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ABSTRACTS

OF

COMMUNICATIONS

PRESENTED

AT THE

TWO HUNDRED AND SEVENTEENTH

MEETING

San Antonio

March 16–19 2007
A. Ancient Near East I: AOS-NACAL: Linguistics. Annalisa Azzoni, Vanderbilt University, Chair (2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) L. Mahncke Room

1. Hermann Jungraithmayr, Institut für Afrikanische Sprachwissenschaft, Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt

   The Semitoid Nature of Mubi (Chadic)

   Chadic, the southwestermaost family of the Afroasiatic (Hamitosemitic) phylum, comprises some 150 languages spoken in Nigeria, Cameroun and Chad. Mubi belongs to its eastern branch, together with Migama, Mokilko, Dangaleat, Bidiya, Sokoro, etc. One of the crucial questions of comparative Afroasiatic linguistic research is to enquire into the amount and quality of common Afroasiatic heritage still preserved in these central Sudan languages which have been living under the conditions of a totally different (‘Nigritic’) environment. After all, they have survived—their homelands being assumed to have been in northern Africa—linguistic pressure and influence for the past 4–5000 years. They have undergone enormous transformational processes leading to an extreme diversification of this numerically largest Afroasiatic language family.

   Mubi is probably the one Chadic language conservative enough to display features still resembling the structure of Semitic, especially Arabic. Among other characteristics it displays a rich ablaut system operating its verbal and nominal morphology. The paper will present an outline of these features, based on field research, conducted by the author in the 70’s of the past century. The only earlier attempt at describing the language stems from Johannes Lukas (1937). A comprehensive study of Mubi is on the way.

2. Elitzur Avraham Bar-Asher, Harvard University

   A New Perspective on Barth’s Law

   In 1894 Jacob Barth suggested, in what has since been know as Barth’s law, that the vowel following the prefix in the G-stem depends on the thematic vowel of the verbal base, i.e., *yaqtul, *yaqtil and *yiqtal. Since then this law has been confirmed in many branches of the Semitic languages.

   In my paper I would like to propose a new perspective on this law, and to suggest that this law is a result of the process through which the preformative conjugation originated.

   In order to present this theory I would like to propose the following arguments:

   a. In PS there was a variety of imperative forms. Among them (if not all of them) were three patterns in which the first and the second vowels were not the same:

      qatil, qatul and qital.

   b. The prefix conjugation was a result of merging prefixes with the basic verbal forms, which is the Ø-marked form, also used for the imperative mood.

   c. The vowel of the prefixes was similar to the original first vowel of these verbal forms, and later on the first vowel of the basic form of the verb was reduced to zero.

   An acceptance of all these arguments will lead to the end result according to which
all the verbs in their prefix forms should agree with Barth's law. Let us demonstrate this last statement by following the different options:

- \( P+qatil \to Pa+qatil \to Paqtil \ [yagqtil] \)
- \( P+qatul \to Pa+qatul \to Paqtil \ [yagqtil] \)
- \( P+qital \to Piqital \to Piqtal \ [yiqqita] \)

P stands for Prefix

3. W. RANDALL GARR, University of California, Santa Barbara [withdrawn]

The Medial Demonstratives hallazeh, hallezû, and hallaz

This paper argues that πn, n in biblical Hebrew are neither proximal nor distal demonstratives. Rather, they are medial demonstratives and have a specific profile. They refer only to concrete entities whose referents lie not within the speech situation itself but in the outside world. They also presume that the referent is visible to the conversational participants and somewhere around, in the vicinity of, yet away from the speaker. In translation, πn, n and ṭn mean ‘(over) there’; their referents can presumably be located, specified, and designated with a pointing gesture.

4. NA’AMA PAT-EL, Harvard University

The Function and Etymology of the Aramaic Particle LM

The particle bm is found in Official Aramaic and Syriac and perhaps also in Deir Alla. It has been generally described as a marker of direct speech, henceforth a quotative marker, by many scholars of Aramaic (Nöldeke, Brockelmann, Segert, Kaufman, Muraoka & Porten and others). The suggestion that bm is an abbreviation of the infinitive bm was first made by Kaufman (1977b:121ff), who interpreted an occurrence of bm in an Assyro-Aramaic tablet as an intermediate stage between the inf. bm and the Official Aramaic and Syriac particle. Kaufman argues that the particle first preceded direct speech, then became an enclitic marker of direct speech and eventually became a particle meaning “then”. The loss of final -r was explained as the result of -r deletion which can be found in Babylonian Aramaic in several verbal forms, most notably nmr, ex. ni< ni< nm< mar (Boyarin 1976).

Although there is strong typological support for Kaufman’s reconstruction, this paper will argue on syntactic grounds that bm did not function as a quotative marker in Official Aramaic or in Syriac. The paper will further show that the derivation from bm is not justified on phonological grounds and a possible etymology will be presented.

5. CHRISTOPHER WOODS, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

The Conjugation Prefixes, the Dative Case, and the Empathy Hierarchy in Sumerian

The correlations between the Sumerian conjugation prefixes and the various infixes of the verb, particularly that of the dative case, is a problem of Sumerian grammar over which no small amount of ink has been spilt, closely tied, as it has been, to the long-standing debate over the functional distinction between the prefixes mu- and i-. Theories accounting for the correlations between prefixes and infixes have spanned from the directional theory of Thureau-Dangin to the animacy-case indexation notions
of Falkenstein, to the social hierarchy and topicality ideas of Jestin and Yoshikawa, with many variations in between.

In this paper I argue that the correlation between the conjugation prefixes and the referents of the dative case is explainable in terms of the animacy or empathy hierarchy, the natural ordering of nominals in language, which, among other things, describes the likelihood with which a speaker identifies or shares common concerns with people and entities under discussion. A speaker naturally empathizes most with himself. He is most concerned and identifies most with himself and, secondarily, with the addressee, his partner in discourse. The speaker displays progressively less empathy for third persons who are uninvolved in the discourse, collectives, inanimates, etc. The conjugation prefixes mimic this empathy continuum with respect to the dative case, accounting for why mu- is obligatory with the first person (ma-šumu₂) and overwhelming frequent with second person (mu-rašumu₂). With third-person referents, the hypothesis predicts that a speaker uses mu- (mu-našumu₂) when he wishes to express a high degree of empathy for, or identity with, that participant, extending to that third-person referent the marking otherwise reserved for first and second person. The prefix ba-, the counterpart of mu-, represents the low end of this spectrum, correlating with those nominals for which the speaker has a low-to-vanishing degree of empathy, primarily inanimates, collectives, and, significantly, zero and infinitival dative-benefactives; the prefix i-, in contrast, is neutral or unmarked with respect to speaker empathy. More broadly, the expression of empathy is just one facet of the broader grammatical voice function of the conjugation prefix system.

6. CALVERT WATKINS, University of California Los Angeles

A Note on the Hittite Funerary Ritual for a Prince or Princess

KUB 39.6 (CTH 450 II 1 A) reads nu kuitman ALAN ʾāššan INA UD 4 KAM ešzi. All the interpreters to date, Otten (HTR 50–51), Puhvel (HED 2.295), Kassian-Korol’ev-Sidelnikov (Hitt. Fun. Rit. 617), Cambi (Tempo e aspetto in ittito... il suffisso -ske/-. a-, diss. Scuola Norm. Sup. Pisa 2006, 118–20), have taken ALAN/ALAM ʾāššan as ‘seated image’, with the participle of ʾēš-/aš- ‘sit’, and identical to the ALAM ʾāšan ‘seated image’ first noted by Baron von Brandenstein in 1943 (Heth. Götter nach Bildbeschreibungen 24f.). This identification cannot be correct. The participle of ‘sit’ (like that of ‘be’ on which it is modeled) is ʾāšant-, and ʾāššant- can only be the participle of ‘remain’. The verb ʾāšš- moreover is an unaccusative intransitive, and can take suffixed subject pronouns and the auxiliary ‘be’ in periphrastic tenses, like pai-’go’. Just as pānt- ešzi is ‘has gone’, so I submit that ʾāššan... ešzi can only be ‘has remained’, agreeing with the neuter subject ALAN (ʾēšr). The distraction (hyperbaton) of the two constituents of the periphrastic perfect “around” an argument or adjunct is quite rare in Hittite, but can be paralleled.

7. DAVID TESTEN

Potential Iranian and Anatolian Cognates to the Greek Preposition (k)sun

The classical Greek preposition/preverb meaning ‘with’ displays an odd indeterminacy in its Anlaut. While in certain dialects (e.g., Homeric) the preposition has the shape ksun (spelled with ksi), in others (e.g., Attic) it takes the form sun (with sigma). Since the “sun-dialects" on the whole appear to have no intrinsic problem countenancing ksi in word-initial position, it is impossible to ascribe the absence of
“k-” in this word to a simple assumption of “ks- > s,” unless we adopt the (not impossible, but all the same undemonstrable) assumption of an “irregular” phonological phenomenon with a scope restricted to a single function-word.

Before drawing this conclusion, however, we should come to an understanding of the etymology of (k)sun. It will be suggested in the proposed paper that there are two potential cognates to (k)sun elsewhere in Indo-European that have not yet been recognized as being of relevance to the problem of the Greek preposition. The first of these—found in the modern Iranian language Ossetian—confirms the original presence of the velar, while the second—found in Hittite—provides a key enabling us to untangle the Anlaut of (k)sun. Reassessing the Greek preposition in the light of these forms allows us to comprehend why the odd correspondence between ksi and sigma should be restricted specifically to this word.

8. William W. Malandra, University of Texas

Pahlavi dālman ‘vulture’ and the ideogram CC’ (ṣṣ’)

The generally accepted etymology of Pahlavi dālman ‘lammergeier’ is that is derives from an Old Persian *darnu-mani-, the exact cognate of Avestan zarunu.mani- the name of a vulture, lit. ‘who has leeklace of gold.’ As intuitively correct as this may seem, there are phonological problems in deriving Middle Persian āl from OPers. ārn. Since the regular origin of Phl. āl is from OPers. ard/δ, I propose a new etymology by positing an OPers. *darða- ‘thread, ribbon, binding’ cognate with Av. uzdarzəz- ‘fagot’, handarzəz- ‘fetter’, and with Phl., NPers darz ‘sewing, seam’, Phl. darziq, NPers. dāriz, and NPers. dārzmān ‘thread.’ All these words derive from Indo-Iranian √*darž- : Av. darz- / Old Indian darb- ‘to make firm; to bind.’ While the Phl. and NPers words derive from a non-SW dialect, perhaps Parthian, a genuine Persian cognate is attested in NPers. dārbāz ‘tightrope walker’, with r/l alternation. Phl. d’lw’zyk is hardly ‘(pole-)acrobat’ (MacKenzie), but dālwažīg ‘rope player, tightrope walker’. Thus, dālman should mean ‘who has a band as necklace,’ < OPers. *darða-mani-, presumably a slightly different name from Av. zarunu.mani-, but for the same bird.

An interesting excursus is that in the Frahang ī Pahlawig 8, in a list of bird names, the Aramaic ideogram CC’ is glossed with dālman. And in the Bundahišn CC’ occurs three times in contexts that can only mean ‘stone’ (sang). These widely divergent uses of the ideogram recall, on the one hand, the gloss in Targum Onchelos of s.s.’ for Hebrew ṭhms an unclean bird, and on the other, the gloss in Targum II Esther ḏn y sy’s to Hebr. shrt. Further, in the light of my etymology for dāl(mani) it is impossible to ignore one of the common meanings of s(y)s.’ ‘thread, fringe(s).’

B. Ancient Near East II: Writing Systems. Seth Richardson, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chair (2:00 p.m.–4:00 p.m.) Crystal Ballroom

9. Miguel Civil, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

Transfer and Adaptation of Logograms

One way of expanding a logographic system, without increasing the size of its sign inventory, is the adaptation of a given logogram representing word A to the representation of a word B that has some phonological resemblance to A. The homophony does not need to be complete, and semantic elements (e.g., classifiers) no longer
adequate, can be preserved as fossils. Case studies, taken mostly from peripheral areas, will illustrate the various forms of this process.

10. **ILYA YAKUBOVICH, University of Chicago**

    **Pragmatics of the Glossenkeil in Bronze Age Syria and Anatolia**

    The gloss mark, or *Glossenkeil*, represents a cuneiform sign that was used in Late Bronze Age Peripheral Akkadian texts as a word divider, line connector, or marker of foreign glosses. The Glossenkeil in Neo-Hittite texts is most frequently placed in front of Luvian foreign words or borrowings, but in a number of cases it accompanies inherited Hittite lexemes. Furthermore, none of the marked Luvian words can be considered as glosses per se, since they are never preceded by their Hittite equivalents. The goal of my presentation is to explain this discrepancy, which has not been addressed in previous scholarship.

    My analysis shows that different copies of the same Hittite texts, as well as parallel passages of the genetically related Hittite texts, differ with respect to the usage of the gloss mark. Marked words are more abundant in the drafts than in the edited copies, where they are sometimes modified or replaced by functional equivalents. Furthermore, marked words occur more frequently in dictated or recorded texts than in those Hittite compositions that were likely to originate in a scribal milieu. The mythological texts of foreign origin offer the only systematic exception to this generalization.

    I suggest that the increasing usage and changing function of gloss marks in the Neo-Hittite orthography reflects a mismatch between certain oral varieties of Neo-Hittite and scribal expectations. In particular, it shows the scribes’ negative attitude toward intrasentential code switching with Luvian and the perceived improper usage of Hittite words in texts that were dictated to them. Foreign words marked in Akkadian texts frequently carry a message: “I do not know how to write it properly”, while foreign words marked in Hittite texts frequently convey a different message: “You do not know how to say it properly”.

11. **BENJAMIN STUDEVENT-HICKMAN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago**

    **The Ninety-Degree Rotation of the Cuneiform Script**

    The circumstances surrounding the rotation of the cuneiform script form one of those fundamental yet unresolved issues in ancient Near Eastern studies. Most scholars agree that the change took place in Babylonia, but they differ on when and why. For some, it took place in the third millennium as a function of handwriting and tablet shape; for others, it occurred in the Kassite period as a simple innovation. To date, arguments for both positions have suffered methodologically despite their relative validity.

    This paper offers additional evidence for the earlier date. Based on the development—or lack thereof—of the entry marker in lexical texts and the grapheme for the numeral *one*, it argues that the first clear evidence for the rotation comes from the Fara period. Moreover, the change was not a punctive event, but a process that, at least based on this evidence, was not completed until Ur III times. Even with this new consideration, however, both sides of the debate remain tenable, rendering the issue a bit more complicated than scholars have recognized.
12. LLOYD B. ANDERSON, Ecological Linguistics  
From Mesopotamian Cuneiform to Aegean Syllabaries and Mathematical Notations  

With increasing discoveries of contacts between the Aegean and the ANE, we should consider whether mathematical notations and syllabic writing systems were transmitted from Mesopotamia to the Aegean.  

There are several close matches between common cuneiform signs and Linear B and Cypriot syllabaries. For each sign, the best match is with cuneiform shapes at the time of Gudea or earlier, and in the orientation before the 90 degree rotation. The intermediate may have been a linear writing, not wedge impressions, and readings /daltu/ and /-tum/ suggest a Semitic language. The hypotheses here are intended to replace older speculative literature (as Cypriot /tu/ from a grape arbor).  

Signs showing the closest matches in form and sound include: (cun. = Cypriot/Linear B) PA = pa, LU = lo/ro, LA = la/ra, SE = se, TE = te, TI = ti, KA = ka, SU = -/zo, Semitic daltu = ta/da, TUM = tu/-, NE = ne, E2 = -/e. Less sure are SAL = sa, GI = ri/- . Even given signs which are not identical in shape, we can analyze repeating matches. Up-pointing triangles in TI and SU match corresponding shapes in Cypriot and Linear B /ti/ and /zo/, and the /zo/ has a crossed line just as does SU. Although Linear B /na/ and /di/ do not at first resemble cuneiform NA and DI, the two are similar to each other in both writing systems, and the derivation is certainly conceivable.  

Matches in the system of mathematical notations include a multiple of 10 associated with simple strokes rotated by 90 degrees, a pattern perhaps unique in the world. Cuneiform signs for male animals differ from females by having perpendicular strokes in Linear B and, according to some scholars, in archaic Uruk. The Linear B signs for volume measures 60 quarts, 10 quarts, and 1 quart (∼ liter) resemble cuneiform signs for the same measures.  

Additional links will be discussed.

13. PETER T. DANIELS, New York  
Recent Works on the Origins of Writing  
First Writing, edited by S. D. Houston, and The Origins of the West Semitic Alphabet, by G. Hamilton, both contain large amounts of data, but both reveal the pitfalls of not considering writing systems from the linguistic point of view—of not taking into account the relation between writing and language. Time permitting, other recent essays may be mentioned.

D. Islamic Near East I: Literature. (1:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) Bluebonnet Room  
• Beneath the Surface. MAJD AL-MALLAH, Grand Valley State University, Chair  
(1:00 p.m.–2:00 p.m.) Bluebonnet Room  

14. BILAL ORFALI, Yale University  
Representations of the Sea in Pre-Islamic Poetry  

Desert themes in Pre-Islamic poetry are universally recognized and celebrated. Less examined, however, is the opposite subject—namely, the sea. This paper examines
sea-related themes in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry, with the aim of determining whether these are developed as a group to justify our speaking about distinct “marine motifs,” through which the sea plays a role in the events, characters and overall vision of the literary work. Restricting its focus to the pre-Islamic poets mentioned in *Tabaqat Fihul al-Sharāʾ* by Ibn Sallām al-Jumāhī (d. 231–2/845–846), the paper shows an application of statistical and literary analysis to evaluate the frequency of sea-related terms in the corpus, and to determine literal and metaphorical references to the sea.

This analysis leads to the conclusion that pre-Islamic poetry reflects detailed accounts of the sea among pre-Islamic poets, contrary to Tāhā Husayn’s claim that the poetry of this period almost never refers to the subject (*Fi-l-adab al-jāhilī*, Cairo 1962, 79). This paper also proves that such accounts are based on an actual experience of the sea, and thus invalidates Kratchkovsky’s contention that the Arabs’ descriptions of events outside the desert were not realistic (*Tarikh al-adab al-jughrāfī al-ʿarabī*, tr. Ş. Hāshim, Cairo 1963, 1/43–44). Although marine pre-Islamic poetry does not constitute a genre in its own right (for the marine motifs are mostly imbedded in a poem which is centered around the desert), two motifs appear prominent enough to merit special attention to wit, the description of whales and the diving for pearls.

15. RUQAYYA KHAN, Trinity University

Secrecy in Early Islam

In this paper I pose the questions: How are self and identity conceptualized in early Islam? and What do early Arabo-Islamic sources tell us about notions of the self? I analyze the dynamic tensions between secrecy and revelation in classical Arabo-Islamic texts and argue that the very creation and retention of identity and subjectivity are informed by the keeping and revealing of secrets. My work charts new territory in two ways. First, it examines secrecy in order to elucidate pre-modern notions of self and identity (whereas previous work has analyzed secrecy in terms of its connections with the esoteric, e.g., secrecy in Islamic mysticism and Shiʿite theology). Second, it brings together sources that have not often been considered simultaneously, namely, scripture, ethics, encyclopedia articles and courtly love literature. As I try to show, there is a certain unity in constructions and representations of the self across these very different early Islamic discourses, namely that the self is always embodied, that it both conceals and reveals, and that the embodied self is characterized by outer physical signs and signifiers that attest to inner truths. Indeed, the Qur’anic construction of the embodied self has strong implications for understanding representations of self and subjectivity in early Islamic ethical and didactic writings as well as in classical Arabic love literature.

16. HUSAIN K. B. QUTBUDDIN, University of Cambridge.

‘Implicit *Tafsīr*’ and the Exoteric Aspect of Iṣmāʿīlī Exegesis

Iṣmāʿīlī exegesis of the Qur’ān has predominantly been characterized as exclusively esoteric. This paper aims to establish that Iṣmāʿīlī exegesis also has a substantial exoteric dimension, and to identify the loci for such a dimension in Iṣmāʿīlī works. Iṣmāʿīlī works lack a separate *tafsīr* genre such as is found in the Sunnī, Twelver Shīʿī and other traditions; rather, *tafsīr* has been performed within other genres via the process of quoting from the Qur’ān. These quotations are broadly of two types: 1. the quote is listed and its meaning is explicitly elaborated, and 2. the quote’s meaning
is not explicitly stated, but rather is conditioned implicitly by its textual and extra-textual context. It will be argued that the meaning of a quotation of the second type in a particular context can also be taken as tafsīr despite there being no explicit indication from the author that it is so, because of Ismāʿīlī exegesis’ authoritative nature (i.e., the quoting author is believed to possess the divine right to interpret the Qurʾān). While esoteric meaning has been specified largely by using the first type of quotation, exoteric tafsīr has been performed primarily via the use of the second type. Exoteric Ismāʿīlī texts, which elaborate on the jurisprudential, historical or moral aspects of religion, such as the Ḍuʿāʾīm al-ʿĪslām of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974), extensively refer to the Qurʾān using the second type of quotation, and in doing so implicitly elaborate on its exoteric meaning. Based on a detailed examination of the Qurʾānic quotations that occur in the Ḍuʿāʾīm and some other exoteric works, I will show that the exoteric meaning of the Qurʾān is not, as claimed by certain scholars, inconsequential in Ismāʿīlī doctrine, but has been specified substantially in Ismāʿīlī works.

