view as pertinent to both epics, it is in either case a problem that calls for further mapping. Toward that end I would like to explore in this presentation the relation between the two epics in two ways: one in broad strokes; the other in certain selected detail. On the broad scale, I will argue that while the *Mahābhārata* provides explicit passages that are easier to map at large within the text, it also works *bhakti* into less explicit broad designs that are similar to ones found (*mutatis mutandis*) in the *Rāmāyana*. Second, as quoted above, there is the question of the conventions that carry along interconnected *bhakti* (if *bhakti* is the right word) themes even where *bhakti* itself is not foregrounded. Here again, as a few selected examples will demonstrate, there are differences between the two epics, but also much in common. Such a comparison must raise the question of the historical relation between these two texts, the work of devotional themes in their composition and dissemination, and the question — given views of *bhakti* colored by the later “bhakti movement” — of whether “*bhakti*” is itself the right term to bring such a discussion of the epics under.

50. ROBERT P. GOLDMAN, University of California at Berkeley

Plus ça change . . .: Ethnic Cleansing vs. Regime Change as Political and Military Strategies in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana*

Although the two Sanskrit epics organize their central plots around very similar events, a great war directed by a warrior incarnation of Viṣṇu against a demonic king

and his supporters, the strategies and the military-political goals of the victorious parties in the two poems are quite different. These differing goals, moreover are closely aligned with the differing central thematic concerns of the works.

Despite the fact that the adversaries in the *Mahābhārata* are closely linked by familial and even affectionate ties while those in the *Rāmāyaṇa* are alien and seemingly implacably hostile beings, the conflict in the former is — ironically enough — a brutal war of mutual extermination, thoroughly in keeping with the poem’s reiterated theme of “ethnic cleansing,” while the one in the latter is more in keeping with what we have recently come to know as “regime change.”

The present paper explores these fundamental differences between the epics and offers some observations and speculations on what may account for them.

51. SALLY SUTHERLAND GOLDMAN, University of California at Berkeley

Who’s for Dinner: Cannibalism in the Epics

One of the most pronounced characteristics of the *rākṣasas* that haunt the both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* is their sexual excess. But closely juxtaposed to the libidinal is the need to devour. This consumption is not uncommonly manifested as a desire for human flesh, or, more specifically, human blood. Consumption can be understood as an expression of sexuality, especially excess libidinal urges. The *Mahābhārata* does not limit this behavior to the demonic world, but in fact, makes the very imbibing of blood a central event of the main story. This paper will examine a number of episodes in which the real or intended consumption of blood or human flesh plays a crucial role with an eye towards understanding the manner of and possible rationales for the employment of this thematic.

52. SHUBHA PATHAK, University of Chicago Divinity School

Kuśa and Lava versus Nala: When Poetic Rulers Affirm or Interrogate *Dharma* in the Sanskrit Epics

Audiences of the Sanskrit epics hear displaced rulers or rulers-to-be: the *Rāmāyaṇa* depicts its recounting by King Rāma’s twin forest-dwelling sons, Kuśa and Lava; and the *Mahābhārata* includes autobiographical accounts articulated by King Nala of Niṣadha after his overthrow. Yet the bardic aspects of these migrant monarchs have so far escaped extended attention. While Goldman (1984) and Brockington (1998) merely mention Kuśa and Lava’s connection to ancient Indian *kuśīlavas* (roving rhapsodists), Shulman (1994), Doniger (1999), and Hildebeitel (2001) read statements that Nala makes when disguised as Bāhuka the *sūta* (charioteer-bard) not as poetic narratives, but as riddles regarding the alien self, shared memories, and self-recovery.

In this paper, I will accentuate the poetic features of the sovereigns while showing that their stories and circumstances underscore their embedding epics’ ideas of *dharma*. Kuśa and Lava’s recital of a complete epic comprising Rāma’s future as well as past triumphs indicates that his fulfillment of *dharma* is a foregone conclusion. Additionally, the twins’ backwoods upbringing recalls two of Rāma’s acts that attest the relentless righteousness upon which the *Rāmāyaṇa* insists: 1) Rāma’s agreement, on the eve of his consecration as Ayodhyā’s prince regent, to be exiled to the forest in order to honor a promise made by his father; and 2) Rāma’s banishment of the twins’ mother Sītā to a sylvan ashram before their births so that his subjects will no longer censure him for taking Sītā back after the demon Rāvaṇa has housed her. In contrast,

Nala's couplets, composed during his stint as a stunted subordinate to Ayodhyā's king R̥tuparna, express not only Nala's shame and sorrow at losing his land and lady, but also the *Mahābhārata*'s misgivings about morality, for they foreshadow the struggles of the epic's hero, Yudhiṣṭhira, to conquer a nearly empty earth and to ascend into heaven alone.

53. LUIS GONZÁLEZ-REIMANN, University of California at Berkeley

Rāma's Divinity in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki

For decades, scholars have debated whether Rama's divinity and his status as *avatāra* of Viṣṇu's have been an integral part of his story since its earliest extant version — the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa* attributed to Vālmīki — or whether it was a later, gradual euhemeristic development that turned a popular hero into a manifestation of the Supreme God. In recent years, Sheldon Pollock has challenged the view that Vālmīki's Rāma was principally a human hero, and argues that his divinity is a central element of the narrative. This paper will assess Pollock's arguments in this regard and suggest that his reading may have become an extension of Vaiṣṇava apologetics.

A. Ancient Near East IV: Sumero-Babylonian History and Religion.

MARTHA ROTH, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chair (1:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) *Salon I-II*

54. CHRISTOPHER WOODS, The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago

Of the Euphrates, Shamash, and Sippar: The Orthographical, Topographical, and Mythological Background of the Spelling UD.KIB.NUN

It is a curious and hitherto unexplained fact of Mesopotamian toponymy that one of the great arteries of Mesopotamia, the Euphrates, and the ancient northern cult center of the Sun-god, Shamash, share a common logographic writing, UD.KIB.NUN. In this paper I will show that contrary to the generally accepted understanding of the Euphrates as the "River-Sippar," it was in fact the river that lent its spelling to the city. Indeed, the logogram UD.KIB.NUN can be traced back to the writing of the deified Euphrates, attested already at Fara and Pre-Sargonic Mari and the spelling itself may belong to the so-called UD.GAL.NUN orthographic tradition. But more than a mere orthographic peculiarity, there is a topographical and semantic basis to this relationship. It will be argued that the region of Sippar was an early cult center of the River-god and was regarded as a *numen loci* because of the unique geomorphological conditions specific to the area. Further, the textual and artistic records together describe a mythological and cosmographic conception in which Shamash is associated with the River-god by way of their shared aspect of divine judge.

55. PETR CHARVÁT, University of Pennsylvania Museum, Babylonian Section

The Iconography of Pristine Statehood

1) The Halaf-period exquisitely painted tableware: "internalization" of food-carried chiefly magic by followers of high-rank persons.

2) Painted pottery of the Ubaid/Uruk transitional period (Gawra XIII–XII): Symbols of fixed meanings, and associating according to intelligible rules, on Susa vessels of funerary contexts. Inthronized chiefs magically re-enact mythical deeds of ancestors encoded in the painted-pot messages. The first step towards writing.

- 3) Early Uruk age: Transformation of the Susa ritual:
 - a) no re-enactments, but release of fertility for the benefit of the living;
 - b) not for dead ancestors, but for the living communities of their descendants;
 - c) not done singularly but repeatedly — seasonally or annually.

The ceremony involved texts written on behalf of its benefactors. Invention and introduction of script.

4) Late Uruk: key social figures — performers of the fertility-releasing ceremony (NA₂), the Uruk “pontifical couple” of EN and NIN, representing An and Inanna. The entire communal life subordinated to the purpose of securing abundance and plenty, including military conquest of foreign lands. Late Uruk society “collapsed under its own weight”.

5) The Early Dynastic age: problem of holding NA₂ in communities with only one EN, “wed” to the local god and thus unable to participate in the ceremony. LUGAL, a new partner to NIN, appeared. Two answers to the question of nature of the LUGAL office:

- a) the Kiš answer, which is the Gilgameš answer: LUGAL = a human being;
- b) the Ur answer: LUGAL = Dumuzi, the “dying god”, his NIN = Inanna.

All subsequent tradition of Mesopotamian kingship based upon these two concepts of royalty. First synthesis: Mesanepada of Ur [double title of “lugal Kiš dam nu-gig” (nu-gig = Inanna)]. The ultimate merging of both traditions in the age of the Old Akkadian dynasty.

56. ABRAHAM WINITZER, Harvard University

More on Inanna’s Symbol as Sign and the Interpretation of the “Divine Presence” in Early Mesopotamian Divination

A recent study presented a compelling argument for an identification long suspected: the conspicuous “volute-like reed structure,” apparent in numerous scenes from Uruk art and widely assumed to be the archaic emblem of Inanna, represented a type shawl or turban known as a *bar.si(g)* or *parsikku*, described in an ED literary text as “draping the neck of Inanna.” This finding raised questions about the extent of any such tradition and the conceptualization behind it, as well as its continuity in later periods of Mesopotamian civilization. Was the ornamentation of the deity by this garment recalled in other historical periods for its representational meaning, namely, as the basis of her *symbol* and even the underlying representation of her *sign*?

The purpose of this communication is to draw attention to a textual passage which, in fact, offers the first explicit testimony on this problem. The nature of this finding confirms the identification of Inanna’s sign beyond reasonable doubt. Additionally, it points to a larger set of divine headdress or headgear identifying various deities, or at least offering some explanation or interpretation of their mysterious “presence.”

57. STEPHEN M. HUGHEY, University of California, Los Angeles

Pegs, Clay-nails and Cones in 4D Context

Pegs, clay nails and cones are among the most interesting and enigmatic objects recovered from the dust of Ancient Iraq. This paper briefly re-evaluates a suggestion that these ancient architectural features may somehow have been associated with ancient surveying or “positioning”. The author begins with the material contexts of

Richard Ellis *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia* (1968) and Sally Dunham *Mesopotamian Temple Foundations* (1983) highlighting certain vertical elements of the objects themselves and their contexts. Various monumental building activities from royal inscriptions are ordered in a graphic of “Mesopotamian Construction Cycles” from which it becomes clear that some system of inspection and structural monitoring was necessarily in place. Certain typical soil characteristics also indicate the need for a system to discover uneven foundation settlement and foundation wall failure in its early stages to foretell and prevent disaster with severe political implications. The typical place of a foundation deposit box atop an intersection of smaller walls with a heavy foundation wall, as in the case of five of Šulgi’s deposits in the temple of šetaba at Ur, was a critical one. Uneven vertical movement of various locations in relation to each other indicated structural failure and required responsible action. Such a theory challenges the long accepted notion that though these foundation deposits are “. . . an integral part of the structure of a building,” they are not “structurally useful”. It also provides a new dimension of reality underlying magical and ritualistic explanations and affords a vantage point to appreciate why these emplacements remain so prominent over the millennia in the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia.

58. STEVEN GARFINKLE, Western Washington University

Was the Ur III State Bureaucratic?

The Ur in period in Mesopotamia at the end of the Third Millennium BC is one of the best documented eras in antiquity. The credit for this phenomenon is often given the administrative apparatus of the state, which largely produced the tens of thousands of texts that have survived. This has led to the presumption, common in the secondary literature on the Ur in period, that this was an era of oppressive bureaucracy and state control. The terms of this description suggest a centralized state machinery that superceded the social and political norms of preceding Mesopotamian states. Bureaucracy, after all, implies the imposition of centralized administration on the basis of rational procedures and regulation, and it is often understood to be both intrusive and officious.

This view of the organization of the Ur III state has recently been challenged. In particular, prosopographic studies of elite households and hierarchies in southern Mesopotamia at the end of the Third Millennium BC, along with innovative discussions of Weber’s ideas on patrimonial administration, have suggested that new theories must be developed to account for social, political, and economic developments under the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

This paper will offer a reassessment of the administration of the Ur III state. I will briefly survey the evidence for the organization of the Ur III kingdom, highlighting the continued operation of local hierarchies. The survival of regional networks of social power, which often relied on familial and household connections, shows that the kings of Ur managed their economy using customary systems of control already embedded in society. Comparative evidence from later periods of Mesopotamian history will then be introduced to serve as the basis for a broader discussion of bureaucracy and administration in the ancient Near East.

59. MAGNUS WIDELL, The Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago

The Calendar of Ur and its Political Significance

This paper examines the calendar used in the city of Ur during the Ur III period before the twelfth month of the 30th year of Shulgi's reign. A half century ago, E. Sollberger proposed that the city of Ur originally employed the Girsu calendar. This widely accepted view has recently been questioned for several different reasons. However, a close scrutiny of the texts Sollberger worked with, as well as several more recently published or identified tablets from the city, indicate that there is little or no reason to question Sollberger's initial reconstruction of the Ur calendar. This conclusion raises the question: What compelled the kings Ur-Namma and Shulgi to continue to use the calendar of the city's one-time enemy for almost half a century after Ur's victory over Girsu? In this paper, I propose that the kings of the Ur III state had strong political reasons not to replace the Girsu calendar in Ur with an indigenous one.

60. TONIA SHARLACH, University of Pennsylvania

The Nippur Homicide Trial: A Re-evaluation

The so-called Nippur homicide trial is one of the most sensational cases known from early Mesopotamia. The trial report comes from a handful of school tablets, all of Old Babylonian date, excavated at Nippur. In this case, a respected official has been slain; the three men who did the deed face the death penalty. So too does the official's wife, who is accused of having instigated the crime. This paper will discuss some of the many problems that remain with the interpretation of the trial and its genre.

61. LEO DEPUYDT, Brown University

First Crescent Visibility's Irrelevance: Additional Evidence, including from Babylonian Astronomical Texts

Few assumptions of ancient history are as stubborn or have been as dominant from time immemorial as the one that ancient months, which were mostly lunar, began with first crescent visibility. Yet, quite to the contrary, it would appear that first crescent visibility nowhere in the ancient world marked the beginning of the month. Supporting evidence has been adduced elsewhere (*JAOS* 122, 471–77). But more hard evidence derived directly from primary sources is desirable. Adducing such evidence is this paper's aim. The special focus is on Babylonian astronomical texts. At first sight, they would seem to be the sources most favoring first crescent visibility's relevance to ancient calendars.

B. East Asia II: History, Literature, Religion, Dialectology. MARTIN KERN,
Chair (2:00 p.m.–4:30 p.m.) *Sonoma I*

62. CORNELIUS J. KILEY, Villanova University

Was There a Royal Yamato *Uji*?

