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ABSTRACTS

OF
COMMUNICATIONS
PRESENTED

AT THE
TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH

MEETING

SEATTLE

MARCH 17TH–20TH 2006
A. Ancient Near East I: AOS/NACAL: Linguistics. K. Lawson Younger, Trinity International University, Divinity School, Chair (1:30 p.m.–4:30 p.m.) Emerald Ballroom III

1. Na`ama Pat-El, Harvard University, and Alexander Treiger, Yale University

Adnominal Prepositional Phrases in Semitic

We find in the Semitic languages a common pattern involving the determinative relative pronoun followed by a prepositional phrase or an adverb, for example

Arabic: 
\[\text{wa-lākin tarmā l-qulūbu llatī fī s-sudūri} \]
(Qur'ān 22:46) Rather [it is] the hearts in the chests [that] are blind.

Syriac: 
\[\text{emar... al dēkrā d-h-ilānā da-hwā l-debhā ḥlāpaw} \]
(Eph. in Gen. 6, 9–10) He told ... about the ram in the tree, which became the sacrifice instead of him.

So far this has been claimed to be an elliptical relative clause, i.e., a relative clause a component of which is omitted. Some scholars claim that what is missing is the subject, which is represented in the relative pronoun, while the prepositional phrase is the predicate (Gai 1978, Waltke & O’Connor 1990 among others); others claim that the prepositional phrase is an adverbial complement to an omitted verb (Fleischer 1885–88, Wright 1896, Wertheimer 2001, 2005).

Neither of these explanations works, since, as we shall argue, the so-called relative pronoun in Semitic originally had no function within the following clause and thus cannot be the subject in a nominal relative clause. Furthermore, nominal clauses, whether relative or not, must have explicit subject and predicate to form a nexus. Therefore, the pattern in question cannot be a finite clause and must be explained otherwise. We would like to suggest that this pattern is not a relative clause, or any other kind of finite clause, but rather an apposition to the (explicit or implied) antecedent, namely not the man who is in the house, but rather the man, the one in the house.

2. Alan S. Kaye, California State University, Fullerton

Classical and Colloquial Arabic Archaisms

This paper argues that modern spoken Arabic dialects preserve very archaic Semitic features. In fact, they may even preserve Proto-Semitic (PS) features lost in Classical Arabic (CA). The spelling of Hebrew loo ‘no’ as \(<l?>\) may best be interpreted as evidence for PS *la? ‘no’. Final aleph in Hebrew /q adapté/ ‘he read’ presents evidence for an earlier /q adapté/, which equals CA /qara?a/. Similarly, Hebrew loo points to an earlier loo? = colloquial Arabic la?, la??, or la??a, which is cognate with earlier Hebrew l?.

Looking at the cognate Semitic languages, Ugaritic l? (variant spelling l) also supports the colloquial Arabic archaic forms with glottal stop, whereas Akkadian laa matches up with CA, Aramaic, Old South Arabian and Ge’ez and supports the earlier glottal stop, although the Ge’ez ?allaa is problematic. Thus, the common explanation that colloquial Arabic la?/? is secondary is erroneous. Rather, CA laa is the later development, and it breaks with biconsonantalism or triconsonantalism in favor of a monoconsonantalism, a very rare situation in the classical Semitic languages.

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This paper also hypothesizes certain CA forms are secondary; e.g., qalb ‘heart’ < *lbb ‘heart’. The latter root is preserved in CA lubban ‘heart’ = Hebrew leb and Akkadian libbu < PS *libbu. The Ancient Egyptian ?ib supports PS *libbu, and the vocalism in CA lubban is the result of regressive labial assimilation. Thus, CA q- in qalb is a remnant of a prefix or root determinative (cf. CA qaDima or qaDama ‘to gnaw; compress the lips’ (Wehr 1974:544) from Damma ‘bring together’).


Remarks on the Development of Proto-Indo-European *sm in Hittite

Elisabeth Rieken has recently proposed in two papers (Historische Sprachforschung 113 [2000] 171–75 and Novalis Indogermanica: Festschrift für Günter Neumann zum 80. Geburtstag, ed. by M. Fritz & S. Zeilfelder [Graz 2002] 407–16) that PIE *sm yields ⟨ˇs⟩ısumm in Hittite; she admits, however, that the precise conditions under which this development takes place are unclear. In this talk, I build on and try to refine Rieken’s attractive idea, assessing the quality of the examples and potential counterexamples she adduces, bringing in a form that complicates matters, and commenting on what all this tells us about the system of personal pronouns in Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Anatolian, a topic I have discussed extensively elsewhere.

4. Peter T. Daniels, Gorgias Press

Two Morphophonemics of Modern Hebrew

In June 1951, Avram Noam Chomsky submitted a thesis, “The Morphophonemics of Modern Hebrew,” to the University of Pennsylvania in partial fulfillment of the requirements for an M.A. degree. Years later, a version dated six months later was published as Noam Chomsky’s Master’s thesis in the “Outstanding Dissertations in Linguistics” series edited by Jorge Hankamer. The two versions differ considerably. This paper will investigate the differences between them and perhaps assess its place in the development of early versions of Chomsky’s treatments of syntax and phonology.

5. Rebecca Hasselbach, University of Chicago

Interpreting Early Akkadian Orthography: A Note on Third Person Pronominal Suffixes in Sargonic Akkadian

The possessive and accusative pronominal suffixes of the 3ms in Sargonic Akkadian (2350–2100 BCE) exhibit a peculiar orthographic feature that is otherwise unknown in Akkadian. The possessive pronominal suffix is regularly written with the sign SU while the accusative suffix is written with SU₄. The latter sign is also used for the 3ms anaphoric pronoun in both the nominative and accusative. Exceptions to this writing practice are extremely rare. No satisfactory explanation for this orthographic distinction in Sargonic Akkadian has been given so far. The interpretation suggested here is that the writing of the accusative pronominal suffix with the same sign as the anaphoric pronoun was caused by a reanalysis of the accusative suffix as being the same as the anaphoric pronoun after a set of sound changes had taken place that rendered these two morphemes nearly identical. That is, in the mind of the speaker it was the anaphoric pronoun that was attached to verbs in the function of the direct object and not the original accusative suffix that had the same shape as the possessive pronominal suffix.

This analogy also underlies the form of the 3fs accusative suffix, which has an /i/-vowel, -ši, as opposed to common Semitic *-sa. In Akkadian, the vowel /a/ is found
in the 3fs possessive suffix, -ša. The /i/-vowel in the accusative can be explained by the same type of reinterpretation as in the 3ms, this time resulting in a change of vowel quality from /a/ to /i/ in correspondence to the /i/ of the 3fs anaphoric pronoun. Thus, the derivation suggested accounts for the unusual orthographic distinction between the 3ms possessive and accusative suffix in Sargonic Akkadian, and, at the same time, for the different vowel qualities of the 3fs possessive suffix -ša and the 3fs accusative suffix -šī.

6. JACOB LAUNGER, University of Chicago

An Archival Analysis of the Old Babylonian Tablets from Alalakh (Level VII) and Its Chronological Implications

The tablets of Alalakh from the Old Babylonian Period (level VII) have been of considerable interest to historians of the ancient Near East for what they tell us about this Syro-Anatolian city-state itself, about the empire of Yamhad, and about the chronology of the two. Absent, however, in all these arguments, is any attention to where the tablets were found. In part, this lack of attention is due to the inaccurate or interpretive recording of Alalakh’s excavation report, due to which the find-spots of the vast majority of tablets are unknown. By using unpublished tablets in the Hatay Archeological Museum and unpublished excavation cards in the British Museum, I show that the Old Babylonian Alalakh tablets were originally kept in five archives in the palace and adjoining temple. I then focus on one archive, associated with a palace official named Talma-Ammu, as a case-study that sheds new light on the administration and relative chronology of Alalakh in the Old Babylonian Period.

7. SCOBIE P. SMITH, Redmond, Washington

Comparative Graphemic Analysis of Nuzi Akkadian: Investigating Hurrian Orthographic Interference

The quantitative comparison of orthographic conventions (“comparative graphemics”) is a relatively new methodology in Assyriology, first introduced by Giorgio Buccellati (1979). At its core, the method collects distributions of sign usage (frequencies of sign-values) for selected text corpora and compares them in order to discover patterns of similarity or influence. The technique was used fruitfully by W. H. van Soldt (1989) to show that the Amarna Akkadian letters of Tušratta (in EA 17–30) reflect the consonantal stop usage of the Hurrian Mittanni letter (EA 24). With the growth of computer technology, this kind of analysis can now be performed on a larger scale with digitized corpora and computational tools.

The purpose of this paper is to present recent results in a computer-aided comparative graphemic analysis of first and second generation Nuzi texts with Hurrian materials (Mittanni letter and Boğazköy texts) and a variety of other Akkadian texts (OB, MA laws, Alalakh). The comparative graphemic method is here advanced by the introduction of similarity measures, which provide a quantitative indication of the degree of similarity between sets of texts. This method takes into account skewing or weighting due to different corpus sizes and linguistic content, using a process called “phonemographic normalization”. In addition, comparisons may be carried out according to alternative phonemic perspectives by a technique here dubbed “phonemographic aggregation”. This methodology also allows focused comparisons on specific areas of interest in the sign inventory, such as a phonological range (e.g., consonantal
stops), rather than on whole corpora. Quantitative results for a variety of comparisons are here given, especially pursuant to the question of Hurrian interference in the writing conventions of Nuzi Akkadian.

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

A Sociological Approach Toward Identifying Akkadian Loanwords in Ugaritic

The unique nature of the Ugaritic language, which was confined to a relatively small geographic area for a relatively short period of time, makes it an ideal corpus for studying loanwords from a sociological perspective. Akkadian-Ugaritic bilingualism is almost assured based on the almost equal distribution of Akkadian and Ugaritic texts found at the site. Possible loanwords are identified based on their limited language distribution, appearing only in Ugaritic and Akkadian, and their phonetic identity in the two languages. These two factors are often, but not always, corroborated by an irregular phonetic correspondence to an otherwise reconstructed Proto-Semitic form.

Since cross-culturally, bilingualism is almost always confined to specific social situations, the bilingualism at Ugarit was likely no different. Furthermore, these settings can be identified at Ugarit as the school, the temple, the marketplace and the palace administration. Each loanword can then be associated with one of these social settings based on the genre in which the loanword appears along with its semantic range. From this corpus, specific Akkadian dialects can be associated with the specific social settings in which they were used.

B. East Asia I: Chinese History and Literature. PAUL W. KROLL, University of Colorado, Chair (2:00 p.m.–4:45 p.m.) San Juan Room

9. ADAM SMITH, University of California Los Angeles Institute of Archaeology

Learning to Write at Anyang: What the Oracle Bone “Practice Inscriptions” Tell Us about the Nature of Late Shang Writing

It has been argued that the Anyang oracle-bone inscriptions are an unrepresentative sample of the range of literate activity during the late Shang—other uses of writing were numerous but were on media that have not survived.

In a recent expression of this point of view, Robert Bagley has claimed that ‘school texts’ would have been produced in quantity at Anyang as individuals learnt to write, but were written in some perishable medium that has not survived. With the first claim I agree: trainees acquiring the sign list and linguistic formulae used in divination inscriptions would necessarily have produced ‘school texts’ of some kind. These texts, however, have not been lost, but are to be identified with the little-studied category of xike buci or ‘practice divination inscriptions’.

The Anyang ‘practice inscriptions’ include ganzhi date tables, repeated attempts at graphs or common inscriptive formulae, and approximations to full oracle-bone divination records. They are distinguished by errors in calligraphy, ‘page layout’ and syntax, and often occur on bone that had not been prepared for or used in divination. Nearly one hundred examples from Xiaotun Nandi were identified in Yao and Xiao’s edition of that corpus. The kinds of errors that occur suggest that these students were acquiring literacy, and not simply learning to engrave.
Matsumaru Michio has stated that the ‘Four Winds’ inscriptions and some *ganzhi* tables may have been models for trainee scribes. This explanation may be extended to the so-called ‘Display’ inscriptions, the function of which is otherwise obscure.

Oracle-bone scribes were trained to write by other, more experienced oracle-bone scribes within the central late Shang settlement at Anyang. This literacy training was oriented specifically towards the production of divination records.

10. MARTIN KERN, Princeton University

Reading the *Guo feng*

The *Shijing*, or Classic of Poetry, is the canonical text par excellence of the Chinese literary tradition. Beginning with our earliest sources, both transmitted and excavated, its songs are frequently cited, alluded to, and commented upon. Of the Five Classics, it also is the text that is hermeneutically most challenging, problematic, and rewarding. This is true in particular for its first section, the *Guofeng* (Airs of the States), that through more than two millennia have been open to a vast range of different interpretations, many of them attempting to decode the presumed hidden meaning of these songs. Indeed, it can be argued that the ancient *Guofeng* are to this very day alive and profoundly relevant to Chinese cultural identity not despite but because of their hermeneutical openness. Perhaps more than any other text of the Chinese literary tradition, they are a foundational classic because their meaning cannot be exhausted.

In my paper, I focus on several *Guofeng* songs to discuss the various exegetical strategies that since about 300 BCE have been brought to their reading. Instead of proposing an “original meaning,” as no few traditional and modern commentators would do, I am interested in the commentarial tradition of the *Guofeng* itself: in the historical formation of this tradition, but also in the various forms and purposes of their commentaries and their manifold literary, philosophical, and sociological implications. In this sense, “Reading the *Guofeng*” will mean, first and foremost, exploring their hermeneutic demands and possibilities.

11. LAI GUOLONG, University of Florida

Canonization and Textual Fluidity in Early China: Observations on the Material Form of Excavated Manuscripts

The most significant events in the study of early China in the last fifty years are the series of great discoveries of bamboo and silk manuscripts of the Warring State and Qin and Han periods. In this paper I will use the recently excavated manuscripts to explore the sociology of early Chinese texts, asking questions such as how were these texts produced, used, and transmitted. What were the material forms of the texts? How did these changing formats affect the reading and understanding of the texts? These questions are significant not only for the interpretation of excavated manuscripts, but, more importantly, I think, for a better understanding of the “received texts,” those texts have been transmitted in history.

Methodologically, I borrow concepts and methods developed by in the fields of “sociology of texts” and biblical studies. In this paper, I argue that because of the material format of early Chinese texts is scrolls (“juan”) of bamboo or wooden strips and the basic unit for circulation is often “pian,” a unit smaller than a “book.” The fluidity of early China texts is the consequence of the material media and the ways of trans-
mission (i.e., both oral and copying) in early China. I also argue that the canonizing process in early China is the opposition force that tries to control the accuracy of textual production and transmission, such as double checking the copies, the increasing notion of organization of a book, the use of table of contents and preface, and character count at the end of a text.

12. Matthias Richter, University of Hamburg

The Genesis of Texts as Reflected in Early Chinese Manuscript Versions

Excavated Early Chinese Manuscripts have been extensively studied for some decades. However, in the cases both of manuscripts with hitherto unknown texts and those with counterparts in transmitted texts, there still prevails an inclination to read or reconstruct doubtful of otherwise difficult passages retrospectively in the light of transmitted literature. I have proposed in an earlier paper a hierarchy of criteria that gives internal evidence (such as statistical data of what character(s) is/are used to write a certain word in the respective manuscript or ms. corpus) precedence over external evidence (general usage or specific counterparts in transmitted texts or other manuscripts) when deciding upon the reading of a particular character. Applying this hierarchy will make a reconsideration of some readings of manuscript texts necessary.

In this paper I will discuss a chapter of the received Laozi and its two Mawangdui manuscript counterparts to demonstrate that in some cases the different versions witness not only different modes of fixing a text in writing but rather an actual transformation of the text. The Laozi—like most other texts of Early Chinese literature—was composed from heterogeneous textual material. I will argue in my paper that the traces we can glean from the scarce manuscript evidence indicate a textual development towards greater ideological coherence of the whole compilation.

13. Newell Ann Van Auken, University of Washington

Form and Event Type in the Spring and Autumn Annals

The Chuenchiou, or Spring and Autumn Annals, is a chronicle of selected events in the state of Luu for the period 722 to 479 BCE. The Chuenchiou is not a narrative work, but a chronologically-arranged set of brief records of significant events in Luu. Only a narrow range of topics are recorded, and descriptive language is not used, nor is reference made to the feelings or attitudes of those whose actions it records. The Chuenchiou contains no explicit value judgments regarding the event recorded therein.

The Chuenchiou records are highly regular, and appear to have been written in accord with strict formal rules. Vocabulary is limited; thirty-seven different words account for 90% of the main verbs in over 2,000 entries. Even the order in which states were listed was determined by formal rules and did not vary. Nearly all records of events of the same type were formally identical, using the same sentence pattern, main verb, style of reference to individuals. The degree of specificity in date notation was also primarily determined by event type.

My paper examines the formal characteristics of the Chuenchiou and the relationship between event type and formal features (e.g., nearly all records of “Battles” jann were dated precisely but records of “Attacks” fa were not; names of feudal lords were often given in death notices but never in records of attacks, etc.). I also explore the traditional view that the Chuenchiou employed “subtle words concealing praise and
blame” (weiyan yuh baubean) embodying Confucius’ praise or condemnation, rejected by most Western scholars. Many records identified as praising or blaming were in fact formally irregular. I will examine how departures from the regular form may have given rise to the “praise and blame” interpretation.

C. Islamic Near East I: Qurʿān: Structure and Hermeneutics. Shawkat Toorawa, Chair, Cornell University (2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) Whidbey Room

14. Devin Stewart, Emory University

God’s Poetic License: Medieval Analyses of End-Rhyme in the Qurʿān

Though it has yet to be superseded, F. R. Müller’s Reimprosa im Qoran (1969) is disappointing in two respects. First, the title is misleading, since the work does not actually provide a comprehensive treatment of saj (‘rhyming and rhythmic prose’) in general, but focuses instead on one limited category within that topic, which might be termed ‘poetic license’: the departures from ordinary morphology, syntax, and usage that occur in Qurʿānic verses in order to produce end-rhyme. Second, the author shows little awareness of the treatments medieval scholars devoted to this same phenomenon, even maintaining that Islamic doctrine prevented them from undertaking serious analysis of the Qurʿān as a linguistic artifact. The present study examines several analyses of end-rhyme in the Qurʿān by medieval Muslim scholars, including al-Bāqillānī (d. 403/1013), Diyyaʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239), Ibn al-Sāʿīgh al-Ḥanafi (d. 776/1375), and Badr al-Dīn al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392). It will be shown that these authors were aware of many types of departure from ordinary usage that occur in the Qurʿān for the sake of rhyme—far more, in fact, than Müller. Particular attention will be paid to cognate substitution—the replacement of a rhyme-word with a cognate of another form for the sake of rhyme, a phenomenon that is the primary focus of Müller’s analysis.

15. Todd Lawson, University of Toronto

Opposition and Duality in the Qurʿān: The Apocalyptic Substrate

As debate on whether or not the Qurʿān is a bona fide example of apocalyptic literature continues, it is interesting to observe that a number of the standard features of apocalyptic function more or less prominently in the text. One of these, the interplay of conceptual and substantive oppositions and dualities, is discussed in order to highlight the profound importance this prominent feature has for both the form and contents of the book. A brief discussion of some other features of apocalyptic will also be offered in order to establish a context for the study of quranic enantiodromia. Our examination of sūrat al-baqara, a sura considered by the classical tafsīr tradition to represent “the Qurʿān in miniature”, will conclude by suggesting that, from a comparative point of view, the Qurʿān may be distinguished from among other scriptures and holy books for the degree to which the text is suffused with and formed by a preoccupation with duality (as distinct, of course, from dualism). Whether or not this represents a genuine instance of apocalypticism, it nonetheless remains that the prominence of the motif renders the Qurʿān susceptible of a reading expressive of something called an apocalyptic imagination.
16. Kevin van Bladel, University of Southern California

Heavenly Portals and Conduits in the Qur'an

The Arabic word *sabab* (pl. *asbāb*) occurs in five passages in the Qur'an, traditionally interpreted to mean “means,” “way,” or “rope” depending on the context. This communication investigates the heretofore unexplored possibility that the word is rather used to mean only one thing in the Qur'an: a “heavenly gateway” or “heavenly course” that humans may try to use but that God alone controls. Evidence to support this reading is drawn from three directions: 1) the context of the word's occurrences in the Qur'an, 2) a recorded usage in Arabic contemporary with the Qur'an, and 3) the Syriac Alexander Legend retold in Qur'an 18:83–102, where the word *sabab* occurs.