• Sociability in Medieval Arabic Literature and Culture. (Organized by Samer Ali and Jocelyn Sharlet) EVERETT ROWSON, New York University, Chair (2:20 p.m.–4:20 p.m.) Bluebonnet Room

17. HANAA KILANY, Georgetown University

Uns in the Qurʾān and Ḥadīth

This paper studies the form and application of uns in Islamic tradition, namely the Qurʾān and the Prophetic tradition (Ḥadīth). The Qurʾān laid down the broad statutes for a stable nonviolent society in which individuals manage their daily lives according to their practices and cultural norms with no breach of divine statues. One would assume that attributes such as sociability, amicability, and compatibility (uns), the principal elements of interpersonal relationship would also be addressed. A definition is provided in the texts and particular types are encouraged and others are discouraged.

Like other issues in the Muslim community, sociability in the public sphere is, generally, laid down in the Qurʾān and expounded upon in the Prophetic tradition, which also attend to the private form of uns, namely, friendship and the relationship between married couples. Through contrasting uns with two antithesis solitude (wahṣa) and fear (khawf), I intend to examine the verses treating the verbs anasa, wahasha, khawf and their various derivatives in the Qurʾān and hadith in order to examine the types of uns. Anasa and istarnaṣa, the only forms employed on a limited scale (4:6, 20:10, 24:27, 27:7 & 28:29), are pertinent to spirituality (Moses and the burning bush) social decorum (mingling with the Prophet and fellow Muslims) and inheritance (orphans managing their property). Qurʾānic narratives are also researched for cases of uns in an attempt to improve our understanding of the theory. The Ḥadīth, in addition, elaborate on sociability among fellow Muslims and respond to signs of inappropriate deeds among them. The Ḥadīth “no altercation beyond three days among fellow Muslims” is a case in point. The intricate relationship between married couples is also well delineated; each party is made aware of the appropriate manners and actions that promote their uns together.
18. Delia Avila Atmaca, University of Texas at Austin

The Etiquette of Profanity in ‘Ulayya bint al-Mahdī’s “Zaynab”

The last decades witnessed a renaissance in the scholarship of classical Arabic poetics, though critical investigation of Arab women’s court poetry remains sparse. “Etiquette of Profanity” examines the interplay of transgression, redemption, and taboo in “Zaynab,” the celebrated ghazal by ‘Ulayya bint al-Mahdī (d. 210/825), sister to Abbasid caliph Harūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809). The study claims that the functions of transgression and redemption attributed to the classical Arabic ode are also present in ‘Ulayya’s ghazal. These functions, however, are not so easily separated in “Zaynab”: ‘Ulayya crafts her ghazal to simultaneously express profanity and exempt herself from it, thereby negotiating the bounds of courtly adab. Taboo also serves a dual role; implicit in ‘Ulayya’s oral profanity and persona as court musician/poet (mughanniyya), it straddles the spoken and the imagined, the aural and the physical. Thus ‘Ulayya operates within a liminal sphere, which bends and buffers expectations placed on her as a Muslim woman and sister to the Commander of the Faithful. The study borrows from the akhbār of al-Ṣulṭān’s Ashʿār awlād al-khulafā and Abī al-Faraj al-Īsfahānī’s al-Aghānī. In addition to theories of oral performance, the analysis employs current anthropological theories on the profane and taboo and feminist theories on body, gender, and performance.

19. Clarissa Burt, U.S. Naval Academy

Rivalry and Patronage in Umayyad Courtly Circles: ‘Adī ibn al-Ruqī’s Transactional Poetry

‘Adī bn al-Ruqāa‘ al-‘Aamilī (d. 714 C.E./95 H) served as a panegyric poet in the Ummayad court under several caliphs, including ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan, his son al-Walid, and his grandson ‘Umar. Raised in Damascus, Ibn al-Ruqāa’s poetic activity in the Ummayad court overlapped with the poetic careers of a number of other poets with whom he interacted and competed for position, favor and reward from courtly patrons, specifically Shubayl bn al-Hinbar al-Kalbī, Jarīr, Kuṭhayr bn ‘Abd al-Rahmaan, and al-Raa’ī al-Numayrī. Some of these interactions and rivalries are suggested by internal evidence in the poems of the poets concerned. Exchanges of hija’ poetry indicate that the rivalries and relationships between poets became part and parcel of public courtly discourse. The akhbār narratives glosses which surround the poems or quotes thereof are another source of evidence concerning court tensions and rivalries among poets. This paper will focus on how ‘Adī bn al-Ruqāa’s poetry reveals aspects of these interactions, and serves to negotiate for public outcomes in a contentious relationship before the audience of the mamduh, with particular attention to his Miniyah for al-Walid, and the examples of hija’- invective exchanges between Ibn al-Ruqa‘a‘and his colleagues/rivals. The economic aspects of such poetic rivalries also play an important role in the poetry, and the triangulation between the poet, his rival(s) and the patron/mamduh. Indeed, the evidence seems to suggest that such rivalry and public display of the resultant resentments were encouraged by courtly patrons. By examining the poetry of Ibn-Ruqaa‘ and his rivals, we may well discover a great deal about the range of behaviors and sentiments influencing Ummayad courtly sociability in poets and patrons, and the limits of that sociability.
20. SAMER M. ALI, University of Texas at Austin

The Abbasid Literary Salon (Mujalasa) and the Public Sphere of Participation

The Abbasid period saw an unprecedented number of middle ranking members of society (secretaries, soldiers, judges, teachers and merchants) participating in adab culture, both as patrons whose lives poets valorized in odes as well as producers and consumers of adab. This paper examines one aspect of this cultural trend, namely, the ways in which littérateurs (udaba) used to the literary salon (mujalasa) to define and redefine attitudes, ideals, beliefs by shaping memory of the past. It will focus particularly on odes composed and delivered by the traditional triumvirate of the Abbasid era: Abu Tammam, al-Buhturi and al-Mutanabbi. The selected odes are germane primarily because they are performed by high-profile poets in the service of middling personalities—a 19-year old soldier, a merchant and a secretary. I will argue that by valorizing non-royal lives the Abbasid poets were not only expanding their patronage base, but empowering a bourgeoisie to participate in an emerging public sphere (a la Habermas) and responding to new found needs in bourgeois literary salons.

21. JOCELYN SHARLET, University of California, Davis

Friendship, Gift Exchange, and Slaves: The Literary Expression of Material Value and Normative Ethics in Medieval Arabic Culture

Medieval Arabic culture often defines normative ethics and manners that govern relationships among the cultural elite, including concepts that range from muruwwa to adab to zarf. These discussions of normative manners sometimes refer to the role of material value in normative ethics and manners. The practice of these norms as articulated in literature displays a significant emphasis on material value, and on the way material value interacts with normative ethics and manners. This presentation will look at the literary expression of three related spheres of sociability, each of which displays the interaction between material value and normative manners: friendship, gift exchange, and selected themes related to slaves. It will identify features of poetry and narrative that contribute to the interaction between material value and normative manners. In particular, the analysis will examine the way the subjective use of normative manners in relationships becomes objectified in material exchange. Likewise, the analysis will discuss the way the objective quality of things and bodies takes on literal or figurative human subjectivity in conjunction with the practice of normative manners. The discussion will explore how material value and material exchange play a complementary and/or disruptive role in normative ethics and manners. Texts discussed include selections from several encyclopedic and monographic adab compilations (such as those by al-Khalidiyyan, al-Washsha’, al-Raghib al-Isbahani, and al-Husri), as well as several major diwans of the 3rd and 4th centuries (such as those by al-Buhturi, Ibn al-Rumi, Kushajim, and al-Sanawbari).
22. SUZANNE P. STETEKEVYCH, Indiana University

Adab in the Afterlife: Performance and Performativity in al-Ma'arri’s Risālat al-Ghafar and Ibn Shuhayd’s Risālat al-Tawābī wa al-Zawābī

“Adab in the Afterlife” proposes to explore the parodic encounters that occur between mortal and immortal in the two fifth/tenth century epistles constructed on the conceit of a visit to the other world: Abū al-'Alā al-Maʿarri’s (d. 449/1057) Risālat al-Ghafar and Ibn Shuhayd al-Andalusī’s (d. 426/1035) Risālat al-Tawābī wa al-Zawābī. It argues that in both cases the encounters and verbal exchanges between the mortal visitor and the souls in the Islamic afterlife (al-Maʿarri) or the personal inspirational jinn of the poets in the land of the jinn (Ibn Shuhayd) constitute parodic inversions of earthly Adab-etiquette, and therefore that established Adab-conventions are essential to the structure of these works. The study focuses on those aspects of specifically literary Adab-etiquette that relate to poetry and literary prose, that is, the conventions of tests and contests, competition and evaluation. The analysis is grounded in modern studies of test, contests, performance theory and performative language in works such as those of Johan Huizinga (Homo Ludens), J. L. Austin (How To Do Things With Words), Richard Bauman (Verbal Art as Performance) and Ward Parks (Verbal Dueling in Heroic Narrative).

23. EMILY JANE SELOVE, University of California Los Angeles

Sponging in a Rotten Age: al-Khatīb al-Baghdādi’s Monographic Work on Abusers of Hospitality

In his monographic work of adab, Al-Tatīl wa hikāyat al-tufayliyyīn (Sponging and Tales of Spongers), al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 1071) collected humorous anecdotes about spongers and party-crashers in Iraq. By al-Baghdādi’s lifetime, fasādu az-zamān, or “the rottenness of the age,” was an established trope in literature, a condemnation of the perceived decadence and disintegration of the Islamic community, and an acknowledgement that certain Arab values (such as total devotion to the guest) had not wholly survived their transplantation from the desert and the influence of other cultures. The party-crashers evoke and explore anxieties of invasion, changing values, and values hypocritically and incompletely clung-to, in a humorous and light-hearted manner. Social critics disguised as fools and comedians, the party-crashers appear on the doorsteps of high society, testing the hospitality and piety of the host. This paper will synthesize the work of Clifford Bosworth, Fedwa Malti-Douglas, Geert Jan van Gelder, Jean-Claude Vadet and others to propose a historically situated reading of al-Baghdādi’s work on tatīl as a criticism of religious hypocrisy and a recognition of the need for and presence of change in his society.
24. AHMED EL SHAMSY, Harvard University

A Textual History of al-Shafi‘i’s Kitāb al-Umm and Risālah

To what extent do the two major texts traditionally attributed to al-Shafi‘i, Kitāb al-Umm and the Risālah, truly represent that master’s work? Norman Calder, exploring the problems raised by Kitāb al-Umm and to a lesser extent the Risālah, cast doubt on both the textual content and the authorship of the two works. However, his research was based primarily on an analysis of the texts themselves. I propose an alternative path of enquiry that draws on a number of hitherto unused sources, in particular the extensive extant works written by the students of al-Shafi‘i’s disciple al-Rabī‘: a still unedited portion of al-As‘amm’s Musnad al-Shafi‘i, as well as al-Marwazi’s Sunnah, al-Tabari’s Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahā, and the recently edited Ziyādat by al-Naysabūrī.

An examination of these sources yields conclusions that clearly contradict those reached by Calder. First, they contain extensive and accurate quotations of Kitāb al-Umm and the Risālah, demonstrating that the text of the two works was already fixed by the ninth century. Second, the apparent “messiness” of al-Umm, which stands in sharp contrast to the polished format of the Risālah, reflects the oral nature of the work’s genesis. The writings of al-Rabī‘’s students indicate that al-Umm contains a collection of quotations from al-Shafi‘i as well as students’ notes on lectures given by al-Shafi‘i and al-Rabī‘. Third, the material that I have uncovered reveals in unprecedented detail the early transmission history of these works, beginning with al-Shafi‘i himself. I believe that a strong case can thus be made for the thesis that al-Risālah and al-Umm as they exist today in critical editions do indeed originate in the work of al-Shafi‘i, and that these texts had achieved their final form already in the ninth century.

25. DAVID R. VISHANOFF, University of Oklahoma

The Paradoxical Hermeneutic of Sunni Jurisprudence: Its Emergence and Triumph from al-Muzanī to Ibn Hazm

During the two and a half centuries following al-Shafi‘i’s attempt to correlate Islamic law with a canon of revealed texts, jurists and theologians developed competing hermeneutical theories to explain how such a correlation might be possible. As each Sunni school of law embraced al-Shafi‘i’s legal project, and became institutionalized as a legal guild, its members formulated comprehensive systems of interpretive rules. Some within each school were drawn to the theoretically consistent hermeneutical models developed by Ash‘arī and Mu‘tazīli theologians, while others developed a more pragmatic but paradoxical “jurists’ hermeneutic” that pursued two seemingly opposite aims: power to derive as much definite legal meaning as possible from revealed language, and flexibility to modify that meaning as needed to correlate it with a coherent legal system. By the middle of the 5th/10th century, this jurists’ hermeneutic was so dominant that theologically-inclined legal theorists of all legal and theological affiliations felt it necessary to reconcile their theoretical principles with the interpretive rules of the jurists’ paradigm. This paper reconstructs the history of this development within each of the Sunni schools of law, identifying key

26. R. Kevin Jaques, Indiana University


It has been argued that legal education was the primary arena of social conflict among intellectual elites during the Mamlûk period because the salaries, stipends, and other revenues earned in madrasahs and established by endowed trusts (awqâf, sing. waqf) were largely outside the control of Mamlûk authorities and thus safe from political power and manipulation. Little work has been done, however, on the means by which Sultân and dissident Amîrs attempted to manipulate social competition through judicial and administrative appointments within the Mamlûk government. This paper examines the competition that developed between three contemporary Damascene legal authorities: Najm al-Dîn Ibn Ḥijji (d. 830/1427), Shihâb al-Dîn Ibn Kishk (d. 837/1433), and Ibn Naqîb al-Ashrîf (d. 834/1431), the tangled webs of alliances that formed among them, and the kinds of power they attempted to acquire and use as a means of protecting themselves against the arbitrary force of the Mamlûks and against each other. The paper argues that beginning with the revolt of al-Mu'allayid Shaykh (c. 808/1405 to 815/1412), Sultân and rebelling Amîrs began to use control of judicial and administrative appointments as a means of manipulating elite families by offering powerful positions in exchange for financial and social support. It uses the competition between Ibn Kishk, Ibn Naqîb, and Ibn Ḥijji as a case study, arguing that their rivalry became so aggressive that Ibn Kishk and Ibn Naqîb plotted with the Governor of Syria and possibly even Sultân Barsbây to have Ibn Ḥijji murdered, following his removal as Confidential Secretary to the Sultân in 828/1425, because of his rising popular appeal, which it was feared, might become the source of popular dissent and thus a locus of a new series of civil revolts.

F. South and Southeast Asia I. Gary A. Tubb, Columbia University, Chair (1:30 p.m.–4:45 p.m.) Magnolia Room

- **Iranian and Indian Religion**

27. Jarrod L. Whitaker, Wake Forest University

**Who Gets to Live Forever in Ancient India? Rethinking áyus (“Lifetime”) in the Rgveda and Atharvaveda 1.35**

The Sanskrit term áyus, “life, lifetime”, maintains a fairly stable meaning throughout Indian history. While “life” may be the most basic of realities, the interpretation of áyus in its earliest manifestation in the Rgveda and Atharvaveda is not without its shortcomings. The term áyus has been squarely situated within the problematic interpretative category dubbed Daseinsmächte, which are supposedly “energy-substances”
that can be manipulated by magical, ritual techniques. The ramifications of this methodological disposition led Vedic scholars to the conclusion that ancient Indians believed they could manipulate reality through ritual performances in order to prolong their lives or protect them from danger. Consequently, ancient Indians must be acting in an irrational manner because they think that performing rituals will lengthen their lives. The obvious problem with this is that early Vedic ritual rhetoric and activity—apart from life-threatening injury—cannot affect the biological lifespan of humans; it would be ludicrous to think otherwise. This paper will reconsider the centrality of áyus in the parallel ritual traditions of the R̄gveda and Atharvaveda from a sociological and semiotic perspective. By examining the ways in which these early Vedic ritual institutions produce, constrain, and give meaning to the concept of áyus we will be able to see one strategy by which these ritual traditions reproduce themselves and legitimize their adherents. In other words: In the face of experience and lived reality, why do ancient Indians continue to assert in their hymns that they can gain life and prolong it through ritual performances?

28. SIGNE COHEN, University of Missouri-Columbia

The White Yajurveda and the Origins of Karma

Many scholars have speculated that the concept of karma as used in classical Hinduism and Buddhism may have had its origins in “tribal cultures” or elsewhere outside the Vedic tradition. In this paper I will argue that a religious doctrine of karma appears to have developed within the Vedic tradition, and more specifically, within the textual tradition of the White Yajurveda, as a result of mystical speculations surrounding the efficacy of ritual actions. I will demonstrate that the introduction of karma in the Brhadaranyaka Upanisad, in the sense of an action with inevitable results in the spiritual realm, represents a further development of themes already present in older texts of the White Yajurveda, such as the Sutapathabrahmana.

Vedic Language and Linguistics

29. JOEL BRERETON, University of Texas at Austin

Toward Understanding hí

This paper considers the function of the particle hí the R̄gveda. In Vedic, hí generally occurs in causal subordinate (or completive) clauses. But the R̄gveda shows many instances in which the hí clauses are not obviously subordinate and in which translators have taken hí to mean “indeed” or the like. As a contribution to the interpretation of hí clauses, this paper considers instances of one type of hí clause in the R̄gveda in which the hí clause appears not to be subordinate—the hí clause with an imperative verb. It attempts to show how the particle hí in such clauses might and should be interpreted as subordinating.

30. ALF HILTEBEITEL, George Washington University

Vedic and Epic Dhatr and Vidhatr

This presentation will examine the way the Vedic “abstract” deities Dhatr and Vidhatr, in Joel Brereton’s recent translation, the “one who sets in place” and the “one who sets apart” figure in the two Sanskrit epics, and particularly the Mahabharata. I will examine ways that they are referred to together and separately in order to see
whether such a clear differentiation can apply. I will look to the different deities that
the names are associated with. And above all I will look at the ways the names are
used by epic characters to describe their plights or express their ethical and theological
ideas. This will involve a central discussion of the main context in which the two names
are used: a debate between Draupadi and Yudhisthira toward the beginning of the
forest exile in Book 3.

31. Stephanie W. Jamison, University of California, Los Angeles

“Women’s Language” in the R̄gveda?

As part of a project attempting to untangle discourse registers, especially collo-
quialisms, in the Rig Veda, this paper will consider several linguistic features that
may have been used by Rigvedic (male) poets to characterize women speakers in the
ākhāyana or dialogue hymns in that text. Though neither of the features is exclusive
to women’s speech, both show unusual clustering in such contexts and may have been
employed to construct the persona of a “stage” female speaker. The two features in
question are quite distinct in the rest of their distribution and in their subsequent
history. The first is the secondary -ka-suffix, a meaningless and/or multivalent suffix
usually characterized as diminutive, which spreads widely in Middle Indo-Aryan and
therefore seems to fit easily into popular or colloquial speech. The other is the perfect
optative, a morphological category that essentially dies after the Rig Veda and would
at first glance appear to belong to the hieratic, archaic level of Rigvedic discourse.
The paper will provide evidence for the association of these linguistic categories with
female speakers and speculate on the reasons for these associations. If the association
between these linguistic features and female speakers holds, it will be the first instance
of the phenomenon found in much more extreme form in the Classical drama, where
even high-born women speak Prakrit to their Sanskrit-speaking spouses.