It is generally presumed that the royal family of the sixth and seventh century Yamato state consisted large kinship group, claiming divine descent, whose support was an essential element in the stability of the monarchy (the *uji* theory). Surviving historical materials, however, offer only very weak support for the contention that a special class of royally qualified nobles existed at this time, although the evidence for

claims of heavenly descent is a bit stronger. “Imperial kindred,” an important element of the power structure of the seventh and later centuries, seem to have figured not at all in the politics of the sixth, when collateral affiliation to the monarchs did not itself confer special privileges or status.

63. DING XIANG WARNER, Cornell University

Out of Filial Duty and Veneration: Wang Bo’s Role in the Restoration and Transmission of Works by the Sui Confucian Teacher Wang Tong

This paper proposes to investigate the role of Wang Bo (650–676?), a celebrated literary talent in his own right and the grandson of the controversial Sui Confucian teacher Wang Tong, in the early stages of the restoration and transmission of Wang Tong’s works and his teachings. In particular, I will closely examine some of Wang Bo’s own writings (e.g., his preface to Wang Tong’s *Continued Book of Documents* and his poem “Illustrious is My Lineage”) as well as Yang Jiong’s preface to Wang Bo’s collected works in an effort to gain insight to the state and condition of Wang Tong’s corpus by Wang Bo’s time, what was Wang Bo’s role in the restoration and transmission of Wang Tong’s legacy, and what might have been his aim in undertaking such an endeavor. I will also venture to offer my tentative interpretation of the likely impact Wang Bo and his family’s effort might have had on the mixed reception Wang Tong received in later history.

64. ANNA M. SHIELDS, University of Arizona

“Parting with Poems”: The Offering Text (*Jiwen*) for Yuan Zhen (779–831) Composed by Bai Juyi (772–846)

In medieval China, the genre of funerary text known as *jiwen*, “offering text,” was an important complement to other funerary texts such as inscriptions (*ming*) and dirges (*lei*). Tang offering texts for the deceased were meant to be presented by the coffin or gravesite, and were normally composed by persons who had known the deceased quite well. Unlike funerary texts that aimed to provide comprehensive biographies, such as the grave memoir inscription (*muzhiming*), Tang offering texts for the dead tended to be brief, and were direct addresses to the deceased. Similar to other funerary genres, offering texts were often composed in tetrametric lines that sometimes contained both rhyme and tonal balancing. This paper examines an unusual example of Tang offering texts, that composed by Bai Juyi on the death of his friend Yuan Zhen. In its formal features, it incorporates diverse elements, such as unrhymed tetrametric lines, unrhymed prose segments, and four heptametric quatrains. In its rhetorical structure, it is equally complex. Although offering texts commonly expressed both praise and grief, Bai Juyi uses the *jiwen* for his dead friend not merely to praise Yuan Zhen but also to retell the story of their lives together, and to plead for the renewal of their friendship in future incarnations. This paper will examine the *jiwen* both as a contribution to its genre and as a document of a decades-old friendship.

65. MARIO POCESKI, University of Florida

Monasticism and Morality in Classical Chan

This paper examines the attitudes towards monasticism and morality evidenced within the Hongzhou school of Chan Buddhism in medieval China. Its main focus is on *Guishan jingce*, a key text from the Hongzhou school’s literary output that so

far has been ignored by Chan/Zen scholarship. Composed by Guishan Lingyou (771–853), the foremost representative of the Hongzhou school’s third generation, this is the earliest Chan document that is primarily concerned with monastic discipline and the place of morality in the Chan path to awakening. Its contents shed unique light on the Hongzhou school’s fairly conventional attitudes towards monastic ideals and mores, and bring into question the currently prevalent views about the iconoclastic turn that Chan supposedly took with the ascendancy of the Hongzhou school. The first part of the paper introduces current research on Chan’s relationship with Buddhist monasticism. That is followed with a brief discussion of *Guishan jingce*’s provenance and the historical circumstances that shaped the views and sentiments expressed in it. The final part consists of an analysis of the text’s contents and its central ideas.

The relationship between Chan and Buddhist monasticism is usually discussed in reference to the putative inception of a unique system of “Chan monasticism,” which is attributed to Baizhang (749–814), Guishan’s teacher. The story about the emergence of distinctive Chan institutions and models of monastic practice is part of a sectarian narrative that depicts the development of the Hongzhou school as an unambiguous shift away from the established traditions of earlier Indian and Chinese Buddhism. Purportedly an integral part of that process was a complete repudiation of long-established monastic mores and intuitions. This dominant interpretation of the classical Chan’s attitudes towards traditional Buddhist monasticism is contradicted by the contents of *Guishan jingce*, which reveal Chan’s adherence to established monastic practices and ideals.

66. RICHARD VANNESS SIMMONS, Rutgers University

Seeking Tone Isoglosses in Danyang and Neighboring Counties in Jiangsu, China

In the dialects of Danyang, Dantwu, and Jintarn counties of Jiangsu, we frequently find unusual distributions of Middle Chinese tonal categories. Often sonorant or aspirated initials form the condition for somewhat exceptional resorting of syllables among tones. Sometimes these regroupings appear rather chaotic or unstable. A previous paper examined data for a single dialect in the region and observed that these tonal characteristics appear to be aerial features shared by dialects in proximity in this part of China and are not diagnostic for dialect type.* The present paper will analyze the question from a broader angle by looking collectively at a large number of dialects across the whole region. Using maps drawn on the basis of recent fieldwork in southern Jiangsu, we will seek to determine whether there are any characteristic tonal features or categories that form isoglosses that cut across the dialects of the whole region. We will further examine any isoglosses that can be identified to see where they fall in relation to the boundary between Mandarin and Wu. For example, can an isogloss be found to show a boundary between typical local traits in Mandarin tones, such as the low falling *inpyng* tone and high-rising *inchiuh* tone, and regional Wu tonal features, such as the tendency for splits conditioned by sonorant and aspirated initials? If we find such an isogloss, we will have strong evidence to contradict the earlier assertion that the Danyang-Jintarn tonal patterns are mere aerial features of little diagnostic usefulness.

* “An Unusual Mandarin Dialect — The Village of Shoetair in Dantwu County, Jiangsu Province” presented at the 2001 Annual Meeting of the Western Branch of the American Oriental Society at UCLA in Los Angeles, October 12–14.

C. Islamic Near East IV: Religion. WADAD KADI, University of Chicago, Chair
(1:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) *Salon VI*

67. SEBASTIAN GUENTHER, University of Toronto

The Ten Commandments and the Qurʾān

The recently renewed interest in interfaith dialogue has intensified research into the relations between the holy scriptures of the three monotheistic religions. This includes the examination of religious-ethical principles as expressed in both the Bible (e.g., the Ten Commandments) and the Quran.

While some work has already been done with respect to similarities and differences between principal moral regulations as mandated in the biblical Commandments and in the Quran, the objectives of this paper are to determine and analyze: a) *what* medieval Muslim scholars knew about the “biblical” Decalogue and its revelation to Moses, and b) *how* they portrayed these matters in terms of their relation to Islam and Muslims.

Next to the Quran itself, the sources for the study presented in this paper are: (a) early and classical quranic exegesis (incl. the works of the 8th century AD Muqātil ibn Sulaymān and those of the better-known later exegetes al-Ṭabarī, al-Rāzī, Ibn Kathīr etc.); and the popular *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* literature (incl. the works of the 11th century AD scholars Abū l-Ḥasan al-Kisāʾī and Abū Ishāq al-Thaʿlabī; interestingly enough, the accounts found in these two sources particularly elaborate on the biblical Commandments and on their revelation to Moses).

Due attention is also drawn in our study to the passages in Quran 6:151–153 and 17:22–39, which some medieval and modern Muslim scholars identify as containing the Ten Commandments.

In conclusion, this paper argues that the prominence which Muslim scholars — including contemporary orthodox scholars like Sayyid Quṭb, for instance — grant the Commandments (as expressed in the Quran) has the potential to promote greater understanding and dialogue between the three monotheist confessions.

68. SIDNEY H. GRIFFITH, Catholic University of America

Who Said: “Allāh is Third of Three”? A New Interpretation of an Enigmatic Phrase in the Qurʾān V, *al-Māʾida* 73

Muslim and non-Muslim commentators on the Qurʾān have offered a variety of interpretations of the passage in V *al-Māʾida* 73: “They have disbelieved who say that God is third of three.” In the context of a review of the range of the standard interpretations of the phrase, “third of three (*thālithu thalāthatin*)”, this communication will argue that it is in fact an Arabic translation of a Syriac epithet commonly applied to Jesus Christ. One finds the epithet in the works of representative Syriac writers of the classical period such as Ephraem the Syrian (d. 373) and Jacob of Sarug (d. 521), whose compositions often found their way into liturgical texts.

The recognition of the phrase *thālithu thalāthatin* as a ‘Syriacism’ in the Arabic diction of the Qurʾān that applies to Christ allows a new interpretation of what the Qurʾān rejects in this verse. It also provides the opportunity to reevaluate some customary interpretations of other passages, such as V *al-Māʾida* 116, often read in conjunction with the phrase in vs. 73. These considerations in turn open the way

for some further discussion of the ‘Christians’ and their doctrines as we find them in the Qurʾān, especially in the context of some recent suggestions about *Die syro-aramäische Lesart des Koran*.

69. GABRIEL SAID REYNOLDS, University of Notre Dame

Is Jesus Alive?

According to the canonical Islamic view, Jesus did not die; God raised him alive to heaven. There he waits until the appointed moment, when God will send him back to earth to be the protagonist of the end times and to finish his life in advance of the Day of Resurrection. For this reason, there waits today an empty tomb next to the tomb of Muḥammad in Medina, inscribed with the words, “Jesus, Son of Mary.” Yet where did this view come from?

This simple question is rendered important by the fact that the Qurʾān — while affirming that the Jews did not kill or crucify Jesus — never denies his death. Moreover, some early Muslim scholars, including the historian and exegete Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), provide traditions that boldly reject the canonical view, describing how, when and where Jesus died. Much of this material has already been discussed by Prof. Mahmoud Ayoub (“Towards an Islamic Christology II: The Death of Jesus, Reality or Delusion?” *The Muslim World* 70, 2 (1980): 91–121). Unlike Ayoub, I am not interested in whether the canonical view is faithful to the Qurʾān and historical traditions, but rather in why the canonical view became canonical.

Does the denial of Jesus’ death serve a larger theological purpose in the domains of prophecy or eschatology? Or does this denial serve instead an apologetical or polemical purpose in Islam’s dialogue with competing religions? I will focus on two possibilities: 1. that, the denial of death to Jesus is a Sunnī response to the Shīʿī eschatological doctrine of the Qāʾim and 2. that it is an element in the appropriation of the figure of Jesus from Christianity, as reflected in Jesus’ particular eschatological role of chastising Christians.

70. SANDRA TOENIES KEATING, Providence College

A Response to a Muʿtazilī: From the Teaching of Abū Rāʾitah al-Takrītī, the Syrian Bishop of Nisibis

Ḥabīb ibn Ḥidmah Abū Rāʾitah al-Takrītī, a Syrian Jacobite Christian from the early ninth century, is best known for his apologetical writings in defense of Christianity. In his extant writings, Abū Rāʾitah is extremely careful to avoid direct reference to his interlocutors as Muslims, while leaving his reader no doubt as to their identity. An exception to this is found in his “Demonstration of the Credibility of Christianity”, which states that it is a “response to Thumāmah, the Muʿtazilī . . .” This is quite probably a reference to Thumāmah ibn al-Ashras of Baghdad, who was advisor to two caliphs, Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Maʿmūn.

This paper will examine the context and contents of this brief syllogistic text. Of particular interest is Abū Rāʾitah’s apologetical use of miracles. He argues that miracles are a necessary proof of the authenticity of a religion, since only they make the faith accessible both to “the ignorant and the intelligent”. Such Christian polemics may have played a significant role in the increasing attribution of miracles to Muḥammad by Muslims in later centuries.

71. REBECCA R. WILLIAMS, McGill University

The Miracles of Muḥammad in Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya*

Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), in the Introduction to his historical work *al-Bidāya wa-l-Nihāya*, seems to support the notion that all Muslim activities, scholarly and otherwise, must first rely on the Qurʾān and then on the Sunna of Muḥammad as treated in authoritative traditions based first on the authority of the Companions of the Prophet and then on their Successors. However, since the Qurʾān states that Muḥammad performs no miracles, besides the Qurʾān itself, why are there so many reports of miraculous events in Ibn Kathīr's work? By studying the almost two hundred miracles that Ibn Kathīr reports, the problems inherent in his use of the source material become apparent. His inclusion and defense of reports of the miracles of Muḥammad, denied in the Qurʾān, the most authoritative source in all of Islam, reveal what happens when one source, no matter how important, is pitted against the bulk of tradition. Although many scholars have studied the controversies surrounding his mentor, Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), few have focused on Ibn Kathīr as an independent scholar. The simple fact that Ibn Kathīr included so many reports of the miracles of Muḥammad reveals that he was willing to go against his teacher regarding the absolute and literal authority of the Qurʾān. The types of miracles he reported, how those miracles changed over the course of Muḥammad's life, and the types of miracles he rejected seem to communicate his views regarding the importance of the image of Muḥammad as a miracle-worker and the nature of authoritative Islamic source material.

72. ALI ANOOSHAHR, University of California Los Angeles

The Image of the King in al-ʿUtbī's *Tārīkh Yamīnī*

This paper investigates the representations of kings in the 11th-century CE Arabic-language dynastic history by al-ʿUtbī known as *Tārīkh Yamīnī*. The paper will first identify the author's various motives and biases which were active during the time of the composition. This will be done by analyzing the biographical self-references in the text, as well as rhetorical clues such as the use of irony, muffled criticism, and certain metaphors. Afterwards, the relevant passages that portray the images of the two Ghaznavid Emirs will be isolated, and those which clearly reflect the needs and constructions of the author will be categorized accordingly. However, it will be noticed that some of these images (often derived from supposed quotations of the kings themselves) do not easily give themselves to the interpretation that al-ʿUtbī was forcing upon them. Furthermore, after these images are removed, there remain traces of alternative representations which seem to reflect competition among various groups in the Ghaznavid Emirate over the very definition of royal personality. These then will be analyzed for their possible functional values in the society of the time as well as their potential meaning for subsequent generations on the Indian frontier.

The *Yamīnī* has generally been designated as a piece of purely rhetorical flattery that evinces an ambivalent attitude towards some of the more sinister aspects of its royal patrons. Its historical value has been considered less than that of two contemporary histories, those of Bayhaqī and Gardezī. Yet it is through an engagement with this seeming obstacle — the rhetoric — that one can gain a deeper understanding of both al-ʿUtbī and the world he portrayed in his work.

73. ELI ALSHECH, Princeton University

“Do Not Enter Houses Other Than Your Own“: Early Islamic Conception of Domestic Privacy

Concerns for a protected sphere against intrusions by either the state or individuals have been shared by many ancient and modern societies. Islamic societies are no exception, but no scholar has studied privacy in the context of Early Islam. The purpose of this paper is to reflect on Muslim scholars’ perceptions of the private sphere and examine the regulations they promulgate in order to ascertain the protection of this sphere. The starting point of this paper is one cluster of Qur’ānic verses (Nūr, 24:27–29) which regulates people’s access into each other’s houses.