These heavenly portals and courses are a part of what I shall term Biblical cosmology, common to texts such as Genesis and 1 Enoch. This Biblical cosmology imagines the non-spherical earth as bounded by a solid dome of the heavens, which is supported by pillars and is perforated by windows and gates. Passages from these Biblical texts, as well as the Syriac *Alexander Legend*, will illustrate this worldview and show that it is also the view addressed by the Qur'an. It is also proposed that the intended sense of the Qur'anic passages speaking of *asbāb* became obscured when Ptolemaic cosmology superseded this Biblical cosmology after the Arab conquests of regions in which Ptolemaic astrology was a highly esteemed, recognized science. The word *sabab* in the Qur'an thereafter came to be understood variously by the commentators because they did not imagine the cosmos according to the Biblical model.

17. Gabriel Said Reynolds, Notre Dame University

The Qur'an's Wind of Destruction [WITHDRAWN]

18. Michael Carter, Sydney University

The Hermeneutics of the Islamic Decalogue: A Preliminary Enquiry

It is well known that Qur'an 6:151–153 comprises a set of exhortations which are claimed, with some confidence, to be an equivalent of the Ten Commandments of Exodus 20:3–16. This paper will examine a number of medieval commentaries on the passage to establish whether, and if so in what way, the commentators explicitly invoke and apply the principles of Islamic hermeneutics as set forth by M. Ali in his book *Middle Islamic Pragmatics: Sunni Legal Theorists’ Models of Textual Communication* (Richmond, 2000). One expected result is to find that these verses are not singled out for special treatment above all the other Divine commands and prohibitions in the Qur'an.

19. Walid Saleh, University of Toronto

Quoting the Bible in Tafsir: A Late Mamluk Controversy

Burhān al-Dīn al-Biqā'i (d. 885/1480) filled his Qur'an commentary, *Nāẓm al-Durar*, with quotations from the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament to the displeasure of a number of his 'ulamā' colleagues in Mamluk Cairo. To quote the Bible in order to discredit it or to use it to prove that Muhammad was a true prophet was customary among Muslim polemicists and apologists. Nobody would have cared had al-Biqā'i followed suit. His quotations however were of a different order: the Hebrew Bible and the NT were cited to augment the interpretation of the Qur'an, with the
implication that they were divine truth just as the Qur’an was. Soon the issue of citing the Bible was being hotly debated and al-Biqā’ī wrote a treatise in defence of his approach, al-Aqwāl al-qawīmah fī ḥukm al-naql min al-kutub al-qadīmah. He also campaigned heavily to enlist the support of his colleagues against his detractors. The leader of the opposition was al-Sakhawī who wrote a treatise to argue for the prohibition of such a use of these two scriptures. Only al-Biqā’ī’s treatise survives and my paper is intended to shed light on its arguments and the controversy that generated it.

In order to fully understand the controversy one has to revisit al-Biqā’ī’s Qur’ān commentary and study the nature of its Biblical citation and their usage. Since al-Aqwāl al-Qawīmah has never been published and since no scholar has yet studied the nature of the biblical citations in Nazm al-Durar this paper will investigate an important chapter of Muslim usage of the Bible in their religious writings. Never before was so much of the Bible quoted in so positive a light in so religious a literature. This paper is also part of my continued research into the history of medieval tafsīr and its development.

D. South and Southeast Asia I. STANLEY INSLER, Yale University, Chair (1:30 p.m.–4:45 p.m.) Bainbridge Room

1. Literature and the Arts

20. STEPHANIE W. JAMISON, University of California Los Angeles

Kāvyā before Kāvyā: The Poet and His Function

This paper will consider the precursors of kāvyā style in pre-Classical Indian literature, especially the Rig Veda. Though it will touch on the formal similarities between Rigvedic style and kāvyā style, it will concentrate rather on the problem of the poet. Can we trace a continuous tradition of poetic composition from the Rigvedic period into the Classical period, and if so, what was the role of the poet who commanded these elaborate poetic techniques in the lengthy intervening period during which there is little or no evidence (or at least Sanskrit evidence) for this type of poetic composition?

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

The Continuity of Symbols and Metaphors from the Rg Veda to the Epics and Purāṇas

Many of the images, symbols and metaphors used in Epic and Purānic Hinduism, as well as in Buddhism and Jainism, can be traced back to the Rg Veda. Although in the later period they are often used for different purposes or to convey new ideas, one might talk of a basic vocabulary of images, symbols and metaphors that remain in use despite changing cultural circumstances. This paper traces and discusses some of the most important of these symbols and metaphors.

22. ADHEESH SATAYE, University of British Columbia

The King, the Brahmin, and the Goddess: The Textual Performance of Hariścandra in the Sanskrit Purāṇas

This paper investigates the textual production of the Sanskrit Purāṇas, ancient Indian compendia of mythological, historical, and philosophical material, through an analysis of how and why these texts include independent, folk narratives into
their corpora. More precisely, I will examine how the medieval (twelfth-century, C.E.) Devībhāgavata Purāṇa presents the enormously popular Hariścandra legend, the story of a king forced to sell his family and himself into slavery at the whims of a Brahman. Using the concept of ‘textual performance,’ developed through comparisons with storytelling techniques in contemporary Indian religious performance traditions, this paper will demonstrate how the Devībhāgavata has ‘performed’ the Hariścandra legend—a preexisting folktale that explicitly laments the hierarchical nature of varṇa—in order to create an intertextuality with two earlier Purāṇas and to produce a counter-normative representation of Brahmanic orthodoxy. At the same time, I argue, the Devībhāgavata’s Goddess-centered telling of the Hariścandra legend results in a ‘normalization’ of the Śākta devotional tradition. It is hoped that the folkloristic emphasis on performance will contribute to the broader understanding of the development and intertextuality of the major Sanskrit Purāṇas—issues that are notoriously unanswerable through standard philological techniques.

23. DAVID MELLINS, Columbia University

Viśvāmitra’s Koan: Narrative Compression and the Training of Warrior Seers in Jayadeva Piṣuṣavatya’s Prasannarāghava

This paper investigates the condensation of the extensive narrative episodes depicting Rāma’s and Laksmana’s apprenticeship under Viśvāmitra in the Bālakūḍya of Valmiki’s Rāmāyaṇa into a concise exchange of dialogue within Jayadeva Piṣuṣavatya’s drama the Prasannarāghava. In a scene from the third act of this play, Viśvāmitra tests Rāma’s readiness for the heroic tasks that await him by presenting a poetic riddle. Rāma solves this with penetrating koan-like precision in a verse demonstrating how deeply he has internalized his future role as savior of brahmanical society and future sovereign of the solar dynasty. This paper addresses the topic of narrative/historical compression within drama, particularly as this applies to epic based dramas in the Sanskrit tradition. While a sufficient degree of scholarship in recent years has addressed the tremendous variety of transmissions of the Rāmāyaṇa story, few studies have specifically discussed the adaptation of extensive Rāmāyaṇa narratives into dialogical literary forms. Moreover, there has been a paucity of studies of any type on the Prasannarāghava. The current study concludes that Rāma’s exhibition of poetic insight and eloquence in this scene from the Prassanrāghava substitutes for his conventional substantiation of martial prowess via the slaying of Tātākā and Subhā, and in this process, his acquisition of supernatural weapons in the Rāmāyaṇa. This transposition is thematically congruent with Viśvāmitra’s identity as a Kṣatriya transformed into a Brahman, and supports Jayadeva’s contention that the poet is scholar/sage par excellence.

24. MANDAKRANTA BOSE, University of British Columbia

Śāstra and Prayoga: Bālarāmabharatam and Hastalakṣaṇadīpikā as Textual Sources of Kuṭiśāṭṭha and Kathākali

A key strategy in claiming legitimacy and authenticity for the classical dance styles of India is to trace their origin to the Nātyaśāstra by Bharatamuni. Similar claims are made also for other classical performance arts, as we find in the main surviving form of Sanskrit drama, namely, Kuṭiśāṭṭha, and of dramatic dance, Kathākali. Their practitioners assert that they not only derive their art from two Sanskrit texts, Bālarāmabharatam and Hastalakṣaṇadīpikā, but also follow them faithfully like train-
ing manuals, thereby conserving the pristine state of their art. This claim, however, does not stand up to scrutiny. On comparing, as this paper does, the technique described in the texts with the practice of present-day Kutiyattam and Kathakali performers, hardly any match can be discovered, leaving the purported textual ancestry of these dramatic forms in serious doubt. The disjunction between text and practice in this case is particularly strong with respect to hand gestures and eye movements, the two most expressive categories of histrionic technique and thus of primary importance to Kutiyattam and Kathakali. The palpable inaccuracy of the heritage claimed is hard to explain; one reason is that neither the performers nor their instructors actually study the texts concerned but merely repeat a claim derived from hearsay. This failure points to a major weakness in the culture of the classical performing arts of India, which was perceptively recognized by the 14th century author Sundhakalasa, who lamented in his Saṅgītopaniṣatsāroddhāra, that the authors of dramaturgical treatises knew nothing of practical performance while performers knew nothing of the theory and science of their arts. It is essential that such claims of origin as made for Kutiyattam and Kathakali be closely examined, in order that a reliable historiography of the performing arts of India may be ensured.

2. The Veda and the Vedic Tradition

25. Jarrod L. Whitaker, Wake Forest University

How Exactly is the Dragon Killed? The Importance of śāvas in the Rgveda

The term śāvas derives from √śu-/śv-, “to swell, increase, thrive, succeed”, and it closely relates to its root in meaning and function. Hence, śāvas primarily reflects spatial connotations as seen in cosmological breadth, vastness, or size and political expanse, reach, or range. Śāvas further manifests in material realities like prosperity, success, and the opening up and control of territory, natural resources, grazing grounds, and waterways. As a consequence of this, śāvas is a martial concept that signifies Indra’s own state of “swelling” and his capacity to bring this about. Śāvas often appears in conjunction with the term śūra, both of which derive from the same root. One of the primary functions of the śūra is to battle the cosmic serpent Vṛtra, and any real world obstacles, in order to secure fertile tracts of land and protect Āryan concerns. The term śūra refers to an elite warrior, a champion of the tribe, with specialized martial duties. In fact, in contradistinction to the standard translation of virā, the term śūra is more appropriately translated as “hero”. Śāvas thus designates the power or ability that a śūra must manifest to defeat Vṛtra, open up and control the universe, and monopolize natural resources. In casting new light on the concept of śāvas, this paper will thus explore the close relationship between territorial conquest, the control of wealth and natural resources, and the parallel myth of Indra’s destruction of the cosmic serpent Vṛtra.

26. Scott Laroy Harvey, University of Texas at Austin

All the King’s Men (and his Horse): Rāṣṭram, Asvamedha, and the Middle Vedic ‘State’

In his several studies of ancient Indian kingship, J.C. Heesterman contrasts the world-embroiled rājaṇ with the world-transcendent brahman. Each, he argues, is of a different moral order, the worldly ‘power’ of the former dependent on the transcendental ‘authority’ of the latter for its legitimacy. While Ron Inden, Nicholas Dirks,
and others have challenged this model for later periods, none have yet to confront Heesterman on his own turf: Vedic India. In this paper, I begin to do just that by examining the nature of kingship implicit in the aśvamedha rite of the Yajurvedic texts. Riṣṭraṁ vā aśvamedhaḥ. ŚB 13.1.5.1 tells us: ‘the horse sacrifice is sovereignty-of-state’. Who has this sovereignty? Who wants it? How does one obtain it and what does it include? The texts provide no direct answers, but close attention to the word riṣṭraṁ and related terms in the aśvamedhic context suggest a king whose authority, though ritually mediated, is not conferred by priests but negotiated among peers. Together, these and the king comprise the ‘apparatus of state’ that prevailed in middle Vedic times.

27. JOËL DUBOIS, California State University, Sacramento

The Secret Lives of Prajāpati Brahman in Śaṅkara’s Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad Bhāṣya

In the past several years’ AOS meetings I have presented various textual examples that call into question widespread generalizations about Śaṅkara’s preference for describing brahman primarily in abstract, logical terms, suggesting rather that—especially in his commentaries of upaniṣad-s tied to specific vedic lineages—Śaṅkara’s prose commentary clearly reflects engagement and interest in both ritual practice and aesthetic appreciation of brahman in poetic terms. This year I consider mythological references, scattered throughout the first adhyāya of the Brhadāraṇyakopaniṣad Bhāṣya (BUbh), in which Śaṅkara traces the repeated rebirth of the creator deity Prajāpati as he progresses towards his own self-realization as brahman.

Śaṅkara links Prajāpati’s spiritual career, first and most obviously, to the impulsive horse-like being whose attempts at devouring creation lead to the first horse sacrifice (BUbh 1.1–2). Yet he also identifies Prajāpati as the cosmic being whose sensory organs, clinging to their respective objects, compete with one another (BUbh 1.3)—stressing later (in BU 1.4.11–1.5) that the creator’s sensory organs are themselves the elemental powers and forces at work in both the divine and human worlds. Most importantly, such references to Prajāpati’s multiple births clearly frame his commentary on BU 1.4.7–10, which describes the creation of the individual self stemming from the primordial undifferentiated being, who has realized his own identity as “I am brahman.” These last statements of the upaniṣad and Śaṅkara’s commentary on them are often cited out of context in stressing Śaṅkara’s preference for describing brahman primarily in abstract terms. Taken together, however, the above-mentioned scattered references to Prajāpati brahman’s “secret lives” present perhaps the most vivid illustration that Śaṅkara conceives of the ultimately transcendent brahman as manifesting not apart from, but rather in the very midst of, concrete personal experience.
A. Ancient Near East II: Sumero-Babylonian Archæology, Art History, Language, and Literature. Norman Yoffee, University of Michigan, Chair (9:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m.) Emerald Ballroom III

28. KAREN L. WILSON, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

Edgar J. Banks and the University of Chicago Expedition to Bismaya 1903–05: A Reappraisal

On the morning of November 30, 1903, a young Assyriologist named Edgar J. Banks set out from Damascus in a horse-drawn carriage to cross the desert to Baghdad. Thirty days later he and his entourage arrived at the site of Bismaya, in southern Iraq, to begin the work of one of the first American expeditions to that country. In the face of difficulties ranging from lack of water, warring tribes, and ferocious dust storms, Banks nevertheless exposed large areas of the city known in ancient times as Adab. Among his finds—carefully recorded in a daily diary and in meticulous weekly reports sent back to Chicago—were an administrative center of the late third millennium that yielded several thousand cuneiform tablets, two residential/light industrial complexes, and a series of temples of the Early Dynastic period. Within the ruins of one of those temples Banks found inscribed stone vessels bearing some of man’s first historical inscriptions as well as a royal statue, which he referred to as “the oldest statue in the world.” Scandal surrounding that statue, coupled with an embittered colleague at the University of Chicago, led to Banks’ downfall, and he was never able to publish a scientific account of his work. The Oriental Institute now houses over 1000 artifacts from Bismaya as well as Banks’ diary, weekly reports, and photographs that can be used to reconstruct the history of both ancient Adab and the expedition that brought it to light.

29. PAULINE ALBENDA, Brooklyn, New York

Before Photography: Early 19th Century Discoveries of Babylonian and Assyrian Art

The mid-nineteenth century excavations at Khorsabad, Nimrud and Nineveh mark the beginning of modern archaeology and Assyriology in the Near East. However, European explorations of ancient sites in Mesopotamia had already occurred, during the latter part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Landscape views of the distant regions of Mesopotamia were artfully depicted and published. Among the sites visited include Babylon, Nineveh, Arslan Tash, and Arban. Early European explorations at those places resulted in the discoveries of ancient monuments, sculptural art, cylinder seals, small artifacts, and inscribed stones, bricks and clay tablets. The material remains were sometimes described in written reports and documented as line drawings. The occasional collection of artifacts, which can now be dated to different periods of antiquity, became a source for providing evidence of the reality of the distant past. This paper focuses upon several of the notable discoveries of ancient Babylonian and Assyrian art that were mentioned and illustrated in the early European accounts. Attention is also given to the occasional archaeological re-discoveries and finds of much later date that took place at several of the above-mentioned sites. In due course, early 19th century European curiosity and exploration in the antiquity of Mesopotamia led to the start of scientific investigation, known as archaeology.

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30. CALE JOHNSON, University of California Los Angeles

Contrastive Focus, Negation and the Ambiguity of *kur*

Recent years have witnessed a number of new theories that attempt to explicate some of the pragmatic rules underlying Sumerian discourse. In my dissertation work (Johnson 2004), I suggested that there are two types of focus in Sumerian, one of which, *contrastive focus*, is indicated by the copula. As part of that proposal, I argued that verbs having the prefix {nam.bi₂} were in fact to be analyzed as expressing negative contrastive focus on the constituent that immediately precedes {nam}, a conventionalized orthography for /nu-am/ (Neg-Cop): henceforth termed the "XP nam bi- construction and understood to mean "it is not XP that . . ."

Continuing investigation has suggested to me the possibility that a passivization of the "XP nam bi- construction exists in a similar construction in which the "bi-prefix is replaced by "bada- {ba.da}, forming the "XP nam bada- construction. As it happens, the most prominent examples of each of these two constructions also seem to be related to the literary *topos* of the acquisition of exotic raw materials from distant lands (*kur*) in Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (ELA), lines 115–120, as opposed to the possible decomposition of the cult statue and reuse of its raw materials in the *kur / bit mummi*, where the physical representations of deities were fashioned, repaired and refashioned into other cultic articles, as in Inanna's Descent (IDN), lines 43–47 and its repetitions (cf. Hurowitz 2003, 155; see Helms 1988; 1993 for the general motif).

These two constructions ("XP nam bi- and "XP nam bada-) seem, therefore, to function as one of the literary features that define the exotic-materials-from-distant-lands motif: the passage in ELA exhibiting the prototypical form, while the passage in IDN inverts (or even parodies) the same theme.

31. FUMI KARAHASHI, University of Pennsylvania

Sumero-Akkadian Language Contact

Many studies have been conducted on Sumero-Akkadian linguistic co-existence and its mutual influence on phonology, lexicon, morphology, and syntax. Amongst others, we may cite von Soden, Lieberman, Edzard, Civil, Pedersen, Streck, and Zólyomi. This research was provided with an overall conceptual framework by Edzard when he applied the term "Sprachbund" to what he called the "Sumero-Akkadian linguistic area." However, as Cooper and Michalowski point out, it is not always easy or possible to pinpoint precisely which linguistic features in either language have emerged through long-term contact with the other. Bearing in mind this difficulty of evaluation, I will examine two manifestations of Sumero-Akkadian language contact—(1) the attaching to finite verbs of Sumerian enclitic -am₃ and Akkadian enclitic -ma in parallel versions of Old Babylonian royal inscriptions; and (2) “who are you?” constructions in Sumerian (a-ba-am₃ za-e-me-en) and Akkadian (manna-šu atta)—which I consider concrete examples of Sumero-Akkadian interdependency.

32. PAUL DELNERO, University of Pennsylvania

Sumerian Excerpt Tablets and Scribal Training

The relatively large corpus of Sumerian compositions with literary content constitutes one of the most significant sources for the religion, culture, and history of the ancient Mesopotamia. Although some of these compositions were composed earlier,
most of these texts are known only from copies dating to the Old Babylonian Period. These copies were produced by apprentice scribes learning the Sumerian language and the cuneiform signs used to write it. The duplicates of texts can therefore be studied to illuminate aspects of scribal education during this period and the curriculum of which these texts were a part.

While earlier studies of scribal training were often based on the content of a group of colorful Sumerian literary compositions about the Eduba, the academy or institution in which scribes were trained, alternative, non-textual approaches to this topic have been taken in more recent years. One particularly productive approach has been the study of tablet typology. By examining the shape and format of the tablets containing scribal exercises, important insights have been gained into the nature of the Old Babylonian scribal curriculum, especially with respect to its earliest, elementary stages. Many of the copies of Sumerian literary compositions are found on single column tablets that contain an excerpt of the entire text. This type of tablet seems to have been used frequently in the advanced stages of the curriculum when literary texts were learned. In this paper, two tablets containing identical excerpts of the same composition, written by the same scribe on the same day will be presented as evidence of how this type of tablet might have been used in the training of scribes.