32. G. Guthenberg, University of Georgia

Functional Outcomes of Verbal Compounding in the R̄gveda

Although much has been written about the individual adverbial, spatial-temporal
auxiliaries in the Rigveda, no systematic attempt has yet been made to describe their
functions in the context of verbal compounds, that is structures involving verbs to-
gether with one or more preverb. It is a well-known fact that in the Rigveda the
semantic value such verbal lexemes may be something other than the mere sum of the
meanings/functions of its constituent parts. Pinault employed the term ‘idiomatized’
for semantically non-transparent verbal compounds. This paper addresses the ques-
tion of what preverbs actually do to verbs in the Rigveda and to a lesser extent also the
question of what verbs do to preverbs. The semantic/functional types of compounds
are here envisaged as forming a continuum. At one extreme we find semantically fully
transparent verbal compounds to which the preverb contributes its intrinsic basic
spatial-temporal value. At the other extreme we find fully idiomatized compounds
that show lack of semantic-functional transparency. For these compounds it may not
be meaningful to separate the function of the preverb from the function of the com-
ounds e.g., √ay ‘go’ vs. abhi n√ay ‘marry’, án√ay ‘fulfill a wish’. Between
these two extremes we find different semi-idiomatized compounds. In this type the
preverb maintains a clear individual function, which is the result of a modification of
its intrinsic basic spatial-temporal function. The original spatial-temporal value has
thus been replaced by one of the following functions: intensifying (\(\sqrt{at}\) ‘walk’ vs. \(v\hat{\imath}\) \(\sqrt{at}\) ‘run’), transitivizing (\(\hat{\imath}s\) ‘sit’ vs. \(s\acute{\imath}m\) \(\sqrt{\hat{\imath}s}\) ‘flock around’). A subtype of this latter is causativizing (\(\sqrt{k\acute{a}r\acute{s}}\) ‘be thin, become thin’ vs. \(\acute{\imath}v\acute{a}\) \(\sqrt{k\acute{a}r\acute{s}}\) ‘make thin’), reflexivizing (\(\hat{\imath}a\) \(\sqrt{h\acute{a}n}\) ‘slay’ vs. \(n\hat{\imath}\) \(\sqrt{h\acute{a}n}\) ‘fight with each other’), aspectualizing (\(\sqrt{c\acute{a}k\acute{s}}\) ‘see, shine, seem’ vs. \(pr\acute{a}t\acute{t}\) \(\sqrt{c\acute{a}k\acute{s}}\) ‘catch sight of, become aware of’), aktionsart-changing (\(\sqrt{v\acute{a}y}\) ‘weave’ vs. \(pr\acute{a}\) \(\sqrt{v\acute{a}y}\) ‘begin to weave and \(\acute{\imath}p\acute{a}\) \(\sqrt{v\acute{a}y}\) ‘cease to weave’). In the account of functional outcomes of verbal compounds presented here some axes are relevant for lexemes of different degrees of idiomatization: Compounding may result in either narrowing of the semantic value of the verb (\(\sqrt{d\hat{a}\acute{s}}\) ‘fade away, become exhausted’ vs. \(\acute{\imath}p\acute{a}\) \(\sqrt{d\hat{a}\acute{s}}\) ‘dry up’) or broadening (\(\acute{\imath}v\acute{e}\) ‘urinate’ vs. \(\acute{\imath}v\acute{e}\) \(\sqrt{m\acute{e}h}\) ‘pour down’). The verb may semantically predominate over the preverb (\(\sqrt{\acute{\imath}d}\) ‘praise’ vs. \(\acute{\imath}p\acute{a}\) \(\sqrt{\acute{\imath}d}\) ‘praise’) or the preverb may semantically dominate the verb (\(\sqrt{\hat{\imath}s}\) ‘sit’ vs. \(s\acute{\imath}m\) \(\sqrt{\hat{\imath}s}\) ‘gather, be gathered’). The preverb may negate the intrinsic direction/perspective of the verb (\(\sqrt{\acute{\imath}h}\) ‘praise’ vs. \(\acute{\imath}t\acute{\imath} \sqrt{\acute{\imath}h}\) ‘despise’), or the verb may negate the intrinsic direction/perspective of the preverb (\(\sqrt{g\acute{\acute{a}}h}\) ‘get, dive into something’ vs. \(v\hat{\imath}\) \(g\acute{\acute{a}}h\) ‘dive into something’). This investigation of the functions of verbal compounding in the earliest attested Indian may be seen as a starting-point for an examination of similar phenomena in Indo-Iranian as well as in Indo-European. It could also be the starting-point for a general discussion of the relation between two important aspects of language change: lexical and grammatical idiomatization.

33. HANS HEINRICH HOCK, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Multiple Preverb Accentuation in Vedic

The two standard accounts of the accentuation of Vedic finite verbs with multiple preverbs are Pāñini (ca. 400 BC) and Delbrück (1888), the latter apparently informed by Pāñini and the evidence of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Both varieties of Late Vedic offer the patterns in [1], with accent alternation between the verb and the immediately preceding preverb, and non-accentuation of any earlier preverbs. By contrast, the Rig Veda has structures such as [2], with accent on more than one preverb or on the leftmost preverb and the verb. Delbrück notes some of these complications. However, his account is incomplete and fails to address the historical developments. I show that at the earliest stage accent variation must have affected only finite verbs (main clause vs. dependent clause), while preverbs retained their accent. The Rig Veda presents an initial step toward the Late Vedic situation, with a great amount of variation, and constructions with \(\hat{\imath}\) tending to be more innovative. The situation is similar in the Taṭṭīrīya Saṁhiṭā and Brāhmaṇa. The latter, however, offers a few triple-preverb structures [3], with alternating accent. Combined with other evidence, these structures suggest that the development toward Late Vedic was initiated by the tendency toward alternating accent within the same morphological domain. I map out further developments and conclude by pointing out the implications, as well as the surprising complication that the early Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhiṭā presents the same situation as Late Vedic.

[1] a. abhyūddharati (P 8.1.28 + 8.1.70)
   b. abhyuddhārati (P 8.1.66 + 8.1.70 + 8.1.71)
[2] a. āpā prā yantu ... RV 1.40.1c
   b. yātrābhi saṁnavāmale (RV 8.69.5c)
[3] tán ... prajā abhi samāvartanta (TB 1.1.5.4)
34. PETER M. SCHARF, Brown University

Vedic Accent: Underlying Versus Surface

Motivated to reveal the correspondence between Vedic and Greek accent and to establish the accentuation system of Proto-Indo-European, modern scholars have generally described graphic accent marks in Vedic texts as indications of underlying accents. Romanizations of Vedic texts in various Indian scripts that purport to be faithful transcriptions mark only underlying high pitches and independent svaritas. In the common system known in the Śālaśaṁhitā of the Ṛgveda, for instance, a horizontal line below is taken to indicate that a following unmarked syllable has underlying high pitch; it is the high-pitched syllable that is marked in the roman transcription. In contrast, certain recent scholars have articulated the correspondence between graphic accent marks and surface pitch. Witzel (1975: 27) attempted to identify graphic accent marks with specific tones “on the basis of the general coincidence of symbol and pitch level.” He suggested that close attention to accentual transcription in manuscripts could contribute to the history of Vedic literature and to Indian history generally. Cardona (1993b) demonstrated that the graphic marks that identify accents in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa correspond to the tonal levels accounted for in the Bhāṣikāsūtra and that the rules of the Bhāṣikāsūtra transform the underlying accent to the surface accent so marked. He argued that the surface accent represents dialectal change from the underlying accent. The current paper demonstrates that rules in various prātiśākhyas and other linguistic treatises similarly transform underlying accent to surface accent that is accurately represented by graphic symbols in received manuscripts of the śāmhitās that these prātiśākhyas describe. Findings support Witzel’s and Cardona’s arguments concerning the value of accentual details for the linguistic and general history of India.

A. Ancient Near East III: Akkadian Literature. GARY BECKMAN, University of Michigan, Chair (9:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m.) Crystal Ballroom

35. NIEK VELDHUIS, University of California, Berkeley [withdrawn]

Semitic Lexicography in the Mid-Third Millennium

Five mid-third millennium lexical compositions, including ED Animals B and the list of professions ED Lu E, are to be understood as lists of Sumerograms for Semitic words. That this is the case is apparent not only from the few Semitic entries in these lists, but also from writings such as ABxAS2 for witness and DUL3 for statue, which are usually taken as diagnostic features for the Semitic linguistic affiliation of administrative texts from this period. To this same group of compositions belongs the Shamash myth, written almost entirely in Sumerograms in one copy but predominantly in syllabic Semitic in another. This corpus, found exclusively at Northern sites, is what remains of the cultural heritage of the so-called Kish civilization.

36. DANIEL FLEMING, New York University

Yale Does Not Assume Penn: A Reading Hypothesis for the Old Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic

Readers of Gilgamesh have long treated the Akkadian material from the Old Babylonian period as a literary unity. It must have been preceded by the Sumerian stories
known from the same period, and it underwent stages of change now embodied in the Hittite and Standard versions. The Pennsylvania and Yale tablets represent the only extended blocks that survive, and based on comparison with the later epic, they are naturally read as Tablets II and III of a single text. With its preparations for an assault on the monster Huwawa, known from one of the Sumerian texts, the Yale tablet is acknowledged to depend on an earlier tale. In its OB version, however, it is understood to be integrated fully into one coherent epic, picking up where the Penn tablet leaves off.

In papers that represent a joint project, Sara Milstein and I propose an alternative reading that I will introduce in this first presentation. Based on details of content, style, and grammar, the two tablets appear to belong to separate versions of an Old Babylonian epic. For example, Gilgamesh is explicitly a king only in Penn; and the Penn tablet is sprinkled with “perfect” verb forms that are arguably lacking from Yale. More globally, the content of Yale does not assume Penn in specific terms, even while it does assume some previous introduction of both Gilgamesh and Enkidu. Penn develops the character Enkidu and his friendship with the protagonist beyond the bounds of the Yale narrative, so Penn may belong to a subsequent and longer version of the epic. There may then have been at least two versions of the OB tale.

37. Sara Milstein, New York University

An Examination of the Literary Features of the Yale Tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic

Few would question that the Yale tablet of the Gilgamesh Epic continues the narrative in the Pennsylvania tablet; i.e., that the two constitute Tables 2 and 3 of the Old Babylonian epic. Not only do Gilgamesh and Enkidu appear to have met prior to the Yale tablet, but the text also refers to Enkidu’s upbringing, a familiar theme of the Pennsylvania tablet. If indeed the two texts belong to a single epic, then we should expect that the Pennsylvania tablet anticipates what follows, and correspondingly, that the Yale tablet assumes the content of “Tablet 2.” This paper is part of a joint project with Daniel Fleming that challenges the assumption that the two tablets belong to one unified text. Specifically, I will establish that the core literary features of the Yale tablet indicate its independent coherence.

The prominent features of the Yale tablet, namely, dialogue, the motif of knowledge, and the use of repetition, do not materialize in the Pennsylvania tablet in identical form. In contrast to the Pennsylvania tablet, which is characterized by numerous action sequences, the Yale tablet expounds upon Gilgamesh’s proposal to act—not the action itself. This tablet is dominated by sequences of dialogue which retard the action rather than advance it. The recurring motif of Enkidu’s prior knowledge in the Yale tablet diverges sharply from the Pennsylvania tablet, in which the author downplays the importance of Enkidu’s past. Finally, the Yale tablet’s modes of repetition, which deliberately align Enkidu and the elders in contrast to Gilgamesh, are altogether absent from the Pennsylvania tablet. In sum, the literary features of each tablet reveal a significant degree of variation, contributing to divergent portraits of Gilgamesh and Enkidu. These discrepancies advance the conclusion that the Yale and Pennsylvania tablets belong to alternative versions of the Old Babylonian epic.
The Kennings in Gilgamesh’s Rejection of Inanna and Amorite Cultural Identity

Twenty years ago in a somewhat controversial paper on Gilgamesh’s rejection of Inanna in the sixth tablet of the Standard Version of The Epic of Gilgamesh, Tzvi Abusch (1986, 146) described the lines that immediately precede the rejection of Inanna as kennings, presumably in the sense of “periphrastic expressions used instead of the simple name of a thing” (OED). In this talk I demonstrate that the kennings in lines 35–41 in tablet VI correspond to lines 171–177 in the Sumerian mythological text known as Inanna and Ebih. Each of the seven kennings in Gilgamesh puns on the first word in the corresponding line of Inanna and Ebih, commenting thereby on the original import of these lines and alluding to other texts of importance for the Amorite elites in the Old Babylonian period. The balance of the talk investigates the implications of this renvoi within The Epic of Gilgamesh, primarily in terms of the significance of Mt. Ebih within Amorite literary traditions of the Old Babylonian and subsequent periods.


The Structure of the Enûma Eliš

Since the initial publication of the cuneiform tablets containing what is now known as the Enûma eliš (Smith 1876), this text, in essence an elaborate hymn to Marduk, has excited the curiosity and stimulated the interest of scholars not only in Assyriology, but also in many other related fields. However, despite the importance and significance of the Enûma eliš, the text has not yet appeared in a modern critical edition, and work on the structure and language of the text has been relatively sparse, with only the recent appearance of Talon 2005 since the early full editions of King 1902, Langdon 1923, and Labat 1935, and the cuneiform texts of Deimel 1936 and Lambert 1966. All of these scholars, as well as the many translators of the text, including Heidel 1951, Bottéro and Kramer 1989, Lambert 1994, Dalley 2000, and Foster 2005, offer plot summaries of this long and complex hymn, but none has ventured an analysis of the poem as a whole as a piece of literature in its own right. In fact, the Enûma eliš conveniently divides into seven major narrative sections, of widely varying length, which inform the work’s overall composition, a delicate balance between the forward progression of its linear structure and the backward regression of its ring structure. Analysis of the language of the Enûma eliš demonstrates both the validity and the significance of this structural analysis, and, in turn, establishes a solid foundation from which to analyze the major themes of the text: perhaps one of the strongest examples of the potential of this interpretative framework is the singular use of the verb nāru in the Enûma eliš first to describe Ea killing Apsû (verse-final inâraššu, Ee 1.69) and then to describe Marduk killing Tiamat (verse-final inâaru, Ee 4.105).

Another Wrinkle on Old Adapa

For its relatively modest size, Adapa has attracted disproportionate attention from Assyriologists and from biblical scholars, the latter heavily influenced by interpretations that have Adapa missing an opportunity for immortality. In this paper, I offer
one more reading of a crucial passage to suggest yet another interpretation of this parable.

41. JEFFREY COOLEY, Xavier University

Erra and Išum and Babylonian Celestial Divination.

Since F. Al-Rawi and J. Black published the second tablet of the first-millennium myth Erra and Išum (Iraq 51: 111–122) it has been generally recognized that the story includes fairly specific references to celestial features known from the Mesopotamian tradition of celestial divination. Moreover, D. Brown (Mesopotamian Planetary Astronomy-Astrology) has made passing reference to his belief that Erra and Išum contains significant astronomically related material. Nevertheless, to date no systematic study of the myth has been undertaken which explores this possibility in any depth.

In this paper, I will demonstrate that the author of the myth did, in fact, employ significant astronomical technical terminology in his composition, terminology that is also found in the contemporary works of celestial divination (Enûma Anu Enlil, mûlAPIN, as well as the astronomical reports and letters to the Neo-Assyrian monarchs). Such terminology includes: bibbu, manzâzu, šarâru maqâtu, šarâru nāšâ, ba'alu, umullu, and adannu etêqu.

Moreover, I will show that the author’s knowledge of celestial divination goes beyond the mere use of technical terminology. Indeed, the author also exhibits his familiarity with the association of certain celestial features with specific divine characters and mundane phenomena. This includes the constellations mûlKA₅.A / šêlebu (“the Fox”), the Sebitti and the planet Mars with the god Erra. He also associates Mars/Erra with destruction and plague, the Sebitti with the well-being of livestock, and Marduk with the stability of the land in general and Babylon in particular. Finally, I will show that the author demonstrates a knowledge and acceptance of specific divinatory theoretical concepts including the general principle that the phenomena of the sky portend divine action.

B. East Asia I: Chinese Phonology and Paleography. ROBERT JOE CUTTER, Chair (9:00 a.m.–11:00 a.m.) L. Mahncke Room

42. CRISPIN WILLIAMS, University of Kansas

A Phonological Study of the Wenxian Covenant Texts

The paper will present aspects of a phonological study of a set of excavated early Chinese materials, the Wenxian covenant texts. These texts were brush-written on stone tablets and have been dated to the early fifth century BC. They were excavated in their thousands from sixteen pits in Wenxian, Henan province, China, in 1980–1981. The covenants include more than ten unique formulæ, each one repeated on many tablets, each tablet individualized with the name of a covenantor. They call on a spirit to sanction various stipulations demanded of the covenantors by the covenant lord and deal with issues of loyalty, prohibitions on communication with enemies, duties related to sacrifices and falsification of public notices.

The covenant texts are in the process of being prepared for full publication and this phonological study of the materials will assist in their accurate transcription, providing
analysis necessary for the identification of loangraphs and variant characters. It may also bring to light as yet unnoticed features, such as evidence of dialectical variation.

Articles on a number of these texts have been published by Hao Benxing, Zhao Shigang, Susan Roosevelt Weld, myself, and others, but there has not yet been a study focusing on phonological issues relating to the analysis of the materials.

On a broader level, the study will be an example of the application of the Baxter/Sagart reconstruction system to the analysis of an excavated early Chinese text.

Conclusions will be drawn on the identification of specific graphs and the phonological issues raised in the process of their analysis.

43. David Prager Branner, University of Maryland

Explaining Character Structure before Shuowén

The Shuowén Jiézi is a treasured resource for studying the historical structure of Chinese characters. Dated around 100 C.E., it explains a monumental script of the 3rd century B.C.E. But the basic Shuowén we have today is a 10th century reconstruction, revising an 8th century version whose editor notoriously corrupted an earlier text, now no longer in existence. Our oldest surviving Shuowén actually dates from 900 years after the original.

The 10th through early 12th centuries were an era of philological synthesis. New reference works melded information from what in preceding centuries had been separate sources. Into the reconstructed Shuowén came systematic, prescriptive reading pronunciations, following the dictionary Qièyùn. Official expansions of the Qièyùn in the 11th century took on, in turn, myriad rare graphs from the Shuowén and extensive Shuowén citations on graphic structure. Many of these comprehensive works remain standards down to our day. But what do we know about the cruder conceptions that preceded them?

This paper proposes that the complete surviving Qièyùn manuscript (c. 705 C.E.) is an untapped source for examining how character structure was explained before the Shuowén was reconstructed. It is the earliest reasonably complete linguistic inventory of written Chinese now in existence, the oldest to embrace all three necessary components of a written morpheme: sound, meaning, and graphic form. The manuscript contains few direct Shuowén citations. Rather, certain graphic elements, those ordinarily seen only as subcomponents of other characters, appear among its entries as independent graphs—far fewer than in its later redactions, but enough to educate us. Those subcomponents are not only defined but also given pronunciations that seem to complete them as fully specified morphemes. The treatment of these pseudo-characters suggests how graphic structure may have been taught before the reconstructed Shuowén became widely available.

44. Adam Smith, University of California Los Angeles

Paleographic Data for the Reconstruction of Old Chinese Phonology–jia3 “Armor”

Newly discovered pre-Han inscriptions continue to challenge us with unfamiliar ways of writing familiar words. Many of these graph forms are phonologically motivated, and therefore constitute of the most important sources of data for testing and refining existing OC reconstructions.
The OC form of the word jia3 “armor; shell; protective covering” is reconstructed as “krap by Baxter (1992). It occurs frequently in received literature where it is consistently written with the same sign as its homophone, jia3 “first tian-gan”. This writing for jia3 “first tian-gan” is continuously attested from the earliest excavated texts of the late 2nd millennium B.C. However, the use of this sign to write “armor” is not palaeographically attested until it appears among entries in the 5th century tomb inventory of Zeng Hou Yi.

Chinese palaeographers have long been aware of a second writing, for a word that was clearly semantically connected with armor or weapons, composed of the SHACKLES sign, with the optional addition of TIGER-HEAD and other elements. Since phonological or graphic arguments linking the two were not forthcoming, it was assumed this second writing with SHACKLES was writing a word other than “krap “armor”.

New inscriptive materials published in the last decade provide many additional instances of this second writing, and it is now very clear on contextual grounds that it too is a writing for “krap “armor” (Li Jiahao 2000; Li Ling 1996, 1999; Shi Xiejie 2002). It appears to have been the standard writing for the word until its gradual but complete displacement by the graphically simpler writing for jia3 “first tian-gan” over the course of the Warring States period.

This paper attempts to account phonologically for the newly-identified writing for jia3 “armor”.

45. Richard Van Ness Simmons, Rutgers University

Comparing Common Northern Wu and Common Southern Jiang-Huai with Common Dialectal Chinese

The dialects of mid Jiangsu Province occupy a region where the Jiang-Huai Mandarin dialects border with the northern Wu dialects. Features that seem to evidence strong Wu dialect influence, or even origin, characterize the Mandarin dialects in this area, while the Wu dialects are not free of Mandarin influence. Still, even in this zone of marked language mixing, the region’s various dialects can almost all be classified as either Mandarin or Wu when examined individually. We can sort out the two types based on characteristic divergence from Common Dialectal Chinese* as belonging either to the Common Northern Wu phonological type, or the Common Southern Jiang-Huai phonological type. This paper compares these two local phonologies and their divergent, but typologically significant, development from Common Dialectal Chinese and how these three common phonologies are reflected in the mid Jiangsu dialects.

C. Islamic Near East III: Religion. (9:00 a.m.–11:40 p.m.) Bluebonnet Room

- Qur'anic text. R. KEVIN JAQUES, Emory University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:00 a.m.) Bluebonnet Room

46. JAMES A. BELLAMY, University of Michigan

God the Solid: Emending the Sūrat al-İkhlas

This paper aims at emending an important and often-quoted passage in the Qur'ān. Surah 112 is a short statement on the nature of God: “Say, verily God is one; God the sāmad: He has not begotten; He was not begotten; and no one is His equal.” The only crux in the Surah is the word sāmad in v. 2, for which there is a variety of definitions.