Analysis of exegetical and legal discussions (between the seventh and thirteen centuries) reveals that the Islamic perception of the private sphere changed drastically over time. The early exegetical and judicial discussions (mostly between the seventh and eighth centuries), with very few exceptions, depict the private sphere as a rigid physical sphere. These scholars thought that the mere fact that a house is privately owned or permanently occupied (e.g., by a tenant) renders people’s affairs that take place in it private too. For them privacy was contingent on ownership or occupancy, and thus anything occurred outside the house could not, by the definition, be private.

Later jurists and exegetes (mostly between the ninth and thirteen centuries), other hand, clearly extended the protected sphere beyond the physical boundaries of the house, leaving concerns about ownership or occupancy behind. They perceived the protected domain as defined by a principle rather than by a physical place, and their opinions suggest that it is private affairs that render the house inviolable.

In keeping with their conception of privacy, later exegetes and jurists abstracted the notion of “protected entities”. They moved beyond the realm of physical objects and affairs that can be grasped by the senses into the mental sphere. They understood the “house” referred to in the Qur’ān (Nūr, 24:27–29) as a place that provides the dweller with solitude, a realm in which a person ought to be able to conduct his private and domestic affairs freely. They perceived this as a place into which a person ought to be able to escape when he needs some moments of complete piece of mind and as a location in which a person can freely do as he prefers even if he violates legal norms.

The rationales the scholars offer for the protection varied. Some scholars take an idealistic stance and associate privacy with the divine’s wish to elevate human beings above other beings in the world. Others, however, adopted a utilitarian approach and explained that if people feel under constant scrutiny they will retreat from society, society will thus become dysfunctional and eventually communal-religious life will be harmed.

74. JOSHUA WINTERS, University of California Los Angeles

Cartography and Geography

In this paper I will elucidate the representational foundations of two geographical places (the island of Suqutra and Turkestan) in the atlas commissioned by the Caliph al-Ma’mun. The paper will not only examine the methods by which the geographers acquired knowledge of the two places, but also the literary importance of these places, whether economic, political, or legendary. My research will show a differentiation in

geographical knowledge that is seaborne, and that which comes overland. To this end, the island will be juxtaposed with the inland, which was connected to Baghdad by land routes. Using the maps from the Maʿmun Atlas that are reproduced in *Kitab al-Absar* and other sources, I will work backward from image to imagination as shown by literary representation and description. The majority of the scholarly effort in this area has been toward deciphering coordinates and understanding the system of geographical classification in the Arabic sources. After this, most attention has been given to finding the antecedents of the geographical knowledge among Greek and other sources. My research is a departure in its attention to the literary aspects of geography and to the discursively produced nature of specific geographical knowledge and its cartographic representation.

D. South and Southeast Asia III. CHRISTOPHER Z. MINKOWSKI, Cornell University, Chair (2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) *Salon VII*

The Mahābhārata

75. JAMES L. FITZGERALD, University of Tennessee

A Meter-Guided Analysis and Discussion of the Dicing Match of the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*

Substantial portions of the dicing match and its sequel in the MBh’s second book are composed in *triṣṭubh* verses. These occur in small and large runs amid the prevailing *anuṣṭubh śloka*s. This paper will offer a close discussion of the construction of this episode on the basis of the variations of the meters of the verses. It will start from a meter-defined map of the episode and examine what correlations between meter and content may be observed. This treatment will go beyond the recent discussion of Alf Hiltebeitel in *Rethinking the Mahābhārata* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), chapter 7, which does not attend to the meters, and that of Renate Söhnen-Thieme’s “On the composition of the *Dyūtaparvan* in the *Mahābhārata*,” (in Mary Brockington and Peter Schreiner, *Composing a Tradition*: [Zagreb: Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1999]: 139–154.) in that I have developed a method for distinguishing different types of *triṣṭubh* verses more closely than has been done in the past.

76. FREDERICK M. SMITH, University of Iowa

Possession, Identity, and the Meaning of Individual Action in the *Mahābhārata*

It is fairly well accepted that the plot of the *Mahābhārata* is pressed forward by acts of the gods, by boons and curses, and by the ebb and flow of personal identity. In this paper I shall examine, necessarily briefly, six examples of possession (*āveśa*) in the MBh, and speculate on the ways in which the individual and individual action are expressed. The examples are (1) the possession of Nala by Kali, the spirit of the age of darkness, in the *Vanaparvan*; (2) the possession of Ruci, the wife of Devaśarman, by the latter’s disciple Vipula Bhārgava, in the *Anuśāsanaparvan*; (3) the possession of Yudhiṣṭhira by Vidura, in the *Āśramavāsikaparvan*; (4) the possession of king Kalmāśapāda by the *rākṣasa* Kimkara (“Slave”), in the *Ādiparvan*; (5) the possession of Aṣvatthāman by Śiva, in the *Sauptikaparvan*; and (6) the quasi-medicalized possession of pregnant women and young children by the Skandas, in the *Vanaparvan*.

77. ADITYA ADARKAR, Montclair State University

Parallelism, Identity, and the Construction of Character in the *Mahābhārata*

While many scholars have recognized the psychological depth of characters in the *Mahābhārata* and the Sanskrit literary tradition (e.g., Hildebeitel 1990, Shulman 1997), and while other scholars (including myself) have attempted to fulfill that promise for a single character (e.g., Bose 1986, Katz 1989), this paper lays out a structure for the construction of character in the epic in terms of parallelisms. These parallelisms are sometimes explicit (e.g., Karna telling Kunti she will have either him or Arjuna as her son), and sometimes subtle (e.g., the parallel between Karna's dharmic tests and Yudhisthira's). As a test case for crystalline-like parallels and mirrorings, Karna's character reflects and is reflected upon by three other characters, Yudhisthira, Arjuna, and Bhishma. Several aspects of Yudhisthira's personality (his blinding hatred, his adherence to his worldview) emerge in the context of his hatred of and grief over Karna. The archrivals Karna and Arjuna both aggressively cling to their worldviews; while Arjuna is the idealized devotee (*bhakta*), Karna embodies some of the teachings of the *Bhagavad Gita*, but without devotion (*bhaktit*). In the reconciliation between Karna and Bhishma, neither character denies the power of destiny (*idaivat*), but Karna allows for and believes in human initiative (*ipurushakara*).

In fact, learning about a character through other characters is one of the framing devices of the epic: a series of answers (from the sage Vaishampayana) to the questions of Janamejaya (a descendant of the Pandavas) about who his ancestors were (eg 1.54.18–20 and 1.89.1). Janamejaya's identity seems constituted by what he sees of himself in other characters; similarly, the epic authors seem to construct each character's identity not solely through that character's narrative but through that character's 'thematic relatives.' Indeed the identity of the epic itself can be construed in just that net of structural and narrative relationships (*bhandus*).

78. EDELTRAUD HARZER, University of Texas at Austin

The Arrangement of the *Karṇa* Narrative in the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*

In the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, the text that describes the last moments in Karna's life, most specifically the combat with Arjuna, is curiously disjointed. Sentences that extend over several verses are interrupted by insertions of other verses, so that the reading becomes obscured. In this paper, I will compare the order of the narrative in the critical edition with that of the manuscripts and prior printed versions.

No matter what the reason for the choices made in the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata* were, we need to be aware that the critical edition is not the definitive version of the text, on the contrary, we should consider it as one further addition to the existing versions.

Dharma

79. DONALD R. DAVIS, JR., University of Michigan

Three Roots vs. Four Feet: The Distinction of Religion and Law in Classical India

The distinction of religion and law in classical Sanskrit texts, primarily the *dharmaśāstras*, has been the subject of several important essays by Derrett, Lingat,

Rocher, and others. The present paper revisits the issue by analyzing the two categorical hierarchies of *dharma* and *vyavahāra* within *dharmaśāstra* for cues as to an Indic conception of a distinction between religion and law, respectively. The overlapping concepts between the hierarchies, notably *dharma* itself and *ācāra* / *caritra*, will be discussed. However, the bulk of the paper will consist of an analysis and interpretation of the fact that the hierarchies seem largely to be inversions of one another. The implication of such an inversion for a differential understanding of religion and law, at least in a theoretical sense, changes the manner in which scholars should approach the different subtopics within *dharmaśāstra* and may provide a useful heuristic device in the use of such texts for purposes of intellectual and cultural history.

80. DAVID BRICK, University of Texas at Austin

The Early Development of *smṛti*

The notion of *smṛti* as an authoritative source of knowledge is central to an understanding of the brahmanical worldview. Nevertheless, the term's coinage and early history remain largely unexplored.

In this paper, I will argue that *smṛti* initially referred to "tradition" in a broad sense and was used primarily to codify aspects of brahmanical culture that were not expressly justified in Vedic texts. Evidence from a variety of textual sources will then be drawn upon to show that sometime probably in the first few centuries BCE, *smṛti* began to refer specifically to *dharmaśāstra*. This discovery is significant, as it contradicts the received wisdom that *smṛti* denotes a large body of brahmanical literature encompassing numerous genres and second in authority to *śruti*. I will attempt to demonstrate how the increasingly frequent use of traditional verses within dharma literature facilitated *smṛti*'s identification with *dharmaśāstra*. Finally, I will suggest that the identification of *smṛti* with *dharmaśāstra* was a means for the dharma tradition to imbue itself with greater authority.

81. MARK MCCLISH, University of Texas at Austin

Different Aims? On *dharma* in the *artha* Literature

This presentation will examine the concept of *dharma* in the Arthaśāstra. The first part will attempt to map the semantic range of the concept and determine whether any distinction can be made between general notions of *dharma* and the specific social doctrine of *varṇāśramadharmā*, expounded most fully in the Dharmaśāstra literature. The second part of the presentation will consider the relative importance of the doctrine of *varṇāśramadharmā* to the concerns and prescriptions of the Arthaśāstra and explore the possibility that the idea was consciously promoted in the text by the editorial decisions of later redactors.

At issue is the relative independence of Arthaśāstric social thought from the principal formulations of social theory in the ancient period, such as *varṇāśramadharmā*. Bound up with this question is whether the Arthaśāstra represents a discrete expert tradition, on analogy with the comparatively well-known schools of the *dharma* literature, or is the result of a more limited literary effort. While this presentation is insufficient in itself for the purpose of resolving larger issues such as these, it will help to illustrate the identity of the Arthaśāstra with regard to central, shared concepts of ancient Indian social thought.

Franz Rosenthal, 1914–2003. WILLIAM HALLO, Yale University, Chair (8:00 p.m.–10:00 p.m.) *Sonoma I–II*

82. JACOB LASSNER, Northwestern University

[No abstract]

83. JOEL L. KRAEMER, University of Chicago

Reflections on Franz Rosenthal as a Teacher

[No abstract]

84. STANLEY INSLER, Yale University

[No abstract]

85. WILLIAM HALLO, Yale University

[No abstract]

8:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m. Plenary Session: Wordplay. GARY M. BECKMAN, University of Michigan, Chair. *Salon I–II*

86. SCOTT NOEGEL, University of Washington

Ancient Near East: Pungent Puns with a Punative Punch: Contextualizing Ancient Near Eastern Word Play

The ubiquitous presence of word plays in ancient Near Eastern texts has been recognized for many years. Nevertheless, it is only in recent decades that the topic has received more focused and exhaustive treatments. These more recent studies have emphasized the need for thorough categorization, consistent terminology, and careful methodology. They also have been interested more in the functions of word plays and have sought to understand the phenomenon by way of theoretical frameworks derived from a variety of different disciplines including literary criticism, anthropology, and socio-linguistics. Despite such recent advances, however, the study of word play in ancient Near Eastern texts remains in its infancy.

In the interest of encouraging an interdisciplinary discussion at the plenary session, I shall provide an overview of our current state of knowledge with regard to word play in ancient Near Eastern texts. Using examples taken from biblical Hebrew, Akkadian, and hieroglyphic Egyptian texts, I shall survey the typological parameters and proposed functions of word play, and the implications they hold for our understanding of ancient Near Eastern literature. Afterwards, I shall propose a number of possible directions for future research.

87. DAVID PRAGER BRANNER, University of Maryland

East Asia: Word Play in Chinese

Even though traditional China was dominated by the grave literary culture of Confucianism, educated people have found ways to be playful with their language. Here I introduce four examples:

1. Epigram: parallelistic tours-de-force (*qiǎolián*)
2. Palindrome: reversible poems (*huíwénshī*)
3. Script: scribal ligatures in early writing (*héwén*)
4. Pun: “after the pause” expressions (*xìhòuyǔ*)

88. DEVIN STEWART, Emory University

Islamic Near East: Cognate Paronomasia and Divine Epithets in the Qurʾān

This paper focuses on a particular linguistic and rhetorical usage of the “beauteous names of God” (*asm̄ Allāh al-ḥusnā*) in the text of the Qurʾān. Parallel to divine epithets in other religious traditions, such as the Victorious (Athena) or the Destroyer (Apollo, Shiva), God’s beauteous names, generally adjectives of the form *faaʕil*, *faʕiil*, *faʕiul*, or *faʕʕaal*, have become an important part of Islamic ritual and devotion and have been discussed in theological texts such as al-Ghazālī’s *Sharḥ asm̄ Allāh al-ḥusnā* in connection with God’s attributes. They occur quite often in tag phrases at the ends of Qurʾānic verses consisting of a single declarative sentence describing God with paired adjectives. Bell and Watt have observed the frequent use of these phrases, which they describe as “sententious phrases regarding God,” and identify them as a means to close verses with the appropriate rhyme (*Introduction to the Qurʾān*, 70–75). They fail to note, however, that many of the adjectives used to describe God exhibit cognate paronomasia with a preceding statement, most often in the context of prayer or supplication. This study identifies the main features of this construction and attempts to explain the rhetorical function it serves through comparison with other cognate paronomastic constructions. It argues that the cognate prayer endings serve rhetorically to bring about the fulfillment of the request implied in the prayer by emphasizing that particular attribute of the deity likely to be most effective in this regard. They in effect intend to tip the scales of fate in favor of the supplicant, ensuring that the prayer be granted, forcing God’s hand, as it were, through the magic power of paronomasia. I further suggest that both the divine epithets applied to God and this linguistic form were features of spoken Arabic in pre-Islamic tradition.