33. LANCE ALLRED, Johns Hopkins University

Provisioning the aga₃-us₂, in the Ur III Period

Expenditures of animals to the kitchen (e₂-muhaldim) were often designated as having been for a specific purpose, such as for a person, or group of people. Among the most commonly appearing groups is that of the aga₃-us₂, typically translated as “soldiers” or “troops.” This paper investigates the function and role of the aga₃-us₂ in the Ur III period. In addition, it examines more closely the expenditures made to the kitchen for the aga₃-us₂ in order to shed light on some aspects of the history of the period.

34. JEREMIAH PETERSON, University of Pennsylvania

New Sumerian Literary Fragments in the University Museum, Philadelphia

This presentation will offer a preliminary report of the cataloging project that I conducted over the past year of unpublished or unidentified Sumerian fragments in the Babylonian Collection of the University Museum in Philadelphia. More specifically, I will discuss new pieces that supply missing portions of some of the texts in the Nippur Core Curriculum. Other pieces to be discussed shed additional light on the content of the elementary phases of the Old Babylonian scribal curriculum and the literary traditions of the ensuing Middle Babylonian period.

35. ALHENA GADOTTI, Baltimore, Maryland

Chinese Boxes and Sumerian Texts

In 1988, the Italian historian of religions Ugo Bianchi published a stimulating essay on Oriental and Greek Mythologies. He noted that mythological texts are rich in references and interpretations concerning other mythological texts. He referred to this process as a system of “Chinese boxes, inserting one in another” claimed that they represented “una maniera del pensiero mitico, che si riflette su se stesso e si interpreta, creando un sistema, il quale non ha nulla di rigido, ma pur definisce insieme un genere
letterario e una continuità di struttura ideologica” (261–2). Bianchi provided a few examples to illustrate this notion, both from Greek and Mesopotamian texts. I would like to carry his investigation one step further, by discussing yet another example of a text which, albeit less directly, offers clear allusions (and explanations) concerning figures known from elsewhere in Mesopotamian tradition.

According to the Sumerian composition ‘Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld’ (GEN), lines 40–44, when Inana fails to take proper care of the halub-tree, the tree becomes infested with three creatures: a snake immune to magic charms, the Anzu-bird, and a Succubus (ki-sikil-lılı₃-la), and they prevent the goddess from cutting down the tree. Upon Gilgamesh’s intervention, the tree is freed of its pests and consequently cut down. The then kills the snake, and expels the Anzu-bird, who flees with its chick to the mountains, and the Succubus, who takes refuge in the wilderness.

In this paper, I will focus only on the third of these creatures, the Succubus. I will suggest that GEN lines 144–145 contains the echoes of an etiological myth, which explains how the Lilitu of later periods came to be associated with the steppe. Far from being an exception to the rule, the image of the Succubus in GEN provides the mythological foundations for later literature about this ambiguous and tormenting creature.

B. East Asia II: Chinese Literature I. Martin Kern, Princeton University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:15 p.m.) San Juan Room

36. Paul W. Kroll, University of Colorado

Zheng Xuan’s (127–200) Valedictory Letter to His Son

No abstract submitted

37. Tamara Chin, New York University

Sima Xiangru and the Poetics of Colonization

This paper explores the formal politics of Sima Xiangru’s controversial “Rhapsody on the Shanglin Park.” Ancient and modern critics have debated whether this fu-rhapsody’s aesthetic “excesses” served to celebrate or censure the imperialist ambitions of the Han emperor. I build on existing formal analyses, but reframe the politics of Sima Xiangru’s poetry in the more specific context of the Han colonization of his native province of Shu. My rereading has two parts. First, I offer formal and thematic reasons for reading the rhapsody in its preserved context of Sima Qian’s biographical account of Sima Xiangru and his role in the colonization of Shu. Second, I ask whether recent archeological work on the independent material and writing culture of the pre-Han Shu region might be relevant in interpreting Sima Xiangru’s innovations. I argue that his obsessive play with new, exotic, and “nonsense” words and characters and his allegorical use of language (e.g., naming creatures that themselves name or point to other texts) gesture towards a broader set of political issues than the emperor’s morality, namely: the economic traffic in exotica, the Han standardization of writing, the loss of independent Shu cultural forms, and debates over travel reportage and authoritative texts.
38. Michelle Low, University of Colorado

Into the Dawn: Guo Pu’s Poems on His Southern Exodus of the Early Fourth Century

This paper will examine two pieces by Guo Pu (276–324), the fu fragment, “Rhapsody on Transience” and tetra-syllabic poem, “Grieving Poems in Response to Jia Jiuzhou”. I will discuss the dating of these two pieces, address the question of the recipient of the “Grieving Poems.” I will then examine both pieces in the context of the political and historical circumstances surrounding their composition in relation to Guo Pu’s life. Since, to my knowledge, no previous in-depth study has been done on either poem, this present study will examine and analyze both pieces in depth. By doing so, I will shed some light on Guo Pu’s early political career and practice in divination. I will also examine his sentiments about the political circumstances at the start of the fourth century, and his forced exodus to Jiankang, and show how these sentiments are echoed by Guo Pu’s contemporaries.

39. Wang Ping, University of Colorado

Why Would a Royalty Admire a Recluse?—Xiao Tong’s Evaluation of Tao Qian

No abstract submitted

40. Meow Hui Goh, The Ohio State University

The Debate on “Knowing the Sounds” in the Yongming Era

The proposal put forth by the Yongming poets, mainly Wang Rong (467–493), Xie Tiao (464–499) and Shen Yue (441–513), for a new poetic that focused on the patterning of sounds was not met without resistance from their contemporaries. Among the texts that survive from their days are documentation of the debate between Shen Yue and Lu Jue (472–499) and of direct criticism of their prosodic experimentation from Zhong Rong (468–518). While views were being exchanged by both sides on a number of issues, a recurring point of conflict is one that can be captioned by the term zhiyin (“knowing the sounds”). While it readily calls to mind the story of Bo Ya and Zhong Ziqi, the term took on a different meaning in the discourse of the Yongming poets, who associated it with “the sounds of a literary composition” (i.e., poetic prosody) and not with music per se. Over and over again, the Yongming poets sought to differentiate those poets and commentators that truly “know the sounds” from those that did not: Wang Rong and Shen Yue both attempted to demonstrate what “knowing the sounds” meant through their writing. In spite of these efforts, their opponents, continuing to criticize them for claiming credit for a “secret discovery,” did not seem to recognize that their proposal was for an entirely new poetic. By observing the nuances of this debate, this paper will discuss the difficulties faced by the Yongming poets in presenting their proposal, thereby shedding new light on the nature of their poetic itself.

41. Antje Richter, University of Kiel

Terminological Confusion in Interpretations of the Wenxin diaolong: the Case of shu

Focussing on chapter 25 (“Shu ji”) of his Wenxin diaolong, my paper will investigate Liu Xie’s (ca. 465–ca. 532) use of the word shu (to write, writings, letters). Based on an analysis of previous interpretations and translations of the Wenxin diaolong, I
will argue that this crucial term in one of the most outstanding works of Chinese literary theory has been understood by Chinese and Western scholars alike as ambiguous, sometimes referring to letters, sometimes to writings in general. Several important statements Liu Xie makes about writing in the “Shu ji” chapter are wrongly interpreted as referring to letters only. By an exemplary discussion of primarily the term shu, I will demonstrate that Liu Xie’s terminology is much more consistent than hitherto assumed and that the prevalent presumption of terminological ambiguity on Liu Xie’s part prevents an adequate understanding of the text in general.

C. Islamic Near East II: Literature: The Qasīda. PHILIP KENNEDY, New York University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m.) Whidbey Room

42. MAJD AL-MALLAH, Grand Valley State University

A Poet’s Quest for Immortality: Reading the Muallaqah of Amr b. Kulthūm

This paper will examine Amr b. Kulthūm’s famous pre-Islamic Muallaqah by focusing on the wine imagery and how it functions in the context of reading the qasidah as a whole. Although some critics write about Amr’s puzzling decision to begin his Muallaqah with wine imagery, the function of wine in his Muallaqah needs further study, especially as it relates to the fakhr (boast) section of the ode. Drawing on a number of recent studies on the function of wine in Arabic poetry, this paper will argue that the wine scene in Amr’s Muallaqah is not merely descriptive. Rather, wine here is functional and formative to understanding the nasib section and the remainder of the ode as well, particularly if we read it as a symbol of immortality. By comparing and contrasting the use of wine imagery in the Muallaqah of Amr and that of Labīd (appears in the fakhr section in the case of Labīd), the paper will show that the wine scene serves a different function depending on the section in which it appears. The paper will analyze this ode in light of several recent studies such as Suzanne Stetkevych’s article “Intoxication and Immortality: Wine and Associated Imagery in Al-Maarri’s Garden,” her book on pre-Islamic poetry The Mute Immortals Speak and her most recent book on The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy and Birairi’s important essay on the “Symbol of Wine in Classical Arabic Poetry.” As a theoretical framework for understanding the connection between the nasib and the fakhr sections, I will use Hasan El-Banna Ezz El-Din’s work on the zawā’in motif (departing women) as well as David Quint’s Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton.

43. BEATRICE GRUENDLER, Yale University

The Reconstruction of the ’Abbāsid Qasīda in Performance and Reception

Recent scholarship on the classical ode (qasīda) has established its identity and inner logic in many ways, while research on medieval Arabic poetics has ascertained an awareness of its composition as a whole. In this enterprise, the early ’Abbāsid ode with its more consistently articulated larger forms has received special attention. I am focusing here on the ode’s modus vivendi, to wit, how it was performed and received as depicted in the earliest akhbār collections about ‘modern’ (muḥdath) poets of the third/ninth century by Ibn al-Jarrāḥ, Ibn al-Muqtazz (both d. 908) and Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. 946). These collections are designed only secondarily to preserve poetry—the domain of poets’ diwāns—but to show this poetry’s critical acclaim and the status of its practitioners.
A preliminary survey of the collections throws light on the ode’s dramaturgy and its interactive role:

1. The literized historical characters of patron and audience members in the akhbâr interrupted performances of an ode with cheers, expressions of awe or requests for repetition. At the ode’s conclusion followed reward, request for dictation or a (partial) setting to music. However formal an ode might appear when enshrined in a dîwân, its oral delivery provided ample space for all sorts of audience responses.

2. Authors of akhbâr abbreviated or summarized odes for dramaturgical effect, while implying their complete delivery. This might be done, for instance, by quoting one or two verses of an ode, followed by the phrase wa-tammama l-qasîda or by replacing the ode with a summary remark.

44. Rabab Hamiduddin, School of Oriental and African Studies

‘Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd and the Qasîdah of the Post-Fatimid TaYYîbî Period

The qasîdah form of poetry of the Jâhiliyâh, and its adaptation in Islamic times to serve as a vehicle of transmission for differing religious and cultural settings, has received considerable scholarly attention. There is as yet however no work published on the highly discernable form and message of the post-Fatimid, TaYYîbî Arabic qasîdah tradition. The post-Fatimid period, also known as the satr dawwah is lead by the Dâî al-Muṭlaq in the name of the secluded Imam. I look at one of the foremost representatives of its qasîdah tradition, the fifth Dâî al-Muṭlaq, ‘Alî b. Muḥammad b. al-Walîd (d. 612/1215), who founded a new generic pattern of qasîdah poetry applicable specifically to the satr dawwah, as shown in my Ph.D. thesis. Ibn al-Walîd’s extant dîwân of poetry stands as a watershed for all subsequent poets of influence within the tradition, well into the 20th and 21st centuries. His essential message is one of praise, as borne through two interacting elements: (i) love and loyalty for God’s chosen guide on earth; (ii) the relationship this has with ‘ilm, divine knowledge, and salvation. This latter aspect, has a unique nature, based on the Fatimid heritage of ta’wîl. By examining one qasîdah from the dîwân I will focus on the relationship between these two elements and discuss the nature of the ‘ilm and how it affords to the qasîdahs, a distinct quality, not previously created by other theological influences found in earlier poetry such as, for example, through mutazâlî influence. I will also demonstrate how Ibn al-Walîd imbibes the associations of the rich literary substratum of qasîdah poetry, making it his own, but also renders it to produce a compelling creed-specific and altogether unique message.

45. Aziz Qutbuddin, School of Oriental and African Studies


In the mid 20th century, the Indian TaYYîbî Ismîlî Dâî, Syedna Taher Saifuddin, wrote his autobiography in the Arabic qasîda form. The 121-verse qasîdah-autobiography fulfills the core requirements necessary to qualify as a classical Arabic qasîda as well as an Arabic autobiography, each genre with its long standing and well established traditions. This presentation will examine the manner and consequences of the merger of the two genres of qasîda and autobiography in this ‘poetic sirah’. The qasîda-autobiography is part of the qasîda tradition in terms of its form, performance,
register, moral code, poetic structure and motifs; and within the autobiographical tradition as well in terms of its motive, structure, individuality and motifs. It will look at precisely how the determinants of both these genres are adhered to while at the same time modified and developed to convey a multiplicity of meaning and to adapt to the practical necessities of a merger.

This project builds on the scholarship on the core determinants and merits of each of the genres individually, primarily the work by D. Reynolds et al. (2001) on Arabic autobiography and S. Sperl and C. Shackle on the classical Arabic qasida (1996). These relatively recent works provide a context in which the qasida-autobiography can be examined. Qasidas by Abbasid poets, such as al-Mawarrî, and medieval autobiographies, such as that of al-Šuyûṭî, will be used as points of reference and comparison. This presentation will demonstrate how Syedna Taher Saifuddin’s qasida-autobiography accomplishes a unique juxtaposition of continuity and change through its utilization and adaptation of the conventions of both genres. In the qasida-autobiography the two genres live on, while a new genre is created.

D. Islamic Near East III: Religion: Heaven and Hell. Devin Stewart, Emory University, Chair (11:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) Whidbey Room

46. Leila Al-Imad, East Tennessee State University

Martyrdom in the Druze Faith: Myth or Reality

Martyrdom has a special place in Shiite thought. It offers a cohesive approach to solving problems for small and marginal communities. Sacrificing oneself for a higher cause or for saving ones immediate group is highly emphasized. The reward for such an act is eternal life in paradise. What could be better than a guaranteed entrance to the Garden of Eden. A life full of pleasure, is what it offers its practitioner.

The Druzes, I propose, may have adopted the concept of Martyrdom as a form of Taqqiyah because, could they truly reconcile Martyrdom with their belief in reincarnation? Would Martyrdom be a valid concept if one believes in reincarnation? Can there be a reward without a belief in an after life? Can there be a Jannah on this earth for ones sacrifices?

All these questions will be investigated in this paper. The study will also attempt to explore the concept of Martyrdom in Shiite Islam and how the Druzes interpreted and applied it to suit their modern day situations.

This study will be based on a thorough reading and interpretation of the Druze scriptures. As far as I know, I will be the first to write on the subject.

47. Christian Lange, Harvard University

Where on earth is Hell? A Reconsideration of jahannam in the Medieval Muslim Imaginaire

Unlike many of their Western colleagues, Muslim cartographers of the Middle Ages did not locate Hell on their maps. This fact has given rise to the common perception that Hell in Islam is defined purely in temporal terms (van Ess, Theologie und Gesellschaft, IV, 552). It may also have contributed to the relative neglect of the Muslim netherworld in the study of Islam in general (cf. the long entry on “Djanna”
in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* with the much shorter entry on “Djahannam”, both by Louis Gardet).

Using eschatological manuals and Qur‘ān commentaries from the 3rd/9th to the 9th/12th c., this presentation proposes to analyze strands in *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* that did care to locate Hell in spatial terms. Three emblematic debates shall be presented:

1. In which part of earth is Hell situated?  
2. What is the exact location of the entry to Hell?  
3. Is the *zaqqūm*-tree at the bottom of Hell (cf. Qur‘ān 44:43–46) “of this world” (*min al-dunyā*), or is it not?

Different authors gave different answers to these questions. Obviously, the importance of these debates lies not so much in their capacity to make ‘true’ topographical statements about Hell. Rather, they reflect a certain way of envisioning reality and the human condition: At least on the level of the popular imaginaire, which expressed common fears and hopes, Hell with its punishments was indeed close, or as the *ḥadīth* puts it: “Hell is closer to you than the strap of your sandal” (Daylamī, *Firdaws al-akhbār*, II, 189). This paper is a call, as it were, to put Hell back on the map of Islamic intellectual history.

E. South and Southeast Asia II: The Epics and Epic Literature. Joel P. Brereton, University of Texas, Chair (9:30 a.m.–12:45 p.m.) Bainbridge Room

48. James L. Fitzgerald, University of Tennessee

**Slowpoke or Deep-Thinker? The Reflections of Cirakārin in MBh 12.258**

The story of Cirakārin in the *Mokṣadharmaparvān* of the *Mahābhārata* was likely composed as a deliberate comment upon the account of Rāma Jāmadagnya’s killing his mother Reṇukā, which deed is related in MBh 3.116. But this parable raises a number of interesting issues. It appears that the author of the piece used the occasion of his (her?) repudiation of the irascible brahmin’s matricide to make some intriguing arguments regarding the status of women and mothers. My paper presents this very interesting parable and discusses some of the salient problems of its translation and interpretation.

49. Alf Hiltebeitel, George Washington University

**Buddhacarita 10–11 and the Jarāsandhavavadha of MBh 2**

This presentation will propose that the Buddhist poet Aśvaghoṣa composes *Buddhacarita* 10–11 as a “close and critical reading” of the *Jarāsandhavavadha* or “Killing of Jarāsandha” toward the beginning of *Mahābhārata*, Book 2. In both cases, it is a question of Kṣatriyas in other garb or guise entering the capital of Magadha and being met by the Magadha king: in one case Jarāsandha, in the other Śreṇyā-Bimbisāra. In comparison with other Buddhist tellings of this episode, Aśvaghoṣa introduces an epic tone, a challenge to the Bodhisattva, a debate about *dharma*, and a number of intriguing similes that seem to invite the hypothesis that he would have known a textual version of the *Jarāsandhavavadha*, though probably also oral adumbrations as well. The paper will explore what it means for our understanding of the *Mahābhārata* that a first or second century C.E. poet would likely know the *Mahābhārata* in this way, and also explore what would be at stake in a Buddhist poet’s taking up this particular episode for such a reading.
To What Extent Does Mahābhārata 3, 186–189 Offer a Critique of Buddhism?

This paper is part of an on-going project hypothesizing that one of the purposes of the composition and dissemination of the Sanskrit (and vernacular) Mahābhārata was to counter, ideologically speaking, the success of early Buddhism (whether to Theravāda or Mahāyāna cannot be determined), expressed demonstratively in its material accoutrements and its likely influence on early South Asian elites. Whilst part of the project involves a cataloguing of Buddhist archaeological remains dating from the second century BCE to the second century ACE, another part involves a close reading of passages of the Mbh. which appear, either explicitly or implicitly, to engage with Buddhist ideas or practices.

One such passage is represented by Mbh. 3, 186–189 which offers several very rich descriptions of the yugas. I will demonstrate that some of these make explicit reference to Buddhism, such as the well known reference to edākacīhna prthiivī (188, 66a) which may refer to stūpas, whereas others may be using ślesa in order to attack Buddhism. Such a passage would be:

satyaṃ saṃkṣipyate loke naraiḥ paṇḍitamānibhiḥ /
sthāvīrā bālamatayo bālāḥ sthāvīrabuddhayāḥ // (3, 188, 38)

In addition, there are a number of other terms, especially those referring to negative emotions, found in these four chapters that may reflect an ambivalence towards Buddhism, if not downright hostility. I ascertain the extent to which such terms are used elsewhere in the Mbh. and whether they should rather be seen as a response to a more general ascetic world-view as opposed to Buddhism specifically.