Franz Rosenthal has made a thorough philological study of sāmad in an article (The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume, New York, 1953, p. 68ff.), in which he translates the complete commentary on the word by al-Ṭabarī, who gives six definitions of the word by the commentators. Of these Rosenthal, rejects five for cogent reasons, and concentrates on the oldest definition, “solid, not hollow,” which is supported by al-Ṭabarī with sixteen traditions, more than he gives for all the others combined. Rosenthal cites more than forty translations of sāmad, dating from the ninth century down to the twentieth. The favorite in the West is “eternal,” which Rosenthal calls, “the fatuous eternal.”

Rosenthal’s general conclusion is rather negative. He sums up by saying: “The fact cannot be concealed that the most ancient and prosaic attempts to explain the word were not able to find much variety and meaning in it.” I believe, however, that the meaning “solid, not hollow” is what was intended. God is solid, he cannot be broken into parts, specifically into three parts: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. The real problem is that sāmad cannot mean “solid,” so it must be emended to read jāmīd, which does mean “solid.”

47. DAVID S. POWERS, Cornell University

From Nuzi to Medina: Q. 4:12b Revisited

The opening line of 4:12b is traditionally read: wa-in kāna rajul unn yūrathu kalalā‘an aw imra‘at unn; and it is traditionally understood as meaning: “If a man or woman leaves his inheritance to collaterals”. In a monograph published in 1986, I suggested that the original reading of this sub-verse was: wa-in kāna rajul unn yūrithu kalalā‘an aw imra‘at unn; and that it originally signified: “If a man designates a daughter-in-law or wife as heir”. In my communication, I will present two forms of documentary evidence that support my hypothesis. The first type of evidence is found in cuneiform tablets written in Nuzi in the middle of the second millennium BCE. In numerous adoption contracts we find an Akkadian equivalent of 4:12b’s kalalā‘a aw imra‘a. The second piece of evidence is found in Bibliothèque nationale 328(a), an early Qur’ān manuscript written in the Hijazi style script. Examination of this manuscript suggests that a scribe erased at least one of the words in Q. 4:12b and then re-wrote it, changing the consonantal text or spelling by adding an extra letter. It appears that the original spelling of the word was *kalā‘a, a word otherwise unknown in Arabic but which shares the same root, morphology and, possibly, meaning as its Semitic cognates, all of which signify bride or daughter-in-law.
48. **Christopher Melchert**, Oriental Institute, Oxford

**Oral and Written Transmission in the Generation of Variant Readings (qirāṭāt) of the Qur’an**

I have observed before that some of the acceptable variants in qur’ānic recitation are plainly from oral tradition; e.g., at Q. 1:6, where the accepted readings (according to Ibn Mujāhid) are ihdīnā al-sirāṭ al-mustaqīm, al-sirāṭ, and al-zirāṭ. Elsewhere, however, they plainly come from written transmission; for example, at Q. 2:58, where the accepted readings include naghfīr lakum khaṭāyākum, yughfār lakum, and tughfār, these differences having to do with whether one places dots above or below the line, and whether one dot or two. I propose a simple census of disagreements among the best-known readings to see how often they belong in one or the other category, based on a random sample from Ahmad Mukhtar ‘Umar & ‘Abd al-‘Āl Sālim Mukarram, *Muṣjl al-qirāṭ al-qur’ānīyah*, 8 vols. (Kuweit: Dhât al-Salâsil, 1982–5), to see just how often one or the other source of disagreement can be identified.

- **Relics.** JON McGINNIS, University of Missouri, St. Louis, Chair *(10:00 a.m.–10:40 a.m.)* Bluebonnet Room

49. **Travis Zadeh**, Harvard University

**From Drops of Blood: Charisma and Political Legitimacy in the Translatio of an ‘Uthmanic Codex**

In his history of the zāhiriyya movement, I. Goldziher (1884) makes a passing reference to the veneration in North Africa of an ancient Qur’ānic codex (*mushaf*) considered to have been copied by the martyr ‘Uthmān b. ‘Affān, third of the “rightly guided caliphs” of Islam. This paper uncovers the story of an ‘Uthmānic *mushaf* which passed from generation to generation across the western stretches of Islam. From the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus to the dynasty of the Banū Marīn in North Africa, I follow the loss and recovery of the prized codex through the historiographical writings of Ibn Ḥayyān, al-Idrīsī, Ibn ‘Idhārī, Ibn Marzūq, Ibn Khaldūn, al-Maqqarī, and others. During the course of this paper, I detail the early mythology surrounding this particular relic, from the folios stained with ‘Uthmān’s blood to the introduction of the codex into the peninsula during the second/eighth century by ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Dākhil, first Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus. One of four sent to the corners of the earth, the codex possesses divine charisma, which bestows political authority and religious legitimacy to the various dynasties who acquire it. Brought into battle against Christians and fellow Muslims, decorated with ornate coverings, and made into the object of countless panegyrics, the story of the ‘Uthmānic codex on the western frontiers of Islam offers a glimpse into a sustained network of meaning and power. While exploring the symbolic role of the codex in aligning successive Muslim dynasties to the early history of Islam, I silhouette the similar phenomena of the furta sacra and the translatio of relics in medieval Christian tradition, as a strategy to examine the broader political and religious significance surrounding this object of continued veneration.
50. SAMUEL NOBLE, Yale University

A Disputation over a Fragment of the True Cross: A Text from the History of Inter-Religious Relations in Medieval Egypt

Two unpublished manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (Par. ar. 215 and 4881) contain a unique Copto-Arabic text that offers insight into the history of inter-religious dialogue in medieval Egypt. While its composition probably dates to around the eleventh century, this literary disputation is set within the late seventh-century court of the governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, son and brother (respectively) of the Umayyad caliphs Marwān (684/5) and ʿAbd al-Malik (685–705). The debate is occasioned by the discovery of a fragment of the True Cross among the possessions of a recently deceased member of the Jewish community, and its participants include the Coptic patriarch John III (677–686), a prominent Jew named Aaron, and an anonymous Melkite Christian. Each participant attempts to make the case for the truth of his religion and to advocate for his right to purchase the relic. After John III prevails in successive arguments over his Jewish and Christian interlocutors, the text concludes with a dialogue on the crucifixion between the Coptic patriarch and the Muslim governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, in which the patriarch cleverly persuades the governor to grant him the fragment of the cross without payment.

This contribution, which is part of a larger project with Prof. Stephen Davis and Bilal Orfali of Yale University, will look specifically at the portion of the text which presents the Coptic patriarch’s disputation with the Melkite in order to examine how it not only uses the forms and conventions of the Arab-Islamic mujadala genre within the context of inter-Christian debate but also attempts to use various arguments developed in religious dispute with Muslims as a way of framing the Melkite Christological position as quasi-Islamic.

51. GOD. JON McGINNIS, University of Missouri, St. Louis, Chair (11:00 a.m.–11:40 a.m.) Bluebonnet Room

God as Dazzling Light in Early Arabic Philosophy

In his discussion of negative theology in the Guide of the Perplexed (1 59, p. 95 Joel), Maimonides attributes to “all philosophers” the view that God “dazzles us by His beauty and is hidden from us because of the intensity of His manifestation, just as the sun is hidden to eyes that are too weak to apprehend it.”

The present contribution studies this important but hitherto insufficiently explored motif in Arabic philosophy. It analyzes statements to this effect by Farabi, Ibn Miskawayh, Isfizari, the Brethren of Purity, Avicenna, and Ghazali—all possible sources of Maimonides. It shows that, although historically accurate, Maimonides’ presentation of the philosophers’ position fuses two different explanations of God’s hiddenness: (1) He dazzles us due to our intellects’ weakness or (2) due to the infinite intensity of His manifestation (this is a paradoxical formulation that comes close to asserting coincidentia oppositorum in God). The former explanation places the reason for God’s hiddenness (i.e., unknowability to humans) in the recipient; the latter, in God Himself (or in God and the recipient).

I will argue that the former explanation is connected, typologically as well as historically, to the famous “eyes of the bat”-motif in Aristotle’s Met. α (whose Arabic recep-
tion has been analyzed in a recent article by Jean Jolivet) and to Plato’s parable of the sun in the Republic (whose Arabic version has been discovered by David Reisman in Isfizari’s Metaphysical Questions). I will also show that the latter explanation—that Gods hiddenness is due to the infinite intensity of His manifestation—is related, typologically as well as, possibly, historically, to the Pseudo-Dionysian notion of “divine darkness.”

52. SANDRA TOENIES KEATING, Providence College

An Early List of the Ṣifāt Allāh in the Writings of a Christian Apologist

In the opening arguments of his Risāla on the Holy Trinity, composed circa 820 AD, Abū Ruʿiṭah al-Takriti, the Jacobite Christian apologist, purports to quote his Muslim opponents, citing a brief, yet detailed list of Ṣifāt Allāh “on which you agree with us and you witness”. This list of attributes, which appears well before the fully developed ḥaqāʾiq of the Muʿazza and the Ashʿarites, reflects an interesting combination of terms and phrases found in the Qurʾan and in the early texts of both Muslims and Christians. This paper will give a brief overview of the possible sources of each of the Ṣifāt mentioned and offer some suggestions as to the origin of the text itself.

D. Islamic Near East IV: History: Commerce. DAVID S. POWERS, Cornell University, Chair (11:40 a.m.–12:30 p.m.) Bluebonnet Room

53. MICHAEL BONNER, University of Michigan

The Arabian “Silent Trade”

In Seattle last March I spoke on the narrative tradition on the “Markets of the Arabs before Islam.” Now I examine the forms and methods of commerce ascribed to the Arabian markets in that tradition. To begin with, Islamic law also deals with “jāhilī sale”, disparagingly of course, describing sale “by touching” (mulāmāsa) and “by hurling” (munābadha), as well as by “casting stones.” These descriptions, absurd and devoid of context, only make sense as condemnations of the aleatory element (gharar) characteristic of such defective contracts of sale. When we turn to the tradition on the markets, we find basically the same techniques of sale, but now embedded in some context. What emerges from all this is the expectation that transactions must be conducted in silence, or with severely impeded communication. Why should this be so? The phenomenon of “silent trade” appears in many ancient and medieval authors (al-Masʿūdi in particular) regarding Eurasia and Africa. The anthropological literature has also discussed “silent trade” for over a century, but recently the Africanist L. Vajda (Munich) has declared it a fiction. However, silence in marketplaces has a wide range of meanings and uses. The evidence for the Arabian markets points to a set of arrangements among the “kings” of the peninsula (petty or otherwise), the aspirants to “noble” status in a highly competitive setting, and the “merchants” who act here as agents or factors of the “kings.” Here “profit” or “gain” is seen as shameful or even polluting, while trade itself is, in the language of K. Polanyi, “administered” or “tied.” I contrast this view with the more familiar picture, derived from other Arabic sources, of the commercial rise of Quraysh and Mecca, and the quite different view of “profit” and “nobility” that emerges there.
Leor Halevi, Texas A&M University

Rumi Paper: Christian Impurity vs. Economic Necessity in a Fifteenth-Century Fatwa

In the early fifteenth century, the Maliki jurist Ibn Marzuq wrote a complex response to the appearance in the markets of North Africa of a new European product, watermarked paper. If the product contained traces of pork or wine, impure substances habitually handled by Christian papermakers, then its use by Muslims seemed potentially repugnant. The fact that these papermakers began impressing their product with the sign of the cross or other Christian symbols only complicated matters, particularly because Muslims sometimes purchased this paper with the intention of copying the Qur’an.

In my presentation, I will show how Ibn Marzuq balances these concerns about impurity and the corruption of scripture against pragmatic considerations, for his legal opinion takes economic necessity (haja) and social benefit (maslaha) into account. My analysis will show how, under specific historical circumstances and within a particular tradition of legal thought, a fine Muslim jurist responded to a problematic foreign good.


E. South and Southeast Asia II. Stephanie W. Jamison, University of California, Los Angeles, Chair (9:30 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) Magnolia Room

• Old Iranian Literature

Prods Oktor Skjærvø, Harvard University

Weaving the Old Avesta

Poetic and cosmic weaving is a common theme in Indo-European poetry. In ancient Iranian literature, however, the Old Avesta has traditionally been regarded more as a tangled web than a beautifully woven fabric. In this presentation, I shall provide further arguments, from contents and the composition, for the cohesion of the five Gathic poems, as well as the fact that the two “sacred prayers,” the *Yatha ahu vairiio* and the *A Airiiama ishiio* are, not only part of the poems, but, in fact, their beginning and conclusion.

Certain technical terms used in the poems, notably, *uruuaesa,* “turn,” said of the race course, moreover suggest that the poetic weaving process was thought of as actual weaving, with the shuttle carrying the thread of the poet’s thought back and forth across the mental loom, producing *strophes* in the literal sense of Greek *strophê* “turn,” also said of the race course.
Other aspects of the poems, however, suggest that they not only function as beautifully woven (poetic) fabrics, but, more specifically, as the woven girdle worn by Zoroastrians, matching their white shirt. In the Avesta and the later Zoroastrian texts, the white shirt in fact corresponds to Good Thought and the girdle to the \textit{daena mazdayasni}. The girdle is what separates the evil half of the body/cosmos from the good half. Thus, when the poet-sacrificer recites the Old Avesta just before dawn, he may literally produce the ritual blueprint for banishing the forces of evil and for the cosmic weaving of the horizon and the sky and the new day.

56. YUHAN S.-D. VEVAINA, Harvard University

\textbf{Associative Exegesis in Zoroastrianism: D\textsc{enkard} Book 9 and the Kamnana\textsc{e}z\textsc{a} H\textsc{a}iti (Yasna 46.1–19)}

This talk offers a literary-critical analysis of the Middle Persian (Pahlavi) interpretive tradition (3\textsuperscript{rd}–11\textsuperscript{th} centuries CE) and its treatment of the oldest and most sacred texts of Zoroastrian literature, Zarathustra’s five \textit{G\textsc{a}θ\textsc{s}} (2\textsuperscript{nd} millennium BCE). My paper examines one of three different commentaries (\textit{nasks}) on the \textit{G\textsc{a}θ\textsc{s}} found in \textsc{D\textsc{enkard} Book 9}, a Pahlavi exegetical text written in the 9\textsuperscript{th} century CE, which enshrines the earlier, orally transmitted interpretations of the \textit{G\textsc{a}θ\textsc{s}}. More specifically, I analyze the exegetical techniques found in a section (\textit{fragard}) of the \textsc{S\textsc{udgar nask}} (Dk. 9.16.1–20) on the \textit{Kamnana\textsc{e}z\textsc{a} h\textsc{a}iti} (Yasna 46.1–19), the last hymn of the second \textit{G\textsc{a}θ\textsc{a}}—the \textit{U\textsc{stauuait\textsc{t}}}i. This fragard possesses a unique literary structure as it interprets Zarathustra’s opening question of his “poet’s complaint” in the \textit{Kamnana\textsc{e}z\textsc{a} h\textsc{a}iti}—“To what land am I turning? Where shall I go to (find) pasture?”—as being asked by the soul of the departed after death. The subsequent answer is based on a sophisticated associative interpretation, which incorporates ritual, legal-didactic and epic texts in order to provide new meanings and associations for the Gathic passage in question. My reading of this passage demonstrates the clear internal logic of Zoroastrian interpretation and strongly argues against the view held by earlier scholars that there is no discernable literary structure in the various sections of the \textsc{S\textsc{udgar nask}} in \textsc{D\textsc{enkard book 9}}.

\textbf{Epics and Dharma\textsc{\textasciitilde}stra}

57. LUIS GONZ\textsc{\textacute{a}}LEZ-REIMANN, University of California, Berkeley [withdrawn]

\textbf{Kalpas in the Mah\textsc{\textacute{a}}b\textsc{\textacute{a}}rata}

In Pur\textsc{\textacute{a}}nic and \textsc{\textacute{\textasciitilde}stric} cosmogony, the kalpas constitute the main unit of world creation. The theory of kalpas, or days of the god Brahm\textsc{\textacute{a}}, makes its appearance in the literature at the end of the Vedic period, in both Buddhist and Brahmical texts. This paper analyzes the presence of the theory in the \textit{Mah\textsc{\textacute{a}}b\textsc{\textacute{a}}rata}, and attempts to assess its importance in the Epic. It also addresses the earlier usage of the term kalpa that probably led to its utilization in this cosmogonic context.

58. DONALD R. DAVIS, JR., University of Wisconsin-Madison

\textbf{On \textit{\textacute{\textit{\textasciitilde}tma\textit{\textacute{u}}}t\textit{\textacute{\textasciitilde}}} as a Source of Dharma}

Though the sources of Hindu \textit{dharma} have been discussed in numerous places, the nature of the final source \textit{\textacute{\textit{\textasciitilde}tma\textit{\textacute{u}}}t\textit{\textacute{\textasciitilde}}}, “what pleases oneself,” has been regularly, but misleadingly, cited as an inner source of morality, an appeal to moral conscience,
and so forth. This interpretation of ātmatsuṣṭī is often described as opening a door to an inner world of moral choice in Hindu thought in which a highly relativized or personal sense of right and wrong is deemed valuable by a tolerant and inclusive Hinduism. This paper calls into question characterizations of ātmatsuṣṭī as inner morality, conscience, and self-satisfaction by presenting a study and translation of the commentarial discussions on the three most important sources for the concept of ātmatsuṣṭī—Mānavadharmaśāstra 2.6, Yājñavalkyasūtra 1.7, and Kumārila on Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā-Sūtra 1.3.7. The commentaries reveal that ātmatsuṣṭī was not held to be the general moral compass of every individual. It is severely restricted in the texts 1) to situations not covered by any of the other three sources of dharma, 2) to situations of technical option (vikalpa), whether ritual or legal, and 3) to persons of impeccable character, defined as the deep training in and knowledge of the Vedas.

59. EMILY BLANCHARD WEST, College of St. Catherine, and TZVI ABUSCH, Brandeis University

The Wild Man and the Courtesan: The Seductions of Rṣyasṛṅga in India and Enkidu in Mesopotamia

The Babylonian account of the seduction of Enkidu by the courtesan in the Epic of Gilgamesh bears strong resemblances to the Sanskrit account of the seduction of Rṣyasṛṅga as it appears in Mahābhārata 3.10–113, the tale of an innocent creature, half-man, half-beast, who is tamed and civilized by a prostitute, and brought to the city to take a position of power beside the king. While the resemblance between the Near Eastern and Indie stories has been previously noticed (e.g., C. A. Williams, Oriental Affinities of the Legend of the Hairy Anchorite, University of Illinois, 1925–26), the similarities, and the significance of the relationship, have not been studied in any detail. This paper attempts to trace the stages of development of the Sanskrit tale and to understand the relationship of the Babylonian and the Indian accounts. The analysis first focuses on a number of irregularities in the Sanskrit tale, prominent among which are five elements that are portrayed differently in the summary and in the body of the story, with the result that the summary actually contradicts the body of the narrative. The best explanation for these discrepancies is to assume that the extant story is composed of two accounts, one superimposed upon the other. The paper then proceeds to an analysis and evaluation of the many parallel features in the Indian and Babylonian versions, and concludes that the tale most likely originated in Mesopotamia and migrated to the Indian subcontinent, perhaps even via trade between the Near East and the Indus Valley civilizations.

• DRAMA AND POETRY

60. BRUCE M. SULLIVAN, Northern Arizona University

Dying on the Stage in the Sanskrit Theatre Tradition

Authorities on the Sanskrit theatre tradition have called attention to what they regard as an absolute prohibition on depicting death on stage. A. B. Keith, Herman Tiiken, Edwin Gerow, and others have written that depiction of a death on the stage would violate the rules of the theatre tradition. The situation is much more complex than these statements indicate, however. Extant dramas include the depiction of characters, even the hero, dying on the stage. Bharata’s Nāṭyaśāstra (NS 20.20–22) does specify that the heroes of certain kinds of dramas are not to be killed on stage; such
deaths could only be indicated through dialogue between secondary characters in introductory (pravešaka) or supporting scenes (viskambhaka). Dhananjaya’s Daśarāṣṭpa has similar statements. Other passages by Bharata (NS 7.85–90 and 26.101–15), however, specify how to perform in different ways a death by wounds, disease, poison, or accidental injury.

This paper addresses the apparent conflicts, both within normative texts and between such texts and extant dramas, regarding characters dying on the stage, and takes into account scholars’ views. I conclude that representing death on stage is “prohibited” only for heroes in nāṭaka and prakaraṇa dramas, not all genres. I suggest that what seems to be a conflict between the “rules” and the dramas, in fact, is not a conflict. The hero dies in only one nāṭaka, and then only temporarily. Secondary characters die, but Bharata states that enactment of death is instrumental in evoking rasa experiences. For the audience member, seeing depictions of death on the stage can be a significant component of the experience of many different rasa-s, which is, after all, one major purpose of the enactment of dramas.