89. CHRISTOPHER Z. MINKOWSKI, Cornell University

South & Southeast Asia: Sanskrit Wordplay

[No abstract]

A. Ancient Near East V: Akkadian Language, Literature, and History.

MATTHEW W. WATERS, University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, Chair (2:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) *Salon I-II*

90. REBECCA HASSELBACH, Harvard University

The Affiliation of Sargonic Akkadian with Babylonian and Assyrian: New Insights Concerning the Internal Sub-Grouping of Akkadian

The affiliation of Old Akkadian with Babylonian and Assyrian is still a matter of dispute. Gelb, in his grammar of Old Akkadian (1961), did not specifically treat this question. In *GAG* it is assumed that OAKk is usually closer to Babylonian than to Assyrian (*GAG* §188b). A new proposal has been brought forth by Sommerfeld and Hilgert who argue that Ur-III Akkadian, which Gelb took as part of the Old Akkadian corpus, represents an early stage of Babylonian while Sargonic Akkadian is an independent dialect spoken and spread by the Sargonic rulers that died out after the collapse of the empire. The predecessors of Assyrian and Babylonian must therefore be sought in other colloquial dialects, which are unattested in writing before the Ur-III period (Hilgert 2003: 6; Hilgert 2002).

The question of the internal sub-grouping of Akkadian requires further clarification. The methodology to be used is a close linguistic investigation of the evidence from the Sargonic period — which is itself sub-divided into at least three major dialects — with regard to features which its dialects share with Babylonian or Assyrian. These features include the pronominal system, the infinitive and imperative of the D and Š-stem, the precativ, the forms of I-*w* verbs in the Š-stem, and, to a lesser degree, phonological features such as evidence for Babylonian and Assyrian vowel harmonies and the loss of gutturals. The linguistic significance of these features depends on which of them represent shared retentions from an earlier stage of Akkadian, in which case they bear to significance for an internal sub-grouping, or shared innovations with one of the later dialects. When we trace the earliest developments within Akkadian it becomes clear that the Sargonic dialect from the Diyala region can indeed be considered as a very early stage of Babylonian. It shares important innovations with later Babylonian, while forms that resemble Assyrian are usually archaisms.

91. ANDREA SERI, The University of Michigan

The *rabianum* during the Old Babylonian Period

This paper deals with the role and activities of the *rabianum* in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia (ca. 2000–1595 B.C.). The title is unattested before this period, and some scholars have argued that it can be traced to a nomadic, Amorite tradition. According to previous interpretations, when Amorites became fully settled the *rabianum* institution evolved into an urban office. Thus, from being the sheikh of the nomads the *rabianum* became a city authority. The study of the available evidence, however, shows that the alleged nomadic origin of the office is not apparent. Rather, the *rabianum* refers to two unrelated institutions. On the one hand, it was a royal title borne by several kings during the early Old Babylonian period. On the other hand, it was an urban office indicating the chief of the city.

92. SETH RICHARDSON, Oriental Institute, The University of Chicago

As Darkness Falls: Crown Lands in the Twilight of Babylon I

The preponderance of field-rental documents from 17th century Babylonia has helped to shape our view of land in that time as a commodity residing in a marketplace. Such texts are well-suited for analysis in the context of private archives, but are poor sources for answering questions about political economy at the state level. Yet a handful of other texts have been overlooked in discussions about land and the state at this time: administrative documents rendering summaries of fields held by the Crown. This presentation will introduce new evidence and analyses of these texts in order to advance some specific hypotheses about land — both controlled by the state and transacted on the market — in post-Samsuiluna Babylonia. One particular area of consideration will be the economic pressure placed on the Crown by a postulated demand for land by loyalists from Larsa and the south who were resident in the north at this time.

93. BENJAMIN STUDEVENT-HICKMAN, Harvard University

The Witnesses of Emar

Many texts from the city of Emar deal with real estate transactions. These texts not only record the properties and parties involved, but they also identify the owners of neighboring properties and any witnesses to the transactions.

This paper examines the identities and roles of these witnesses. By considering this evidence in light of the available findspots for these documents, any seal impressions they contain, and other contemporary material, it offers a detailed plan for the socio-economic structure and governance of Emar in the Late Bronze Age.

94. DEBORAH O. CANTRELL, Vanderbilt University

“Swift as Leopards and Fierce as Wolves”: Changes in Horses and Horsemanship and the Demise of Chariot Warfare

The demise of chariot warfare and shift in battle strategy to cavalry in the 8–6th century BCE was greatly influenced by a change in the size and breed of horse used by the Babylonian and Persian armies. In addition the introduction of the ‘Persian’ style of riding revolutionized warfare on horseback. Not only were the small Caspian horses used by the Babylon and Persian armies ‘swifter than leopards and fiercer than wolves’ (Habakkuk 1:8), they also wore metal helmets into battle. Many of these ‘horse helmets’ have been recovered in a variety of archaeological sites. Cavalry riding styles changed to accommodate the smaller horses, and the combined effect was lethal to the cumbersome Assyrian chariotry drawn by the large Cushite horses. Chariotry never recovered as an effective battle strategy.

In this paper, I will review the impact of the Caspian horse breed on battlefield strategy in the 8–6th BCE and describe the ‘new’ riding techniques that transformed warfare and provided the foundational riding skills still used today in the equestrian discipline of dressage. Archaeological, iconographic, and textual evidence will be used to demonstrate the superiority of the Babylonian and Persian cavalry against the Assyrian chariotry.

95. RAYMOND WESTBROOK, Johns Hopkins University

Evidentiary Procedure in the Middle Assyrian Laws

The phrase *ubta>erū (šu/šī) ukta>inu (šu/šī)* appears some twenty times in MAL. Both words are well known, having the same basic meaning in the D-stem (“make firm”). Nonetheless, the exact meaning of the couplet has proved elusive. On the one hand, their use together cannot be dismissed as a frozen expression, with redundant repetition, since the verb *burru* is in certain cases used alone and in A §1 they are used as alternatives. On the other, attempts to attribute to them separate functions in the judicial process, such as “charge and convict,” do not work for all the examples, leading to inconsistent translation.

This paper will attempt to show that in MAL both verbs refer to discharge of the burden of proof, but by different means. *burru* refers to human (rational) methods such as testimony; *kunnu* refers to divine (supra-rational) methods such as the declaratory oath. The two often appear together as a couplet because a threshold of rational evidence is necessary (a *prima facie* case in modern terms) before the court will exercise its discretion to impose the oath on one of the parties. The phrase should therefore be translated “if the burden of proof, human and divine, has been satisfied.”

96. MATTHEW RUTZ, University of Pennsylvania

The *sikkānu*-Stele in Late Bronze Age Syria

The stelæ from Bronze Age Syria provide a potentially fruitful perspective from which to view ancient Syrian ideologies and cultic practices, since these objects have

been identified in both the archæological and epigraphic records. Furthermore, these stelæ exhibit both continuity and disjunction with their southern Mesopotamian (na⁴ZI.KIN/*huru₂-a*) and Anatolian (na⁴ZI.KIN/*huruwaš_i*) analogues. Previous work by archæologists has focused on establishing the basic sequence of Early (Mari, Tell Chuera), Middle (Ebla), and Late (Ugarit; compare Aššur) Bronze artifacts and archæological contexts. In contrast, philologists have concentrated on identifying the indigenous Syrian term *sikkānu*, “stele,” in Early (Ebla; compare Drehem), Middle (Mari, Tuttul; compare Kutalla), and Late (Ugarit, Emar, Ekalte; compare Ḫattuša and Šarišša) Bronze epigraphic sources. Because of the formidable problems of geographic distribution, local variation, and diachronic change, most attempts at synthesis have amounted to little more than juxtaposition, failing to produce integrated readings of the textual and archæological data.

This paper will concentrate on a holistic reading of the Late Bronze artifacts and documents, since these sources exhibit the widest distribution of archæological contexts (temple, palace, and domestic) and textual genres (a votive inscription, narrative poetry, public rituals, and legal texts). Did the stelæ represent the local pantheon, express the ideology of an ancestor cult, or serve some altogether different function?

A stele is a physical, public mediator of social discourse. As such, it is a visible sign and locus of the negotiation of changing power relations among gods, ruling elites, and the general population. Focusing on the Late Bronze Age material from Ugarit, Emar, and Ekalte, this paper will contend that each context in which a stele appears necessarily implies all of its other contexts.

97. PAUL-ALAIN BEAULIEU, Harvard University

Building the North Palace of Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon

The so-called North Palace in Babylon, named *Hauptburg* by the German excavators at the beginning of the 20th century, stood just outside the defensive wall of Babylon between the gate of Ishtar and the Euphrates river. In spite of some spectacular finds of tablets and monuments in its remains, it has remained a little known architectural structure. This paper is devoted to a group of 43 cuneiform texts dated mainly between the 19th and 29th years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II (585–575 B.C.). They record the allocation of silver, building materials, and workers to carry out the building of the North Palace. The texts are from Uruk, and detail mostly the contribution of Uruk, the Sealand Province, and other southern cities to the building project. I will discuss internal evidence from the texts which indicate that the palace in question is indeed the North Palace. I will also present some of the data on its financing and logistics, particularly regarding the workforce and the officials involved in the organization of the project. This group of texts provides the only substantial data so far on the practical aspects of the rebuilding of Babylon into an imperial capital during the time of Nebuchadnezzar II.

B. Ancient Near East VI: Persian and Mandæan Language, Literature, and History. EDWIN M. YAMAUCHI, Miami University, Ohio, Chair (2:30 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) *Salon VIII*

98. MARTIN SCHWARTZ, University of California, Berkeley

The Oldest Iranian Poetry: The Old Avestan Hymn to Hauma in Gathic Transformation

[Withdrawn]

99. TOURAJ DARYAEE, California State University, Fullerton

The Ahēnagān of the Sasanians

There are several views as to whom it was that the Sasanians referred to as their (Middle Persian) *ahēnagān* (ancestors). It was commonly believed that when the Sasanians mentioned their ancestors, they were mentioning the Achæmenid Persians. E. Yarshater in 1971 challenged the notion that the Sasanians ever remembered the Achæmenid Persians, and that they only had a historical memory of the Parthians. Still some scholars such as G. Gnoli believe the context in which Šābuhr I mention his ancestors in the ŠKZ inscription (Parthian 16; Greek 34–36) is refereeing to the Achæmenid Persians. Others have suggested that the Sasanian's *ahēnagān* are the mythical Kayanid dynasty mentioned in the *Avesta*.

It is assumed then that what Herodian (VI 2, 2); Dio Cassius (LXXX 4, 1); and Ammianus Marcellinus (XVII 5, 5) report about Ardaxšīr I and Šābuhr II's territorial claims is nothing but Roman imperial propaganda. This essay attempts to discuss the matter in the following manner. The Sasanians would have known about the Achæmenids, but chose to ignore them in their sacred history. They, however, made territorial claims which was simply misunderstood by Romans. It is suggested here that when the Sasanians made such territorial claims, it was in view of their mythical construction of their ancestry. That their genealogy went back to the Pēšdādiāns and Frēdōn's tripartition of the world among the Romans, Turks and Iranians. By using this story, the Sasanians attempted to justify their campaign against the Romans. The evidence from the Persian epic, the Šāhānāme is supplied which was the verse form of the Sasanian (Middle Persian) *Xwadāy-nāmag*. This text clearly demonstrates this tripartite view of the world and belief in Sasanian connections to the Romans via Frēdōn in late antiquity.

100. ILYA S. YAKUBOVICH, University of Chicago

Marriage on the Silk Road: A Comparative Analysis

The Sogdian marriage contract Nov. 3 and the accompanying guarantee letter Nov. 4 were found by Soviet archeologists in 1934, and edited in Russian in 1962, but no comparative analysis of these unique juridical documents has been undertaken so far. In my presentation, I would like to discuss the format, legal terminology, stylistic, and socio-economic features of the Sogdian documents, comparing and contrasting them with other texts of the same genre. These texts include but are not limited to matrimonial documents from Elephantine and Hellenistic Egypt, the Bactrian marriage contract recently found in Afghanistan, and the 13th century model marriage agreement in Pahlavi, emanating from the community of Indian Zoroastrians. My present work draws upon my new English edition of Nov. 3–4 that will be published

in Austria in the following year (*Proceedings of the conference 'Iranistik in Europa'*, Graz: Leykam).

My analysis brought me to a conclusion that, while certain linguistic features of the Sogdian marriage contract derive from an Achæmenian Aramaic source, its formulaic structure was heavily influenced by Greek bureaucratic tradition. At the same time, several regulations containing in Nov. 3–4 can be best explained by the impact of Zoroastrian ideology superimposed on Hellenistic legal culture, and the structure of Sogdian names appearing in the contract betrays Turkic influence. Thus, the documents under consideration reflect several consecutive stages in the troublesome history of Transoxiana.

101. JORUNN JACOBSEN BUCKLEY, Bowdoin College

A New Theory of Mandæan Origins and Early History

Rudolf Macuch stated that the Mandæan emigration legend *Haran Gawaita* contained 5 % of historical value, but he did not specify which five %, nor how to assess the source. I combine old and new evidence based — among other sources — on: *Haran Gawaita* itself; detailed geographical map information; historical research by Ulrich Kahrstedt and Josef Wiesehöfer; the 1940 theory by the Dane V. Schou-Pedersen on Mandæism's possible Christian roots; W. B. Henning's concession (to Macuch) that the 2nd and 3rd century Elymaic Tang e-Sarvak inscriptions depend on the Mandaic alphabet. I refute the recent arguments used by Edmondo Lupieri for a Babylonian origin of the Mandæans. My theory is that the Mandæans were part of the Jewish instabilities in Babylonia in the late 30s, that they had probably arrived there very recently, and that they were helped eastwards across the Tigris to Media by the Arsacid king Ardban II (formerly known as Ardban III). I suggest that the Mandæans may have come from Jebel Hauran via Wadi Hauran to the Euphrates in the very early 30s. In short: I go against Kurt Rudolph's 3rd century date for the Mandæan migration, and I side with Macuch on the early migration, but I use different arguments than he did, and I do not agree on the route. The city of Haran (in southern Turkey) was never part of the Mandæan route eastwards, and the Mandæans may indeed have been among the early followers of John the Baptist, in Palestine. They even adhered to Christian ideas for a brief while. King Ardban II (formerly III) never had any influence in Palestine and could not have been involved as a rescuer of the Mandæans there. In Babylonia, however, he did.

102. CHARLES G. HÄBERL, Harvard University

The Neo-Mandaic Dialect of Shushtar

Nicholas Siouffi was a Syrian Christian who had been educated in Paris and had joined the French diplomatic corps, was serving as the vice-consul in the city of Mosul. There, he was introduced to a young Mandæan, Adam, who had recently converted to Catholicism. In the course of time, Siouffi learned to read and write Mandaic from Adam, who was the son of a Mandæan priest and had completed the curriculum necessary to become a priest before he converted. Siouffi's book, *Études sur la religion des Soubbas ou Sabéens* (Paris, 1880), was, in its time, the most ambitious introduction to the Mandæans. It includes information on nearly all aspects of Mandæan lives, religious practices, legends, and language.