Textual Problems in the Narrative of the Karn. aparvan

The Karn. aparvan in the critical edition of the Mahābhārata exhibits some problematic editorial decisions. The editor-in-chief of this volume, P. L. Vaidya, and his team produced an edition which is marred by frequent omission and rearranging of verses to the detriment of the narrative flow, particularly in the sections during the single combat between Karṇa and Arjuna.

My paper focuses on three issues. One, comparing the narrative of the combat between Karṇa and Arjuna with the previous editions, especially the Vulgate. Two, asking the question whether there was a theological, political, or personal reason for the choices in making a critical edition of the Karn. aparvan. Three, reflecting on some theoretical considerations on the art of editing and the consequences for interpreting the text.

If You Don’t Mind: bhadrāṃ te in the Sanskrit Epics

The formula bhadrāṃ te, and its equivalents with pronouns in other numbers, occurs nearly a hundred times in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa and nearly two hundred times in the Mahābhārata. Nearly all of the scholarly translations of the critical editions of those epics into English interpret the phrase as a benediction: “Bless you,” “Good luck to you!”
This may be so in a few instances where the formula occurs together with a string of blessings or clearly seems to express congratulations. However, an examination of all the appearances of the phrase in both epics suggests that usually it does not express the hope that the listener will incur good fortune, but rather the hope that what is being said, or is about to be said, will seem good to the listener. The clearest instances are those in which it serves to soften a command or request for action, where it can be translated simply “please,” as recognized by Pollock and occasionally by other translators. More than half of the occurrences of the formula fall into this category.

The purpose of this paper is to show how the other occurrences, those not involving explicit commands, also involve the same general meaning: “if you please,” “if you don’t mind.” The easiest cases are those in which the formula is followed by some explanatory material leading up to the request for action signalled by its use; those in which there is a clearly implied request for action, as in statements designed to urge patience even without explicitly asking for it; and those in which permission for some action by another person is desired. In all these instances the translation “please” will do.

The remaining examples are more interesting. In all of them the formula is used as a sort of disclaimer or apology for what must be said. In many of these it is something awkward or potentially annoying or disappointing that must be mentioned (“I’m afraid I’m already married,” “and all of you, I’m sorry to say, will be killed,” “but you, I have to say, were not helpful”). A related group involves statements in which the speaker offers a self-description, apparently considered rather immodest in itself (“I am, if I may say so, ...,” “if I do say so myself”). This applies especially to full family histories, a category extended to include other descriptions or catalogues of potentially tedious length (“if I may continue,” “if you will bear with me”). This last group has been most puzzling to the translators, since words of blessing sound particular inappropriate in such a setting.

53. Robert P. Goldman, University of California at Berkeley

The Elephant’s Song: Vālmiki’s Yuddhakāṇḍa as a Nītiśāstra and Dharmasāstra

Although the Yuddhakāṇḍa of the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa is by far the largest of the poem’s seven books constituting roughly one quarter of its total text it has received relatively little sustained attention on the part of scholars apart from a few well known episodes such as the ṛṣiparīkṣa of Sītā and the death of Rāvaṇa. There are a number of reasons for this, including, no doubt, the text’s size itself and its proliferation of often repetitive, gory and dreary battle scenes.

Yet, sometimes lost between the book’s “highlights” and its numbing and repetitive duels is the work’s contribution to popular understanding of early India’s this-worldly and otherworldly wisdom in the form of interesting passages aligned with the genres of text normally referred to as nītiśāstra and dharmasāstra. Often its discourses on statecraft, policy and moral philosophy are attributed to surprising sources.

This presentation will seek to remedy somewhat the neglect of the Yuddhakāṇḍa by addressing these passages and suggesting some ways in which they may be seen as critical to the project of the poet and redactors of the Rāmāyaṇa how they may help us to understand the great importance of this book to the poem’s author and audiences.
54. SALLY J. SUTHERLAND GOLDMAN, University of California at Berkeley

Illusory Evidence: Māya in the Yuddhakāṇḍa of Vālmīki’s Rāmāyaṇa

The sixth book of Vālmīki’s epic, the Yuddhakāṇḍa graphically presents the epic struggle between good and evil with prolonged and numerous accounts of battles between the forces of evil, the rākṣasas, and the forces of good, Rāma and his monkey troops. The battle appears to be one-sided, however, in favor of the rākṣasas for throughout the conflict these “sons of chaos” control a secret weapon, not the all powerful astras, that are more or less a commonplace on both sides, but māyā, magical illusion. Much, of course, has been written on the concept of māyā in its philosophical and religious import, especially in its use in the Vaśīnavī context (for example, Gonda, Goudriaan), but little attention has been paid to the demonic possession of māyā, and virtually none to its role in the Yuddhakāṇḍa. This paper will examine the concept of māyā in the Yuddhakāṇḍa, and the larger epic itself, in its context of a weapon of the demonic world, with an eye to understanding how this concept is used by Vālmīki on multiple levels—not only as a structural and narrative tool, but as commentary on religious and magical practices.

55. SUPRIYA GANDHI, Harvard University

‘A Prayer Mat Woven from an Infidel’s Girdle’: Masīḥ Pānīpatī’s Masnavī-yī Rām va Sītā

The numerous Persian renditions of the Rāma story produced during the Mughal era have largely fallen victim to scholarly neglect. Detailed, individual studies of these works still remain to be seen despite the fact that these Persian versions of the Rāma narrative have often been cited as symbols of a utopian pre-colonial Hindu-Muslim harmony (Nasim Akhtar, S.A.H. Abidi). In this paper I seek to lay the groundwork for a more nuanced understanding of the diverse Persian retellings of the Rāma story through an examination of the Masnavī-yī Rām va Sītā, composed by Saʿdullāh ‘Masīḥ’ Pānīpatī, during the reign of the Mughal emperor Jahangīr (1605–1627). Focusing on two aspects of Masīḥ’s work, I explore the broader tensions prevalent within the poet’s milieu regarding such literary engagements with Indic narrative traditions. First, I examine the rhetorical devices that Masīḥ employs in his introduction, which address an anxiety concerning the legitimacy of drawing on Indic sources for poetic inspiration. Second, I look at the manner in which Masīḥ, who casts his poem as a tale of both earthly and mystical love, ‘Persianizes’ the Rāma story by incorporating this narrative into the poetic conventions of the masnawī form.

A. Ancient Near East III: Special Panel: Rebellions and Peripheries. SETH RICHARDSON, University of Chicago, Chair (1:30 p.m.—4:30 p.m.) Emerald Ballroom III

Local power struggles at the peripheries of empires are often reported to us only through sources from the metropole. In this context, many outbreaks of local competition between elites are known to us only as “rebellions” or “revolts,” de facto against an imperial order. Local politics, in imperial ideologies, were supposed to have essentially disappeared, subordinated entirely to the political complex of imperial-vassal relations. Yet imperial reliance on indirect means of rule meant in part a continued reliance on indigenous politics as a tool of persuasion and governance. This panel will examine episodes of “rebellion” that reveal the political life of peripheral vassal
states and disenfranchised elites as they produced, perpetuated, and responded to the asymmetrical political relations of imperium. How much did local political structures continue to act for themselves under larger states? Was rebellion ever “legal” under overlapping and conflicting systems? Was dynastic (i.e., family/household) kingship a viable, compatible structure for governance at both the vassal and imperial levels simultaneously? Were conditions of peripheral underdevelopment and political oppression rooted in conditions of dependency, or in local, sometimes pre-existing structural problems?

56. Norman Yoffee, University of Michigan
   Creating Peripheries, Focusing on Margins in Mesopotamian History

   Trends in social theory in anthropology and history, including Mesopotamian history, have emphasized “bottom-up” analysis, local power, and resistance to centralized governments. These studies are concerned with what the state did not do and could not do at the risk of losing legitimacy and fostering rebellion. In this paper I review a few recent studies of political institutions outside the orbit of Mesopotamian states. I recapitulate a brief study of resistance to the Old Babylonian centralized state from its geographic and social margins.

57. Seth Richardson, University of Chicago
   The Field of Rebellion: Surveying the Mesopotamian Evidence

   It has been remarked that Greek historical writings and political thought paid most attention to internal constitutional change and stasis—and less attention to external, foreign war as an abstract problem; the opposite might be said of most Mesopotamian literatures. Politics, as such, and especially politics of resistance and rebellion are indeed poorly represented in Ancient Near Eastern historical and literary sources. Yet revolts and rebellions there were—and politics, too; neither were these fields of action limited to elites. This talk will survey the evidence for revolts throughout Mesopotamian history, and evaluate them as indices of political dissent and agency. What competitions lay behind them? What did rebels want? What did they do when they got it? How were they treated in defeat? What constituencies did they comprise, what issues did they contest, and how were these constituencies and issues treated by dominant, ruling authorities? How do we understand “enemies of the state” in those cases when they had no interest in ruling it themselves? A political definition of peripheral will be considered within the terms of these questions.

58. Nicole Brisch, Cornell University
   Rebellions and Peripheries in Sumerian Royal Literature

   It is clear that Mesopotamian literature as it has been transmitted to us today was always part of a discourse of the ancient elite since only few Mesopotamians had access to higher education. A positivistic approach, which would identify literary topos in the corpus available to us pertaining to the topic “Rebellions and Peripheries,” is avoided here, because it decontextualizes literary texts and therefore offers only one-dimensional perspectives. It is of greater importance to view literature within its historical, economic, and political context, to analyze tablets as archaeological artifacts. The corpus of Sumerian royal praise poetry offers a good example to show rebellion in literature, which may be visible in the subtle reading of texts at a time when they may have been considered “subversive,” and peripheries, that is literary

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texts that were not part of the main-stream scribal tradition as visible in Nippur and show that different traditions co-existed at the same time.

59. RAYMOND WESTBROOK, Johns Hopkins University

Rebellion and International Law in the Ancient Near East

Three main types of rebellion may be discerned in the Ancient Near East that invoked issues of international law:

a) a vassal ruler sought independence, either by individual action or as part of a rebellious coalition;

b) a vassal ruler switched allegiance to a rival suzerain;

c) in an internal rebellion, either the local ruler or the rebel leader sought the aid of an outside great power.

Each involved somewhat different legal issues for the great power. The legal questions raised could be quite delicate, invoking a nuanced juridical response. The legal basis for intervention could be treaty provisions or customary law. Breach of the law played out in the divine sphere, but presented nonetheless real conundrums for the parties, eager to secure divine support and by the same token political legitimacy for their actions.

60. AMANDA PODANY, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

“My Lord must not repulse my hand”: Creation in Kinship Ties between Overlord and Vassal in Syria and Mesopotamia

Kings who engaged in diplomatic marriages in Syria and Mesopotamia during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages had a clear sense of their hierarchical standing with respect to one another. These relationships were sometimes those of equals (“brothers”) but more often were between an overlord and his vassal. On what political basis did an overlord choose which of his vassals his daughters would marry? How common was it for an overlord to reciprocate and marry the daughter of one of his vassals? How might these marriages have been designed in part to prevent rebellions in peripheral areas of the overlord’s kingdom and to what extent were they successful? This paper will look at some case studies in an attempt to answer these questions and to understand the role of diplomatic marriage in maintaining stable ties between the vassal and overlord. It will also explore the ways in which the kinship ties thus created helped bridge the gap between the politics of the central state and the vassal state.

61. DANIEL E. FLEMING, New York University

The Politics of Capitulation at Emar

Throughout the 13th century, Emar was incorporated into the Syrian component of the Hittite empire through its subsidiary at Carchemish. As far as we can tell, the Hittites took full control of Emar and the larger region in the late 14th century, and the town remained part of the empire until its collapse, which roughly coincided with the destruction of Emar. Neither was rebuilt. Cuneiform writing was found at Emar only for the Late Bronze Age, almost entirely from this period. There is no evidence for any rebellion against the Hittites, nor can we see sign of direct resistance.
At the same time, however, the cuneiform documentation allows glimpses of several distinct political players, aligned according to two political traditions, both accommodating themselves to the imperial power. On one side was the unitary power of the local king, supported by a palace and growing wealth. On the other was the “town,” served by a constellation of representatives with separate if overlapping responsibilities: the diviner of the gods, the temple of NIN.URTA, and the elders, at the least. Each institution and its personnel reflected a local constituency with interests not defined by the empire, even as the empire offered both a potential resource and a potential obstacle. If there was resistance to the empire, it was neither overt nor conspiratorial, but rather subterranean, invisibly working for local interests and manipulating external power for internal ends. At Emar, we find a fine illustration of the politics of capitulation, never resisting, but by no means calculated to advance the empire.

62. Sarah C. Melville, Clarkson University

Kings of Tabal: Politics, Competition and Conflict in Central Anatolia during the Late 8th Century BC

Tabal emerged as an independent, but loosely defined state in central Anatolia at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. As Assyria pressed west and north into the area in the 9th and 8th centuries, Tabal inevitably became embroiled in the wider political struggle between Assyria, Urartu and the emerging power of Phrygia. This paper investigates how political factions within Tabal responded to Assyrian hegemony, the consequences of rebellion, and the vicissitudes of internal and external politics.

63. Richard H. Beal, University of Chicago

Subjugation and Revolt in the Hittite Empire

During the long course of the Hittite Empire there are many examples of weaker neighboring peoples being confronted by imperial demands backed by an imperial army. While we have no subversive literature written by these people and we do not have their thoughts expressed, from the government’s own writings we often can see the strategies these weaker powers used to resist. Local leaders like Abdi-Ashirti, Piyamaradu and Madduwatta used big power rivalries in a dangerous game of attempting to aggrandize their own position. Also relatively well documented are the government’s strategies for keeping their neighbors loyal and in harmony. Likewise, population exchange and other strategies were used to attempt to integrate conquered territory into the empire.

B. East Asia III: Chinese Linguistics. Meow Hui Goh, Ohio State University, Chair (2:00 p.m.–4:00 p.m.) San Juan Room

64. David Branner, University of Maryland

Phonology in the Poems of Yeu Shinn

No abstract submitted
65. Richard VanNess Simmons, Rutgers University

Problems and Discoveries in Fleshing out Jerry Norman’s Common Dialectal Chinese

Jerry Norman, in his article “Common Dialectal Chinese” (forthcoming in The Chinese Rime-Tables: Linguistic Philosophy And Historical-Comparative Phonology, ed. by David Prager Branner, to be published by John Benjamins), proposes a model for the common phonological system of the non-Min dialects. He notes that:

“There are basically two approaches to working out the categories of Common Dialectal Chinese (CDC). One could work backwards from modern dialects using the comparative method (Bloomfield 1933, Fox 1995). A quicker and more efficient approach will be to start with the categories of the Qièyùn and systematically eliminate those features not reflected in the modern dialects under consideration . . . The phonological content of CDC basic elements will be based on the phonetic values found in present-day dialects without recourse to historical data or foreign transcriptional materials like Sino-Japanese or Sino-Korean. I am confident that the two approaches (the comparative method and the reduction and realignment of the Qièyùn categories) will essentially yield the same results; at any rate, the system presented here is meant to be no more than a starting point and future research will without doubt produce many refinements and corrections.”

Norman chooses the “quicker and more efficient approach” (reduction and realignment of Qièyùn categories) in his paper and develops a comprehensive, but bare bones, sketch of the CDC phonology. Though, in fact, he substantiates all of the features of his sketch of CDC using comparative data. The task remains to further flesh out the CDC frame, and to test and confirm its viability. This is best done through continuing the comparative approach to fill out and verify all the CDC categories and distinctions. The present communication presents my preliminary attempt to undertake this task and discusses some of the problems and discoveries I have encountered in the process.

66. Imre Galambos, The British Library

Reading Ancient Chinese Seal Inscriptions

The study of pre-Qin seals (i.e., guxi) is an important subset of the field of Chinese palaeography. This is a domain which has been steadily gaining momentum in recent years because of its applicability to the study of Warring States manuscripts.

This paper analyzes the direction in which Chinese characters are read on seal inscriptions. My contention is that although the reading order could sometimes differ, the dominant way of reading an inscription was from top to bottom, right to left. Therefore, when a group of seals with identical inscription violates this pattern, the modern reading is probably incorrect and should be reconsidered.

In order to document this pattern, I first examine several groups of four-character seal inscriptions in which the reading is unambiguous. Following this, I compare the obtained results to seals with auspicious sayings (jiyu), showing that in some
cases their proposed reading does not conform to the pattern of the dominant reading order. As a final step I demonstrate the applicability of this method for deciphering seal inscriptions by reinterpreting those.

67. Chris Wen-Chao Li, San Francisco State University

Reconstituting Modern Mandarin: An Empirical Reassessment of Reconstruction by Rime Table Categories and Sinoxenic Correspondence

Sinoxenic correspondences have long been paired with historical rime table categories to reconstruct the phonological system of earlier stages of the Chinese language, but how accurate a picture do they paint? This paper puts the methodology to the test by “reconstructing” present-day Mandarin using the initials and finals of the Zhonghua Xinyun (1941), together with Sinoxenic readings from contemporary English phrasebooks for monolingual Chinese tourists. Differences between the resulting product and Mandarin as we know it are used to shed light on the validity and limitations of this method of phonological reconstruction and identify problems likely to be encountered in the process.

C. Islamic Near East IV: Philosophy and Theology. Everett Rowson, New York University, Chair (1:30 p.m.–3:00 p.m.) Whidbey Room

68. Alexander Treiger, Yale University

“There is Nothing in Existence save God”: al-˙Gaz¯ al¯ ı’s Doctrine of tawh¯ı d and Avicenna

˙Gaz¯ al¯ ı’s doctrine of the oneness of God (tawh¯ı d) is a core element of his “science of unveiling” (ilm al-mukašafa)—the highest theoretical science corresponding to philosophical metaphysics, which has been called “higher theology” by Richard M. Frank.

The present contribution will revisit the question of the scope and definition of the “science of unveiling” while addressing Ahmad Dallal’s criticisms of Richard M. Frank’s view. It will also show that ˙Gaz¯ al¯ ı is indebted to Avicenna not only in psychology and cosmology but also in some of his core theological teachings.

The paper will focus on ˙Gaz¯ al¯ ı’s interpretation of tawh¯ı d put forward in a number of works: Book 35 of the Iḥy¯ a, Book 38 of the Persian Kīmiy¯ a-yi sa¯ ādat, Kit¯ ab al-Iml¯ a f¯ ı iˇsk¯ al¯ at al-Iḥy¯ a, Misk¯ at al-anw¯ ar and one of the Persian letters. According to this interpretation, at the highest degree of tawh¯ı d God is professed to be the only existent—a monistic notion epitomized by the formula “There is nothing in existence save God” (laysa f¯ ı l-wuj¯ ud ill¯ ah). Accordingly, the created world, if considered in itself, without relation to God, is described as pure non-existence (‘adam mahd).

An analysis of ˙Gaz¯ al¯ ı’s interpretation shows that it is based on Avicenna’s metaphysics, in particular on Avicenna’s essence/existence distinction and the ontological proof for the existence of God. The monistic tenor of ˙Gaz¯ al¯ ı’s interpretation of tawh¯ı d is also grounded in a particular interpretation of Avicenna’s metaphysics, based, inter alia, on a passage from sif¯ a, Ilahiyyat, VIII 6, where Avicenna analyzes God’s name “the Real” (al-haqq) in relation to the Qur’anic verse “Everything is perishing save His Face” (Q. 28:88).
Al-Ghazālī’s Cosmology and the “Veil Section” of *Mishkāt al-Anwār*

Al-Ghazālī’s concept of causality is central to our understanding of his philosophy and theology. In recent years, Richard M. Frank and Michael E. Marmura have analyzed al-Ghazālī’s texts and argued in different directions. Marmura sees in al-Ghazālī by and large an Ashʿarite occasionalist while Frank argues that he subscribed to the Aristotelian principle of creation through secondary causality.

This paper aims to open new perspectives in this discussion by analyzing two passages in al-Ghazālī’s works. First, it will provide a reading of al-Ghazālī’s “Iljām al-ʿawāmī” where the author discusses the possibility of intermediation between God and His creation. Secondly, it will provide an interpretation of the famous “veil section” at the end of al-Ghazālī’s “Mishkāt al-anwār.” This passage has been the subject of controversy by authors such as W. H. T. Gairdner and W. M. Watt, some of which called al-Ghazālī’s authorship of it into question.