61. GARY A. TUBB, Columbia University

Yamaka in the Caitanyacandrodaya

The sixteenth-century Sanskrit poet Kavikarnaṇapūra, a follower of the charismatic saint Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, was known for a particularly florid form of yamaka-style alliteration, which he used continuously in his most famous poem, the Anandavivarāṇacampū. He used the same technique in various ways in many of his other works, among which his stageplay on the life of Caitanya, the Caitanyacandrodaya, is particularly interesting.

This trademark technique is an unmistakable and deeply engrained feature of the early acts of the play, extending beyond passages of Sanskrit prose not only into the Prakrit passages but even into the stage directions. Even more striking is the fact that at a certain point in the play the author abandons its use, and avoids the technique throughout the rest of the play.

By drawing on a few points of comparison with Kavikarnaṇapūra’s other poetic works, I hope to clarify the uses to which his special style of yamaka repetition is used in the Caitanyacandrodaya, and to explain why the technique is used in only a portion of the play.

A. Ancient Near East, IV: Sumerian Literature. MIGUEL CIVIL, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chair (2:00 p.m.–3:00 p.m.) Crystal Ballroom

62. PAUL DELNERO, University of Pennsylvania

Memory and Variation in Sumerian Literary Compositions

The occurrence of variants in different copies of the same composition is a very significant, but nonetheless frequently neglected aspect of the study of the Sumerian language and the texts it was used to compose. Variation is particularly prevalent in the corpus of literary compositions known primarily from exemplars produced during the Old Babylonian Period, for which there are often multiple duplicates of each text. Since being able to evaluate the significance of variants is essential to compiling reliable reconstructions of these compositions at different stages in their transmission, and variation can also be studied to gain critical insight into the nature of particular
grammatical structures and various orthographic features of Sumerian, it is essential to possess a method for assessing and classifying writings that differ among the individual copies of these texts.

Although the need for a comprehensive study of the occurrence of variants in the copies of Old Babylonian literary compositions has often been acknowledged, and a few general and more detailed treatments of this phenomenon in this and other corpora have appeared, a thorough and systematic investigation has yet to be undertaken. Moreover, most of the studies of this topic have focused on grammatical variants, and have relied on current theories about the form and function of the elements involved to explain their significance. This paper will depart from this approach, by considering variation from the perspective of how the duplicates in which they occur were produced. Since many of these copies were written from memory, the role of memory will be considered as one of the central causes of variation, and the diagnostic features of variants that resulted from memory errors will be outlined and illustrated with examples selected from a group of Sumerian literary compositions known as the Decad.

63. Alhena Gadotti, Cornell University

The Conceptualization of Rape in Sumerian Literature

In 2006, Joann Scurlock published a stimulating article on rape in the journal NIN titled “But Was She raped? A Verdict Through Comparison.” In it, she analyzed the Sumerian text “Enlil and Ninlil” concluding that “what Enlil did to Ninlil was not rape, as that crime is understood today, but the “ruination” of an unmarried girl.” In addition to re-examining “Enlil and Ninlil” in light of Scurlock’s study, the present paper will consider two other Sumerian literary compositions describing cases of rape in order to investigate how rape was conceptualized in Sumerian Literature.

64. Nicole Brisch, University of Chicago

Baba—The Different Lives of a Goddess

The ancient Mesopotamian goddess Baba is known to every beginning student of Sumerian as the goddess frequently invoked by Gudea of Lagash. Recent contributions have mainly dealt with the linguistic problems involved in reading the name of this elusive goddess. While texts from the Old Babylonian period show that she has taken on aspects of a healing goddess, no such evidence is visible in texts from the earlier Lagash tradition. This contribution will attempt to investigate the complicated history and tradition of this fascinating goddess by using both literary and non-literary sources.

B. Ancient Near East V: Special Session: Where have all the tablets gone?
Preserving Iraq’s Cultural Heritage in Times of Unrest. Robert K. Englund, University of California, Los Angeles, Chair (3:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) Crystal Ballroom

65. Jerrold S. Cooper, The Johns Hopkins University [No abstract]
66. Micah Garen, Photographer, Documentary Filmmaker, and Writer, and Founder of Four Corners Media [No abstract]
67. Steven Garfinkle, Western Washington University [No abstract]
68. Richard L. Zettler, University of Pennsylvania [No abstract]
Anthony E. Clark, University of Alabama

Confucius Said What? Baobian and the Voice of Judgment in the *Hanshu*

Early Chinese historical records are replete with moral judgments known to scholars as *baobian* (praise and blame). Enunciated judgment in historical accounts, David Schaberg has suggested, “continues to reward or punish indefinitely,” solidifying the reputation of the person judged as long as the text or its memory survives. This paper builds upon the preliminary comments of Schaberg, On-cho Ng, Q. Edward Wang, and others regarding the nuances of *baobian*, seeking to consider more specifically how a single Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) historian, Ban Gu (32–92), rendered his own indelible critiques upon the characters of his records. Looking closely at Ban’s *Hanshu* (Records of the Han), I shall suggest that his preferred venue for praise and blame was to employ frequent citations of the *Lunyu* (Analects of Confucius). To wit, Ban Gu most often favors circuitous accolades and criticisms via the locutions of Confucius. Looking first at the *Hanshu*’s “Gu jin ren biao” (Chart of Personages Past and Present), I shall discuss how Ban’s chart emphatically prioritizes the paragons valorized in Confucius’ comments. My subsequent remarks will center upon Ban’s specific use of the *Lunyu* in his *Zan* (Eulogia), located at the end of each biography. Here I shall argue that the teachings of Confucius were foremost in the mind of Ban Gu as he produced his historical account of the Western Han, reflecting, perhaps, the growing codification of Confucian tenets during the restoration of the Liu court.

Matthew Wells, Eastern Oregon University

Self and Self-Narrative in Early China

Most studies of early Chinese autobiography, in both China and the West, begin with the modern premise that early autobiographical writing was intended to be read as individual self-expression, the story of the author’s life. This seemingly commonsense assumption has led to several different scholarly delineations of an early genre that are limited to those few texts bearing a perceived, superficial similarity to the Western tradition. Texts in which the author’s life narrative is submerged within other considerations such as familial or political ties are often overlooked because the level of self-expression is regarded as insufficient to warrant the label of autobiography. Rather than engage in a philosophical debate over the constitution of the “self” in early China, or the negation of the “author” in favor of “text,” this paper challenges the assumption that authorial self-narratives were ever meant to posit a self that is recognizable in modern or post-modern terms. By examining several autobiographical works from the Han and early medieval period, notably Ge Hong’s *zixu* (authorial postface) to his seminal work, *Baopuzi*, I will argue instead that early Chinese autobiographical writing can be best understood in terms of *zhi*, a term frequently translated as “will” that denotes one of the many facets of the psycho-physical person. This reading suggests a notion of subjectivity that is tropical rather than historical; in this way I hope to undermine conventional readings of autobiographical texts in early China while providing us with a greater understanding of these early authors and how they imagined their life-narratives. I will conclude by asking what Ge Hong’s work—and more generally the work of early Chinese autobiographers such as Cao Pi and Wang Chong—might imply for the broader field of scholarship on Chinese autobiography.
71. KONG XURONG, Kean University

_Yongwu Fu_ and Intention? A Thematic Study of Fu Xuan’s _Yongwu Fu_

The study of _yongwu fu_ calls more and more attentions from scholars, but is till an understudied field. For example, some scholars claim _yongwu fu_, particular descriptive ones, meaningless and insignificant. Based on the extant thirty-nine descriptive _yongwu fu_ of Fu Xuan, however, this statement is wrong.

In this paper, I will explore the thematic features of Fu Xuan’s _yongwu fu_. Through his _yongwu fu_, Fu Xuan conveys four such themes: facing frustrations, admiring strong will, showing political goals, and self-cultivation. To reiterate, these themes are the latent meanings of otherwise seemingly ordinary objects. Fu Xuan applies four methods to convey these ideas: personification, prefaces, allusions, and symbolic images, which he remodels or creates to accomplish his goals.

As we observed, to Fu Xuan, objects chosen are not simply objects in and of themselves. Instead, they always imply deeper, more profound meanings. This is a characteristic of _yongwu fu_ deserving further avenue for investigation.

72. BRIGITTA LEE, Princeton University

Emulation as Evaluation: A Study of the Relationship between Ban Jieyu’s “Song Of Lament (Yuan Shi)” and Jiang Yan’s (444–505) Imitation

Discussions of pentasyllabic _shi_ poetry from the Six Dynasties most frequently focus on the lyrical nature of the texts and explain intertextual references in terms of indirect, personal expression. Studies in the ritual and textual culture of Early China, however, have suggested that the concept of cultural memory reveals an intimate connection between artistic creation and the constitution of aesthetic and cultural value. Exploring this idea in the context of Six Dynasties poetic activity, I suggest that pentasyllabic _shi_ poetry, in so far as it serves an exegetical function, plays a role in the constitution of its own literary value. To illustrate my argument, I examine one of Jiang Yan’s (444–505) “Miscellaneous Form” poems (_za ti shi_), namely “Ban Jieyu, In Praise of the Fan (Ban Jieyu Yong shan)” , and compare it to the verse that it purports to imitate, Ban Jieyu’s “Song of Lament (Yuan shi).” I examine specifically the ways in which Jiang Yan incorporated elements from the old poem into his new verse, fitting them to a new context. I also analyze what linguistic and structural elements from the old poem Jiang Yan chose to condense or exclude altogether. In so doing I demonstrate how Jiang Yan conceived of the old poem, not as a complete and finished verse, but as a source of poetic material from which he could extract elements selectively and repeat or revise them so as to exploit their rhetorical potential. As such, I conclude that Jiang Yan’s imitation transformed the literary value of Ban Jieyu’s poem so as to reflect the aesthetic priorities of the Qi-Liang period.

73. HONGYU HUANG, Yale University

Wu Weiye’s War Poems and the Chinese Tradition of Poetry as Witness to Historical Trauma

Wu Weiye (1609–1672) witnessed the Ming Dynasty come to ruin through a succession of disastrous defeats in both the civil war and the Manchu invasion. His sequence of narrative songs bears elegiac testimony to this war-torn era from three perspectives: that of the principal political-military actors during the Ming-Qing conflict; that of
the horror and suffering of common people; and finally that of the poet’s own personal wartime experiences. While modern readers tend to think of war poetry as containing epic descriptions of battles and warriors, Wu’s war poems explore the function of poetry as a form of moral testimony and lived history. This paper will show how Wu’s poetry is related both to its particular historical circumstance and to the Chinese poetic tradition and the poet’s own quest for self-identity within that tradition. Particular consideration will be given to three interrelated factors: narrative voice, gender, and the art of writing under persecution. Wu’s war poems rarely indulge in the extended, gory descriptions of fighting, killing and dying that proliferate in Homeric and Virgilian epics. Instead, they are concerned with how the characters shuttle back and forth between the roles of participant in and witness to momentous events. By manipulating and blurring the boundaries between author, narrator, character and reader, between documentary and drama, Wu evokes a powerful mood of melancholy and loss that is both personal and communal. Women characters figure prominently in Wu’s war poems. They function variously as narrators, as foils to male corruption, as emblems of dynastic glory and decay, and as the poet’s own cross-gender mask. Fearing literary inquisition, Wu took pains to express his true experiences and feelings without triggering censorious attention. His work thus represents an art form that simultaneously disguises and reveals its meanings through an array of evasions and circumlocutions.

74. Y. EDMUND LIEN, University of Washington

Why Simple Lines in the “Da Si Yue” Baffle the Best Minds

In ancient Chinese music, a mode is specified by assigning one of the twelve lü or pitches to one of the five notes in a scale, namely, gong, shang, jue, zhi, and yu. For example, a line like huangzhong wei gong states that the pitch huangzhong is the gong note. When several lines of the structure “X wei Y” are strung together with different X’s and Y’s, such as in the music offered to the Heavenly deities, given in the “Da si yue” passage of the Zhou li: (yuanzhong is the gong note, huangzhong the jue note, taicou the zhi note, and guxian the yu note), each line can be taken as a separate specification of one mode and therefore the four lines together form a sequence of songs, a sort of ritual musical program.

In this paper we first show that Zheng Xuan (127–200) in his commentary to the “Da si yue” and Shen Kuo (1031–1095), a brilliant scientific mind, in his Mengxi bi tan both chose an alternative and unreasonable interpretation. In their interpretation, they take the four pitches in question as the four notes that together define a single mode, despite the fact that the mode so defined makes no musical sense, as the pitches do not satisfy the interval requirements of the notes in the scale. It took the Qing scholar Chen Li (1810–1882) in his Shenglü tongkao to unambiguously explain that the Zhou li “Da si yue” should be interpreted as a simple, four-mode sacrificial program and he cited the ritual music played in the Tang as his evidence.

We further argue that yin-yang and wuxing (the theory of five phases) misguided Zheng Xuan and Shen Kuo, and based on the monographs like the “Lü li zhi” and

1 See Zhou li zhushu 22.10a–10b in Shby.
“Jiaosi zhi” in the standard history we reconstruct a history of “Da si yue” music as phases of alternating confusion and clarification when scholars struggled to restore court music after each change of dynasty. Finally, around the beginning of the Ming, the Zhou li ritual programs were completely abandoned as no one in the position of responsibility could make any sense out of the simple lines in the “Da si yue.”

75. DING XIANG WARNER, Cornell University

Casting away Hat-pins: Wang Bo’s Poetry from the Shu Years

This paper examines a group of poems composed by Wang Bo during his sojourn in the Shu region between the summers of 669 and 671. By taking into consideration ideas and inspirations that Wang Bo drew from familial resources, I suggest an alternative context for understanding the “new decorum” that scholars have attributed to Wang Bo’s poetry. In doing so, the paper explores different narratives for discussing poetry of the early Tang generally.

76. ANNA M. SHIELDS, Princeton University

A Poetic Discussion of Career and Companionship: Linked Verses by the Mid-Tang Poets Han Yu and Meng Jiao

In the early decades of the ninth century, Tang literati experimented with a wide range of collective and responsive poetry, in forms such as changhe (“sing-and-match”) and lianju (“linked couplet”). Given the dialectical nature of these verse forms, scholars have commonly focused on the techniques Tang poets used to outwit and out-compose their fellow poets in any compositional exchange. Readers over the centuries have also noted that too-strong poetic voices could unbalance a poetic exchange; however, few have discussed the ways in which poets successfully moderated a strong voice or style. In this paper, I examine three linked verses composed by Han Yu (768–824) and Meng Jiao (751–814) in order to elucidate the more subtly collaborative features of lianju as a poetic form. Unlike the other epideictic lianju composed by Han and his circle, the linked verses I examine—“Spending the Night Together” (Tongsu lianju), “The One I Long For” (You suosi lianju), and “Dispelling Disquiet” (Qian xing lianju)—are narrow in scope, lyric in tone, and brief. I argue that these linked verses capture an ongoing discussion between Han and Meng about problems important to them both: their ambitions, their struggle with career failure, and their commitment to moral models drawn from antiquity. By moderating their individual poetic voices and striving to create a particular “antique” style that drew heavily on Jian’an poetics, Han and Meng were able to preserve the dialogical energy of linked verse and also give new intimacy to the form. In conclusion, I suggest that their innovations should be compared to other mid-Tang poets’ work with similar verse forms, in order to understand the growing popularity of responsive poetic composition, which continued to be influential in the Northern Song.
Kevin van Bladel, University of Southern California

Barmakid Patronage of Early Translations from Sanskrit into Arabic

The most powerful family of secretaries and viziers in Baghdād at the beginning of the ninth century CE were the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of a Buddhist scholar educated in Kashmir. Like many elite families under the early ʿAbbāsid dynasty, the Barmakids were patrons of scientific translations, but they are nearly unique in including patrons of translations from Sanskrit into Arabic. Their interest in Indian medicine is especially well documented, and they employed at least a few Indian translators of Sanskrit works in the hospital in Baghdād. When the Barmakids were removed from power by the caliph al-Rashīd in 803 and their influence disappeared, no further translations from Sanskrit into Arabic are known to have been made until al-Bīrūnī in the 11th century.

The Barmakids’ interest in Sanskrit scholarship makes sense only in view of their family background in Tukhārīstān, at the edges of India, and in connection with the Sanskrit education of their progenitor. Combining information from Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, Bactrian, Chinese, and Tibetan sources, it is possible to arrive at an idea of what their cultural background was.

In this period Sanskrit works were actively sought in translation in many languages of Asia, including Chinese, Tibetan, Khotanese, Tocharian, and others, almost always as part of the propagation of Buddhism. Though Buddhist works were not translated into Arabic under the patronage of the Barmakids, one may reasonably suppose that their interest in Sanskrit learning, unique among the Muslims of western Asia, was nevertheless due to the high prestige attributed to it by their family’s recent Buddhist ancestors, who had come into contact with the culture of Sanskrit translation. The originally Sanskrit materials surviving in early Arabic medical compendia are in effect traces left by a Bactrian elite in transition from an Indian-oriented Buddhist culture to a westward-looking Islam.

Kim Plofker, Brown University

Links between Sanskrit and Muslim science in Jaina astronomical works

In the cross-fertilization between Islamic and traditional Indian exact sciences that took place in the courts of Hindu and Muslim rulers in second-millennium India, Jaina intermediaries played a significant part. Some important scientific ideas, such as the principles of the Islamic astrolabe and conversion calculations for the Islamic calendar, were first explained to Indian audiences in the works of Jaina authors. Muslim audiences, in their turn, received Indian astrological ideas attributed to an authority known only as “Jina”. What factors placed the small minority of Jaina scholars at the center of these early efforts at scientific transmission? And what role did they play in the more familiar, and often more dramatic, encounters between Hindu and Muslim scientific views in subsequent centuries? This paper will argue that compared to its Hindu-majority counterpart, the Jaina scientific tradition was in
some ways more receptive to, and simultaneously more insulated from, the new and foreign ideas of early modern Indo-Islamic science.

79. Supriya Gandhi, Harvard University

A Study of Dārā Shukhūh’s Comparative Method in the Majmaʾ al-Bahrāyn

The sixteenth-century Mughal prince Dārā Shukhūh compares various Indian and Islamic metaphysical ideas by constructing a series of equivalences between them, in his famous work, the Majmaʾ al-Bahrāyn (“Meeting place of the two oceans”). This paper examines Dārā Shukhūh’s discussions of Indian deities as a means of exploring his broader comparative method in the Majmaʾ al-Bahrāyn. Pre-modern Muslim scholars writing about Indian religions, such as al-Bīrūnī, Abū’l Fadl, and Abdul Rahmān Chishtī, have often engaged with the notion of multiple deities, translating this idea into Islamicate languages such as Persian and Arabic in a variety of ways. Through an examination of Dārā Shukhūh’s treatment of Indian deities in the context of earlier and contemporary Arabic and Persian discussions of the subject, this paper adumbrates the significance of his particular approach to the study of Indian religions.


The Pārthapura School and Islamic Influence

The works of the astronomer and mathematician Jānānārāja (fl. 1503 CE) and his sons Sūrya and Cintāmāṇi constitute what has been called the Pārthapura school. Comprehensive knowledge of Islamic astronomy and cosmology is evident in the works of Sūrya, who even points to the value of such knowledge in patronage structures. However, Jānānārāja, whose Siddhāntasundara I am preparing a critical edition of, apart from a stray reference rejecting an Islamic cosmological idea without naming from where it comes, does not seem to make reference to or use of Islamic formulæ, methods or methodology. Rather, he focuses on presenting traditional ideas. The talk will focus on the attitudes toward Islamic knowledge systems of Jānānārāja and Sūrya, and what light these throw on the perception of Islamic influence among scholars in 16th century India.

81. Sunil Sharma, Boston University

Azad Bilgrami’s Translation of Arabic and Sanskrit Poetics into Persian

Azad Bilgrami (1704–85) was the first Indo-Persian author who attempted to synthesize Indian (Sanskrit and Hindi) and Perso-Arabic poetics, combining the purely theoretical interest of a scholar with a practicing poet’s insight into the poetic systems of the various traditions he was immersed in. In his Arabic work, Subhat al-marjān fi athar Hindustan (Rosary of pearls) written in 1763–64, Azad Bilgrami compared the rhetorics of love poetry in Sanskrit and Arabic literatures giving examples in the latter language. A year later he reworked two sections of this Arabic work and produced the Persian Ghazalān-e Hind (Female beloveds of India), which is not a direct translation of the original but a description of the corresponding rhetorical concepts in the Persian tradition. Although Persian literature borrowed much from Arabic in terms of poetic forms, metrics and figures of speech, there are fundamental differences in terms of grammar and aesthetics that distinguish the literary traditions from each other. Azad Bilgrami contended that Arabic poetry is closer to Sanskrit, while Persian is seen as a distinctive tradition. This work sheds light on the way that litterateurs
perceived the Islamic literary tradition vis-à-vis Indic literatures, and also raises questions about Arabic and Persian being discrete forms of knowledge with independent literary cultures in the Indian environment. Finally, questions about the nature of translation are raised since this translation is not a literal one but one with significant cultural and aesthetic differences.