Siouffi provides numerous samples of Mandaic, which he transcribed from Adam's own texts. These texts correspond loosely to selections from manuscripts published

by Lady E. S. Drower and Mark Lidzbarski. The language as Siouffi has transcribed it differs considerably from that of the only modern Mandaic dialect thus far examined, that of Ahwaz. These differences are likely due to the influence of Adam's own dialect, which was that of Shushtar in Iran. Shushtar no longer hosts a Mandæan community, as a result of persecution during the 1870s, which drove many from their homes. Fortunately, the community survived, after having been transplanted in Khorramshahr.

By comparing Siouffi's samples with the dialect of Khorramshahr, it is possible to identify the influences of Adam's colloquial speech on the texts from which they were taken, and isolate information about the dialect of Shushtar in Adam's time. Additionally, comparison lends a new, diachronic perspective to the study of the colloquial dialects and reveals differences that arose as Mandaic came increasingly into contact with other languages.

103. DAVID FLATTERY, University of California at Berkeley

Pharmacological Insights into the Origins of the **Sauma* Ceremony

This paper discusses the implications of some recent pharmacological research for the interactions of the alkaloids of Ephedra and of *Peganum harmala* as the two plants yielding the *haoma* drink (and presumably its antecedent, the Indo-Iranian **Sauma* drink), and discusses the relevance of the characteristics of the intoxication to be expected from consuming that drink to the origins of the Indo-Iranian **Sauma* ceremony.

The prevailing theory that the **Sauma* ceremony represents a sacrifice ignores the evidence that **Sauma* was distinguished solely by its capacity to intoxicate. In contrast, I claim that that ceremony can only have come about and been sustained if it was indispensable to the exploitation of **Sauma* intoxication. I propose that the initial value of **Sauma* was not necessarily to bring experiential benefits to the drinker, as many suppose, but to induce visions from which the society obtained valuable information. Visions would have resulted simply from the action of the drug without the need for ceremony, but knowledge from visions would have depended on the credibility of the individuals reporting them. The **Sauma* ceremony, I propose, could have originated to show that credibility. If it did that it could then have been more widely applied as the means by which the priesthood sustained its claim to uniquely honor Truth, a claim implausible without a way of substantiating it. Based on the pharmacology of the drink so constituted, which can intensify anxiety as well as induce visions, I describe the mechanism whereby drinking **Sauma* could effectively expose deceivers, and interpret Y. 8. 3–4 and Y. 11. 3 and 10 as reflecting how that mechanism operated in the Iranian ceremony.

Peganum harmala intoxication is not usually pleasant, which accounts for its historical disappearance from the ceremony once the priesthood became organized hierarchically and priest's fitness was no longer based on individual credibility but on ritual competence.

C. Islamic Near East V: Philosophy. JOSEPH LOWRY, University of Pennsylvania,
Chair (2:00 p.m.–4:30 p.m.) *Salon VI*

104. FRANK GRIFFEL, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

Ms. London, British Library Or. 3126: A Textbook of Philosophical Metaphysics
by al-Ghazālī?

Ms. London, British Library Or. 3126 is of all we know the unique example of a text that claims to be written by the influential Muslim theologian al-Ghazālī. The beginning of the text, which would establish a clear claim of authorship, is lost. On the last page, however, the author mentions that he has also written the *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*. The titlepage of the current manuscript was added later and it identifies the text as the *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa* of Ghazālī.

This text is not al-Ghazālī's well-known *Maqāṣid*, but a comprehensive exposition of metaphysics (*mā ba'da l-ṭabā'a*) and philosophical theology (*ilāhiyyāt*). The subject is introduced in Avicennan terms, i.e., using Avicenna's terminology and quoting extensively from his works. It presents, however, clearly al-Ghazālī's views on cosmology and on God's attributes as they are known from his well-established theological writings. The paper will discuss briefly the history of the ms., the evidence for al-Ghazālī's authorship, and focus on how the text employs verbatim quotations from Avicenna's metaphysical writings and applies their teaching to a Ghazalian system.

105. ALEXANDER TREIGER, Yale University

New Evidence on the Arabic Versions of Ps.-Dionysius the Areopagite

The present communication aims at presenting and analyzing new evidence concerning the Arabic versions of Ps.-Dionysius' writings and at putting them into the wider context of the Melkite Græco-Arabic translation movement. (This movement is roughly contemporary but not identical with the better known 'Abbāsīd translation movement, in the course of which Greek philosophical and scientific works were transmitted to the Arabs.)

Ps.-Dionysius was a Greek Church Father active around the year 500 whose exact identity remains an unsolved mystery. Under the pseudonym of Dionysius the Areopagite — Paul's Athenian convert — he composed four treatises and ten epistles. Taken together they present a coherent system, deeply indebted to Athenian Neoplatonism and in particular to the philosophy of Proclus (d. 485).

The *Corpus Dionysiacum* was translated into several ancient languages: Syriac (a very early translation is by Sergius of Reshaina, d. 536), Latin, Armenian, Georgian, and Church Slavonic. Only little is known about Arabic versions of the corpus, and even the fact of their existence is frequently overlooked.

On the basis of new evidence (Sinai manuscripts containing Ps.-Dionysius' works in Arabic translations) one may draw the following conclusions:

1. The entire *Corpus Dionysiacum* exists in Arabic in at least two parallel manuscripts. (This fact has been previously unknown: only two of Ps.-Dionysius' works, the *Celestial Hierarchy* and the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, have been assumed to exist in Arabic.)
2. The translator is Ibn Saḥqūq of Emesa; the Arabic version was produced from the Greek original in Damascus in Ṣafar 400 (September-October 1009).

3. Ibn al-Yabrūdī, whom previous scholarship identified as the Arabic translator of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, is not the translator but the commissioner and copyist of the entire *Corpus Dionysiacum*.
4. There are other Arabic translations, different from the complete one, of some parts of the corpus.

106. JON MCGINNIS, University of Missouri, St. Louis

Positioning Heaven

Until recently issues associated with medieval Arabic physics were not an area of serious scholarly research. Yet in physics we see medieval Arabic natural philosophers at perhaps their philosophical and scientific best, grappling with the Greek scientific tradition and making new contributions to the field. One such contribution concerns Ibn Sīnā's analysis of the Aristotelian categories that are susceptible to motion, i.e., identify the varieties of motion. Aristotle himself only explicitly acknowledged three: motion with respect to place, quantity and quality. This classification, however, produced a problem; for if only these types of motion exist, then how should one classify the motion of the outer-most celestial sphere? The obvious answer seems to be with respect to place. Here, though, is the problem. Aristotle defined place as the inner contacting limit of a containing body. Yet, insofar as the outer-most celestial sphere is outer-most there is nothing beyond it that could contain it. Technically speaking, then, it could not have a place, and so could not move with respect to place. To avoid this difficulty later Greek philosophers challenged Aristotle's definition of place, claiming that a thing's place is the space that it occupies, i.e., the interval or inner extension between a thing's limits.

Ibn Sīnā tackles this problem in the *Physics* of his *Shifā*, arguing that the later philosophers' identification of place with space was wrong, and then increasing the varieties of motion. He argues based on the above problem and other considerations that motion also exists in the category of position, and the heavens can move with respect to position. The present study will consider both the historical setting and argumentation that lead to Ibn Sīnā's reevaluation of the varieties of motion and his positioning of heaven.

107. KEVIN VAN BLADEL, Yale University

The Wise Sayings of the Arabic Hermes

A long-standing problem in Græco-Arabic studies has been to determine the relationship of the Arabic texts attributed to Hermes to the extant ancient Greek Hermetica. Among the Arabic Hermetica, one hundred and forty-six *ḥikam* (wise sayings) attributed to the ancient Greek figure Hermes Trismegistus survive in various medieval Arabic collections of gnomologia. These range from pithy and profound sentences of a few words to lively moralizing exhortations a half page in length. Only one of these, occurring alone in a unique collection, has ever been shown to be a translation from Greek, discovered by Franz Rosenthal and published in 1958 (*Orientalia* 27, 29–54 and 150–83). The provenance of the remaining *ḥikam* of Hermes, apparently transmitted together as a group, has remained a mystery.

Analysis of these sayings reveals not a Greek prototype but rather an Iranian background. Both in form and in content the Arabic sayings of Hermes resemble most closely wise sayings extant in Zoroastrian Middle Persian (*andarz* literature). The

discovery of the Middle Persian antecedent of one of the Arabic sayings of Hermes, of which the latter is a word-for-word translation, adds further proof that the bulk of the Arabic sayings of Hermes represents otherwise lost Sasanian literature. A presentation of example sayings in Arabic, with Greek and Middle Persian sayings for comparison, will illustrate this.

Both astrological and alchemical Hermetica in Arabic have proven in some cases to have Sasanian origins. Now in another genre of texts we find again that the Iranian heritage in Arabic literature demands further exploration and that Greek names do not necessarily point to immediate Greek origins.

108. SIAMAK ADHAMI, Saddleback College

The Doctors of Islam; A Progress Report

In two previous articles (*St. Ir.* 1999 & *JSAI* 2003) — and a forthcoming one — on the two Zoroastrian polemical treatises known as *The Doctors of Islam* (*Ulamā-i Islām*) the present author has offered several suggestions on correcting the texts of these important works as well as encouraging a re-evaluation of the context within which they had been examined by the previous scholars of both Islam and Zoroastrianism. Traditionally, the treatises were considered to be parts of the body of the literature dealing with the Zoroastrian “dilemma” known as Zurvanism. However, upon closer examination and equipped with some familiarity with Greek philosophy, it becomes clear that the two works share much with the writings of the Muslim intellectuals belonging to the various rationalist schools, e.g., the Muʿtazila, of the period. We also observe distinct influences of the *kalām* or Islamic theology on the content of the treatises. Additionally, the author(s) of these medieval treatises incorporated several hitherto unnoticed passages from Plato’s dialogues which will be presented in detail through this communication. This report will be in advance of the publication of a monograph entitled *The Doctors of Islam: A Medieval Polemic*.

D. South and Southeast Asia IV: Philosophy and Philosophic Literature.
 HANS HENRICH HOCK, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Chair (2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) *Salon VII*

109. T. S. RUKMANI, Concordia University

Revisiting the *jīvanmukti* Concept in *Sāṅkhya*

a) *Sūtra-Sāṅkhya* as Larson and Bhattacharya mention in *Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies*, Vol. IV, presents a different picture of *Sāṅkhya* from the *Kārikā-Sāṅkhya* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. In the *Sūtra-Sāṅkhya* the metaphysical and epistemological boundaries between *Sāṅkhya*, *Advaita Vedānta*, Theistic *Vedānta* as also Yoga are blurred and there is a “fusion of horizons”. In the process many a concept loses its distinctive *Sāṅkhya* flavour as we had first learnt of it from the *Kārikā-Sāṅkhya* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa. One such important concept is the *jīvanmukti* ideal. Using the original texts along with their commentaries I compare this ideal of *jīvanmukti* as discussed in the *Kārikā-Sāṅkhya* and contrast it with the concept of *jīvanmukti* as we find it in the *Sūtra-Sāṅkhya*. At the end of the study, one reaches the disturbing conclusion that if we are faithful to the *Sūtra-Sāṅkhya* discussion, then we may have to abandon the very ideal of *jīvanmukti* in the *Sāṅkhya* system of thought.

b) To the best of my knowledge no research has been done on this topic focussing on the difference in treatment of *jīvanmukti* between *Kārikā-Sāṅkhya* and *Sūtra-Sāṅkhya*

c) It furthers the studies in *Sāṅkhya* philosophy

d) The very concept of *jīvanmukti* as first propounded in the *Kārikās* as insight into the difference between what is manifest, unmanifest and knower breaks down. It may even lead to questioning the very concept of *jīvanmukti* in *Sāṅkhya* philosophy.

110. MUNEO TOKUNAGA, Kyoto University

On the Origin of the *Leśyās*

From a relatively early period the Jains advanced a peculiar theory of Karmans whereby the Jīva assumes six different colors (*leśyās*) in accordance with the nature of mental activity due to the effect of actions. The theory of *leśyā* is described in detail in Chapter 34 of the Uttarādhyāyasūtra. We find a similar theory in two other forms (besides much younger versions in South Indian texts): the six *abhijātis* of the Ājīvikas in Pali canon (AN, Vol. III, 383) and the six *varṇas*, described by Sanatkumāra, in the Mokṣadharmaparvan of the Mahābhārata (12.271). Colors, names, and the order of six colors differ partially in the texts but the six-color system itself is common to all versions.

The *leśyā* theory attracted attention of modern scholars of Jainism mainly from the point of view of post-canonical Jain philosophy, and no serious investigation was made into the origin of the six-color group or a source from which the group was introduced into the philosophical system.

From the colors and the discussions about the colors in MBh 12.270–271, we have good reason to believe that the six colors were borrowed from metal industry which presumably achieved a rapid development during several centuries around the beginning of the Christian Era.

Under this assumption, I will attempt in this paper to identify metal ores and alloys for the six colors, quoting metallurgical passages in late Vedic texts, Pali canon, epics, Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and medical texts. Also, I will draw special attention to the question about brass in the strict sense of 'alloy of copper and zinc', which is not attested in the Vedic texts. Our question is: when did it come to be used in Ancient India and from where did it enter?

111. ROBERT A. GOODING, University of Texas at Austin

The Adaptation of Yoga by Vidyāraṇya to his Teaching on Liberation

In the beginning of my study of the *Jīvanmuktiviveka*, I hypothesized that Vidyāraṇya departed from Saṅkara by adapting Patañjali's Yoga to his views arguing for the possibility of *jīvanmukti*. Given Vidyāraṇya's social and political situation, I have suggested that he was attempting accommodate the conservatism of Viśiṣṭādvaitins, while still preserving the real possibility of *jīvanmukti*. However, in his commentary on the Katha Upaniṣad 3.13, Saṅkara himself admits the dissolution of the mind by progressive stages that maybe be similar to the Yoga view of liberation. Vidyāraṇya, for his part, also comments extensively on this key śruti passage in his treatment of the dissolution of the mind, which forms the 3rd Chapter of his *Jīvanmuktiviveka*. Therefore, Vidyāraṇya did not have to contradict his own philosophical lineage explicitly and, moreover, he merely developed the views already stated by his master Saṅkara.

112. JESON WOO, Dongguk University

Kamalaśīla on *yogijñāna*

Kamalaśīla is a renowned 8th century Buddhist philosopher. His work, *Tattvasaṃgrahaḥpañjikā*, is an intellectual masterpiece expounding the Buddhist view on many issues in Indian religious traditions. In this work, one of the crucial subjects that Kamalaśīla argues with Hindus about is the concept of *yogijñāna*. This concept has occupied a special position in Indian philosophy as the link between theory and practice since Dignāga (ca. 480–540), the founder of the Buddhist Pramāṇa school, accepted it as a sort of perception. The purpose of this paper is to investigate *yogijñāna* in Kamalaśīla’s work. It focuses on examining which issues have been debated with regard to this concept before and around the time of Kamalaśīla and how he has dealt with it from his own perspective. This paper shows that Kamalaśīla tried to prove the possibility of gaining *yogijñāna* through the practice, while his contemporary Buddhists, such as Dharmottara, made an attempt to establish its epistemological structure.