Al-Ghazālī’s model tries to vouchsafe God’s free agency and omnipotence while at the same time accepting the idea of a determined universe that is governed by secondary causality. Al-Ghazālī’s cosmology incorporates the *falāsifa*’s vision of a world that is the necessary result of the essence of the one who governs it by introducing intermediaries between God and the world. This, however, is only understood by the “select of the select,” while other groups like the *falāsifa* falsely believe that the being that governs the world through secondary causality is also its “Lord.” Al-Ghazālī thus reclaims free agency and omnipotence for God in the name of Ashʿarite occasionalism. It can therefore be shown that both R. M. Frank and M. E. Marmura have important things to say about al-Ghazālī’s cosmology.

Al-Māturīdī on the Views of the Christians: Readings in the *Kitāb at-Tawhīd*

The section of al-Māturīdī’s *Kitāb at-Tawhīd* which deals with questions regarding prophecy includes in its final paragraphs a discussion of “the views of the Christians about the Messiah and a refutation of them.” Al-Māturīdī offers here a critique of the Christologies of the several denominations of Christians of which he is aware, according to his own understanding of their doctrines. And he concludes his discussion with a brief rebuttal of some of the arguments Christians put forward in the Islamic milieu in support of their doctrine of the Incarnation and the claim that Jesus, the Messiah, is the son of God.

The purpose of this communication is first of all to assess the adequacy of al-Māturīdī’s report of the views of the Christians in the light of the efforts of Christian writers of his own time and earlier to present and defend their doctrines in Arabic tracts designed to meet the objections of Muslim *mutakallīmūn*. Special attention is given to the Arabic terms these writers used to give expression to the distinctive, confessional formulæ of their denominations and to the construction al-Māturīdī puts upon them in his critique of these formulæ.

A second purpose of the communication is to consider al-Māturīdī’s refutation of the Christians’ claims about the divinity of the Messiah in the broader context of his discussion of the *dalāʾil an-nubūwah*. The writer hopes to show how under this rubric, early Muslim *mutakallīmūn*, al-Māturīdī among them, developed a distinctively Islamic ‘prophetology’, based on the Qurʾān, which included an exercise in comparative
religion, or maybe comparative theology, which Arab Christian writers also adopted, each in the effort to show that their own religion was the true religion in which God wished to be worshipped.

71. Ali Qutbuddin, The Institute of Ismaili Studies

The Seven Stages of Human Pre-Birth in the Qur’an, and it’s Affinity with Prophetic Cycles and Revealed Laws in Fatimid Thought

The Qur’an in verses 23:12–14 mentions seven stages of embryonic development from conception until the foetus is fully developed and ready for birth. I look at the esoteric interpretation of this verse by al-Mu‘ayyad al-Shirazi, the Fatimid Chief Missionary in Cairo (996/7-1078) in his eight-volume compendium the Majalis Mu‘ayyadiyya. He sees the significance of this verse in the seven Speakers (nātiqs) who by their advent complete the cycle of time, whereby salvation, and the birth of souls into the hereafter is fulfilled. This is also tied in with the idea of the complete law given by God to Muhammad, the sixth nātiq, which is based, according to Fatimid jurisprudence, on seven principles. Based on these and other affinities with the universe al-Mu‘ayyad refers to the human being as a “small universe”—ālam șaghir, the term used in the same sense by the Rasūl Ilkhwān al-Ṣafā; an idea also found in Plato earlier. Al-Shahristānī, the 12th century theologian also refers to verses 23:12–14 as signifying the succession of prophetic laws. My intention here is to gain further insight into the Fatimid world-view through interpretations of verses 23:12–14; and to conclude that Fatimid thinkers saw themselves as promoting a rational thought which represented the harmony between scripture and reason.

D. Islamic Near East V: Law. Joseph Lowry, University of Pennsylvania, Chair (3:30 p.m.–4:30 p.m.) Whidbey Room

72. Christopher Melchert, University of Oxford

The Ten Books Compared

The Six Books are the most prestigious Sunni collections of prophetic ḥadīth. They are sometimes treated along with four others associated with the eponyms of the Sunni schools of law. I propose mainly to supply some basic characterizations that are surprisingly difficult to find in the scholarly literature. I should like first of all to chasten scholarly citation practice by identifying standard editions: Bukhārī (none); Muslim (ed. ʿAbd al-Baqī); Abū Dāwūd (numbers as identified by ʿAbd al-Hamīd); Tirmidhī (ed. Shākir, & al.); Nasāʾī (none); Ibn Mājah (ed. ʿAbd al-Baqī); Malik (ed. ʿAbd al-Baqī); Shāfiʿī and Abū Ḥanīfah (dubiously significant); Ahmad (pages as in the 1890s Cairene edition).

Second, relative sizes should be known: Bukhārī (2,762 individual reports, 7,397 including repeats); Muslim (about 3,000 without, 11,000 with repeats); Abū Dāwūd (about 5,200, few repeats); Tirmidhī (3,956); Nasāʾī (very roughly 2,000 in al-Mujtabā, 5,758 with repeats, almost 12,000 altogether in al-Sunan al-kubrā); Ibn Mājah (4,341); Malik (2,861); Ahmad (5,200, 27,700 including repeats).

Finally, I should like to investigate where the material in the Six Books came from. The two levels I propose to examine are the collectors’ immediate authorities and the Followers (tābrīn).
The Legacy of al-Shafī'i: Evidence from al-Buwaytī’s Mukhtasār

The publication of Norman Calder’s *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* (1993) sparked a minor renaissance in studies dealing with the corpus of works attributed to al-Shafī'i (d. 204/820). Regrettably, however, scholarly attention has focused exclusively on published material from the early Shafī‘i school, overlooking important information contained in manuscripts. An examination of a particularly significant manuscript, the *Mukhtasār* of al-Buwaytī (d. 231/846) who was al-Shafī‘i’s foremost student and designated successor, yields three conclusions with great potential for furthering our understanding of the early construction of the Shafī‘i school.

1. As a work of commentary composed either while al-Shafī‘i was still alive or very shortly after his death and containing several layers of further commentaries, the *Mukhtasār* indicates an unbroken continuity in the transmission of al-Shafī‘i’s intellectual legacy from his lifetime to the beginning of the tenth century. The existence of this work thus suggests the need for a re-evaluation of current theories that posit a time lag in the emergence of the Shafī‘i school.

2. Furthermore, the inclusion of al-Shafī‘i’s opinions on legal theory in the *Mukhtasār* under the heading “Risālah” contradicts Wael Hallaq’s (1993) assertion that “one of the most significant pieces of evidence pointing to the marginal importance of the *Risālah* is the complete absence of any contemporary commentary on, or abridgement of, the treatise.” It shows that al-Buwaytī not only considered legal theory an integral part of al-Shafī‘i’s teachings but also transmitted it further to his own students.

3. The text consists chiefly of material attributed to al-Shafī‘i that is also covered in al-Rabi‘ī’s *Kitāb al-umm* and al-Muzāni’s *al-Amr wa-‘n-nahy*, thus permitting comparison between transmissions. The substantial differences in wording—in spite of strong concordance in the content—suggest, as argued by Christopher Melchert with regard to *al-Umm*, that none of the authors quotes al-Shafī‘i directly. Rather, each work represents a student’s attempt to reconstruct and interpret the master’s teachings.

God’s Performative Speech: The Traditionalist Legal Hermeneutics of Abū Ya‘lā Ibn al-Farrā‘ī (d. 458/1065)

In furtherance of al-Shafī‘i’s project of grounding the canon of law in the canon of revelation, legal theorists of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries formulated several theoretical models of how divine speech might function as the epistemological basis of law. The Ash’arī model seemed to leave meaning underdetermined; the Mu’tazīli model was minimalist and surprisingly literalist; and both models treated God’s speech as indicative evidence from which God’s law must be deduced through a rational process. In opposition to these theologically inspired hermeneutical theories, jurists from across the major schools formulated a more pragmatic set of interpretive principles that was at once powerful and flexible. Their interpretive rules tended to maximize the legal significance of revelation by ascribing maximum force to commands, by giving wide scope to general expressions, and by discerning as much implicit meaning as they reasonably could behind the explicit dictates of revelation. At the same time, they sought to maintain the flexibility needed for resolving contradictions by refusing
to restrict which texts could be used to clarify which other texts, and by formulating a classification of ambiguity that justified the practice of substituting alternative literal meanings for the default interpretations prescribed by their own rules. This approach was epitomized in the legal hermeneutics of the Hanbalī Abū Yašīr, who justified it in terms of his traditionalist, almost anthropomorphic theory of God’s eternal yet immanent speech: God’s speech is an eternal and universal speech act, addressed to all humanity through both the Qur’an and the Prophet’s Sunna, bringing about obligations in the hearts of God’s servants immediately and performatively, without the intermediary process of ratiocination required by the theologians’ models. This conflation of law with revelation paved the way for the intuitivism of Ibn Taymiyya, and for those modern legal interpretations that are often mislabeled as literalist.

E. South and Southeast Asia III. Robert P. Goldman, University of California at Berkeley, Chair (2:00 p.m.–5:15 p.m.) Bainbridge Room

1. Enduring Epic and Classical Heroines

75. Phillis K. Herman, California State University at Northridge

Vālmiki’s Sītā: An Enduring Figure for Devotion

The Mahābhārata and the Ramayana are the first major texts to depict at length the complex connections between Vedic orthodoxy and a popular stratum of religiosity, bhakti. In both texts, the divine feminine is portrayed by intricate layering of symbolism and language; the power of the Goddess is attainable not only by ritual but also by devotional means. Previous scholarship has focused on the more obvious object of bhakti in the Vālmiki Ramayana, Rama, the avatāra of Viṣṇu, with Sītā described as an ideal devotee. This paper concerns itself with the encoded tropings of the Vālmiki characterizations of Sītā. I hope to show that the epic, while not the Ur-text for examples of bhakti toward the Goddess, contains episodes and descriptions in which Sītā, the ‘embodiment’ of wealth, prosperity, and fertility, is definitively portrayed as the approachable and attainable object of bhakti.

Remembering the reciprocal nature the root bhaj, Rama also can and does act as the ideal devotee towards Sītā. This paper will demonstrate that he illustrates the proper means to approach the divine feminine, particularly in such episodes as the svayamvara, marriage, kidnapping, re-attainment, and, finally in the rendering of the golden image of Sītā. While Sītā is never explicitly referred to as devī or shakti in the Vālmiki kathā, she is described in that text as possessing many of the qualities and powers that go into the construction of the Hindu Great Goddess. The Vālmiki figurings of Sītā represent a coalescence of features in the ongoing orthodox and popular history of worship of the Goddess. It is especially this devotional aspect of the Vālmiki Sītā that presages later characterizations of her in many of the Rama kathas and in popular sites of worship.

76. Vidyut Aklujkar, University of British Columbia

The Voice of Śūrpanākhā in Sanskrit and Marathi Literature

The episode of Śūrpanākhā’s mutilation in Vālmiki’s Rāmāyaṇa (Aranya-kāṇḍa, 16–17) triggers the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa and the resulting chain of events. Though Śūrpanākhā’s laments and harsh words provoke Rāvaṇa to go after Sītā,
Śūrpaṇākhā remains mostly silent in the remainder of the text, and similarly throughout most of classical Sanskrit literature. More details are added to her story in works like the Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa, and in the Nirununāsika-prabandha or Śūrpaṇākhā-pralāpa of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri she finds a feeble voice, but essentially Śūrpaṇākhā remains as one of ‘the others’ in most genres of the Rāma-kathā. With contemporary feminist writers, however, her voice is becoming more prominent in the Marathi literature. My paper focuses on two recent novels in Marathi, written by female authors, where Śūrpaṇākhā is seen as a human princess, Dakṣiṇāyana by Shaila Belle in 1994, and Śyāmīnī by Tara Vanarase in 2000.

In examining the treatment of Śūrpaṇākhā in Sanskrit and Marathi literature, I shall focus mainly on the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, Ānanda-Rāmāyaṇa, and Nirununāsika-prabandha in Sanskrit, and compare these with older and more recent Marathi works, mainly Ekanātha’s Bhāvārtha-Rāmāyaṇa, Śrīdhara’s Rāma-vijaya, and the two above-mentioned Marathi novels. Apart from the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, none of the other works are translated into English, and none of the Marathi works have been included in the discussions of the Śūrpaṇākhā episode previously. I shall address issues such as the gender dynamics, the concepts of right and wrong, and interplay of history, myth and literature. I shall argue that the feminist discourse tries to achieve a seeming anomaly, which is to find a voice for ‘the other’, Śūrpaṇākhā, as well as listening to the inner voice of the original prototype of female created by Vālmīki, Sītā.

77. HEIDI PAUWELS, University of Washington

Rukminī’s Elopement: Comparison of the Classical Bhāgavata Purāṇa Version and a Devotional Braj Retelling by Nanddās

This paper will focus on the elopement of Rukminī, who solicits Kṛṣṇa’s help to abduct her on the eve of her arranged marriage with the Cedi king, Śiśupāla. The scenario of a bride taking the initiative to elope with a groom of her choice in defiance of patriarchy is an interesting one. It may potentially send a strong message to young women caught in a situation of having their marriage arranged with an undesirable groom. This paper traces the evolution over time of how different authors evaluate this ‘Rukminī model,’ including reference to echoes in modern popular media. In addition, I will study the process of “translation” from Sanskrit scripture into two different “vernacular” media.

To that effect, I will compare in detail three versions of the story, one Sanskrit and two “vernacular” ones. The Sanskrit source is the Rukminī story as told in the classical ninth century scripture, Bhāgavata Purāṇa (BhP X.53–4). It is little-known that this story has a “coda” (BhP X 60), which has so far not been taken into account in discussions of the story. The first “vernacular” source is a retelling of the story in old Marwārī (Dīṅgal) by the sixteenth-century Rajput Prthvīdās Rāthaur, who was related to the Bikaner royal house. The other “vernacular” source is a retelling in Braj Bhasha by the sixteenth century poet Nanddās (in 133 rolās or distichs), Rukminī Maṅgala. The latter two have not been translated and Nanddās’ story has not been subject of research before. Finally, I will look for echoes of the elopement scenario in modern media, in particular in Hindi popular film. I will dwell on some relevant episodes from the 1995 hit movie Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge directed by Aditya Chopra.
The paper will draw conclusions regarding the transcreation of Sanskrit scripture into the “vernaculars” Old Marwārī and Braj, in a Rajput and Krishna devotional milieu of the sixteenth century. I will look at oral formulaic constructions as well as alterations of the story line. In addition, I will sketch the evaluation over time of Rukmiṇī as potential role model for women.

78. VALERIE RITTER, University of Chicago

Rādhā Beyond Braj: Twentieth-Century Hindi Poetic Renderings of Rādhā

Rādhā was virtually absent from high Hindi literature after Hariaudh’s Priyapravās of 1914, as Karine Schomer has noted (in “Where Have All the Rādhās Gone?” in The Divine Consort [Berkeley: 1983]). Going beyond Schomer’s essay, this paper will address details of this dearth and the circumstances that gave rise to it, with an examination of high Hindi poetic texts and criticism from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. I will argue that Rādhā’s “disappearance” was linked to particular negative assessments of both classical poetics and folk genres, which high Hindi poets sought to revise and reform.

This paper will address Hariaudh’s attempt to classicize and yet modernize Rādhā in Priyapravās. It will also address poetry and prose in Hindi, 1900–1925, which mocked the heroine of śrījāta while exalting aspects of the devotional stance of the gopi. I would submit that Rādhā did not entirely disappear (indeed, she has never left religious and popular genres), but rather became a more abstracted figure in the poetic of high Hindi poetry from the 1920s. While Rādhā posed a “problem” for modern canonizers of Hindi, she has also remained a generative subject for poetry, as a trope that has continually demanded revision.

2. Dharma and Śāstra

79. ADITYA ADARKAR, Montclair State University

Testing Character, Studying Dharma: Embedded Philosophy in the Mahābhārata

This paper builds upon the long-accepted idea in Platonic circles that “philosophy” takes place in dramatic/dialogic contexts and explores rather how philosophy, in the epic context, is embedded in the dramatic and didactic scenes. By examining the tests Yudhisthira faces on the way to heaven (in the context of the Socratic elenchus), we can see that this brief narrative reveals much about epic dharma (or dharmas) and the way the epic authors explore dharmic subtleties. (For example, dharma is subtle, paradoxical, surprising, and still surprisingly not ungraspable or impossible to follow.) Second, this embedded discourse will be compared to the openly pedagogical scenes of the Shanti Parvan, with special attention to the dramatic context of Yudhisthira’s grief that frames those scenes. (For example, the opening questions of 12.110 and their response demonstrate a keen, parallel attention to both the psychology of grief as well as epistemology and ethics.)

80. TIMOTHY LUBIN, Washington and Lee University

The Snātaka

Just over a decade ago, Patrick Olivelle drew attention to the fact that, with the emergence and general acceptance of the classical ‘āśrama system’, the status of the snātaka (one who has taken the ritual bath that concludes studentship), was eclipsed. Although in Vedic times he was held up as an object of reverence, he ran the risk in
later times of being condemned as an anāśramin (one without an āśrama; hence, a sinner) (Olivelle 1993: 220–221). This paper will examine the ritual and social roles of the snātaka, with special attention to later works of the Grhya ritual literature, including the Baudhāyana-Grhya-Paribhāṣā-Sūtra, the Āgniveśya-Grhya-Sūtra, and the Vaikhānasa-Śmārta-Sūtra.

81. DAVID BRICK, University of Texas at Austin

The Practice of Ordeals in Pre-Modern India

As they are represented in the Sanskrit legal literature, ordeals (divya) constitute one of the basic types of evidence by means of which a legal dispute might be settled. According to our textual sources, an ordeal should occur, under certain circumstances, when a person has another brought before a judge and, there, formally accuses him of a crime. There are, however, oblique references in the literature and other sources to another type of ordeal that fails to fit this general description. Ordeals of this type would occur when someone was widely believed to have committed some wrongdoing, but was not forced to stand trial. In order to prove his innocence and, thereby, mitigate the damage caused by his suspected guilt, such an individual could—and sometimes did—arrange for himself to undergo an ordeal at his own expense. It is the purpose of this paper, firstly, to establish that ordeals were, in fact, practiced this way in pre-modern India and, secondly, to give some indication as to the geographical and chronological extent of this practice.

82. MATTHEW R. SAYERS, University of Texas at Austin

An Early History of the Term śāstra

The word śāstra has a long history in Brahmanical literature. While there is a great deal of work on śāstra, little has been done on the history of the term itself. This paper lays the groundwork for a better understanding of that history. Scholars have detected primarily three distinct meanings of śāstra throughout Sanskrit literature: instruction, system of instruction (either codified in a text or more generally the system as a whole), and scripture (most often Veda). I believe that the first of these three meanings is the older, more general, meaning of the term; command, instruction, or precept. Śāstra occurs already in the RV, where it has the meaning ‘command,’ but did not become common until the later half of the first millennium BCE. By that time, śāstra had already taken on the meaning of ‘system of instruction.’ I will show that there were two significant shifts in the use of this term in this time frame: first, the consciousness of śāstra as a genre of literature common to different disciplines, and second, the use of śāstra to refer to the Veda. These shifts in meaning occur in this period and can be traced in the extant literature. I will demonstrate the meaning of śāstra in its earliest occurrences then highlight the passages where newer meanings are employed in order to show the diversification of meaning.

Plenary Session: Cosmology. PAUL W. KROLL, University of Colorado, Chair.
Emerald Ballroom III

83. FRANCESCA ROCHBERG, University of California, Riverside

Ancient Near East: Cosmology and Astrology in Ancient Mesopotamia

No abstract submitted
84. Michael Puett, Harvard University

East Asia: The Work of Cosmology in Early China

No abstract submitted

85. Paul Walker, University of Chicago

Islamic Near East: Is There an Islamic Cosmology?

No abstract submitted

86. Christopher Z. Minkowski, University of Oxford

South and Southeast Asia: Was the Origin a Good Idea, After All?