82. SHAWKAT M. TOORAWA, Cornell University

Azad Bilgrami (1704–1786), Arabic, and Sanskrit Poetics

The author Azad Bilgrami was born in Bilgram (approximately fifty miles northwest of Lucknow) and died in Aurangabad. He wrote major works in Persian, the language of empire and refinement, and about Persian poets and poetry; and he may have written one poem in Urdu, the vernacular. What distinguishes Azad, however, is (1) his accomplishment in Arabic poetry and criticism—he even acquired the remarkable epithet Hassan-i Hind—at a time when Arabic is said to have been disappearing from the Indian belles-lettres scene; and (2) the care with which he builds the argument that India is an autochthonously Islamic land. Both feature in his most important Arabic work, Subhat al-marjan fi athar Hindustan (possibly his most important work altogether).

In this paper, I describe Azad’s Arabic literary career and output and then turn to the third section of the Subhat, where Azad discusses rhetorical figures in Sanskrit and Arabic poetry, giving examples of Sanskrit rhetorical figures in his compositions. This is significant as few Arabic authors of India discuss, let alone display, knowledge of Sanskrit. Azad writes that the laws of rhetoric were laid down in Sanskrit long before Arabic. In his Persian version of this section, in the Ghizlan al-Hind, the points he makes about comparative Sanskrit and Arabic rhetoric and poetics are translated into similar points about comparative Sanskrit and Persian rhetoric and poetics.

83. CHRISTOPHER MINKOWSKI, University of Oxford

J. B. Chaudhuri, Muslims, and Sanskrit Learning

Some of the most significant contributions to date to the historiography of interactions between Arabic, Persianate and Sanskrit intellectuals in pre-modern South Asia were made by Jatindra Bimal Chaudhuri, a Bengali Indologist who was active primarily in the 1940s and 1950s. This paper will present a survey of Chaudhuri’s work, and consider the historical moment in which it was produced. These were the decades dominated by the ‘communal’ tensions and traumas that accompanied the creation of India and Pakistan as independent nation-states by the Partition of British India. Chaudhuri explicitly kept this context in the foreground in published statements of his scholarly intentions. The paper will therefore consider the relevance of Chaudhuri’s engagement as an historian to the current intellectual project, which this panel seeks to identify and advance.

84. MATTHEW C. SMITH, Harvard University

Nationalism and the sabk-i Hindī: The Role of Malik al-Shu’arā Bahār

The inferiority of the so-called sabk-i Hindī or “Indian style” in Persian poetry remains a largely unexamined assumption of Iranian philology. The most prevalent historical model of literary change traces a rapid decline in the quality of Persian verse beginning shortly after the rise of the Safavid dynasty and reaching into the twentieth
century, when the poets of the Constitutional Revolution supposedly revived the moribund art. Not surprisingly, it was one of the most prominent of these modern poets, Malik al-Shu’arā Muhammad Taqī Bahār (d. 1951), who introduced the key terminology used to describe the history of Persian letters into the public debate. Despite his influential writings on literary history and stylistic development, Bahar’s contribution has been largely overlooked by both Western and Iranian scholars. This paper argues that the driving force behind Bahar’s presentation of two key concepts in Persian literary studies, the bāzgašt-i adabī (literary return) and sabkshināsī (stylistics), was a nationalistic outlook which encouraged the division of literary history into geographical spheres, rather than the more common chronological scheme. Arguing from evidence found in Bahar’s prose writings (with supporting arguments drawn from his poetic works), it will be shown that these two concepts, now considered integral pieces of Persian philology, are recent innovations which under scrutiny raise more questions than they answer. The implications of this ambiguity for our understanding of the sabk-i Hindī and the entire method known as sabkshināsī are profound, especially in the twentieth century, when Iran was struggling to define itself as an independent nation-state with a national literature.

E. Islamic Near East VI: Literature: Greek and Persian Elements in Ninth Century Arabic Literary Culture (Organized by Awad Awad). KEVIN VAN BLADEL, University of Southern California, Chair (4:40 p.m.–6:00 p.m.) Bluebonnet Room

85. AWAD AWAD, University of California Los Angeles

Bayhaqi’s Tārikh Ḥukamāʾ al-Islām: New Light on Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq’s Biography

Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (809–873/7) was a celebrated ninth-century physician, philosopher, translator and transmitter of ancient Greek works in early Abbasid Baghdad. Ḥunayn has been the object of inquiry for scholars who have revisited the process, which reportedly involved the caliph al-Mutawakkil, the Nestorian patriarch Theodosius, and other Christian physicians, that led to his being punished for desecrating a Christian icon.

Scholars writing on these events have used the works of al-Nadīm (ca. 935–990), Ibn Juljul (b. 943/4 or 976–1009), al-Qifṭī (1172/3–1248), Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’ā (1203/4–1270), Ibn Khalilīkān (1211–1282) and Ibn al-Ībrī (1226–1286) as their primary Arabic sources. Abū Ḥasan ʿAlī bin Zayd al-Bayhaqī’s (1106–1169/70) account in Tārikh Ḥukamāʾ al-Islām, a.k.a. Ṭatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma has been overlooked by contemporary scholars and may shed new light on Ḥunayn’s biography. A study of Bayhaqi’s account may suggest that Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’ā’s sources misrepresent how Ḥunayn acquired his language skills and the roles that the caliph and patriarch played in his punishment and imprisonment. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’ā’s account may contain formulas utilized by Late Antique biographers whose purpose was to teach, inspire and entertain by illustrating, exemplifying and exaggerating. Certain details, however, appear to confirm elements of Bayhaqi’s account.

This paper focuses on the plausibility of Bayhaqi’s account of Ḥunayn’s downfall and imprisonment in comparison to those accounts found in the commonly quoted sources mentioned above. I give more attention to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi’ā’s entry in ʿUyūn al-Aabāw fī Ṯabaqāt al-Āṭibbāw since it is the most detailed of the accounts and the
only one that includes Ḫunayn’s purported autobiography. If Bayhaqī’s account is a more plausible account of Ḫunayn’s run-in with the authorities, then it may serve as a basis for evaluating other, less plausible accounts, not only of Ḫunayn’s life but also of the workings of caliphal and ecclesiastical authority.

86. AMENEH EMAMI, University of California Los Angeles

Bishr al-Ḥāfi (the Barefoot) and Manichean Roots in Early Islamic Asceticism

Many ideals of early Islamic asceticism are to be found in the legend of Bishr b. al-Ḥārith (150/767–226/840), better known as al-Ḥāfi, “the barefoot.” He was one of the best-known exemplars of asceticism in Islam and was credited with introducing discalcity as an ascetic practice in Islam. This paper will argue that, this practice was borrowed directly from Manichaeism.

Modern scholarship has looked to Christianity and Judaism for evidence of outside influences on Islam. Only recently has one scholar, Robert Simon, focused on the relationship between Mānī and Muhammad, and the possible similarities in their respective practices. Abstention and barefootedness are practices borrowed directly from Manichaeism which later on is being practiced among ascetics; and the best example of it is al-Ḥāfi who is known as barefoot. In Manichaeism, a large number of practices are obligatory for the “Elects,” who were the manifestation of the perfect servant and were served by the rest of the population.

To illustrate the relationship between Mānī and Islam, I will draw on David’s The Manichean Body, Widenburg’s Mānī and Manichaeism, and Simon’s Mānī and Muhammad. To illustrate the role that Bishr al-Ḥāfi played in establishing these shared rituals and practices, I will draw on biographical sources such as Hujwīrī’s Kashf and ʿĀṭṭār’s Tadhkira.

87. DAVID BENNETT, University of California Los Angeles

Al-Nazẓām, the Dualists, and Mixture

Abū Ishāq al-Nazẓām (d. about 840 CE) was perhaps the most controversial of the early Muʿtazilites. Notorious for his effective opposition to his contemporaries’ atomistic conception of the created world, he was known to have employed a peculiar set of doctrines concerning matter and bodies: namely, that all qualities are bodies latent within their apparent subjects and interpenetrating each other. His physical theory was sufficiently similar to that of the Manicheans to rouse the condemnation of Muʿtazilites such as Dirār b. ʿAmr and later thinkers such as Ibn al-Rāwandi. Although Nazẓām had delivered numerous polemics against “the Dualists,” his adoption of their cosmological terminology of mixture suggests that such condemnations may not have been entirely baseless.

Nazẓām’s work is extant only in fragments and (generally hostile) testimony; even van Ess has hesitated to attempt a thorough reconstruction. Most recent studies of the development of atomism (e.g., Dhanani) treat Nazẓām as an aberration. I argue that Nazẓām’s doctrines reflect an established, if syncretistic, Near Eastern cosmology pervaded with remnants of Iranian dualism, Gnosticism, and Indian influences. A case may even be made that Nazẓām’s materialism is related to Stoicism along comparative or historical lines (concerning the latter, I introduce methods for appraising the impact of fringe groups such as the Daysāniyya on Islamic philosophy and theology). According to the standard model of Islamic intellectual history, the natural
sciences emerged as a divisive topic upon the concretization of atomism (within standard Ash'arite kalām) and the influx of Aristotelian natural philosophy (among the fālāsifah); yet by demonstrating that Nazzām’s positions on body and quality were not entirely original and isolated, nor purely dialectical exercises against his opponents (as has been suggested), I will show that both atomism and hylomorphism competed against a coherent and vibrant tradition of physical theory in the Near East.

88. GHAZZAL DABIRI, University of California Los Angeles

Arabic Historiography and the Preservation and Emergence of Persian Literature: The Case of al-Ṭabarî and the Development of Persian Epic

In the development of Persian literature, especially the epic genre, Arabic historiography played a critical role. Persian literary culture was preserved in the works of litterateurs such as Ibn Muqaffā‘, who translated the Middle Persian Book of Kings (or Khwātāg-nāmaq) into Arabic, and by the works of historiographers such as al-Tha‘alībi and Ibn Qutaybah who utilized various sources in composing their original works. However, one of the most important historiographers, who preserved Iranian mytho-history and the history of the Sasanians for posterity, was al-Ṭabarî. Following upon Selheim’s argument that al-Ṭabarî’s Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk was a response to Ibn Ishāq’s Sīrat Rasūl Allāh which placed Arab-Islamic history on the world map, this paper will focus on the conditions under which Iranian history was preserved and represented in its new Perso-Islamic context. This entails a discussion on the language and culture “wars,” which were fought in the courts to establish cultural and linguistic hegemony over the “other,” and the rise and pre-eminence of Arabic as the lingua franca.

It is the purpose of this paper to illustrate how al-Ṭabarî borrowed Ibn Ishāq’s motivation and techniques and reinvented Iranian history. By interweaving the mytho-historical history of the Iranians with Judeo-Islamic history, al-Ṭabarî conceived Iranian history in its new Perso-Islamic context and re-established Iranian history as belonging to world history. This trend was further mobilized by the ensuing translation and adaptation movements, which rendered those Arabic historiographies that were pertinent to Iranian culture and history, into New Persian. The significance of al-Ṭabarî’s monumental history for the study of the Persian epics genre has been minimally addressed by modern scholarship, thus, a treatment of the ways in which al-Ṭabarî fostered the epic genre is offered here.

8:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m. Plenary Session: Sacred Space. SIDNEY GRIFFITH, Catholic University of America, Chair. Crystal Ballroom

89. PIOTR MICHALOWSKI, University of Michigan

Ancient Near East: Space is the Place: Localizing the Sacred in Ancient Mesopotamia

[No abstract]
East Asia: The Space of the Zhou Ancestral Sacrifice

The ancestral sacrifice was the central religious institution of Zhou dynasty China from the eleventh through the third century BCE. Its space were the ancestral temples of elite lineages, including the lineages of the royal clan, where one performed and perpetuated the memory of one’s ancestors in complex rituals. These rituals involved the offerings of food and wine, the performance of music and dance, the display of precious bronze vessels and bells, and the recitation and singing of prayers and hymnic poetry. In the ritual drama of the ancestral sacrifice, the participants—the lineage head, his wife, their guests, the officiating priest, the impersonator of the dead, the performers of music and dance, the cooks, and others more—occupied specific positions from where they acted according to their roles. The hierarchies expressed in their positions and movements were both social and commemorative, organizing the relations of both the living and the dead.

Yet the space of the ancestral sacrifice was more than the architecture in which such dramatic performances took place. It was a space where distances between the dead and the living were at once perpetuated and erased in a careful choreography of distance and proximity among the various actors. It was the privileged space of certain ritual actions and as such—especially at the royal court—related to other spaces of elaborate ritual. And it was the space where bronze artifacts, the most precious of early Chinese material objects, were used and preserved, often over generations and even centuries. These objects are all that is left of the ancient ancestral temples; yet their changing appearance over time still opens a window into the changing space of the ancestral temple and its performances of memory, identity, and status.

This paper proposes to illustrate and trace the origins of one of the lesser known genres of Tibetan literature, that of guidebooks to holy places. While texts describing holy places, whether they be temples or monasteries, solitary retreats or caves of meditation, and even sacred grounds such as mountains or lakes, are a fairly common occurrence in Tibetan literature, research and study of this genre is still at a preliminary stage. As a consequence, crucial questions such as those inquiring on the possible origins and sources of inspiration for this literary genre, as well as those concerning the function and intended audience for these texts, are still unresearched. The very etymology of the Tibetan name used to identify this literary genre remains an open question.

Notwithstanding the situation just described, this genre is among the most diverse in Tibetan literature: guidebooks to holy places contain information on art and architecture, on the life of saints and holy men, on local lores, legends and traditions, and often also on history, both of the place described and of its interactions with the larger Tibetan (and non-Tibetan) world. Consequently, these guidebooks represent a veritable treasure trove for historians, art historians and religious historians alike. By tracing the historical development of this genre in Tibet, this paper attempts to formulate possible answers to the questions of the origin, function and intended audience of this genre.
92. A. Kevin Reinhart, Dartmouth College

**Islamic Near East**: Mashhad and Haram: Sacred Sites in the Shi‘i and Hanbali Cultus

[No abstract]

93. Gregory Schopen, University of California Los Angeles

**South and Southeast Asia**: On the Underside of Sacred Spaces: Some Less-appreciated Functions of Temples, Convents and Monasteries in Classical India

[No abstract]

**A. Ancient Near East VI: History, Culture & Religion. Grant Frame, University of Pennsylvania, Chair (1:30 p.m.–4:30) Crystal Ballroom**

94. Tonia Sharlach, Oklahoma State University

The Religious Roles of Women in Ur III Times: The Lukur

By the Old Babylonian period, the Sumerian term lukur was by and large a logogram for the Akkadian *naditum*, a specific type of priestess. The *naditum*-women of Sippar, the most studied of the *naditum*, were unmarried and childless, living in a cloister-like environment. But during the Ur III period, the term lukur referred to two very different classes of women. A lukur could be, like Shulgi-simti, the junior wife of a king, but the term was also used for a lower status of women: for instance, a lukur could be one of a group of women dedicated to a god such as Shara. This paper explores the religious roles of the lukur-women of Ur III times and, insofar as the evidence permits, the evolution of the term into the Old Babylonian period.

95. Tzvi Abusch, Brandeis University

The Expansion of Babylonian Incantations: A Critical Analysis

In this paper, I shall try to shed some further light on modes of revision of Akkadian incantations. Individual incantations were not static and often took on more than one form. Sometimes we actually have extant variant forms of an incantation. At other times, internal tensions or inconsistencies in a text suggest that the present text was produced by the revision of an earlier version. In the latter instance, we may establish the existence of the different forms of the text by means of a critical analysis one of whose purposes is the resolution of the aforementioned internal tensions or inconsistencies.

I limit myself here to a discussion of results obtained through critical analysis. I will examine incantations drawn from the Akkadian magical series *Maqlû*, ‘Burning’, and contend that they contain expansions and interpolations of significant length. Precisely because the insertions are relatively long and largely in list form, the revisions are more easily identifiable than some other revisions that are more subtle. Moreover, in these incantations, the interpolations are marked off by repetitive resumptions ("Wiederaufnahme"). A *Wiederaufnahme* is a particularly useful analytic device, for sometimes it is one of the initial indicators of an interpolation, and, even more important, its existence serves to confirm the analysis that a text has been expanded by means of insertions.
96. ALAN LENZI, University of the Pacific
Re-Reading KAR 44, the Vademecum of the Exorcist

In this paper I develop an alternative reading of KAR 44, the Vademecum of the Exorcist, that adjusts the common view of Esagil-kin-apli’s editorial activities and demonstrates the attribution of secrecy to the Ashiputu corpus. In distinction to the common view, I suggest that the ruled off line in rev. 4 refers to the first list in the text (obv. 2–rev. 3). If rev. 4 is a note about authorship, as I think it is, this interpretation indicates that Esagil-kin-apli is not the author of the supplemental list in rev. 5ff. but the author of the first list. Furthermore, the emphasis on totality in obv. 1 matches the concern of the supplemental list in rev. 5ff. Thus I believe the line was added to the text at the same time that rev. 5ff. was added. For this reason, obv. 1 should not be read as the heading of the first list but as the new heading to the text as a whole, supplement and all. Having made these observations, I consider rev. 5–8, 12–13 in more detail. Rev. 5–8 do not list particular (still unidentified) works, as commonly held; rather, they characterize the serialized works of Ashiputu in their totality as secret.

97. PATRICK MORGAN, University of Michigan
A Fresh Look at ŠÀ.SÌ.GA

Certain Mesopotamian erotic incantations intended to promote “sexual arousal” (Sumerian šà.zi.ga, Akkadian nıš libbi) pose many interesting interpretive challenges. This paper considers only one of these problems, namely, whether or not texts devoted to šà.zi.ga should all be understood as remedies for male erectile dysfunction. Previous work on the texts in question has consistently asserted the appropriateness of this interpretation. Under examination, however, it is clear that no such uniformity of purpose truly characterizes these incantations. While it is possible to maintain that several texts within this corpus deal with specifically male sexual complaints, others can be better described as spells directed from a woman to an ostensibly disinterested or reluctant man, and still others can be understood as therapeutic measures to be deployed by or on behalf of a sexually active dyad for the mutual benefit of both partners. This paper thus concludes that the texts comprising the šà.zi.ga “genre” in fact represent several different approaches to different erotic problems.

98. EVA VON DASSOW, University of Minnesota, and DOUGLAS R. FRAYNE, University of Toronto
Naram-Sin, King of Uruk

When, after a century occupying one building, the University of Minnesota’s Department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies moved to another building last year, a clay cone inscribed in cuneiform was discovered amid the pottery that constituted the teaching collection assembled by a long-departed professor. The cone’s surface had suffered ancient damage sufficient to obscure its text, and it had apparently never been read or published. It turns out to derive from one Naram-Sin, king of Uruk, hitherto entirely unknown.

According to the battered 20-line inscription, when An and Inanna restored the kingship of Uruk, Naram-Sin built his royal palace, and during his reign people enjoyed prosperity and peace. The text includes parallels to inscriptions of Enlil-bānī of Isin
and Sin-kashid of Uruk. On the basis of these parallels, and because Sin-kashid was followed by several members of his own line, our new Naram-Sin may be placed immediately before Sin-kashid (early 19th century BCE, on the Middle Chronology). His lineage is not mentioned, nor is that of Sin-kashid in the latter’s inscriptions, so they could each in turn have been “new men.” Naram-Sin would have attained the kingship when Uruk gained independence from Larsa, only to lose his throne to Sin-kashid in short order.

Had Naram-Sin ruled Uruk for a significant length of time, surely more than one record would have survived to attest his reign. Perhaps he got as far as laying the foundations for the palace whose construction this cone commemorates, before Sin-kashid usurped the palace along with the throne; but if no further attestation of Naram-Sin of Uruk comes to light, we may never know. This isolated piece of evidence not only adds yet another actor to the well-populated drama of Old Babylonian history, it reminds us how little of that history we have yet recovered.

99. JENNIFER SINGLETARY, Brown University

The Travels of Sargon: Geography, Power and the Construction of Kingship Ideology in Ancient Mesopotamia

This study examines the progression of the construction of narratives about Sargon from his own royal inscriptions through the literary works of the Old Babylonian and later periods. More specifically, the primary interest of this essay is to examine certain aspects of the construction of a highly effective propaganda machine, which developed a life of its own that persisted for almost three millennia. Though several scholars, such as P. Michalowski and L. Nigro, have identified innovative uses of religion and divine sanction in the construction of kingship ideology and power by Sargon and Naram-Sin, this study seeks to call attention to another important factor in the construction of Mesopotamian kingship ideology: the use of concepts of geography. Thus, this essay will address the following questions: how and why did Sargon’s inscriptions use geography as effective propaganda? How and for what purposes were these trends continued and expanded in later literary works, such as the Sargon “autobiographies” and legends? Finally, this study will look at an extreme case of the exploitation of geography in the first millennium: The Sargon Geography. Using both historiographic texts, including inscriptions and monuments, and literary texts, such as the so-called Sargon autobiographies, this essay will argue that Sargon’s association with far-away places and peoples is key to his characterization as a great king, and to the construction of the conception of him as an ideal ruler for two and one half millennia after his death.