113. JOËL DUBOIS, California State University, Sacramento

Literary Technique in Śaṅkara’s Upaniṣad Bhāṣyas

Last year in Nashville, I presented evidence suggesting that key sections of Śaṅkara’s *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad-bhāṣya* (BUbh) hinge on notions closely tied to the brāhmaṇa practice of upāsana (i.e., meditative worship grounded in ritual) — a connection which had not, to my knowledge, been previously addressed. In the current paper I consider the BUbh in conjunction with the *Taittirīyopaniṣad-bhāṣya* (TUbh), presenting both as examples of a unique genre distinct from Śaṅkara’s more systematic works, the *Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya* and *Upadeśa-sahasrī*. I point out that in many pivotal transitions between sections of the BUbh and TUbh, rather than resorting to the logical analyses common in later vedānta writings, Śaṅkara uses classical literary techniques (e.g., nature metaphors, alliteration, complex syntactical parallels) to pinpoint the nature of *avidyā*. He relies on poetic language to describe dramatically and with microscopic precision the nature of insight into brahman (*brahma-vidyā*), in such a way that the grammatical forms of his statements also subtly parallel the vision he imparts. In employing this approach Śaṅkara’s seems to suggest that brahman — here depicted as manifest through the subtle connections between seemingly disparate cosmic realities rather than simply as an abstract ultimate — can only be clearly perceived through a kind of aesthetic appreciation.

Clearly the literary techniques employed by Śaṅkara in these works reflect the pedagogical emphases of training in literature (*sāhitya*) and grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) still observable today in traditional brāhmaṇa schooling. Like last year’s claim about the influence of upāsana practice on Śaṅkara’s commentarial prose, then, noting the literary features of the BUbh and TUbh calls into question widespread generalizations about Śaṅkara’s preference for describing brahman primarily in abstract, logical terms.

114. STEVEN LINDQUIST, Concordia University

Reinterpreting Yājñavalkya’s Riddle (*BĀUK* 3.9.28)

The concluding riddle of the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad chapter 3, the debate at Janaka’s court, has been problematic to interpret. The riddle is an extended comparison between a human being and a tree and the question under consideration in the riddle is: what “root” does a man possess (comparable to a tree’s root) to facilitate

rebirth? Horch (1964) has argued that the riddle purports an *Anihilationstheorie*, where rebirth is denied in the poem and there is no such “root” for a human being. This interpretation is based on a reading of one line in the poem which appears to outright deny a person can be reborn (*jAta eva na jAyate*). Recently, Brereton (1997) has argued that such an interpretation is against the larger intent of the chapter as a whole — which discusses death, rebirth, and the various worlds. Hock (2002) has further reinterpreted the problematic line in light of Vasudeva’s commentary. This paper, while agreeing with Hock’s conclusions in the broad, argues for reasons outside of any commentary that this passage was never meant to deny the notion of rebirth. By comparing the K and M recensions of this poem, I will present a historical reconstruction of the layers of the poem. Further, I show how the M recension retained a better version of the poem, while the K recension confused the original intent in a (completely understandable) attempt to retain the metaphor. The K version required the problematic line mentioned above to be moved from its original context and thus distorted its meaning as well as an intentional word-play. While Samkara and others concerned with the K recension had to resort to interpretative leaps to argue for the possibility of man’s rebirth, their interpretation (rather than Horsch’s) appears to have retained the original meaning.

E. Islamic Near East VI: History. STEVEN JUDD, Southern Connecticut State University, Chair (4:30 p.m.–6 p.m.) *Salon VI*

115. RACHEL T. HOWES, California State University Northridge

Did the Seljuks Almost Lose?: The Historiography of the Battle of Sinjar

When one thinks of the Seljuk invasion of the Middle East in the Eleventh Century one usually thinks of the battle of Manzikert in 1071 C.E., in which the Seljuks wiped out the Byzantine armies and captured the Byzantine Emperor thus opening the whole of Eastern Anatolia to Turkish settlement. Likewise in 1056 one thinks of the Buyid-controlled Abbasid caliphate as laid open before the Seljuk invasion with little or no resistance. In short the Seljuk military machine is usually seen as a steamroller before which most of the Eastern Islamic world fell. However, the Seljuks did not have quite so straightforward a time as all that. They did lose, notably at the battle of Sinjar to the former Abbasid general al-Basasiri. This paper will examine why this loss occurred.

In the different medieval accounts of the battle of Sinjar it becomes clear that the Seljuks in Syria were not in an especially superior position to their opponents militarily. Both the Seljuk general Tughril Bek and the Fatimid-supported ex-Abbasid general al-Basasiri were dependent on levies from the local Syrian Arab and Kurdish tribes. The various histories of the event all concentrate on the negotiations between the two leaders and the locals. Tughril Bak was unable at that juncture to persuade the tribes to his side, and so he lost to al-Basasiri. Thus it appears as though the decisive factor at Sinjar was not military strength but political, religious and financial persuasion.

Sinjar was a prelude to a more serious defeat of the Seljuks. Al-Basasiri went on to take control of Baghdad and Southern Iraq away from the Seljuks. Tughril Bak eventually defeated al-Basasiri and took a firm hold on Iraq, the Jazira and northern Syria. It is worthy of note that Tughril Bak’s first action on defeating al-Basasiri was

to woo all but the most intransigent of his allies into the Seljuk fold. It is worthwhile to ask the question, was the Seljuk dominance in the Middle East due more to success in political persuasion than to military strength?

116. MAYA YAZIGI, University of British Columbia

An Aspect of Continuity in Family Traditions from the Pre-Islamic to the Early Islamic Period: Genealogical Clues

In 1935 Ilse Lichtenstädter argued for the complexity of kinship relationships in Arabian society in her work on the women in the narratives of the *ayyām al-ʿarab*. Although her emphasis was on pre-Islamic Arabian society as portrayed in the *ayyām al-ʿarab* accounts, many of her observations remain true for the early Islamic period, as this paper will aim to show. Important among the family traditions that she observed and that seem to have continued to be operative into the Islamic era is the Arabian practice of defending the son of one's sister and/or helping one's maternal uncle and the consequent importance of the *khāl* (nephew-maternal uncle) relationship.

This paper uses examples (relating to the period of the first *fitna*) to shed light on the continuation of this practice in the early Islamic period and to show how in some cases it undermined the cohesiveness of the patriarchal family model as a basis for political alliances. Based primarily on an investigation of family connections through the use of *ansāb* works (and of other genealogical material available in such sources as the *ṭabaqāt*) it shows that the *khāl* relationship was still important in the early Islamic period and often helps explain political alliances that seem otherwise much harder to explain. It also highlights the potential usefulness of the genealogical material contained in various sources, and particularly in the *ansāb* genre, for a reconstruction of the system of social and political alliances operative in this period.

117. NIALL G. F. CHRISTIE, Cornell University

The *Kitāb al-Jihād* of ʿAlī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī: A Progress Report

In April 1097, Christian troops from western Europe crossed the Bosphorus from Constantinople and began an assault on Muslim lands, an assault that would later be referred to as the First Crusade. A little over two years later, in July 1099, the crusaders captured Jerusalem, both the site of Christ's death and resurrection and the third holy city of Islam. Six years later, in 1105, a Muslim jurist from Damascus, ʿAlī ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (d. 1106), publicly dictated a call to the *jihād* (holy war) against the European invaders. Al-Sulamī drew upon longstanding Islamic traditions as he promoted this holy war. However, in contrast to his fellow Muslims, al-Sulamī had an accurate sense of what the crusaders were trying to achieve. His treatise, the *Kitāb al-Jihād* (Book of the Holy War), exhorted all Muslims in the region to unite in opposition to the Christians' own holy war.

Despite its importance, al-Sulamī's work has received little attention from modern scholars, primarily because only very small parts of the surviving manuscripts of his work have been edited and translated. An edition and translation of 15 out of the 85 folios was produced by Emmanuel Sivan in 1966, and it is upon this text that the majority of modern scholars have relied up to this point. My current research aims to remedy this problem by producing a full, annotated edition, translation and study of the work.

I am currently in the process of editing and translating the *Kitāb al-Jihād*. It is my intention to present the early results of this work at the 214th meeting of the AOS, in order to inform the participants of my progress and solicit their advice and suggestions

A. Ancient Near East VII: Hittite and Northwest Semitic Language, Literature, and History. RICHARD E. AVERBECK, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) *Salon I-II*

118. CAROL F. JUSTUS, University of Texas at Austin

Hittite Impersonal Verbs?

In Indo-European (IE) languages, which include Hittite, the category “impersonal verb” is a prominent class. Although most IE verbs agree in person and number with a subject, impersonals constitute an exceptional class with invariant third person forms. English ‘it seems (to me)’ recalls such older impersonals as ‘me seems’, ‘me thinks’, which are now mostly replaced by personal ‘I think’, ‘I seem (to recall)’.

For Friedrich (1960:131 = *Hethitisches Elementarbuch*), the extent to which Hittite had impersonal verbs was not clear. He (1960:120) wondered whether sickness verbs and third person singular weather expressions were really personal with a deity as the understood subject. After recalling problematic *akkiškittari* ‘there is continual dying’ and *mān LUGAL-i aššu* ‘if it (seems) good to the king’, he left the question open.

Did Hittite have a class of impersonal verbs? This paper examines a range of Hittite constructions that include weather impersonals and personal (*tethai* ‘thunders’ beside ^DU-*aš hatuga tethiškitt*) as well as other semantic classes with similar syntactic patterns. Meteorological expressions alone include (1) absolute intransitives; (2) intransitives with a personal nominative subject; and (3) intransitives with a dative of involved person.

(1) *tethai* (active), *tetha* (middle) ‘(it) thunders’ (2) *hēwuš ēšta* ‘rain was’, ^DUTU-*uš upzi* ‘Istanu goes up’ (3) *nu=šši šakuwaš pīran É-ri anda kakkattiyati* ‘(if) it shakes for him before his eyes in his house . . .’

Hittite impersonals turn out to be active or middle, some with English counterparts, many without. If, as has been claimed, impersonal verbs are rare in language generally, the range of Hittite impersonals deserves careful attention.

119. GARY M. BECKMAN, University of Michigan

A Hittite Ritual for Depression

KUB 4.47 + 579/t (CTH 432), previously designated as “Rituel contre l’insomnie,” is better interpreted as a regimen against depression. As is usual in Hittite therapeutics, to the modern mind the measures taken in this text belong more to the realm of magic than to that of medicine. Particularly interesting is the combination of familiar Hittite ritual practices, such as purification by means of colored yarn, with Akkadian-language incantations, including an excerpt from the well-known “Prayer to the Gods of the Night,” here put to novel use.

120. ROBERT HAWLEY, University of Michigan and the Mission de Ras Shamra (Syria)

Ugaritic Scribal Practice as seen through Epistolary Form and the Overall Place of Ugarit within the Stream of Ancient Near Eastern Scribal Traditions

The study of the letter-writing tradition practiced at ancient Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra on the Mediterranean coast of Syria) provides an approach to the broader question of that civilization's place within the broader stream of cuneiform scribal tradition.

This paper summarizes my dissertation work (University of Chicago, 2003): an analysis of the formal characteristics of Ugaritic letters from the wider perspective of cuneiform letter-writing in Late Bronze West Asia, consistently attempting to understand the patterns of formal variation in terms of social vocabulary drawn from the letters themselves. The results highlight the strong formal kinship of Ugaritian practice with the Akkadian and Hittite epistolary traditions of the Late Bronze "Western periphery", and downplay affinities with contemporary Mesopotamian traditions (Kassite Babylonia and the Middle Assyrian traditions).

Such conclusions based on epistolary practice provide a hypothesis which may be tested against other gauges of the Ugaritian scribal tradition, such as the local scientific manuals (hippiatric, teratological, astrological, and onirological), list traditions, mythological motifs, and legal formulary (especially the land grants). A provisional survey appears to reinforce the conclusions reached on the basis of the study of epistolary form: the Ugaritic tradition should ultimately be considered as independent, since none of the contemporary or anterior traditions is fully parallel; Ugaritic compositions reflect a local scribal culture, unique in many respects, neither directly nor demonstrably derivative of the traditions of neighboring cultures. On a broader level, however, Ugaritian scribal practice should also be seen as one local manifestation of a common scribal heritage, a heritage which in all likelihood took shape in the "Amorite" period and which continued to persist among the scribal cultures of Hittite Syria until the end of the Late Bronze Age.

121. BRADLEY J. SPENCER, California State University, Fullerton

The Relation between Bilabial Alternation and Sentence Stress in Ugaritic

Most of the previous scholarship addressing the alternation between bilabials in Ugaritic has focused on the immediate phonetic environment where this change occurs. Because both bilabial stops appear in the same phonetic environment without a change in meaning, the conclusion has been made that there is a free variation in the writing system between phonetic and phonemic spelling systems, (cf. Garr 1986) I will collect the instances where this bilabial alternation occurs in the wider context of the textual or poetic line. In doing so, I hope to demonstrate a definite correlation between the position of the word in a line and whether the original voicing quality of the bilabial in that word is preserved or assimilated. I will suggest this correlation is indicative of a phonological change in pausal forms in Ugaritic as opposed to no phonological change in non-pausal forms.

I will attempt to demonstrate two significant insights into the linguistic structure of Ugaritic based on this evidence. The first insight is syntactic in nature, identifying the position of pause in textual or poetic lines in Ugaritic. The second insight is phonological, describing the phonological changes that occur in pause leading up to and including the assimilation of the voicing quality of bilabials.

W. R. Garr, “On Voicing and Devoicing in Ugaritic,” JNES 45 (1986) 45–52.

122. CAROLE ROCHE, University of Strasbourg, Mission de Ras Shamra (Syria)

The Diffusion of Mesopotamian Lexical Lists throughout the Middle East in the Late Bronze Age: The Impact on Neighboring Civilizations

By means of an elaborate lexical list tradition, Mesopotamian scribes systematically classified and thus understood and the natural world which surrounded them: trees, stones, birds, etc. This kind of mastery of a subject through semantic classification may even be considered as inherent to “Mesopotamian thought”.

How then should we understand the exportation of these very same lists throughout the Middle East: from Iran to the Levant, and from Egypt to Anatolia? Ought we to consider them as mere dictionary pages copied by beginning scribes as they learned Akkadian, the lingua franca of the Late Bronze Age? How much impact did these lexical texts actually have on the civilizations that imported and copied them? This paper examines the contributions of Claude Lévi-Strauss and Jack Goody in “conceptual anthropology”, and critically applies them to the comprehension of the Mesopotamian lexical tradition in core and peripheral areas alike.