In the learned traditions of South Asia, cosmological discourses served as an idiom in which civilizational controversies could take place. Three such cosmological discourses will be considered here: the account of the shape of the created worlds; the account of what they were made of; and the account of how they came into being, and how often. The first of these accounts gave rise to considerable dispute, over what amounted to the fixity of the social order. The second account allowed for a remarkable degree of indeterminacy. As for the third account, even among proponents of lavish cosmogonies abounding in detail, one detects a trace of disapproval, even distaste. But why?

A. Ancient Near East IV: Special Panel: A. Leo Oppenheim Remembered:

The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East after Fifty Years. Scott Noegel, University of Washington, Chair (2:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) Ballroom E

The year 2006 marks the fiftieth anniversary of A. Leo Oppenheim’s now classic work The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East. Much work has been done on the subject of dreams and dream interpretation since the appearance of this book, especially in recent years. Nevertheless, Oppenheim’s work continues to have a lasting influence. This interdisciplinary panel will reflect on Oppenheim’s contributions to the field and discuss them in the light of recent advances. One presentation will be devoted to reminiscing about Oppenheim as teacher, scholar, and friend.

87. Scott Noegel, University of Washington

Oppenheim: On Typology and Method

88. Beate Pongratz-Leisten, Princeton University

On Mesopotamian Dreams

89. Gary Beckman, University of Michigan

On Hittite Dreams

90. Kasia Szpakowska, University of Wales, Swansea

On Egyptian Dreams

91. Ruth Fidler, University of Haifa

On Israelite and Ugaritic Dreams

92. Gil Renberg, Johns Hopkins University

On Greco-Roman Dreams
93. **ERLE LEICHTY**, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

Remembering A. Leo Oppenheim

**B. East Asia IV: Chinese Literature II. DAVID BRANNER, University of Maryland, Chair (2:00 p.m.–4:45 p.m.) San Juan Room**

94. **ANTHONY E. CLARK**, The University of Alabama

Authors and “Authors”: Evolving Accounts of Who Wrote the *History of the Han*

This paper confronts the Western impulse to identify specific authors of early Chinese texts, and seeks to illustrate how Chinese accounts of authorship render that impulse unreliable. Early and medieval Chinese exegetes did not consider a text’s authorship as important as how traditionally ascribed author(s) influenced the content of the work. Curiously, it is within the Dynastic Histories (*Zhengshi*) that literary histories are retold; textual records and biographical records are documented in early histories in much the same way. By examining the textual histories of the *History of the Han* located in later works, such as the *Hou Hanshu*, *Nanshi*, *Liangshu*, *Suisu*, *Shitong*, and *Siku quanshu*, it becomes evident that accounts of who wrote the *History of the Han* have evolved drastically. Whereas the *History of the Han* itself identifies only a single person as its author, later histories account for several authors, each subsequent history adding more authors to the previous list. Significantly, later debates regarding the *History of the Han*’s textual history had little to do with distinguishing the veracity of contending accounts regarding the work’s authorship, but rather are occupied with the structure, contents, and message of the text. While determining authorship in early China remained important to establishing a work’s legitimacy, the notion of “authorship” appears to have a somewhat malleable concept.

95. **HUA ZHAO**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

A Talented Literatus or an Unsuccessful Official—The Composition and Meaning of Du Fu’s Biography in the *Xin Tang shu*

*Xin Tang shu* [New Tang History] portrays Du Fu as reckless, unrestrained, and constantly seeking patronage from powerful officials. This image differs largely from the Du Fu in later scholars’ view as a poet who represents “the widest sympathy and highest ethical principles,” as William Hung noted.

The different portrait of Du Fu in the *Xin Tang shu* thus raises a series of questions. What views of Du Fu preceded his biography in the *Xin Tang shu*? To compose this biography what sources the historians might have used? How did they tailor the sources and integrate various elements into the characterization of Du Fu? What might have been the historians’ intention in creating this portrait?

One major source of this biography is *Taiping guangji*. The entire anecdotal paragraphs have been taken from the “Du Fu” story under the category “qingbo [frivolous]” in *Taiping guangji*, which neglects the poet’s career life. The historians used the anecdotes from *Taiping guangji* as a narrative frame, while inserting non-anecdotal events and speeches. This influence from the *biji* tradition offers a reading of Du Fu as both a talented poet and eccentric commoner who could never ascend high in officialdom.
96. JING WANG, University of Wisconsin-Madison

An Allegorical Reading of “Nie Yinniang” and “Hongxian”: Political Allusion in the Haoxia Stories and Their Textual Structure

Flying like wind, practicing martial arts, helping their masters gain victory over the other military commissioners—such are the women warriors depicted in the “Nie Yinniang” and “Hongxian”. These tales are representative of stories about gallants and knights errant (haoxia) which constitute an important genre of Tang tales and, thus, included in the Taiping guangji as an independent category.

These two tales are similar in plot and narrative style. The main plot, heavy in description of martial arts, is framed by a biographical opening, followed by short anecdote(s) which demonstrate the protagonist’s characteristics and special abilities. Finally the story closes off with a formulated ending of the woman leaving the secular society to the secret world of knights errant.

Wrapped in this conventional literary narrative structure, the two tales are distinctive in that the authors went beyond the limitations of personal retribution typical to knight errant stories, constructing a second layer of allegory. Both tales are overtly set in the background of conflict among the frontier commanderies. The tales make direct references to specific military commissioners and should be read as a criticism of contemporary Tang political situation, not simply praise of the women warriors’ righteousness presented by many scholars. By combining a superficial story of extraordinary skills and retributive actions, with an underlying political message, the two tales illustrate and reflect on this most dire problem of rouge military leaders during the mid-Tang.

97. DAVID HERRMANN, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Ubiquitous Apothecary: Echoes of Wang Lao in the Taiping guangji

As Glen Dudbridge showed in his study, The Tale of Li Wa, reading Tang narratives closely is likely to reveal new layers of meaning through textual resonances. By following the apothecary Wang Lao as he appears throughout the Taiping guangji, this paper will show the development of his relationship with a transcendent named Zhang, and how each echo of Wang Lao appeals to the informed reader. Furthermore, whereas the reoccurrences of the Wang-Zhang relationship reveal a story complex that seems to have developed orally, certain appropriations indicate some degree of textual influence.

The focus will be on the first three narratives in which Wang Lao appears, “Zhang Lier gong” from the Guangyi ji, “Xu laoweng” from the Xuanquai lu, and “Zhang Lao” from the Xu Xuanquai lu. In so doing, the mid-eighth century Guangyi ji, which Dudbridge has concluded to be “a literature of record, not of fantasy or creative fiction,” can be clearly presented as a source text. More important to the study of early fiction, this analysis will provide a direct textual relationship between the two important collections of Tang tales that are otherwise linked by title and by the close association of their authors, the scholar officials Niu Sengru (779–847) and Li Fuyan (775–833).
98. Meghan Cai, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Exploring the Left of the Road: A Tang Literary Topos

The dead awaken, ghosts roam, and immortals wander. This is the realm beyond that of mortals—dao zuo, or the “left of the road.” While dictionaries give the simple definition of “east of the road,” an examination of forty tales in the Taiping guangji reveals that dao zuo consistently occurs within a similar narrative framework, suggesting that it was perceived by audiences as more than just a directional reference. Instead, it appears to have been a topos symbolizing the non-mortal realm. As this topos has yet to be explored by scholars of classical-language narratives, this paper will investigate the use of the “left of the road” in the Taiping guangji, including in the well-known tale, “Liu Yi.” It will also examine the “left of the road” in Tang and pre-Tang ritual and historical texts in an attempt to trace its development into a literary topos.

C. Islamic Near East VI: Religion and the Sacred. Tahera Qutbuddin, University of Chicago, Chair (1:30 p.m.–3:30 p.m.) Whidbey Room

99. Niall Christie, University of British Columbia/Corpus Christi College

Women and Warfare in the Muslim Literature of the 6th/12th-Century Levant

In this paper we examine the depiction of women in the Muslim sources for the crusades of the 6th/12th century, focusing in particular on accounts of intended and actual roles of women in warfare.

In the earliest known written Muslim response to the First Crusade, the Kitāb al-Jihād (Book of the Jihād) of the Muslim jurisprudent, ‘Ali ibn Ṭāhir al-Sulamī (d. 499-500/1106), the author calls his co-religionists to the jihād against the crusaders and also lays down rules regarding its conduct, most of which are drawn from the Qurʾān and the hadīth. These include regulations defining the roles that women are meant to play in the struggle against the infidel. In this way, al-Sulamī presents what might be regarded as an “ideal” vision of women in the jihād.

However, when one turns to the combat activities of women as they are represented in the other sources for the period, one can see a wide disparity between al-Sulamī’s ideal and both the actual events and the more popular expectations of the time. This disparity is perceptible in both contemporary and later historical works, such as the biography of Saladin by Bahāʾ al-Dīn ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1234), and in other forms of literature, such as the memoirs of the amīr Usāma ibn Munqidh (d. 584/1188) and the folk tales circulating in the region at the time. While it is important, naturally, to remember that the accuracy of such texts is subject to the agendas of their authors, it still seems that al-Sulamī’s vision was not one universally adhered to in theory or practice.

In conclusion, we will consider the cultural, social and political factors that may account for the differences between al-Sulamī’s theory and the representation of the situation in the other sources.

100. Jacob Lassner, Northwestern University

The Islamization of the Holy Land

This presentation reviews a wide range of Arabic historical, geographical and bellettristic texts in an attempt to determine when and under what specific circumstances
various regions of al-Shâm including Jerusalem were first proclaimed sacred territory by the Muslims. Put somewhat differently, I will suggest that these regions and Jerusalem became “Holy Land” and “Holy City” as they had been and continued to be for Jews and Christians for a variety reasons. The discussion will center on the internal politics of the Islamic state; relations between the Byzantines and the Muslim governing authority; and the residual influence of Jewish and Christian attitudes on local converts to Islam and the Arab conquerors. This is to be sure an old issue that has been addressed on more than one occasion, but the creation of sacred Muslim space in al-Shâm still begs for a more detailed explanation.

101. LEAH KINBERG, Tel-Aviv University

From Umm Waraqa (al-Madinah, 7th century) to Amina Wadud (New York, 21st century): The question of a Woman Leading the Friday Prayer

In March 2005 in New York City, Dr. Amina Wadud, Professor of Islamic Studies at Virginia Commonwealth University, broke with Islamic tradition by leading the Friday prayer.

The case of Amina Wadud may be studied in reference to the status of modern women in the American Muslim community. At the same time, it can be treated as a case study that demonstrates the usage of classical Islamic texts as a means to gain legitimacy of contemporary manifestations.

The first option leads us to a sociological analysis, which is not our purpose. We would rather place the emphasis on the Islamic thoughts and sayings that have been circulated as a reaction to the woman-imam case.

Muslim jurists have always considered deviations from established prophetic practices to be a violation of fundamental Islamic principles, a bid’ah, an innovation, which might lead to heresy.

To avoid the despicable blame of bid’ah, Wadud, tried to establish the idea that having a woman imam is not a revolutionary step and definitely not an innovation, but rather a return to the true spirit of Islam, which preserved the story of the Prophet allowing Umm Waraqa to lead the prayer.

The sheikhs that criticized Wadud’s deeds also had to found their arguments in early precedents, and—surprisingly or not—chose to establish their arguments on the very case of Umm Waraqa.

The present paper suggests an examination of the story of Umm Waraqa as used by both sides. This examination will be taken beyond the specific case to illuminate the most characteristic feature of the Islamic world of today: its action under the banner of edifying the Muslims of the world and enlightening “the others’” minds, as well as its usage of religion to gain legitimacy, while exposing the members of the Islamic community to the treasures of their own classical heritage.

102. ZAKYI IBRAHIM, Ithaca College

Ibn Hazm and the Prophecy of Women

According to the Qur’an, God sent a number of prophets/messengers to various nations, though the exact number is not mentioned. Among those named, none is a woman. Yet, female personalities are described as having received inspiration from God. Is this inspiration to be construed as prophecy? Or is the lack of specific identification as prophets to be construed as disqualification?
The “prophecy” of women is a subject that has received limited attention in Muslim literature. The issue is touched upon by classical and modern Muslim scholars, particularly by exegetes such as al-Qādi ʿAbd al-Jabbār (d. 1025), al-Ṭūsī (d. 1067), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210) and al-Qurtūbī (d. 1273). Modern scholars who have discussed the topic include, al-Shawkānī (d. 1839), al-Alūsī (d. 1854), and Ibn ʿĀshūr (d. 1973). In this paper, I examine the theory and approach of Ibn Ḥāzm, who concludes in several of his works that God did choose women as prophets, identifying several, such as the mothers of the prophets Isaac, Moses and Jesus (cf. Abdel-Majid Turki’s analysis of Ibn Ḥāzm’s general position on women in al-Fiṣal).

I show that Ibn Ḥāzm’s theory of the prophecy of women is well argued but in the final analysis lacks sufficient evidence; that despite the popularity of the distinction, there is no real difference between “prophets” and “messengers” in the Qurʾān; and that although the Qurʾān (unlike the Hebrew Bible) never describes a female figure as a prophet per se, it does not disqualify women from the office of prophet.

BEATRICE GRUENDLER, Chair, Yale University (4:00 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) Whidbey Room

103. TAHERA QUTBUDDIN, University of Chicago

The Early Arabic Khutba: Terminology, Applications, and Literary Features

Next to poetry in pre- and early Islamic times, the most important literary genre of Arabic was arguably the oration or khutba. Much poetry was preserved, while most khutbas were lost. Perhaps the relative scarcity of the early khutba material extant is among the reasons scholars have examined this genre in a less than comprehensive fashion. Nevertheless, much material does remain in sources such as special collections of khutbas, literary anthologies, critical works, an adab al-kaṭib treatise, and, as would be expected, in historical texts. The nature of the material is varied. We have a large number of actual khutbas attributed to figures pre-Islamic such as Quss b. Sāʿīda and early Islamic such as ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. We also have akhbār framing the khutbas; anecdotal reports about khufabā; and medieval expositions, both descriptive and analytical, on the subject. Based on a close examination of these materials, and focusing on selected khutba texts, I propose in my presentation to a) delineate a history of the development of the term and a classification of its various uses; b) describe the range of ethical, political, and religio-political subjects covered; and c) define the formal and literary parameters of the genre.

104. TRAVIS ZADEH, Harvard University

The Wiles of Creation: Assaying the Strange and the Marvelous in Qazwīnī’s ʿAjāʾīb al-Makhlūqāt

The medieval tradition in Arabic and Persian of writing on the wonders (ʿajāʾīb) of existence seeks to popularize, for a general audience, scientific and philosophical material concerning the nature of the world. This paper examines how Zakariyyāʾ al-Qazwīnī (d. 1283), arguably the most famous contributor to this genre, in the introduction to his wonder-book, ʿAjāʾīb al-makhlūqāt, treats the question of veracity in the narration of the wondrous. Central to Qazwīnī’s exposition of the strange and marvelous is a sustained interest in the pleasure (al-ladḥa) produced through
the narration of ‘elegant tales’ (بیکاتی زریفا). Despite his concern for the popular entertainment value of this material, Qazwīnī continually returns to the question of authenticity. For Qazwīnī, the estimation of these wondrous accounts also depends on their relative truth value. My paper adumbrates this tension between the fictive and the real by exploring some intellectual antecedents to Qazwīnī’s treatment of the marvelous, which also foreground similar topoi in the pursuit of veracity.

Though Qazwīnī has been accused of blindly plagiarizing earlier authorities, I seek to demonstrate the often sophisticated use which he makes of his sources. Qazwīnī’s indebtedness to Yaqūt’s (d. 1229) geographical dictionary has long been recognized (Kowalska, 1966); however, the role which the wonder-book by the Persian author, Muhammad b. Mahmūd b. Ḥumād al-Ṭusī (fl. 1160), plays in Qazwīnī’s universe has gone largely unnoticed. Not only does Qazwīnī take his title from this earlier Saljūk author, but, so too does the arrangement of Qazwīnī’s work bear striking similarities to his Persian predecessor. All three of these authors reveal misgivings over the authenticity of the many marvelous accounts which they narrate. Nonetheless, Qazwīnī’s treatment of this established motif concerning the truth value of the marvelous proves to be a unique and lasting contribution to the field.

106. DAGMAR RIEDEL, Chester Beatty Library

Publishing before the Printing Press: How to Capture the Pre-Modern Circulation of Knowledge in a Manuscript Catalogue

In premodern Near Eastern societies, courts and cities were the centers of intellectual life: The circulation of knowledge among men of letters was mediated by the
patronage of wealthy elites. The introduction of paper in Baghdad at the beginning of
the ninth century was of fundamental importance for education and learning within
the Islamic tradition of taḥlab al-ʾilm because paper was a relatively cheap writing
surface that allowed for the development of new uses of writing for the transmission
of knowledge. Yet research on all aspects of Islamic civilization before the large-scale
introduction of the printing press in the nineteenth century is hampered by a very
sketchy knowledge of the evidence: Only 50 to 70 percent of all preserved Islamic
manuscripts are currently documented in handlists and catalogues. Because of this
insufficient documentation it is at the moment not possible to gain a comprehensive
understanding of intellectual life in premodern Near Eastern societies: Since we do
not yet know what exactly has been preserved we can also not gauge what is lost.

In this paper I discuss how our current knowledge of the circulation of knowl-
edge in premodern Near Eastern societies is pertinent to the description of Islamic
manuscripts in a catalogue raisonné. In the available catalogues and handlists of
the major collections in Europe, North America, and the Near East, manuscripts are clas-
sified according to author and contents, but the question as to whether a unicum is an
informal personal copy or a formal copy produced to order resp. for sale is usually not
addressed. I argue that the heuristic distinction between formal and informal copy,
combined with the source-critical distinction between ‘Quelle’ (i.e., narrative written
to be preserved) and ‘Überrest’ (i.e., ‘Gebrauchstext’ that was not produced to be
preserved but is nonetheless still extant), is an indispensable step for establishing the
transmission of a text and preparing its critical edition.

E. South and Southeast Asia IV. JAMES L. FITZGERALD, University of Ten-
nessee, Chair (2:00 p.m.–5:15 p.m.) Bainbridge Room

1. Buddhism

107. STEFAN BAUMS, University of Washington

New Buddhist Donative Inscriptions from Fayaz-tepe

During a September 2005 visit to the ancient Buddhist monastic site of Fayaz-tepe
in southern Uzbekistan, we were shown a group of eleven newly-discovered dona-
tive inscriptions on potsherds, in the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī scripts and Gāndhāri
and Buddhist Sanskrit languages, from the second and third centuries AD. Many of
the smaller fragments reflect the standard formula of donation to the Mahāśāṅghika
school of Buddhism, as known from earlier discoveries at this site as well as at the
neighbouring site of Kara-tepe and published in the main part by the Russian scholar
Viktoriia Vertogradova. Several of the longer and better-preserved inscriptions, how-
ever, stand out by virtue of their unusual phrasing, high degree of Sanskritisation and
poetic diction. The present paper will give an overview of the new discoveries with a
particular focus on the longer, unusual inscriptions.

108. RICHARD SALOMON, University of Washington

Sanskrit Iśvāku, Pali Okkāka, and Gāndhāri Iṣmaho

The Gāndhāri word iṣmaho was hitherto attested only as the clan name of the kings
of Oḍi, an Indo-Scythian Buddhist dynasty that ruled in the Swat Valley region in
the first century A.D. The most important epigraphical record of that dynasty, the
gold plate inscription of King Senavarma, refers three times to their descent from the
“Iṣmaho-clan” (e.g., *iṣmaho-kula-sabhavade*, line 3c). But the meaning and etymology of this term was until now obscure, and it has been assumed to be of non-Indic origin.

However, recently a Gāndhārī manuscript of a yet-unidentified Buddhist text has been found to contain the expression *iṣmaho-vatsa naravarasiho* (probably = Sanskrit *iksūku-vamśāh naravarasimhaḥ*), in a context which apparently refers to the Buddha Śākyamuni. This suggests that *iṣmaho* is actually the Gāndhārī correspondent of Sanskrit *Iksūku* and Pali *Okkāka*, that is, the name of the legendary ancestor of the Śākya clan in which the Buddha was born.

If this identification is correct, the kings of the Odī dynasty, in using this family name, were claiming descent from Iksūku. Although this is historically implausible, it is paralleled by other instances of claims to Iksūku ancestry by Buddhist dynasties in other parts of the Indian world, such as the Iksūkus of the Deccan in the third and fourth centuries A.D.