100. MATTHEW T. RUTZ, University of Pennsylvania

Paleography, Gods, and Diviners in Emar

The diviners’ archive from Late Bronze Age Emar comprises a heterogeneous variety of textual genres, among the most significant of which are the myriad copies of tablets from Babylonian scholarly tradition. The colophons of these sources offer glimpses into the social fabric, chronological range, and scribal traditions in at least one location at the site. The topic of this paper is a special subset of these colophons, namely, those rendered in an archaizing ductus that imitates Old Babylonian lapidary script. Because of recent disputes over the reading of certain elements in the paleographic
colophons, the crux of this argument will be a clarification of the epigraphic data. This paper will depart from a critical analysis of the paleographic sign lists from Emar and elsewhere, discuss some previously unidentified and unplaced fragments of these texts, and situate this antiquarian tradition within the broader cuneiform paleographic sequence. An additional result will be a further refinement of the distinctions between the Syrian and Syro-Hittite scribal schools attested in Emar. Finally, some of the affinities between the scribal traditions of Ugarit and Emar will be discussed. This reappraisal of the Emar paleographic colophons delimits the scribal habits and output of the family of diviners and illuminates how these conscious heirs of Babylonian tradition utilized and adapted their intellectual bequest.

101. EDWIN YAMAUCHI, Miami University

Jesus, the False Messiah, in Mandaic Texts

When the Portuguese first rediscovered the Mandaeans in the 16th century, they called them “Saint John Christians,” because of their veneration of John the Baptist. But with the publication of their major texts in the 19th and 20th centuries such as the Ginza, the Johannesbuch, and the Haran Gawaita, it became clear that the Mandaeans can hardly be considered Christians as they regard šu mšiha “Jesus the Messiah” as an apostate and deceiver, who is often linked with ruḥa ḍ-qudṣā “the Holy Spirit,” who is regarded as an evil fallen figure in Mandaean cosmology.

Jesus does not appear in the earliest Mandaic texts, which are magic bowls from the Sasanian period (6th cent. C.E.), though Jesus appears in comparable Syriac bowls and in many Greek and Coptic magical texts. In a late Mandaic scroll “the vaunted name of Jesu Christ” is cited.

What is remarkable is the contrast between the denigration of Jesus and the veneration accorded to Jesus’ mother miriam “Mary” and to ialia/iuhana “John the Baptist,” whose name is given in both its Arabic and its Aramaic form. In the Qur’an both Jesus and Mary are given high respect, though Jesus’ deity is emphatically denied.

Both the Ginza and the Johannesbuch were probably composed in the early Islamic period. Rudolf Macuch gave credence to the Mandaean claim in the Haran Gawaita that the earliest Mandaeans had migrated from Palestine to Haran in Mesopotamia in the first century; he also believed that Mandaeanism was a form of pre-Christian Gnosticism. But I will argue that Mandaeanism cannot be dated before the second century, and that it is a unique form of Gnosticism with deep Mesopotamian elements.

B. Islamic Near East VII: Theology and Philosophy. MICHAEL CARTER, University of Sydney, Chair (1:15 p.m.–2:45 p.m.) Bluebonnet Room

• Ash’ari(tes)

102. ROBERT J. RIGGS JR., University of Pennsylvania

Al-Ash’ari’s Legal Affiliation: A Historical Inquiry

Despite recent scholarship, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn Ismāʿīl al-Ashʿarī’s madhhab affiliation remains shrouded in ambiguity. While later Ash‘arite theologians would have the reader believe that al-Ash‘arī adhered to the Shafite school of law, his extant writings reveal both a heavily traditionalist leaning personality in the same vein as Ibn
Hanbal; while at the same time showing a strong proclivity toward the rationalistic mutakallimin (speculative theologians). These apparently contradictory theological and legal stances have led scholars to propose several possibilities related to their harmonization. Authorial veracity is notoriously difficult to prove in the case of medieval Islam because of transmission problems, the vagaries of time and historical revisionism practice by overzealous followers of various intellectual movements. Despite these obstacles, several recent scholars have pointed out the radical differences between several of al-Ashʿarī’s works, as evidence that there were different authors for different works. Other scholars point to these differences as showing a chronological map of al-Ashʿarī’s authorial career and the intellectual development that this career entailed. A third group of scholars seeks to keep the authorial veracity of each work in place, but explain the radical differences in style and content as a reaction to different opponents and audiences. This study will explore the question of al-Ashʿarī’s legal affiliation in relation to the predominant Islamic schools of law developing in Baṣrah and Baghdād during the late ninth and early tenth century, as represented by his teachers and students. His writings will also be examined for evidence of explicit adherence to any of the burgeoning law schools and an attempt will be made to distinguish between al-Ashʿarī and his intellectual progeny, the Ashʿarites.

103. TARIQ JAFFER, University of Oregon

The Tawil-Issue in Muslim Theology: A Study of Methodological Principles in Ashʿarite Kalam

This essay expounds Razi’s method of Koranic exegesis and situates Razi’s methodological principles within the intricate tapestry of Islamic intellectual history. It considers Razi’s innovations in Muslim theology and Koranic exegesis against the backdrop of the intellectual tensions and conflicts of Eastern Iran and Central Asia. It pays particular attention to the methodological developments within the Ashʿarite tradition, in which Razi stands, with a view to discerning the methods, techniques, and concepts which Razi employed to resolve the intellectual tensions and conflicts of medieval Islam.

As a method probing Razi’s methodological principles, this essay investigates Razi’s treatment of the physical anthropomorphic descriptions of God which appear in the Koran and Prophetic reports, specifically the descriptions which indicate God’s being in a place or direction. Since the methodological principles regarding these descriptions might be considered one of the most prominent issues of conflict of Muslim theology, an examination of this topic may provide a window into Razi’s method of Koranic exegesis and may provide an opportunity to discern Razi’s innovations in Muslim theology.

This essay contributes to our understanding of Koranic exegesis and Muslim theology in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. While the theological methods of Ashʿarī (d. 935), the Ashʿarites, and Ghazali (d. 1111) have been documented and studied (mainly by R. M. Frank), the manner in which Razi (the leading Ashʿarite of the post-Ghazalian time period) resolved certain methodological conflicts of Islamic theology and Koranic exegesis and contributed substantially to these fields remains unexplored and uninvestigated. This paper thus fills a gap in our knowledge of Muslim theology and Koranic exegesis in the post-Ghazalian period of Islamic intellectual history.
Rummānī

104. RACHA EL OMARI, University of California Santa Barbara

Abū ʿĪsā ar-Rummānī (d. 384/994) and the Muʿtazilī Grammarians of the 4th/10th Century

ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā ar-Rummānī (d. 384/994) was a Muʿtazilī follower of Ibn al-Iḥṣād (d. 326/938) who started his independent Muʿtazilī school in Bağdād rejecting both the Baṣra School of Abū Ḥāṣim al-Ǧubbāʾi (d. 321/933) and the old Bağdādī school of Abū l-Qāsim al-Kaḥī (d. 319/931). Ar-Rummānī was not only a Muʿtazilī theologian but also a grammarian who was present at the debate between the grammarian and judge Abū Saʿīd al-Sirāfi (d. 368/979) and the philosopher Abū Bišr Mattā b. Yūnus (d. 320/940) regarding the merits of logic and grammar. According to the grammarian Abū ʿAlī b. al-Farīsī (d. 377/987) ar-Rummānī’s work in grammar was influenced by Greek philosophy. However, Michael Carter points out that it was not the influence of philosophy but rather of Muʿtazilī theology on ar-Rummānī’s grammar that prompted the resistance that his work encountered among grammarians (Carter, 1984).

Starting with Carter’s observation, this paper investigates the degree to which ar-Rummānī’s status as a Muʿtazilī grammarian was far from a marginal case but a major manifestation of an important trend among his generation of Muʿtazilīs and grammarians. The paper proceeds by examining three generations of grammarians and Muʿtazilīs: ar-Rummānī’s predecessors, successors and contemporaries. By consulting biographical, grammatical and theological sources this paper shows that ar-Rummānī’s status as a theologian grammarian and the threat that it prompted for grammarians was representative of an important intellectual trend among the Muʿtazilīs of his generation. This alliance between theology and grammar during ar-Rummānī’s generation stood in contrast to his predecessors, when the tendency had started, but more importantly in contrast to his successors, when it declined.

105. BRUCE FUDGE, Southwestern University

A Manuscript of al-Rummānī’s Tafsīr

The topic of this paper is a manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (arabe 6523) containing a portion of a Qurān commentary of the Muʿtazilī grammarian ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994). The ms. covers Q 3:55 through to Q 4:11, and although a few scholars have utilized it (most notably Gimaret in his attempted reconstruction of Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī’s [d. 303/915] tafsīr, al-Rummānī’s commentary itself, as far as I am aware, has received little scrutiny.

My paper has three sections: i) a description of the contents of this manuscript, with particular reference to exegetical method and procedure; ii) a brief discussion of the relation of this tafsīr to al-Rummānī’s other extant work, in particular al-Nukat fī iʿjāz al-qurān; and iii) an analysis of the commentary’s place in the history of Muʿtazilī exegesis of the Qurān. In this final section I will evaluate the claims that his tafsīr was the main source for the Tibyān of al-Ṭūsī (d. 459/1067) and the Kashshāf of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144), address the possibility that al-Rummānī composed more than one work of exegesis, and suggest the existence of two subsequent strands of Muʿtazilī tafsīr, one Bağdādīan and the other Iranian.
Rebecca R. Williams, McGill University

An Analysis of the Supernatural Archetype of the Prophet Muhammad as Found in the Sūra/Tārīkh and Tafsīr Works of al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr

Reports of the miracles of the Prophet Muhammad have been traditionally either ignored by those modern, Western scholars attempting to determine the historicity of the source material, or have been studied piecemeal in an attempt to determine their origins by those scholars who see them as secondary additions. However, an examination of the sūra/tārīkh, the story of Muhammad’s life as told within larger works of universal history, and tafsīr works of al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) and Ibn Kathīr (d. 773/1373) reveals that such reports were viewed as an integral part of the story as a whole by these Muslim scholars. There appears to be both a supernatural and a mundane archetype in the story of Muhammad’s life, with each mirroring the other almost perfectly. Whereas the story begins with God performing all of the miracles for Muhammad’s benefit, by the time of his death in Medina, Muhammad has completed his mastery over the forces of the supernatural to the point where it appears that God performs miracles directly in response to Muhammad’s prayers. Thus, as Muhammad gained more control over the movement he founded, he gained an equal amount of control over the forces of the supernatural. Both al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Kathīr include reports that relate the supernatural archetype, but also include reports that diverge from it in important ways. For example, the role of the supernatural versus the mundane, the politicization of the archetype, and the use of authorial opinion by both scholars reveal that, while there are seemingly timeless aspects of the life of Muhammad, each author also changed the story to reflect his own time and place, and his own view of how the miracles of Muhammad should be depicted in the genres studied here.

Dwight F. Reynolds, University of California Santa Barbara

Ziryāb, the Man behind the Myth: New Historical Sources on His Life and Music

‘Alī ibn Nāfīʿ, commonly known as Ziryāb, is the most famous figure in the history of Andalusian music, perhaps of Arab music as a whole. He is reported to have founded the Andalusian musical style and its forms and to have introduced innumerable refinements to the Cordoban court in clothing, hairstyle, personal hygiene, cooking, and table manners. This mythic version of Ziryāb, however, is derived from a single 17th-century source, Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad al-Maqqārī’s Naḥf al-tīb min ghusn al-Andalus al-ratīb [The Scented Breeze from the Tender Branch of al-Andalus], compiled some eight centuries after Ziryāb’s death. The information about Ziryāb is extracted primarily from a section al-Muqtabis of Ibn Hayyān (d. 1076) long thought to be lost. The recent discovery and publication of the section of al-Muqtabis containing the full biography of Ziryāb allows us to see that al-Maqqārī was highly selective, choosing passages that praised Ziryāb and rejecting most of those which portrayed him more negatively. Further, those laudatory passages can now be seen to have originated in
a single late 10th-century source cited by Ibn Hayyān anonymously as Kitāb akhbār Ziryāb.

This presentation, drawn research in Spanish archives in Granada and Madrid, identifies a specific author for the anonymous Kitāb akhbār Ziryāb and offers an explanation for why that work aggrandized the musician so exuberantly. Comparison to other early texts (most of which have never been mentioned or cited with regard to his life) also make it possible to reconstruct a more critical and realistic view of Ziryāb and his contribution to Arabo-Andalusian music using works authored by al-Dabbī, al-Humaydī, Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, Ibn Dahya, Ibn Hazm, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Qutiyya, Ibn Sāʿīd, Ibn al-Tahhān, al-Khushānī, al-Tifāshī, and al-Umārī.

108. PAUL E. WALKER, University of Chicago

The Historiography of the Caliph al-Ḥākim

The historical record for the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim presents an unusually complex mixture of fact and fiction, both of which have been aided and abetted by deliberate distortion, hagiographic devotion, and subtle and not-so-subtle polemical posturing. Druze accounts, for example, which ostensibly offer an account of God’s earthly acts, are full of the mundane details of a real but all-too-quirky sovereign seemingly in the thrall of some demented madness. But Ismaili writings of his time confirm many of the same details. Moreover, most of the existing record exhibits the bafflement of those who quite honestly attempted to describe what happened during those years. Often lacking the surer footing of normally expected royal behavior—as would have been true in most other reigns—the appeal of a good story, which abound in this case, too often takes precedence over accurate history, a situation that predominates in medieval accounts and carries over into modern historiography. It is not too difficult to find such fabrications and to trace them from their earliest sources into the best of modern scholarship, preserved there simply because it has proven hard to let go of an entertaining legend.

109. AHMED H. AL-RAHIM, Yale University

Avicenna’s Immediate Disciples and Their Works

The history of post-Avicennan philosophy begins with al-Ḡuzgānī, Bahmanyār, Ibn-Zayla, and al-Maʿṣūmī, who—despite the paucity of reliable reports in the bio-bibliographical literature—appear to have played a key role in the collection and transmission of Avicenna’s writings. In addition to which they wrote commentaries on and précis of his major and minor philosophical works. As Bayhaqī has noted in Tatimmat Ṣiwān al-Ḥikma: it was the activity of Avicenna’s immediate disciples, especially Bahmanyār’s, that insured the spread of Peripatetic philosophy in Ḫurāsān; and perhaps even its survival well into the Ṣafawī period. The extant to which Bayhaqī’s reports (and later ones) are accurate will have to be determined—and so, despite some recent investigations, the study of the lives and works of Avicenna’s immediate disciples remains a major desideratum.

In this paper I will attempt to answer the following questions about Avicenna’s immediate disciples: Who were they? How extensive was their study and contact with Avicenna? What role did they play in the transmission and defense of his philosophy? With which writings of Avicenna are they associated in the bio-bibliographical
literature? What works, commentaries did they themselves write? Who were their students? And finally I will provide a brief assessment of the bio-bibliographical (often hagiographical) tradition of the lives and works of the falāsifa.

- **Tawhīdī. BEATRICE GRUENDLER, Yale University, Chair (4:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m.)
  Bluebonnet Room**

110. IKRAM MASMoudI, Middlebury College

  Analysis of *al-Hadīth* as seen by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī in his book *al-Imtāʿ wa-l-Muwānasah*

  The exchange Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī had during his first encounter with the Vizier Ibn Sa’dān is based on the different meanings and entangled possibilities of the root “ḥa-dā-th” in Arabic language. Al-Tawhīdī seems to enjoy the richness and the polysemy of this root. The first night is for him the opportunity to show to his vizier his deep knowledge of the Arabic language, and to establish the frame work, the terms and conditions of their exchange to come (i.e., he is asking to be able to address the vizier using the pronoun of the second person masculine in a confrontational way with *(kāf al-muhātaba wa tāʾ al-muwājahahu)*, and to clarify some of the terminological concepts he would be using. The developments of Tawhīdī seem to make an inventory of all the meanings of the root ḥa-da-th one can find in the dictionary, but, unlike the entry of the dictionary, his analysis is argued with reason, documented with poetry, and consolidated by sayings and various examples and anecdotes.

  This paper will explore how with a lot of wit and ability, Tawhīdī moves al-ḥadīth from a sphere to another: from nice, thoughtful conversation, into novelty, ever new and never boring, to a happening that makes of it the beloved of the senses and at the same time having the most important quality of being always a modern partitioning of time.

111. MAURICE A. POMERantz, University of Chicago

  The Third Vizier: Structure, Sources, and the Political Context of the *Akhlāq al-Wāzirayn* by Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī (d. 414/1023)

  There are perhaps few works of Arabic literature with a more intriguing past than the *Akhlāq al-wāzirayn*, “The Morals of the Two Viziers,” by the famed littérateur, Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī. According to Tawhīdī’s account in his *Kitāb al-imtāʿ wa-l-muwānasah*, “The Book of Delight and Conviviality,” he composed this work in anger at his perceived mistreatment at the hands of the ruling vizier of Rayy, al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d. 385/995) whom he served for approximately three years from 367–370/977–980. A withering attack upon the current vizier of Rayy and his predecessor Abū al-Ḥaḍr b. al-ʿAmīd (d. 360/970), the *Akhlāq al-wāzirayn* was a powerful work of literary revenge. Fearing the consequences of revealing the work in public while the vizier of Rayy was still alive, Tawhīdī gave a copy of the work in secret to the vizier of Baghdad, Ibn Sa’dān in the year 373/983.

  In the beginning of the twentieth century, a manuscript was discovered in the Asʿad Efendi library in Istanbul which seemed to fit the contents of Tawhīdī’s work. It was subsequently published in the early 1960s in a scholarly edition by Muḥammad b. Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī. Modern studies involving the *Akhlāq al-wāzirayn* have largely been devoted to understanding details of Tawhīdī’s biography. In this paper, I will attempt
to demonstrate by a detailed examination of the sources, structure and political context of its authorship, that the standard accounts of the work do not adequately address its inherent complexity. In so doing, I intend not only to reveal more about this great work of Arabic literature but also reflect critically on the nature Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī’s literary persona, his patrons, and the cultural politics of the early Buḥyid period.

112. NUHA AL-SHA’AR, University of Cambridge

al-Tawhīdī and the Social Imaginary: Ṣadāqa (Friendship) and Social Ethics in the Fourth Century of the Islamic Era

Earlier studies on Abū Ḥayyān ‘Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Tawhīdī (315–411/927–1023) focused primarily on the descriptive, epistemological side of his writings as a fourth-century writer while paying little attention to al-Tawhīdī as a person. No scholars have presented an analysis of the complexity of causes and knowledge that formed al-Tawhīdī’s political ethics and vision of social idealism, and how his discourse in turn influenced contemporary society.

This paper will present an analytical reading of al-Tawhīdī’s concept of Ṣadāqa (friendship) within his historical context and as part of the wider intellectual and philosophical discussion of his time. It will show this concept as an exercise in cultural rhetoric designed to persuade and instruct. This moves al-Tawhīdī from being simply an adīb, or a philosopher of literature, to considering Ṣadāqa as an example of his method of intellectual inquiry. In his treatment of Ṣadāqa, al-Tawhīdī provides material for the re-creation of a dialogue between a number of works and text-types that are all too often considered in isolation from each other. The relation between ʿilm (knowledge) and ʿamal (practice) is fundamental for al-Tawhīdī’s vision of society: knowledge from all sources should be put into practice.

This paper treats the concept of Ṣadāqa as a social imaginary. Ṣadāqa should be seen as a new attitude towards the person, towards resolving political and social tensions in society. Ṣadāqa is found to be the harmonious unity between two very different men in tenth-century Baghdad: the philosopher al-Sijistānī (knowledge) and the judge Ibn Sayyār (action). In this context, trust between friends develops a new formal bond and loyalty. This alternative moral order centers on friendship as a form of social association and reform, encompassing both ʿilm and ʿamal. al-Tawhīdī proposes an imagined ruler who is able to govern by combining all the theoretical and practical virtues and has the ability to apply both in society.

D. Islamic Near East IX: Religion: Apocalyptic. SIDNEY GRIFFITH, Catholic University of America, Chair (5:30 p.m.–6:30 p.m.) Bluebonnet Room

113. TODD LAWSON, University of Toronto

The Qurʾān and the Glory Motif: Apocalyptic Substrate II

Of the several literary and religious textual features isolated and characterized by recent scholarship as elements of apocalypticism or criteria by which apocalypticism may be identified, the so-called “glory motif” figures prominently. In this paper I will attempt to demonstrate the ways such may be thought to occur in the Qurʾān. Thus we are able to refine our thinking about the relationship between the Q. and an apocalyptic literary landscape out of which it may have arisen. As such, this paper
represents a second chapter in an ongoing pursuit of the question. The first, presented last year, was a study of the interplay of opposites and dualities in the Q. These striking literary qualities are simultaneously what seems to set the Q. text apart from other scriptures and provide evidence for the ebbing of an apocalyptic imagination to give way to more domesticated Islam. It helps us approach the question, using terminology from other traditions, of how in Islam heresy became orthodoxy.