123. MATTHEW J. SURIANO, University of California, Los Angeles

“And he slept with his fathers”: A Re-interpretation of the Biblical Idiom for Death and Burial

A careful analysis of the biblical idiom for death, “slept with his fathers (*šekāb ʿīm ʾabôtāw*),” reveals several interpretative issues. Archæologists reconstructing Iron Age burial customs in the southern Levant have often related the custom of secondary burial in a communal tomb with the idiom, along with its semantic cognate “gathered to his people (*neʿesap ʾel ʿammāw*).” Indeed, the image of collectively reburying disarticulated remains within a tomb system, as evidenced by Iron Age sites such as Tomb 25 of Ketef Hinnom (Jerusalem), recalls the terminology of being gathered and sleeping with one’s ancestors. However, biblical scholars have long held that the phrase only reflected manner of death and status in the afterlife. Because the idioms always precede burial descriptions in the biblical text, scholars have maintained that the phrases do not hold any burial significance in the Hebrew Bible. Furthermore, while correctly noting the formulaic usage of the idiom, “slept with his fathers,” in the annals of the kings of Judah and Israel, the majority of scholarship has incorrectly interpreted the phrase as indicating a specific manner of death (i.e., natural death).

The purpose of this paper is to offer evidence for two new suggestions concerning the correct interpretation of the idiom “slept with his fathers” and its cognates. The literary order of the idiom, placed between death and the act of burial, can be explained by the multi-phase process of secondary burial customs as practiced in ancient Israel; and the idiom, along with similar phrases, signified the proper observance of inheritance rights and order of succession in the Hebrew Bible.

124. THOMAS HENTRICH, Kyoto University

Disability in Ancient Israel: The Role of the “Lame and Blind” during David’s Conquest of Jerusalem

From Ancient Mesopotamia we know that the line between rational medicine and magical healing practices was fluctuant. Divine intervention rather than a rational diagnosis was a common reason for inexplicable illnesses. In his book *Illness and Health Care in Mesopotamia and Ancient Israel*, Hector Avalos pointed out the difference between the beliefs in Mesopotamian magic rituals as opposed to the Israelite primary concern for purity when it came to healing practices in those cultures.

This study aims to expand on his results concerning a particular group of people: the “Lame and Blind” in the HB. Often regarded as metaphoric speech, the expression “Lame and Blind” is nevertheless rooted in real-life situations. The Hebrew Bible addresses their situation in two accounts. The first is the holiness code in the book of Leviticus (chapter 21, vv. 17–22) and deals with the physical integrity of priests with physical handicaps and their implied impurity. The second account, King David’s conquest of Jerusalem in the Second Book of Samuel (chapter 5, v. 8), states that disabled people are barred from the temple because of King David’s personal animosity for them due to their perceived role during that conquest.

In examining medical practices from neighboring regions, this study places these texts in an Ancient Near Eastern context and examines the question what exactly their role in the in the conquest story was, that of scapegoat or strategic pawn.

125. ODED TAMMUZ, Ben Gurion University, Beer Sheva

Nehemiah’s Memoir: A Fictional Autobiography

Part of the book of Nehemiah is written in the first person. Most scholars see this part as authentic Memoir and its author as a historical figure. The hypothesis suggested here is that “Nehemiah’s memoir” as we know it today, is not a real Autobiography but a fictional one. The reason for the writing of that fictional autobiography was a religious — political strife that happened at an unknown date in the Persian period when a member of the family of the high priest in Jerusalem married a women from the family of the governors of Shechem. Some people in Jerusalem considered this enough to disqualify him from taking an active part in the cultic activity. However, intervention in the leadership of the temple could not go unchallenged. Therefore the perpetrators needed to legitimize it. To do so, they used the authority of a known leader who was at that time already diseased. That leader was Nehemiah. They took an old text, the extant of which is not entirely clear to me and changed in order to show that the pinnacle of Nehemiah’s Activity was not the building of the wall of Jerusalem but the expulsion of a member of the family of the high priest from Jerusalem on account of marrying a daughter of Sanballat governor of Samaria.

Writing fictional autobiographies of dead people in order to legitimize a controversial move of political — religious nature was not a new innovation. Two other works similar in form and function are known, but unlike those works (“The Sin of Sargon,” and the fictional autobiography of Add-guppi), the author/editor of the Nehemiah memoir also presented his adversaries: Tobiah — a fictional founding father of family that ruled a semi autonomous region east of the Jordan River (Tobiah); Sanballat — the founding father of a dynasty of governors in Shechem, and Geshem — an Arab king.

B. Islamic Near East VII: ‘Ilm al-Kalām in Context: ‘Ilm al-Kalām and its Relation to the Other Sciences. EVERETT K. ROWSON, New York University, Chair (9:30 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) *Salon III*

This panel addresses aspects of *‘ilm al-kalām* that intersect with other medieval Muslim sciences and disciplines, from the early classical period (3rd/9th century) to its end (6th/12th century). The sciences and disciplines overlapping with *‘ilm al-kalām* that are the subject of this panel include three areas: First *adab* and social history in *ḥaqīqa/maǧāz* discussions in literary theory, and court literature under Mu‘tazilite patronage, second, the foreign sciences with *falsafa*, third, the Muslim sciences with *ḥadīth*, *‘usūl al-fiqh* and *tafsīr*. In addition to their individual interest in the overlaps between *‘ilm al-kalām* and these other sciences and disciplines, the papers on this panel share an interdisciplinary vision of the study of *‘ilm al-kalām*. This interest recognizes the importance of the mutual influence of other medieval Muslim sciences and *‘ilm al-kalām* on each other. This interdisciplinary understanding of the place of *‘ilm al-kalām* translates itself not only in the subject matter of these papers but also in their methods of research. Scholarship in this field has already addressed the interdisciplinary nature of the study of this subject (Josef van Ess’ historical and social historical approach, Richard Frank’s investigation of *‘ilm al-kalām* as a philosophical discourse). This panel aims to further underline the importance of scholarship in other fields of Medieval Islam for the study of *‘ilm al-kalām*, thereby bringing the attention of its students to the less studied area of overlap between *‘ilm al-kalām* and these other sciences and disciplines. The format of this panel allows both the students of *‘ilm al-kalām* and of these other fields to approach their respective subjects from the perspective of another discipline. Ultimately, this approach should facilitate new venues for intellectual and social historical inquiries of medieval Islam.

126. ASAD AHMED, Princeton University

Some Observations on the *Kalām* Roots of the *Ḥaqīqa-Majāz* Discussions in Classical and Scholastic Arabic Poetics

The origins of the classical discussions of the *ḥaqīqa-majāz* dichotomy in the field of Arabic literary theory and criticism have been traced by Heinrichs to Qur’ānic hermeneutics. *Majāz* seems first to have been mentioned by Abū ‘Ubayda in a sense very different from the one we find in the mature discussion of the subject. The term also occurred without its counterpart *ḥaqīqa*. It is through the intermediary of Ibn Qutayba and Jāḥiẓ (among others) that *majāz* — taken as a quasi-synonym of *mathal* — developed as an antonym to *ḥaqīqa*. Heinrichs is aware (through Ibn Taymiyya) of the possible influence of *kalām* on the subject. He is, however, hard pressed to bring forth evidence for Ibn Taymiyya’s claim, namely, that these terms were first used by the Mu‘tazila. Moreover, where such evidence does suggest itself, it remains unclear whether the *mutakallimūn* (and so the literary theorists) were operating on a linguistic or ontological plane. For several reasons, Heinrichs opts for the former.

In this paper, I turn to the post-classical discussions of *ḥaqīqa-majāz* to find traces of *kalām* concerns in *‘ilm al-bayān*. I work backwards from the scholastic phases of the two disciplines to draw conclusions about their earliest points of contact with reference to the *ḥaqīqa-majāz* dichotomy. In the first part of the paper, I show that, for the scholastic period, the *ḥaqīqa-majāz* dichotomy worked on both the linguistic and ontological planes and that both perspectives were central to *kalām*. The second

part of the paper brings attention to the specific and relevant points of contact and continuity between classical and scholastic literary theory and between classical and post-classical *kalām*. On the basis of the conclusions of the first two parts, it becomes clear that the earliest discussions of the subject emerged and evolved out of *kalām* linguistic/anthropomorphist *and* ontological *‘ilm al-wad’* debates. The fact that there was an ontological element of these debates connected intimately with a theory of language resurrects the issue of *majazas* idiomatic expression.

127. FELICITAS OPWIS, Wake Forest University

Legal Analogy and Causality in God’s Laws: The Solution of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī

Medieval Ash‘arī jurists were faced with a dilemma: their theological doctrine that God’s acts were beyond necessary causality opposed the accepted legal practice to extend the law by analogy (*qiyās*) on account of an explanatory rationale (*‘illa*, *ratio legis*). By assuming that God’s rulings were laid down due to a comprehensible *ratio legis* this practice attributes causality to divine legislation. While this contradiction was generally not addressed by jurists writing on *qiyas*, the 12th century Ash‘arī jurist Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī sought to resolve it.

The paper presents al-Rāzī’s reasoning for the theological soundness of legal analogy in his work *al-Maḥsūl*. He addressed the subject when discussing the validity of using considerations of *maṣlaḥa* to establish the *ratio legis* of rulings. He started his exposition by linking *maṣlaḥa* as the purpose of the Law to the criterion of suitability (*munāsaba*) to identify the *ratio legis*. Arguing for a concomitant relationship between *rationes legis* and rulings, he demonstrated that no matter whether or not a jurist adhered to the notion of causality he could use the criterion of suitability as a valid indicant to the *ratio legis*. While the concept of concomitance based on God’s habit was not new, al-Rāzī’s originality was in applying it to the method of legal analogy and linking the *ratio legis* to the principle of *maṣlaḥa* in form of the suitable characteristic. This solution enabled Ash‘arī jurists to extend the law by analogy using suitability to determine the *ratio legis* without compromising their theological doctrine that God’s acts were beyond necessary causality. Al-Rāzī’s argumentation represents what Gardet calls the “modern” tendency in Ash‘arism. It is distinguished by syllogistic reasoning in the three terms and by recourse to causality despite denying the efficacy of secondary causes.

128. MAURICE POMERANTZ, University of Chicago

The Mu‘tazilī *Da‘wah* at Rayy: al-Ṣāḥib ibn ‘Abbād’s Letters on the Appointment of the Qāḍī al-Quḍāh ‘Abd al-Jabbār

From his assumption of the office of vizier in 366/976 until his death in 385/995, the famed Buyid statesman and *littérateur*, al-Ṣāḥib Abū al-Qāsim Ismā‘īl ibn ‘Abbād, actively promoted the rationalist doctrines of the *mu‘tazilah*. In the city of Rayy, the vizier acted as the patron for a circle of theologians led by the *qāḍī al-quḍāh* ‘Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1025), which included members of the Shāfi‘ī and Ḥanafī legal schools (*madhāhib*), as well as Zaydī and Imāmī Shī‘ite scholars. In his court, the vizier favored adherents of rationalist positions and aggressively challenged the doctrines of traditionalism held by Shī‘ites and Sunnīs. Throughout the regions under his control, he encouraged the adoption of rationalist tenets through the support of local leaders and the patronage of intellectuals.

In this paper, I describe the manner in which al-Ṣāhib ibn ʿAbbād facilitated the spread of Muʿtazilī rationalism within the legal schools (*madhāhib*). In particular, I examine two letters written upon the appointment of the Shāfiʿī *qāḍī al-quḍāh* ʿAbd al-Jabbār in 367 and 371, for evidence concerning the juridical policy of the state. I compare these letters with the *qāḍī* ʿAbd al-Jabbār’s own theoretical discussions of jurisprudence in vol. 17 of *al-Mughnī fī abwāb al-tawḥīd wa al-ʿadl*. Finally, I consider these documents in a larger context, as evidence for the vizier’s involvement in the religious life of the Buyid state and the Islamic world in the 4th/10th century.

129. TARIQ JAFFER, Yale University

The Mingling of Theology, Philosophy and Exegesis in Rāzī’s “Great Commentary on the Qurʾān”

This paper focuses on the structure and method of one of the most influential commentaries on the Qurʾān: The “Great Commentary” by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210). One of the principal tasks of the “Great Commentary” is to extend the scope of exegesis to include the sciences of theology and philosophy. This paper argues that Rāzī accomplishes this task in two ways; first, by introducing the dialectical and logical methods of Islamic theology into Qurʾānic exegesis, and second, by viewing Qurʾānic verses as opportunities to explore philosophical topics that the Qurʾān does not address.

In his recent work *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: commentateur du coran et philosophe* (2000), R. Arnaldez provides a broad overview to the philosophical problems Rāzī takes up in the “Great Commentary.” J. van Ess discusses the dialectical and logical methods of Islamic theology in his “The Logical Structure of Islamic Theology” (1970) and in his “Disputationspraxis” (1976).

This paper makes a substantial contribution to twelfth and thirteenth century Islamic thought by examining Rāzī’s “Great Commentary” as a case study that illustrates the mingling of exegesis, philosophy and theology in Islam.

130. RACHA EL OMARI, Yale University

A Muʿtazilite Refutation of *Isnād* Criticism: The *Qabūl al-Aḥbār wa-Maʿrifat al-Riḡāl* of Abū ʿl-Qāsim al-Balkhī al-Kaʿbī (d. 319/931)

This paper addresses the post-*mihna* Baḡdādī Muʿtazilite school position on *ḥadīth* and *ḥadīth* criticism as formulated in al-Kaʿbī’s *Qabūl al-aḥbār wa-maʿrifat ar-riḡāl*. Early and pre-classical (2nd/8th to 3rd and 9th) Muʿtazilite positions on *ḥadīth* were investigated in Josef van Ess’s monumental *Theologie und Gesellschaft* (1991–1997) as well as several of his earlier works of scholarship (1967, 1982). In this paper, I show how the rise of *ahl al-ḥadīth* with a powerful claim to religious authority, in the second part of the 3rd/9th century, pressured the Muʿtazilites to confront their foundation of religious authority: the *sunna* based on *isnād* verification. Thus, two aspects of the Muʿtazilite and *ahl al-ḥadīth* interaction are in order: First, al-Kaʿbī’s arguments and methods in refuting *isnād* criticism; second, his definition of *ḥadīth* grounded in his re-appropriation of the term *sunna* from *ahl al-ḥadīth*. To assess the significance of al-Kaʿbī’s position, I place his views in the context of earlier and later Muʿtazilite attitude towards *ḥadīth*. This paper mainly concludes with the following: Although al-Kaʿbī adopts the traditional Muʿtazilite reliance on *matn* for verifying the *ḥadīth*, his *Qabūl al-aḥbār wa-maʿrifat ar-riḡāl* represents — if only by virtue of its polemical

form — a turning point in the Muʿtazilite relationship to *ahl al-ḥadīth* and to what, at the end of the 3rd/9th century, was consolidating itself as orthodox Islam. The very form of his refutation and his polemics, written in the guise of a *riḡāl* work, gives away the kind of challenge faced by his Muʿtazilite generation. To justify their rejection of *isnād* criticism and their persistence in matn criticism, they became compelled to confront the *ahl al-ḥadīth* on the latter own grounds.