Of course, the etymological connections of the words *iksūku*, *okkāka*, and *iṣmaho* are problematic, but this is only an extreme example of a common situation in Buddhist tradition whereby the differing forms of proper names in various languages and dialects do not follow normal patterns of phonetic correspondence. In fact, the connection between Sanskrit *Iksūku* and Pali *Okkāka* is an old and difficult problem of Buddhist philology, and an attempt will be made to clarify the question, or at least to restate it, in light of the new Gāndhārī evidence.

109. Oskar von Hinüber, Universität Freiburg

*Iudex Philosophus: Why a Vinayadhara Should Know Abhidhamma*

It is comparatively rare that Theravāda Vinaya texts, mostly the commentaries, contain any information on actual decisions of individual cases, when monks offended against a particular rule of the Vinaya. If such an investigation into the circumstances of the offence and the subsequent judgement are communicated, it is often stated in passing that the monk acting as a decision maker was not only learned in Vinaya matters, which is a qualification obviously needed, but that he was, at the same time, also an *ābhidhammika*.

This raises the question, whether this obvious emphasis on the double qualification of monks deciding cases is just casual, or whether, on the contrary, it is possible to detect a reason behind these statements. It is indeed possible to demonstrate that not only the way of composing Vinaya and Abhidhamma texts is similar in certain respects (as shown earlier in “Vinaya und Abhidhamma” [1994]). Moreover, the inventory of Abhidhamma is used to explain the mental processes behind certain offences such as, e.g., telling a lie. Thus particularly the Samantapāsādikā as the most important commentary on the Theravāda Vinayaṇaṭṭaka quite systematically recurs to definitions used in Abhidhamma treatises particularly in the samūṭṭhāna sections at the end of the explication of each individual rule of the Pātimokkha. This reference to mental processes when committing an offence was thought and indeed was necessary, because the intention of an individual monk to commit a crime, had to be determined as decisive for passing a judgment.
110. DAVID B. GRAY, Santa Clara University

Revelation, Loss, and Recovery: The Myth of Textual Loss and the Development of Tantric Buddhist Traditions

In this paper I propose to examine a fascinating but hitherto little explored element in early Tantric Buddhist literature, namely, the origin myths told by Tantric Buddhist authors to account for the origins of esoteric Buddhist texts. These myths recount stories of the original revelation by cosmic Buddhas of these texts in massive sizes, typically consisting of one hundred thousand or more slokas. This is typically followed by their loss or fragmentation, then by their later recovery, in abridged form, by contemporary or near-contemporary masters of the tradition. While myths of origin cannot be read as history, I will nonetheless argue that they shed light on the early history of the tradition. Through the examination of several of these myths preserved in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese sources, I will argue that these myths represent an alternative legitimation strategy deployed by early advocates of Tantric Buddhism. During this time, Tantric Buddhist texts increasingly dropped the pretense that their scriptures were spoken by Śākyamuni Buddha, no doubt because such claims were no longer easily defensible, and frequently challenged. The myth of revelation, loss, and recovery provided an alternative legitimation myth. Moreover, it is a myth that was more consistent with the very structure of Tantric Buddhist texts, which are not, like the sūtras, discourses on the Dharma (dharmaparyāya), but are typically hodge-podge collections of ritual practices, lending credence to the belief that they are fragmentary remnants of an original and extensive revelation.

111. CHRISTIAN K. WEDEMEYER, University of Chicago

‘Cette fraude littéraire ne peut tromper personne’: The Historiography of the Nāgārjunian Tantric Corpus Reconsidered

When Louis de la Vallée Poussin described the attribution of esoteric (‘Tantric’) Buddhist sāstra-s to the early-first-millennium sage Nāgārjuna and his disciples as a “literary fraud [that] couldn’t fool anyone,” he was summing up the conventional wisdom of the Indological community. Given that the esoteric traditions were not considered to have emerged until at least the seventh (in some circles the eleventh) centuries, it was considered impossible for Nāgārjuna and company to have written in this genre. Thus, they concluded, the attribution must be nothing more than a crude “fraud”—passing off the work of one author as that of another.

More detailed study of the relevant works in the intervening years has indeed demonstrated that these works likely date to the late-eighth or early-ninth centuries, and thus could not have been composed by the Madhyamaka authors to whom they are attributed. Yet, is “fraud” the only (or the best) model for understanding the nature of this ascription?

I will argue that: a) based on overlooked evidence from the Tibetan historiographical tradition, the Tibetan inheritors of this lineage were well-aware of the anachronism involved, and that consequently, b) the attribution should not be taken not as a strictly historical claim about concrete figures, but as an “auctorative” assertion about the validity and prestige of the literature concerned. The “cognitive dissonance” these facts suggest—that the tradition understood the authors as “historically” distinct, yet “religiously” identical—will be situated against the background of the prevailing attitude to scripture and scriptural production by Buddhists in first-millennium
India. With these facts in mind, the attribution appears in rather a different light and the application of the term “fraud” may be seen to stem from an unfortunate, anachronistic and anatopistic misconstrual of the cultural dynamics involved in the production of this corpus.

112. Christian Haskett, University of Wisconsin

The Reception of Nāgārjuna in Tibet: Šākya Chogden and the Great Madhyamaka

The polymath Šākya Chogden proposes a radical innovation in the interpretation of Nāgārjuna that was largely unprecedented, and which has thus far gone almost entirely unnoticed in the 25 years since his once-banned works have come to light. In one of his last writings, the lugs guyis rnam dbyes, Šākya Chogden takes Nāgārjuna’s stotra compositions as the pinnacle of his teachings, and with them as the definitive interpretations, reinterprets the application traditional understandings of the mulamadhyamakakārikā and other philosophical works of Nāgārjuna and the Indian inheritors of his compositions. This paper will explain Šākya Chogden’s position and his attempt for a unified theory of interpretation of Madhyamaka for both sūtra and tantra, as well as demonstrating the relevance of his work for the history of ecclesiastical formations in Tibet after the 16th century.

2. Poetry and Pedagogy

113. Toke Lindegaard Knudsen, Brown University

Poetry and Science in Jñānarāja’s Siddhāntasundara

Jñānarāja, a scholar of Pārthapura, wrote an astronomical treatise, the Siddhāntasundara, in 1503. I am currently working on a critical edition of this important, but still unpublished work. The tripraśna (“three questions”) chapter of the Siddhāntasundara, dealing with various matters concerning diurnal motion, contains, unlike the remainder of the chapters, problems. These problems are further phrased poetically using ślesa: one line of a verse containing a problem will not only provide a narrative context to the problem, but also, when read differently, the information needed to solve it. Each problem is followed by the solution expressed in prose.

While other authors of scientific texts, such as Bhāskara II, phrased problems poetically, Jñānarāja is the first author in the tradition to use slesa in this way in scientific writings. This raises questions such as Jñānarāja’s reasons for including these verses, his intended audience, the relationship between poetry and science in the Siddhāntasundara, and so on, questions that will be investigated in the talk.

114. Yigal Bronner, University of Chicago

Poet and Pedagogue: Appayya Dikṣitā’s Educational Stotras

The sixteenth-century polymath Appayya Dikṣitā (1520–1597) is best known for his erudite works in vedānta, mīmāṁsā, Śaiva philosophy, and alaṁkāraśāstra. He is far less appreciated as a poet and pedagogue. Yet many of his works are songs dedicated to various deities and titled stotras, stutis, or stavas, and his scholarly career was marked by an unprecedented interest in pedagogy. I my paper I argue that, in fact, the two aspects of Appayya’s intellectual life are closely related, and that much of his literary output was intentionally designed as curricula for different courses on a variety of topics and with different types of students in mind.
The paper examines three of Appayya’s stotras, none of which has received serious attention by scholars: the Durgācandrakalāstuti, the Śrīvaradarāja stava, and the Ātmārpanastuti. In the paper I attempt to identify the target audience for each of these poetic-curricula as well as their educational goals. In doing so, I also hope to throw some light on the category stotra, so far mostly not too thoroughly theorized, and its elasticity at least in the later period. I also hope to arrive at a better understanding of the emerging importance of pedagogy in late pre-colonial South Asia, and of the identity of a South Indian persona like Appayya, which, I argue, is primarily local.

A. Ancient Near East V: Ancient Near Eastern History, Literature, and Religion. In Memory of Erica Reiner, 1924–2005. GARY BECKMAN, University of Michigan, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) Emerald Ballroom III

115. Jack Sasson, Vanderbilt University

Scruples

In the Mari archives we read about requests to extradite people (leaders, slaves, criminals) who have taken refuge in areas beyond the grasp of the authorities they try to escape. A couple of examples include reasoned arguments for a refusal to do so. I try to unlock their motivations as well as to evaluate the constraints that made them arrive to their decisions.

116. Ichiro Nakata, Chuo University, Tokyo

The Most Likely Migration Route of Amorites to Babylonia and Some of its Implications

There are three possible routes which might have connected the West in which the Amorites had originated and Babylonia where they showed strong presence in the early second millennium BC. The first is the route along the Euphrates river. The second is a route along the crescent zone where 250 to 400 mm precipitation per year could safely be expected. This route had many variations, but they all crossed the Upper Jazira to Nineveh or to Assur. From there the route took a road along the Upper or Lower Zab and joined a route bound for Susa. To reach Babylonia one only had to turn west at a point in the Hamrin basin and to proceed along the Diyala river. The third possible route is a variation of the second; after reaching Nineveh or Assur one could take a route down along the Tigris which was the shortest route from there to Babylonia in terms of the airline mileage.

Of the three routes, I would argue that the second was the only feasible one for migrants. If so, traces of the Amorite presence along this route should not surprise us.

On the basis of the above argument I should like to state (1) that the two oracles of Goddess Kitātum of Ishchali (M. de Jong Ellis, M.A.R.I. 5, 1987, 235–266) does not invalidate A. L. Oppenheim’s opinion that prophecy was a basically West Semitic phenomenon (cf., for example, D. Charpin et. al., Mesopotamien, OBO 160/4, 2004, pp. 241ff.), and (2) that Nina Pons’ two separate maps, which sum up her otherwise admirable study of the diffusion patterns of certain types of pottery found at Mari (Akkadica 114–115, 1999, figs. 24 and 25), must be modified.

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Blane Conklin, Austin, Texas

The Structure of Ancient Semitic Oaths

Oaths are attested widely in Classical Hebrew and Akkadian, and sparsely in Ugaritic and Aramaic. Works of secondary literature addressing the grammar and syntax of these spoken oaths often devolve into a laundry list of the various formulæ that one may encounter, without offering a rationale for the multitude of formulæ attested or their relationship to one another, or they stumble on the difficult syntactical issues that characterize these clauses. This paper presents a fresh look at oaths in the Semitic languages and offers a new proposal for the structure of these spoken utterances. Specifically, Semitic oaths have a binary structure, 1) an authenticating element, and 2) the actual content of the oath. A number of diverse formulæ of varying origins can be conveniently captured under the first heading, because they all function to authenticate the veracity of what is sworn. As for the second heading, Hebrew and Akkadian each have two systems of formulating the content of the oath. Hebrew uses a system employing the particle ky, and Akkadian uses an asseverative system, while both use an incomplete conditional system. The Hebrew particle ky in oaths functions as a marker of the object complement of the verb “to swear,” which is often elided.

Mary R. Bachvarova, Willamette University

Defining the SIR3 Genre: Its Formal Characteristics and the Implications for Our Understanding of the Plot of the “Song of Release”

Although there has been some dispute over how and whether the Hurro-Hittite SIR3 genre can be delimited, I will show that the Songs of Kumarbi, Silver, Kessi, Gilgamesh and Release share formulaic sequences, rhythmic patterns, and narrative structures, features which have been used to define folk genres in other ancient cultures. In some cases the formulæ can be shown to exist in Hurrian (Neu 1993, SMEA 31), but for the most part these can only be distinguished in Hittite. While Melchert (1998, fs. Watkins) has already argued that the Hittite poetic line in this genre takes the following binary structure: 2 accented words | 2 accented words ||, I will show that the Hurrian side of the “Song of Release” also follows such a structure, indicating that the metrical pattern was calqued from Akkadian into Hurrian and then into Hittite. Finally, after a brief discussion of shared narrative structures, I will discuss a narrative sequence which appears more than once in the Kumarbi cycle: undertaking a journey to present a problem at a feast. I argue that this same sequence appears in the “Song of Release”, and show that the fragment KBo 32.14, the famed description of a feast in the underworld, and that this feast, now considered to be a feast of reconciliation or a ruse on the part of Allani to capture Tessub, is better understood as a prelude to a discussion among the gods of the problem of the captive people of Ikinkalis whom the Eblaites refuse to let go.

Matthew T. Rutz, University of Pennsylvania

Solar Omens from Susa in Babylonia

The first-millennium BCE celestial omen series Enûma Anu Enlil (EAE) is among the most important intellectual artifacts of the ancient Mesopotamian scholarly tradition. Despite the significant recent advances in the publication and interpretation of the EAE corpus, there is an overall paucity of data from the second millennium.
Of the few sources that are known, fewer still have been published or analyzed in
detail. Therefore, questions about the early distribution, transmission, stabilization,
and eventual serialization of the EAE tradition remain difficult to address, let alone
answer.

This paper will present and contextualize a previously unknown solar omen compendium, probably from Nippur, written in Middle Babylonian script. The most remarkable feature of this manuscript is that it is a copy of a source from Susa. In further confirmation of the connection with Susa, the present tablet demonstrates a number of the orthographic idiosyncrasies found among the omen compendia from Middle Elamite Susiana. Because the language, structure, and contents of these texts are unambiguously Babylonian in origin, the historical and intellectual links between Mesopotamia and Khuzestan merit further consideration.

Three significant conclusions emerge from the analysis of the new Middle Babylonian material. First, the parallels with the published solar omens of EAE are compelling and suggest some degree of early textual standardization. Second, the tablet in question illustrates the rarely attested phenomenon of learned cuneiform culture returning to Mesopotamia from the periphery. Finally, this paper will use the new evidence to reevaluate the hypothetical connections between Susa and canonical EAE.

119. RONAN JAMES HEAD, The Johns Hopkins University

Assyria at Bisitun and the Universal Kingship of Darius I of Persia

The Bisitun inscription of Darius the Great of Persia is well known in Assyriology, being the vehicle for the decipherment of cuneiform in the 19th century. It has long been understood that the inscription carries certain difficulties of historical interpretation, and that it contains topos common to Mesopotamian royal ideology. In this paper we will examine the Bisitun inscription in light of its Assyrian precursors and discuss the various modes of transmission between Assyria and Persia, including the possible employment of bilingual Aramaic scribes who may have carried knowledge of Assyrian ideology to the nascent Persian court. We will then consider one aspect of Assyrian ideology that may have been particularly useful to Darius’s propaganda: the idea of universal victory.

120. JORUNN J. BUCKLEY, Bowdoin College

Conversions to Mandaeism in the Early Islamic Period?

Among Mandaeans and in Mandaean scriptures, it has long been taken for granted that conversion to Mandaeism is prohibited. The religion demands that one must be born into the religion in order to be a Mandaean. Still, there is a puzzling passage in the Mandaean holy book, the Ginza (in Right Ginza 1, section 102) that states something different. Here, in a context of moral instructions, the text states that if an outsider, a worshiper of idols and images, sincerely wishes to become a believer in the Mandaean religion, he should be admitted. According to the colophon belonging to this part of the Ginza, the earliest copyist of the text lived in the early Islamic era, the 8th cent. This, and the immediately preceding centuries, is a time of intense Mandaean scribal activity.

I wish to investigate the Ginza statement about conversion with another clue to interaction between Mandaeans and other religions around the same time. In ca. 700, we find a statement by a copyist of the Mandaean liturgies to the effect that he—Nukraya
is his name—consulted no fewer than seven mss. of the liturgies when he created his own copy of the liturgical collection of baptism and death ritual prayers. Among the seven mss., two belonged in libraries owned by non-Mandæans. The expressions here seem to hint at Christian library-owners. Why would Mandæan liturgies be present in non-Mandæan libraries in this period? Can we link this information to possible “People of the Book”-relationships at this time? The location is probably southern Iraq, in or near the Mandæan scribal center in Wasit. I will connect the Ginza passage to other relevant information in Mandæan colophons in and around the 8th century.

B. East Asia V: Chinese Literature and Religion. Richard VanNess Simmons, Rutgers University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–11:00 a.m.) San Juan Room

121. Curtis Dean Smith, Grand Valley State University

Su Shih’s Quest for the Land of Taoist Immortals

With the recent interest in the Northern Sung dynasty, Su Shih has received much attention, with studies of his literature, art, and political philosophy. Much has been made of Su Shih’s interest in Buddhism, but little attention has been given to his interest in “religious Taoism” (tiao-chiao). In fact, religious Taoism as a topic of serious academic research is largely underexplored. This study examines Su Shih’s interests, explorations, and even reliance on religious Taoism throughout both his times of exile and political success.

With such studies on Su Shih as K. Tomlonovic’s Poetry of Exile and Return: A Study of Su Shih (1037–1101), M. Fuller’s The Road to East Slope: The Development of Su Shi’s Poetic Voice, and R. Egan’s Word, Image, and Deed in the Life of Su Shi, much of Su Shih’s life is well covered in English. B. Grant’s Mount Lu Revisited: Buddhism in the Life and Writings of Su Shih also covers what has been often perceived as Su Shih’s major religious thought. Although Su Shih does frequently engage in exchanges with Buddhist monks, and Buddhist topics are common in his writings, an examination of his daily life reveals a strong, personal interest in topics of religious Taoism, including visualization and meditation techniques, inner alchemy, and even outer alchemy. He even reveals serious considerations of immortality. Although one book has been published on Su Shih’s religious Taoism in Chinese (Chung Lai-in, Su Shih yu tao-chia tao-chiao), only F. Baldrian-Hussein has published a study in English, “Alchemy and Self-Cultivation in Literary Circles of the Northern Song Dynasty—Su Shih (1037–1101) and his Techniques of Survival.” This paper shall build upon Baldrian-Hussein’s study, examining Su Shih’s Taoist interests and activities, focusing on his fascination with immortals and lands of immortals, and describes how he traveled to such realms.

122. Hongyu Huang, Yale University

Reconstructing Two Artists’ Lives: Wu Weiye’s Biographical Writing and the Problematic of Zhuan

Wu Weiye (1609–1672) was the greatest narrative poet of seventeenth-century China. This paper, however, examines another dimension of his literary talent, that of biographical writing, with a focus on its critical and creative reception in early Qing. While the Siku quanshu editors hailed Wu’s narrative songs as the crowning achievement of contemporary literature, they disparaged his biographies of the storyteller Liu Jingting and the garden architect Zhang Nanyuan as “deviant from the norm.”
This assessment came from the philosopher-historian Huang Zongxi (1610–1695), who not only frowned upon Wu’s immersion in trivia and flirtation with fiction, but also sniffed at his glorifying two folk artists as embodying the spirit of dao. Huang reworked Wu’s biographies to serve his own pedagogical and moral purposes. Yet even at his most corrective, Huang resonates with Wu’s nationalist sentiment in making the artists a layered metaphor for the Ming dynasty’s fate. Wu Weiye’s rendering of Liu Jingting was adapted and developed by Kong Shangren’s (1648–1718) classic drama *The Peach Blossom Fan*, which in turn confirms the aesthetic value of Wu’s original.

Huang Zongxi’s critique of Wu Weiye points to the generic nature of the concept of *zhuan*. *Zhuan* embraces a continuum of narrative forms revolving around the life histories of individual men, with “sober biography” at one end and “fiction under the guise of biography” at the other. The heterogeneity of the term suggests a constant traffic between Chinese historiography and fiction. Wu’s narratives, blurring the generic boundary between *shizhuan* (historical biography) and *chuanqi* (tale), marked the flourishing of fictionalized biography in the seventeenth century. This new trend found its expression in Zhang Chao’s (1650–?) *New Records of Yu Chu*, an anthology celebrating the aesthetics of *qi*, that is, draw on real people and current events, but make the familiar strange, the ordinary extraordinary.