C. Islamic Near East VIII: Arabic Poetry and Poetics. MICHAEL COOPERSON, University of California Los Angeles, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) *Salon VI*

131. MARK WAGNER, Vassar College

Vernacular Poetry and Humor in Eighteenth Century Yemen: ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Khafanjī and His Circle

During the middle of the 18th century a group of notable men routinely met in the Ṣanʿāʾ sitting-room of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Khafanjī (d. 1766) to socialize, smoke, chew *qāt*, and compose humorous vernacular poems. The poetic proceedings of these meetings are preserved in a voluminous MS *dīwān* entitled *Sulāfat al-ʿadas wa-lubb al-ʿalas fī l-mudḥikāt wa l-dalas* (“Lentil Wine and Choice Buckwheat on Jokes and Tricks”). Using the theme of food as a point of entry into this work, I will discuss the literary qualities of its humor, specifically the way in which it digested and transformed the poetic genres that were widespread in Yemen in its time, namely classical Arabic poetry, highbrow vernacular poetry (*ḥumaynī*) and tribal poetry. Scholarship in European languages (e.g. Pierre Cachia’s) on poetry in Arabic dialects focuses on Egypt and the Levant in the 19th and 20th centuries. Whether out of prejudice against the vernacular or embarrassment with the often scatological content of the poetry, Yemeni scholars (J.A. al-Zafārī and M.A. Ghānem) have dismissed “Lentil Wine and Choice Buckwheat” as an odd exception to broader poetic currents in Yemen. First, I hope to show that this humorous vernacular poetry constitutes a literary innovation that deserves attention from scholars of Arabic literature and second, to suggest that it was not an anomaly but influenced later generations of writers in Yemen.

132. MAJD AL-MALLAH, Grand Valley State University

Al-Mutanabbī’s Poetics and Politics: A Victory Ode after a Military Defeat

This paper will examine an ode that the 10th c. CE poet Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī recited following Sayf al-Dawlah’s battle with the Byzantines in 339/950, often referred to by Arab historians as the battle of al-Musībah (the disaster). The paper will analyze the ode’s depiction of the event at hand (the defeat) and the complexity of the predicament in which the poet finds himself: How can al-Mutanabbī celebrate the emir’s legitimacy after such a defeat? Knowing that historians are clear on the fact that Sayf al-Dawlah suffered a devastating defeat in this battle, the paper will attempt to examine al-Mutanabbī’s role, not as historian, but rather as poet and an experienced member in Sayf al-Dawlah’s court. A close reading of the ode will show that al-Mutanabbī relies, in constructing this poem, on the premise of celebrating a victory regardless of whether or not there was an actual victory. Thus the ode’s themes appear to emphasize, I argue, that this defeat is only a prelude to victory. In his book *Eternal Victory*, Michael McCormack contends that, throughout the history of the Romans and the Byzantines, the emperors, and even province governors, used what he calls the “imperial ideology of victory” as a primary basis of authority and legitimacy.

I will argue, therefore, that al-Mutanabbī's interpretation of the defeat as a victory by Sayf al-Dawlah follows the same principle used by Roman and Byzantine emperors. The "ideology of victory," accordingly, becomes a central driving force in legitimizing the position of Sayf al-Dawlah as the leader of the community, in other words, this "ideology of victory," as evidenced in al-Mutanabbī's poem, governed, especially with the diminishing powers of the 'Abbāsīd caliph, the ceremonial of declaring legitimacy for the ruling emir. In addition to McCormack's work, I will examine the structure and imagery of this ode in light of recent works on ceremony such as "The Construction of Court Ritual: the Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies*," by Averil Cameron; *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* by Sabine G. MacCormack; *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* by Paula Sanders.

133. JAROSLAV STETKEVYCH, University of Chicago

The *Tardiyyah* Transformed: Developments in the Arabic Hunt Poem from the Early to Late 'Abbasid Period

[Withdrawn]

134. SUZANNE P. STETKEVYCH, Indiana University

The Dove and The Crow: Myth and Politics in Two Elegies from al-Ma'arrī's *Saqt al-Zand*

[Withdrawn]

135. NATALIE KHAZAAL, University of California Los Angeles

al-Khubz al-Ḥāfī — Individual and Society

Al-Khubz al-Ḥāfī — the autobiographical novel of the contemporary Moroccan writer Mohammad Shukri — exemplifies the antithetical relationship between society and the liminal individual — an entity positioned outside the social order whose norms and laws seem alien to him. The liminal nature of Shukri's protagonist, which is central to his autobiography, is comparable to that of the protagonist in the *akhbār* of Ta'abbata Sharran, one of the most infamous pre-Islamic brigand poets (*ṣa'ālīk* sing. *ṣu'lūk*).

Both Ta'abbata Sharran and Shukri epitomize the liminal archetype of the *ṣu'lūk* — Ta'abbata Sharran as a pre-Islamic example, and Shukri as a contemporary one.

In order to explicate the literary archetype of the *ṣu'lūk*, Susan Stetkevych positions the *ṣu'lūk* in the second phase of Arnold Van Gennep's ritual transition triad and in Turner's anti-structure. Thus, the *ṣu'lūk* is an expression of the failed rite of passage from Nature to Culture (where Nature would be homologous to the liminal stage and Culture to the post-liminal stage). Just as Stetkevych describes the pre-Islamic *ṣu'lūk* as a liminal creature belonging to the side of Nature and an entity whose course of development is perverted or diverted, it is also possible to prove that Shukri's protagonist is the *ṣu'lūk*'s contemporary counterpart in the above sense. In my presentation I will apply Lévi-Strauss's structuralist dichotomy Nature/Culture and Turner's theory of liminality to Mohammad Shukri's autobiographical novel *Al-Khubz al-Ḥāfī* to prove that the structuralist problematic can provide a valid, though linear, explanation of the protagonist's character. I will show that it defines him as a liminal entity that belongs to the natural order by exhibiting his overwhelming appropriation of the signs typical of Nature and liminality, such as wilderness, night, death, journey, violence,

vengeance, independence, isolation, bisexuality, silence, pain, hunger, and thirst, to the, again, overwhelming exclusion of the symbols characteristic of Culture and structure, such as commitment, light, promulgation, satiety, dependence, convenience, etc. Then, I will discuss other instances in Shukri’s novel which involve a post-structuralist problematic. These are events which place him simultaneously within two states: anti-structure and structure; Nature and Culture. The fact that Shukri experiences the two states simultaneously is in contrast with the subsequence between these two states in Van Gennep’s triad. As post-structuralism would argue, this is the effacement of the dichotomy Nature/Culture. In conclusion, I will argue that although the structuralist interpretation can elucidate *Al-Khubz al-Hāfi*, its tendency toward linearity should be checked by a post-structuralist comment.

D. South and Southeast Asia V. STANLEY INSLER, Yale University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) *Salon VII*

Linguistics and Language

136. SIGNE COHEN, University of Missouri, Columbia

Two Noun Classes in Harappan?

In this paper, I will discuss the possibility that two distinct classes of nouns can be identified in the seal inscriptions from the Indus Civilization. I am not making any claims to have deciphered the Indus language, nor will I attempt to identify the unknown language of the Indus Valley. Instead, I will offer some observations based on an abstract analysis of the inscriptions themselves.

I will demonstrate that many commonly occurring sign groups (words?) in the Indus language appear to be divisible into two classes, distinguished by the class-markers [] and []. I will show that the two class markers have complimentary distribution, in that a “word” may belong to one of the two classes, but not to both. I will also demonstrate that in the cases when “words” of different classes are compounded, the class affiliation of the compound is that of the last member.

137. HANS HENRICH HOCK, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Aspirate Sonorants: Sonorants + [h] in Middle Indo-Aryan

Based on poetic metrical evidence, von Hinüber (1986) argues that orthographic *nh*, *mh* (etc.) were aspirated sonorants, single in initial position, geminate medially, and that the same analysis holds for early Pali orthographic *nah* etc., whose *a* reflects a later innovation. What is left unexplained is where this later innovation comes from.

Following an approach employed by Turner (1921) regarding the development of Sanskrit *rt*-clusters (see also Hock 1996), I use modern Indo-Aryan evidence (based on Turner 1962–66) to interpret the evidence of the Aśokan inscriptions. What emerges is a division between “western” and “eastern” dialects, as follows (where R = sonorant).

	Western	Eastern
Initial	R ^h	RVh
Medial	RR ^h	Rh

Evidence for this division comes from two major sources, making allowances for some borrowing and what Bloch (1914) calls “aspirate transfer”. First, dialects with [Rh] cluster insert a vowel into the cluster in initial position; dialects with aspirated

[R^h] do not. Second, dialects with [Rh] cluster frequently insert an epenthetic stop in medial position (as in brāhmaṇa > bambhana), dialects with the aspirate do not. Further, Kalsi, geographically on the cusp between eastern and western, presents one form, *barihmane*, which can be interpreted as a geminate aspirate; Modern Panjabi exhibits a few similar forms. These provide good support for the assumption of a western geminate aspirate.

I argue that this east-west difference is original, reflecting two different strategies of dealing with [Rh]-clusters. In the west, these are changed to aspirates, following the precedent of oral stops; medial geminates are the result of temporal compensation. In the east, the absence of pre-established aspirate sonorants blocks this development; as a consequence, initial [Rh]-clusters undergo anaptyxis to conform to the MIAR. single-consonant-onset condition.

138. PETER M. SCHARF, Brown University

Pāṇinian Accounts of the Vedic Subjunctive: leṭ *kr̥ṇvaíte*

Complexities in the relationship between Pāṇinian grammar and Vedic texts appear because neither the grammatical nor the Vedic tradition is uniform and static. Bronkhorst (1991: 75) calls into question the assumption that Vedic texts were known to Pāṇini in the form we have received them, while Cardona (1991: 130) shows that Pāṇini’s silence concerning certain Vedic forms may be due to deference to certain received exegetical traditions. The current paper considers a case where the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition entertains disagreement over the derivation of obscure forms. Doubt concerning the recurrence of the term *pit* (3.4.92) into 3.4.94 brings into question whether Pāṇini systematically accounts for stem strengthening in the subjunctive. Kātyāyana, Patañjali, Jayāditya, and Jinendrabuddhi remain silent on the point. Rāmacandra, Śrīkriṣṇa, and Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita assert that *pit* recurs, thereby allowing stem strengthening. Haradatta, on the other hand, maintains that 3.4.117 *chandasy ubhayathā* accounts for it. Nāgeśa points out that the latter procedure also accounts for the lack of stem strengthening in forms such as *kr̥ṇvaíte*. It is questionable, however, whether leaving the account of stem strengthening in the subjunctive to a rule of indeterminate variation is preferable to a systematic explanation which yet fails to account for a minority of forms. What is clear is that the controversy does not allow one to assert definitively either that Pāṇini failed to account systematically for the subjunctive or that he failed to account for the form *kr̥ṇvaíte*, nor to establish that he did not know the form as received. The depth and variety of the Indian grammatical tradition must be taken into account in determining which rules describe which linguistic facts.

139. STANLEY INSLER, Yale University

Avestan *fšu-*

The Avestan etymon *fšu-* should be divided into 2 separate items: (1) the reduced form of *pasu-* ‘animal’, found in *dr̥vafšu-*, *fr̥adat.fšu-* (cp. *fr̥adat.vīra-*), etc; (2) the reduced form of *vohu-* ‘good’ (Indoir. **vasu-*), found in *fšūmant-*, *fšuyant-*, *fšūšan-*. The second form of *fšu-* is the equivalent of Rigvedic *-psu-*, equally the reduced Vedic *vasu-* ‘good’.

R̥gveda and Atharvaveda

140. STEPHANIE W. JAMISON, University of California at Los Angeles

Poetic “Repair” in the *Rig Veda*

One of the poetic strategies in the *Rig Veda* is to introduce a linguistic puzzle early in a hymn, and “solve” it later in the hymn. For example, a passage with an anomalous syntactic construction will be virtually repeated some verses later but with a more orthodox and straightforward expression. The intent may be rather like that of the riddles found in brahmodyas: to tease and test the listeners and then provide the answer to those too dull-witted to solve it on their own. This paper will examine several examples of this phenomenon, on various levels of language, from the lexical to the syntactic.

141. JARROD L. WHITAKER, University of Texas at Austin

Drinking Status, Embodying Duty: Reconsidering *ójas*, “authority,” in the *Rgveda* and *Atharvaveda*

In Vedic literature an array of terms appear that have in the past been ubiquitously accepted as meaning unspecific and colourless forms of power. A critical understanding of these terms is much over due. Up to now we only have one highly problematic framework with which to interpret the terms, that is, as markers of metaphysical (read: mystical, magical) and/or personally experienced power or energy. This method is the direct result of late nineteenth and early twentieth century theories of magic that utterly wedded the notions of magic and power. In order to offer a fresh way of understanding such terms from a socio-political perspective, I will reconsider the use and meaning of the word *ójas* in the *R̥gveda* and *Atharvaveda*. *Ójas* relates specifically to the political status of warriors and kings and the obligations placed on them. It resonates within a process of socializing men in a system of martial ethics that is mediated and substantiated through, for example, the drinking of *sóma* and the wearing of amulets (*maní-*). *Ójas* is thus a term that refers to political power that has been legitimated, and for this reason in the majority of its appearances denotes the English word “authority” with all its martial and political connotations.

142. JOEL P. BRERETON, University of Texas at Austin

The Funeral Hymn of Bṛhaduktha

Sāyaṇa described *R̥V* 10.56 as a funeral hymn composed by Bṛhaduktha for his son Vājin. Unconvinced by this interpretation, more contemporary scholars have generally understood it as a “requiem for a horse.” So, according to Oldenberg, the hymn honors a sacrificial horse, and for Geldner, it describes the deification of a well-loved race horse. Already Renou expressed doubts about such interpretations. Among other considerations, he noted that the second half of the hymn has no direct and certain reference to a horse. He remains questioning, however, and does not offer an alternative interpretation.

In this paper, I argue that 10.56 is indeed a funeral hymn for a human being, as Sāyaṇa held. However, the funeral was not for someone named Vājin, nor, at least as far as we can tell, was it conducted by a father. The *vājin* is a horse, but a metaphorical horse, not a literal one.

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