123. Paola Iovene, Cornell University

*Language as Evocatory Magic: Li Shangyin’s Verses in Contemporary Chinese Fiction*

In November 1992, during the “First Chinese Academic Conference on Li Shangyin” that took place in Guilin, the “Society for Li Shangyin Studies” was established, with the writer Wang Meng as its honorary president. This event, the numerous academic conferences that followed, and the long list of publications on Li Shangyin (812–58) over the last two decades show that Wang Meng’s claim of a “Li Shangyin craze” may not be an exaggeration.

Li Shangyin’s ambiguous poems are, also, a source of inspiration for fiction writers. Indeed, already in the 1930s Fei Ming (1901–1967) wrote “concise prose” with a view to imitate Li Shangyin’s poetic language, which he admired for its “incoherence, abruptness, fragmentation, and illogicality.” (Shih Shu-Mei 2001: 194)

This paper analyzes the uses of Li Shangyin’s poetry in two contemporary stories, Wang Meng’s “The Strain of Meeting” (*Xiang jian shi nan*, 1982) and Ge Fei’s “The Patterned Lute” (*Jinse*, 1992), with the aim to shed light on the ways in which the literary past is reshaped in the context of contemporary aesthetic practices.

Wang Meng has written that Li Shangyin’s poetry is a “language of the heart” that conveys the “inexpressible.” In his novella “The Strain of Meeting,” poetry functions as a magic formula that solves, on the imaginative or psychological level, problems that remain unsolved in practice, reestablishing a connection between people that are torn apart.

In Ge Fei’s story “The Patterned Lute,” verses from Li Shangyin’s homonymous poem are quoted several times in order to convey a sense of “co-temporality” of present, past, and future. Narration and verses evoke detailed if confused sensual perceptions, which reveal to the protagonist his own impermanence, personal inadequacy, and dependence on the representations of others. In this case, the magic
of poetic language brings about a realization that has strong similarities with the
Buddhist notion of “emptiness.”

The paper concludes that Li Shangyin’s deliberately ambiguous verses provide con-
temporary writers with a vehicle to explore the expressive possibilities of literary
language. More specifically, in both the stories examined here they function as a
magic formula that transcends the barriers of the here and now.

124. James Robson, University of Michigan

Inside Chinese Images: Local Religion in Hunan Province

This communication introduces and analyzes a series of recently discovered small
polychrome statuettes from Hunan province and what they can tells us about local
religious practice. These statuettes, dating from the Qing dynasty to the present, are
distinguished from similar religious images by the fact that they are not only of gods in
the national pantheon, but primarily concern local deities and religious figures. What
is most distinctive—and of scholarly importance—about these images is that they have
a small niche carved into the back of the statue that contains (among other things such
as herbs, paper money, desiccated insects etc.) “consecration certificates” [yizhi] that
provide us with an unprecedented amount of information about the date of the image,
its precise provenance, the patrons, and the reasons for the consecration. At present
there are three main collections of these images in China: two private collections and
one belonging to the Hunan Provincial Museum in Changsha. There is no previous
scholarship on these images and they have not yet been exhibited publicly. The
École Française d’Extrême-Orient in Beijing, under the direction of Alain Arrault, has
recently compiled a database for the images that serves as the basis for this research—
in combination with fieldwork that I carried out in the summer of 2005. Combining
the information contained in the “consecration certificates” with information culled
from local archives, I will discuss the rise and spread of the veneration of one particular
deity that is well represented in the collection: Nanyue shengdi [. It is apparent that
a cult that takes the Southern Sacred Peak [Nanyue] as the object of its veneration
spread throughout central Hunan and that small statuettes of the Nanyue deity began
to be consecrated, placed on home and temple altars, and used within ritual contexts.

125. Maurice Pomerantz, University of Chicago

Working for the Government in the Fourth/Tenth Century: Relations between
Mu‘tazili Scholars and the Buyid Dynasty

For scholars of the fourth/tenth century Iran and Iraq, holding government office or
receiving money from officials was a choice that carried with it serious practical and
moral implications. While such actions provided scholars with the funds necessary to
aid and promote the spread of their own particular knowledge, ideals, and beliefs, at
the same time, the act of engaging in government service could also be threatening
to one’s salvation. Not only was a scholar potentially exposed to various corrupting
influences of the court, but simply the act of receiving money from the court itself
could often put a man’s soul in grave risk.

In this paper, I will first discuss various aspects of the history and development
of the Mu‘tazili doctrines on the receipt of state money, and then explore to what
extent these doctrines were actually reflected in the biographical accounts of several scholars of the fourth/tenth century. Building on the previous work of M. Zaman on the patronage of scholars during the ‘Abbāsid period, and W. Madelung on the theoretical literature of Twelver Shiites, it is my hope that this paper will shed some light onto the various manners in which some men dealt with these difficult and perplexing issues.

126. Michael Bonner, University of Michigan

Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī on the “Markets of the Arabs”

In the 2002 AOS meeting, I discussed a narrative tradition about an annual series of markets followed by the Arabs before Islam. This tradition describes over a dozen sites which, beginning in north-central Arabia, formed a clockwise spiral culminating in the fair of ‘Ukāz. These markets showed variety in their political conditions, merchandise, methods of exchange, etc. While several medieval authors transmit this “discourse of the markets” (ḥadīth al-aswāq), the only one who deploys it in a discursive argument is Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī in his Kitāb al-imtāʿ wal-muʾānasa. Tawḥīdī sets out to prove that the Arabs had the virtues of any people rising to power and dominion, while they also had divine guidance to make up for their lack of civilized habits and amenities. After praising nomads at the expense of settled peoples, Tawḥīdī cites a version of the ḥadīth al-aswāq, which for him proves that the Arabs combined the best virtues of sedentary and nomadic life. Tawḥīdī proceeds to discuss the merits of wealth and poverty, while polemicizing bitterly against the Samanid vizier al-Jayhānī. Now it seems that the “markets of the Arabs” prove that the Arabs did, after all, have abundant “civilization,” which, however, in Tawḥīdī’s view is not about prosperity, but rather about sociability, generosity and adaptability. Tawḥīdī’s polemics on familiar themes of shuʿubiyya thus lead him into an original discussion of poverty and wealth in relation to the rise of Islam. While the original intent of any early Arabic narrative tradition is difficult to discern, in this case there are good reasons for considering that Tawḥīdī actually “got it right” by emphasizing movement, sociability, generosity and poverty. This seems borne out by close examination of the other versions of the ḥadīth al-aswāq.

127. Ali Anooshahr, University of California, Los Angeles

Turkish Slaves and Sufi Masters

Persian and Arabic sources of the first few hijri centuries often lack the detailed descriptions of early conversions to Islam, and specifically the conversion of “Turks”. Essays employing the quantitative method to calculate the change-rate of personal names from non-Muslim to Muslim ones have not met universal approval in modern scholarship. In this paper, two successive passages of the 11th century historian Bayhaqi will be analyzed to reconstruct the conversion of the slave-soldier Sebiktegin, founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty. The argument will be made that by following the literary references in these two passages, it will become possible to suggest what exactly ‘becoming a Muslim’ meant to these men. It involved the retelling of their conversion as reenactment of already-established narratives about the lives of holy figures, in this case, the biographical legends of the major protagonists of the mystical/renunciant movement that came to be called Sufism. Rhetorically, the paper will argue by metonymy, where the close reading of one conversion-story is expected to

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shed more light on the whole process than the less focused amassing of various details, for which, in any event, the relevant sources are generally less suitable.

**D. South and Southeast Asia V: Linguistics**  
**Stephanie W. Jamison, University of California at Los Angeles, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) Bainbridge Room**

128. **ASHOK AKLUJKAR, University of British Columbia**

Observations on *bilma/bilva*

There has been no unanimity regarding the meaning or etymology of the rare word *bilma*, occurring in two Vedic passages (RV 2.35.12; YV Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā 16.35), Nirukta 1.20 and the quotations of the latter. The meanings that have been attributed to the word on the basis of the comments traditionally available or on the basis of the studies focusing on it can be grouped as follows, roughly in the chronological order of their origins:

(a) Same as that of bhilma, a word so far unattested outside of Yāśka’s gloss but suggesting the notions bhedā, bhedana, or vyāsa ‘division, separation’; Holzsplitter, Span, Splitter, Stückchen ‘chip, shavings’; ‘fragment’;

(b) bhāsana ‘illumination’ or ‘means of illumination’; anukāra ‘imitative other, image’; pratīchandaka ‘likeness, picture, substitute’; saṁyak-pratībhāsasya viśisťah saṁketaḥ ‘a specific pointer of/for proper reflection’; ‘symbol’;

(c) upāya ‘means, device’; (d) śrīrastrāna ‘helmet’; ‘broken helmet’; (e) ‘detail’; (f) ‘meaning’; (g) ṛk; (h) ‘food.’

My paper will point out that the textual basis for (a) is weakened by the absence of clear support for bhilma as a reading in Nirukta commentaries other than that of Durga. Meanings (c)–(h) are, on the other hand, prompted almost exclusively by a desire to come up with a rendering that would fit the context. They lack genuine external corroboration. For (b), however, the case is strengthened by the availability of bilva as a variant and the use of that word in such senses as ‘likeness’ and ‘crystal, quartz crystal.’

Etymologically, it seems to me, that, in the present state of our knowledge, we can do no more or better than relate *bilma* (and *bilva*) to *bimba*.

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

Quotatives and Similar Objects of Wonder in Middle Indo-Aryan

Sanskrit generally employs either quotative marking by *iti* or *∅* marking (especially in poetic texts when discourse ends at line break). Rarer are constructions with preposed *yad* or *yathā*; and even rarer are “embracing” structures with preposed *yad/*yathā plus postposed *iti*.

This paper reports on a pilot study of quotative marking and related issues in Middle Indo-Aryan. Focus will be on the controversial *ki(m)ti* construction in Pali and Aśoka, and on the “embracing” structure.

The situation in Pali and Aśoka is similar to Sanskrit, except that *∅*-marking is very common in Aśoka, and embracing structures are rare. The element *ki(m)ti*
preceding direct discourse ± following ti has been claimed to be a quotative marker, the ancestor of Hindi ki (e.g., Franke 1895, Meenakshi 1986). I provide evidence, from both Sanskrit and MIAr. technical prose (see e.g., [1]) suggesting that ki(m)ti is a rhetorical-question device. The absence of this use of ki(m)ti plus the presence of rhetorical structures with other interrogatives in later Prakrit makes the quotative interpretation of ki(m)ti unlikely.

[1] na vaiva dosha | kiin karaanam | ...natrapay vivakshaḥ | kiin tarhi | ...
(Patañjali)

Or (rather) this difficulty does not exist. Why? ...‘Moving away’ is not here intended to be conveyed. What then? ...

Later Middle Indo-Aryan shows great variation, with (t)ti better retained in technical prose. Some texts (Jaina Prakrit, Khotan Gandhari) also have an optional embracing construction. Since iti/(t)ti is later lost, the jahā of this construction could conceivably be the ancestor of modern structures with je/jo, which tend to be found in the east. However, the absence of any such marker in Eastern Apabhraṃśa makes this uncertain. Significantly, the extant record exhibits no antecedents of the modern ki/ke. Western Apabhraṃśa, however, offers some possible antecedents of modern Marathi and Gujarati postposed quotative markers.

130. GEORGE CARDONA, University of Pennsylvania

Pāṇini and Pāṇiniyas on seśa Relations

Pāṇiniyas generally accept that Pāṇini operates with six categories to which direct participants in the accomplishment of activities (kāraka, sādhana) are assigned: apādana, sampradāna, karaṇa, adhikaraṇa, karman, kartṛ; the last with a subcategory of causal agent (hetu). Verbal and nominal endings are introduced on condition that such kārakas are to be signified. Under the general condition that a residual (śeṣa) relation—that is, a relation (sambandha) that does not directly involve an activity (kriyā) and a kāraka—endings of the sixth triplet (saṣṭhi)are introduced after nominals (Aṣṭādhyāyī 2.3.50: saṣṭhi śeṣe). For example, the genitive ending -as of rājśva in (1) rājśva puruṣaḥ ‘king’s man’ signifies the relation between the king and his servant, namely that of master and possessed (sevasvāṃbhāvasambandha). In the Mahābhāṣya on 2.3.50, Patañjali presents the position that by śeṣa (‘remainder’) is meant meanings (arthaḥ) other than karman and so on (karmādibhyo ye ‘nye’rthāḥ). Against this, the claim is advanced that no such remainder is possible because there are no meanings other than the ones in question (yady eva śeṣa na prakalpate | na hi karmādibhyo ‘nye’rthāḥ santi). Thus, the king and servant of (1) are respectively agent (kartṛ) and sampradāna: the king supports his servant by giving him sustenance. This lead to the conclusion that by śeṣa is meant not intending to speak of something as a karman and so forth (karmādīnām avivakṣa śeṣāḥ). Another instance of this situation is illustrated by (2) mātuḥ smaratī ‘...recalls his mother’, where the mother is the object (karman) of remembering, but one speaks of her as bearing a residual relation. Such examples are accounted for by Aṣṭādhyāyī 2.3.52: adhiṣṭhathadayēṣeṣāṁ karmāṇi (śeṣe 50), which introduces a sixth-triplet ending to signify a karman if this is residual. In accordance with such usages, Bhartrhari (Vākyapadīya 3.7.156: sambandhaḥ kārakebhya ‘nyāḥ kriyākārakapurvakāḥ | śrutāyam asrutāyam vā kriyāyāṁ so ’bhādhiyate) speaks of śeṣa being a relation (sambandhaḥ) and distinct from kārakas (kārakebhya ‘nyāḥ) but preceded by an action-kāraka re-
lation (kriyākārakapūrvakah); in addition, this is expressed (abhidhiyate) under two conditions: the action (kriyāyām) in question is overtly stated (śrutāyām ‘heard’) or not, as in (2) and (1) respectively.

The claim has been made that the traditional view under which Pāṇini recognizes six kāraka categories is unjustified and that there is a seventh kāraka, namely śeṣa. I shall argue that the evidence supports the usual Pāṇiniya position.

131. Peter M. Scharf, Brown University

Pāṇinian Accounts of the Class Eight Presents

While the work of Whitney, Renou, Thieme, Cardona, Bronkhorst, and others has contributed to the relative dating of Indian linguistic treatises and Vedic texts, conclusive results depend upon testing the aptitude of comprehensive systems of linguistic description to clearly delineated textual corpora. Yet the relationship is complicated by variation both in the corpus of Vedic texts and in the linguistic treatises. The occurrence or absence of unusual forms mentioned in particular rules, for instance, may indicate only the relative date of particular passages and particular rules rather than the relation between the complete Vedic text and the Āstādhyāyī as a whole. The current paper considers the classification of class 5 and 8 roots in the Pāṇinian Dhatupātha, the rules for the derivation of their present stems and the corpora in which these forms are found. The inclusion of certain roots among class 8 roots represents an etymologically infelicitous re-analysis that nevertheless adequately accounts for the appearance of new forms in the evolution of Sanskrit, without modification of the rule set comprising the Āstādhyāyī.

132. Gregory D. S. Anderson, Living Tongues Institute for Endangered Languages

Some New Discoveries in Kherwarian Dialectology: Mayurbhanj Ho

The Kherwarian Munda languages form a complex continuum of related speech varieties spoken throughout Jharkand, western West Bengal and northern Orissa. Sources on Ho have concentrated around the Catholic mission in Chaibasa and have mainly ignored the variety of Mayurbhanj district Orissa. As it turns out, this dialect diverges from Chaibasa Ho and other Kherwarian languages in not insignificant ways. One example is given here. A few others will be discussed in the presentation. All data from Mayurbhanj Ho is from the author’s field notes. Time codes refer to audio and video files.

In Mayurbhanj (Orissa) Ho an a following a high vowel (any i and some u) fronts to e.

\[(1) \text{MH: } ījilike = ījilika \quad \text{MH: } muṭe[?] = muṭa ‘nose’\]

[Field Notes, KCN]

Harmonic alternation of vowels in affixes (and in at least one case, possibly stems as well) is also found in Mayurbhanj Ho. Here stems with i and some with u (i.e., most high vowel stems) require front-vocalism affixes for certain suffixes (for certain speakers at certain times or when using certain registers or communalects). One such affix is the progressive/present in –tan- ~ -ten-. Compare the the two sentences in (2) which were uttered in sequence.
how many Ho-PL speak-PROG-FIN

'how many Ho speak (their language)?'

[KCN] 20:25

Not only do –i-stems trigger this alternation but certain stems with u-vocalism as well.

how=2PL come-T/A-ITR-FIN

'how did you come (here)'  

[KCN] 31:30

Another affix that shows this alternations is the first dual subject marker, =lan/=len. If it attaches to the word preceding the verb in the following spontaneous utterances with avocalism, then the vowel is –a- but when it attaches to the ‘front’ stem n/nu[ ](discussed more in the presentation) it is realized as –e-.

tea NEG=1DL drink:3-IMP

'let’s not drink the tea’

[DH] 16:55

133. Norman Zide, University of Chicago

Negation in Korku, with Notes on Other Munda Languages

Korku, a North Munda language—the westernmost of the Munda (and the Austroasiatic) languages—has a negation system somewhat similar to the other NM languages, more particularly to Santali (and not much to the South Munda languages). The recent monograph on Korku by Nagaraja shows interesting innovation in Korku negative verbs, when his data is compared with the earlier Korku material (Drake, 1903, and Girard and Zide, who both began their work in the fifties).

What Nagaraja finds is a system of double negatives, resulting—in a small way, probably, from the borrowing of a positive—not constrained by tense—copula from local Hindi, hoy or the like (Hindi honaa, ‘to be’), this sort of borrowing being observed in other ‘tribal’—minor—languages, but which is totally unknown in earlier Korku.

Korku has a present-future (non-past) tense negative ban, more or less an adverb ‘not’, and ban-(n)-e’q, a related (copular) verb. In the past tense, negation is effected by suffixing the clitic Du’n to the verbstem. (Note the past negative, unlike the positive, and the present-future positive and negative systems attaches Du’n to the verbstem, with none of the modal- or pronominal object-marking common in Korku verbforms permitted. Further, the transitivity/intransitivity markers found in all other verbforms are blocked with Du’n as well. Thus the form iraq-Du’n could be read as transitive (‘did not return something’) with object suffixes, directional suffixes, intensive marker, etc, in the positive ‘dropped’, along with transitivity/intransitivity morphemes, transitivity being indicated in the sentence syntactically (e.g., by an object, adverb, etc.). All other verb systems mark transitivity/intransitivity. iraq-Du’n would also be read as intransitive, ‘did not return’, passive ‘was not returned’, etc.
The doubling in Nagaraja’s material is done using both the present-future negative, *ban*, in past sentences, which also require *Du’n*, i.e., the tense component—meaning—of the negative verb is leached, diluted, giving forms impossible in earlier Korku. The doubled negative past is more emphatic than the usual past, with *Du’n* only.

Korku also marks ‘not-yet-ness’ with a form, *atika’q* grammatically like *ban*, something semantically similar being found elsewhere in Munda (e.g., in the SM language Gutob, which has a verb *uraq* meaning—roughly—‘to not be’, the usual negative copula, and also a verb, *oroj*, for ‘to not yet be’.

Korku also has a verb—presumably derived from *ban/baN* - baaˇNon, meaning ‘to refuse to’, ‘won’t’ in such sentences ‘I won’t (I refuse to) go’, *iˇn baaˇNon*, the verb referred to (*sene*, ‘to go’) being mentioned in a—usually the—previous sentence.

134. REBECCA J. MANRING, Indiana University

*Jiva Gosvami’s Harinamomta-vyakarana*

Jiva Gosvami, one of the founding theologians of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava movement, composed his *Harinamomta-vyakarana* (HNAV) at the close of the sixteenth century. In this Sanskrit grammar all the technical terms are names and epithets of Kṛṣṇa, so that, the author tells us, Vaiṣṇavas would not have to set aside their practice of reciting Kṛṣṇa’s names to learn Sanskrit. In this paper I will briefly demonstrate how Jiva does that, with specific reference to the sections on *sandhi* and nominal derivation. Finally I will offer some speculation as to why Jiva might have deemed the creation of yet another Sanskrit grammar necessary.
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