114. JACOB LASSNER, Northwestern University
Apocalyptic Elements in Anti- Fadē'il al-Quds Traditions

This paper continues a discussion introduced earlier at previous meetings of the AOS. The current presentation surveys the literature in praise of Jerusalem [ Fadē'il al-Quds] for traces of messianic themes. These themes emphasize the importance of Jerusalem in the events surrounding the end of days when final judgment is made and the dead are resurrected. A careful analysis of the various traditions betrays a substantial bias in favor of Jerusalem al-Sham and what may be interpreted as a denigration of the Hijaz and the holy Haramayn: Mecca and Medina. I will attempt to show how these views encouraged an anti-Jerusalem literature that is embedded in the fadē'il genre.

E. South and Southeast Asia III. HANS HEINRICH HOCK, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Chair (2:00–5:15 p.m.) Magnolia Room
• Buddhism

115. OSKAR VON HINÜBER, Universität Freiburg
A Case of Identity: Remarks on the Earliest Buddhist Nuns

Borders are of particular importance in Buddhist ecclesiastic law (Vinaya), because all juridical acts of the Buddhist order are valid only, if all monks participated. To guarantee complete presence, it is obviously essential to define the group of monks constituting an order. This is done by settling the borders of an area, from which all monks are supposed to attend a meeting regulating the affairs of the order such as the acceptance of new monks etc. The importance of these borders for Buddhism is underlined by the fact that at the time, when Buddhism disappears, not only all Buddhist texts are lost, but also all borders are invalidated to allow for the next Buddha to establish his teaching in future.

Of course the legal problems concerning borders found plenty of attention by the Buddhist themselves and by modern research culminating so far in the PhD thesis of P. Kieffer-Pülz: Die sīmā. Vorschriften zur Regelung der buddhistischen Gemeindegrenzen (1992).

While the theory of borders is well researched, the more practical side of marking the borders seems to be somewhat neglected, particularly, because the Buddhist borders are usually seen by themselves and in isolation without taking into account their Indian cultural context. Therefore, it is planned to compare the marking of borders as prescribed in Buddhist texts on the one side to similar prescriptions found in the Dharmasastras, on the other, and first of all, to the practical application of these rules as mirrored in inscriptions, primarily in land-grants.
116. STEFAN BAUMS, University of Washington

A Buddhist Verse Commentary in Gāndhārī

Among the first-century Gāndhārī manuscripts acquired by the British Library in 1994 and now being studied by the Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project at the University of Washington is a commentary on a set of Buddhist canonical verses. With a total of 480 extant lines, this verse commentary is the longest text in the Gāndhārī language discovered so far. It is also the only known example of a multi-volume Gāndhārī manuscript: the extant fragments belong to at least three, and possibly four, original scrolls. All verses in this commentary have parallels in texts of the Khuddakanikāya of the Pali canon. Outside the Pali tradition, parallels have been identified in the Central Asian Udānavarga and Aṣṭakavarga, in the Patna Dharmapada manuscript, and last not least in the Gāndhārī Dharmapada from Khotan. The text of the commentary, on the other hand, does not have any direct parallels in other branches of the Buddhist tradition and appears to be the composition of an early Gandhāran Buddhist monk. Its focus is also very different from that of the Pali commentaries in that it provides a scholastic analysis of each of the verses in terms of concepts such as types of kleśa and prabhāna; occasionally, however, it also indicates background stories and provides valuable cross-references to other canonical texts, enriching our knowledge of the state of Buddhist canon formation in its time. An identification of eight of the verses and a preliminary discussion of one section of the commentary have been provided in Salomon, Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra (pp. 26–29, 160f.). The present paper will present results based on a detailed study of the complete manuscript (thirty-five verses and their commentary) in preparation of an edition of this text.

117. JASON NEELIS, University of Florida

The Gift of Gruel: A Gāndhārī Version of the Kulmāsapiṇḍajātaka

Brief summaries of avadānas and previous-birth stories are well-represented as secondary texts in the British Library collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. Despite the challenges posed by the fragmentary condition and the skeletal structure of these original compositions, Richard Salomon (Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra), Mark Allon (Three Gāndhāri Ekottarikāgama-Type Sūtras) and Timothy Lenz (A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-Birth Stories) have made helpful comparisons with expanded versions of similar stories in a wide variety of Buddhist literature. This presentation specifically focuses on an avadāna about a Mahākāśyaprapta who sets out on an expedition with a thousand elephants. When questioned about the cause of his present position as a world-conquering ruler, he answers that it is the result of giving a single ball of dough. Here it is proposed that elements in this Gāndhārī avadāna closely resemble the content and structure of versions of the Kulmāsapiṇḍajātaka in Āryaśūra’s Jātakamalā (no. 3), Divyāvadāna (no. 7), and Pali (Jātaka no. 415), in which gifts of gruel made to Buddhas during previous lives result in rebirth of donors as the king and queen of Kosala. Thematic similarities with other Buddhist narratives that link rulership in the “story of the present” (pratyutpannavastu) to minor gifts in the “story of the past” (atītavastu) supply important keys to understanding this avadana and possibly its position in the sequence and the concerns of its writer.
118. David B. Gray, Santa Clara University

Resistance to Sanskrit? Reflections on the Development of Buddhist Sanskrit Literature

Tantric Buddhist Sanskrit texts are remarkable for the diversity of the Sanskrit language employed within them. While some of the early tantras are composed in what appears to be relatively solid Sanskrit, devoid of the Middle Indic influences seen in the earlier Sutras, the later tantras, especially the Yogini tantras composed from the eighth century onward, are notable for their numerous metrical and grammatical problems, problems which are not solely the result of scribal errors, as early commentaries indicate. Some of these tantras also include passages in Apabhramśa dialects, and at least one of these tantras may have originally been an Apabhramśa composition. Some of these texts are also notable for influence from Śaiva-Kāpālika sources. In this paper I propose to examine the socio-historical and religious factors contributing to the deployment of Sanskrit in this literate. Following Sheldon Pollack’s recent (2006) work, I will argue that resistance to Sanskrit persisted in the North Indian liminal social environment that gave rise to these works, and that this attitude was a powerful enough to prevent the emendation of these texts for the purpose of correcting the Sanskrit, unlike the Śaiva-Kāpālika tradition, which originated in a similar social context, but was later absorbed into a vādika social world. As a result, the Buddhist Tantras appear to preserve older readings for the texts of these traditions.

119. Christian Haskett, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Some Terms of Confession in pāpadeśanā

Indian Mahāyāna Buddhist confession texts routinely treat several varieties of wrongs: pāpa, ayatya, āpatti, and mulāpatti—under the heading of pāpadeśanā. These are also treated in a variety of ways: desanā, pratikaranā, etc. However, the recently published trilingual edition of the Āryatriskandhasūtra points out that the use of the term pāpa, particularly in the form pāpadeśanā, was far from consistent or fixed at the time of translation into Tibetan. This paper considers the various contexts in which these terms occur and draws some conclusions about the alternating usage of pāpa and āpatti and the connection between Buddhist confessory and legally established codes of monastic conduct.

• Grammar and Etymology

120. George Cardona, University of Pennsylvania

Theoretical Precedents of the Kātantra

Śārvavarman’s grammar, the Kātantra, as represented in the text of the Kashmir tradition by Ugrābhūti’s Siyāhitānyāsa, includes sections of sūtras that are not part of the text received and commented on earlier by Durgāsinhā. Thus, Ugrābhūti’s text contains a section (1.6) concerning particles (nipāla), which in turn includes a sūtra (1.6.4: anvādyah karma-pravacanīyāḥ) stating that items of the set beginning with anu are called karma-pravacanīya. Ugrābhūti’s text also contains a distinct section (2.7) devoted to feminine suffixes, which pretty clearly mirrors Pāṇini. The version on which Durgāsinhā comments lacks a comparable complete section, although it does include, as the final part of the fourth pāda of the second chapter, four sūtras that have to do with gender. There are also parts of the Kātantra which constitute part of
the received text on which Durgasiniha and others comment but which nevertheless are considered additions to Sarvavarman’s original set of sūtras. Modern scholars have noted on several occasions that the Kātantra’s fourth chapter, covering kṛt affixes, was not part of Sarvavarman’s original text and that Durgasiniha recognized this. The first sūtra of the chapter in question begins with siddhiḥ, and Durga considers this an indication that the author of this chapter is distinct from the author of what precedes, so that he uses siddhiḥ for the sake of auspiciousness at the beginning of a new piece. In a verse introducing the fourth chapter, moreover, Durga says that the learned Sarvavarman did not compose rules for kṛdanta derivates, considering them separate lexical items with established meanings and known from their being used in particular ways, in the same manner as terms like vrksa, but Kātyāyana did derive these, for the enlightenment of those who lacked the insight to know them. Commentators agree that the original set of sūtras composed by Sarvavarman lacked rules for introducing kṛt suffixes, for introducing taddhita affixes, and for deriving compounds. Under the assumption, which is well founded, that the Kātantra is indebted to Pāṇini’s work, the questions arise: what is the reason for so curtailing a grammar and are there precedents for this? Modern scholars have stressed one reason: in accordance with the well known legend, Sarvavarman’s work was intended as a handbook for instruction in Sanskrit. I present evidence, statements in Pāṇini’s commentatorial arguments, demonstrating that there are also intellectual precedents for such an abbreviated grammar.

121. Periannan Chandrasekaran, Norcross, Georgia

Vaiśambalyā, Vaiyai and Chambal: Structural Patterns and Etymological Principles for Hydronyms in the Indian Linguistic Area

Etymology of hydronyms mentioned in the earliest available texts such as the Rg Veda have assumed critical importance owing especially to the lack of any definite decipherment of the Indus script. Current etymological attempts do not consider minor hydronyms leaving us with insufficient data to clearly decide the components of a hydronym leading to uncertain etymologies. They also exhibit certain lack of discipline in the semantics used in their attempting to relate crookedness, foaminess, color, speed, vegetation and so on to hydronyms. They do not explain clearly the etymology of all the parts of a hydronym.

In this paper I make abundant use of names of minor streams in far-flung corners of the Indian linguistic area and show that there is surprisingly high repetition of whole names or parts. It gives clues to the spread of the underlying language: for example, the Kak (Agra), Kakke (Karnataka), Kaka (in Assam), Kakki (Kerala), Kakka Nadi (south Tamil Nadu), Kakri (Rajasthan), Kaki (Bengal). It will also make us revise etymologies done in isolation: Yamunā, Jammu and Jamira must be considered cognate and Yamunā may no longer be a twin of any lost river!

Such comparison also helps in definite identification of hydronym components and shows that the way important hydronyms are currently analyzed is not supported. As an example, Mandākini is analyzed as containing Munda *dāk = water. But comparison of the names Pinākini, Śālakini and Asikini (< *Asikini) shows that the component in Mandākini must be kinī. Further there are river names Kinnerasani and Kinri with the stem kin- as their primary component.

It is further used to establish some interesting structural patterns in Indian hydronyms. Components do not have a fixed position or role and can occur in any
position. So we have Irā-vatī and Mañj-irī; Jam-irī and Kāv-iri; Mandā-kini, Kin-
neras-āni and Asiknī; Gūḍa-varī and Var-adā; Al-aka-nandā, Gaṇḍ-akī, Akērū. This
shows that their meaning is not positional and may require us to abandon the concept
of suffixes and prefixes.

Finally I go on to the actual etymology of the river names and show how they can
be related to inherent properties of a fluid such as oozing, flowing, spilling, drinking,
coldness, hail, frost, mud, slush, mire etc. So kini to Goṇḍa, kinnān = wet, cool,
kinnītā = cold; Kolami. kinnī, kinnām = cold. And Cintā, Sindli and Sindhu to
Dravidian as we have Tamil. cintu and Telugu. cindu = to spill, Kui. sindali = moist,
damp, Malto. cithe = to rain drop by drop.

A. Ancient Near East, VII: Economy & Society. Maynard P. Maidman,
York University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 noon) Crystal Ballroom

122. Laura Culbertson, University of Michigan

Official Business and Officials’ Business: On Some Business Mistakes of Ur III
Officials in Lagash and Umma

In this paper I study selected Ur III ditillas in order to examine how dispute process-
ing was used among officials or elites and their institutions in the event of business mis-
takes. I focus on the degree to which the state and the institutions within it intervened
in disputes between officials. Such investigation is useful for understanding the sources
of authority in Ur III dispute processing. It also addresses studies of Mesopotamian
economy where debates circulate about the degrees of professional freedom or inhibi-
tion experienced by Ur III institutional employees. I consider whether it is possible to
disentangle personal and business disputes in these texts, and whether the apparent
distinction in the examined texts between personal and business affairs (or possibly
“public” and “private” activity) is a legal fiction. Finally, I investigate how, by way of
dispute processing, officials could monitor the actions of their colleagues and prevent
unlimited manipulation of property or abuse of professional entitlements.

123. Lance Allred, Cornell University

Getting the word out: Letter-orders and Ur III Administration

Edmond Sollberger’s seminal edition of the so-called Ur III letter-orders appeared
in 1966. Since then, a number of new texts belonging to this genre, broadly defined,
have been published. Thus far, however, most treatments of these texts have been
largely philological in nature. This paper examines the place of such letter-orders in
the Ur III administration. It also considers other means by which information was
disseminated.

124. Magnus Widell, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

The Sumerian igi-kar₂ Revisited

In 1968, The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary translated the Old Babylonian aširtu,
which in the OB period corresponded to the Sumerian expression igi-kar₂, “an offer-
ing of a pious gift to the gods.” In the texts from the preceding Ur III period, the
expression igi-kar₂ has usually been associated with the expression gurum₂ (written
IGI.GAR) and translated “inspection.” In 1982, Piotr Steinkeller demonstrated that
igi-kar₂ and gurum₂ refer to two separate words. While the compound verb igi-kar₂
denoted “to examine” in both the Ur III period and the Old Babylonian period, the meaning in the Ur III period of the lexical entry igi-kar₂ was “provisions, supplies” for various individuals or soldiers. Nothing in the text corpus studied by Steinkeller indicated that the expression referred to cultic contributions or offerings in the Ur III period.

Since Steinkeller’s article, many new Ur III texts from especially Umma, Girsu and Puzriš-Dagan have been published. The purpose of this paper is to examine the expressions further by including this new evidence. The data seems to confirm both Steinkeller’s separation between gurum₂ and igi-kar₂ in the Ur III period and his rejection of the cultic connotations of igi-kar₂ before the Old Babylonian period. However, the suggested pragmatic function of the expression as military or individual supplies/provisions is not clearly discernible in the texts. Instead, a significant portion of the cuneiform records point at a connection between the expression igi-kar₂ and the giving of birth (tu.d) among the prominent families of the Ur III state as well as within the royal family itself.

125. WALTER BODINE, Yale University

Glimpses of Scribal Students at Work from the Model Contracts

The corpus of model contracts in Yale’s collection provides an opportunity to see scribal students at work. Out of the six tablets, two (YBC 8630 and YBC 12074) contain individual documents that duplicate two that are included in the large collection NBC 7800. This suggests that many duplicates probably exist among the many model contracts yet to be published. One of these two, YBC 12074 (not a model contract, but an announcement of the loss of a seal), and its duplicate in the collection have differences in wording, ordering of lines, and contents that is like that which has been demonstrated in literary texts. That same tablet is inscribed only on the front and has a hole in the back that was clearly made deliberately because of its smooth inner surface. It appears to have been put there in order to secure the tablet to a vertical surface for public display. In contrast to model contracts generally, this loss of a seal text contains a list of witnesses; but, like the model contracts, omits a date. The first contract on NBC 7800 is a grain loan. It includes a scribal shorthand for the time and place of delivery of the borrowed grain, similar to the shorthand that sometimes stands in for the witnesses and date that are omitted from model contracts. Two documents in the same collection (one a manumission? and the other an adoption), in keeping with some other model contracts, leave individuals anonymous that would ordinarily be named in a functional document. The model adoption uses three phrases that confirm the child being adopted as a foundling, the same three that appear in UR₅-RA = hubullu, but does not include a fourth that appears in ana ittišu. Such features in these few tablets are suggestive of the wealth of observations that will be afforded by the publication of the larger corpora of model contracts in other collections.

126. MATTHEW W. STOLPER, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

An Old Persian Administrative Tablet from the Persepolis Fortification Archive

[No abstract]
“PN₁ Shall Argue the Case Against PN₂”: Contract or Summons?

There is a group of Neo-Babylonian legal texts, from both private and temple archives, which require one individual to “argue the case” against another individual. Failure to comply with this requirement results in a penalty imposed upon the individual who is to “argue the case.” These texts have been described both as “contracts,” apparently between the two parties to the litigation, and “summonses” composed by adjudicating authorities. The present paper examines the evidence available from the texts themselves and attempts to situate them within the broader context of Neo-Babylonian litigation records. In doing so, it rejects the understanding of these texts as contracts in favor of the understanding of these texts as summonses.

Were Late Mesopotamian Sale Formularies Influenced by West Semitic Legal Traditions?

As more Aramaic deeds of sale from antiquity have been published in recent years, interest in the development of the Aramaic sale formulary has steadily grown. Yohanan Muffs’ groundbreaking 1969 study established the roots of many key elements of this formulary in earlier cuneiform antecedents. Subsequent studies have built upon his work and have focused on the influence of these cuneiform antecedents during the 1st millennium BCE.

This paper considers both an earlier time period as well as a different direction of influence. Beginning with materials from the 2nd millennium BCE, I believe it possible to detect an influence of West Semitic legal traditions upon Mesopotamian ones. Though this earlier time frame would certainly antedate any Aramaic legal traditions, we can at least attempt to isolate the West Semitic traditions that would eventually help to shape the Aramaic sale formulary.

The particular element of the sale formulary upon which this paper focuses is the so-called completion clause. This term refers to a clause or group of clauses that indicate the successful completion of a sales transaction. Early Mesopotamian deeds of sale—especially Old Babylonian ones—differ fundamentally from Aramaic ones in how they formulate such clauses. These differences are not merely chronological, as I believe the Aramaic formulation to be rooted in earlier West Semitic traditions.

Beginning with Middle Assyrian deeds of sale, however, the formulation used in cuneiform deeds of sale begins to change such that the sale formulary used in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian deeds of sale are quite different from their 2nd millennium predecessors. I believe these changes can be traced to some degree to the influence of West Semitic legal traditions.
C. Islamic Near East X: Religion and History. (9:40 a.m.–11:30 a.m.) Bluebonnet Room

- Female Elites. PAUL E. WALKER, University of Chicago, Chair (9:40 a.m.–10:20 a.m.) Bluebonnet Room

129. RACHEL T. HOWES, California State University, Northridge

The Religious Education of Women in a Muslim State: Lectures to Fatimid Women in the Court of al-Mustansir (1036–1094CE)

The Isma’ili Shi’i Fatimid Caliphs who ruled North Africa, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Arabian Peninsula between 909 and 1171 had a unique organization for maintaining loyalty among their followers. The Fatimid Da’wa, or Religious Propaganda organization worked to encourage loyalty to the Fatimids both within Fatimid-held territories and abroad in countries controlled by other Islamic and non-Islamic leaders. Among the responsibilities of the head of this organization, according to deeds of appointment that survive in later historical chronicles by Isma’ili and non-Isma’ili historians, were weekly lectures on religious topics for male and female devotees.

The texts of these lectures survive in the writings of two heads of the religious propaganda organization active during the period of the eighth Fatimid Caliph al-Mustansir. These works, the Majalis al-Mu’ayyadiyya by al-Mu’ayyad fi al-Din al-Shirazi and the Majalis al-Mustansiriyya by ‘Abd al-Hakim al-Maliji include lectures directed at female Isma’iliis. This paper will examine these lectures.

The period of al-Mustansir’s rule was one in which the women of the Fatimid court, in particular the Caliph’s mother al-Sayyida Rasad, were active in political and military affairs, and one in which the bureaucratic apparatus, largely controlled by men, was failing to keep affairs of state in line. An examination of the religious education that elite women of the court were receiving shows that the military and political actions that these women were taking were in fact extensions of the ideals that these women were being taught in the lectures given by the heads of the Da’wa, rather than illegal interference in the affairs of men as claimed by later Sunni authors.

130. AISHA GEISSINGER, University of Toronto

“Mothers of the Believers:” A Re-examination of a Controversial Title

The Quran generally portrays the wives of Muhammad as an elite group of women who are subjected to increasing degrees of constraint. The Quranic verses which rebuke them, prescribing obedience and seclusion have been much studied. However, one verse which has not received much attention is the apparent reference in Q 33:6 to the title which they are often given in the hadith literature, “Mothers of the Believers.” The significance of this title has been variously explained in recent studies as compensatory, or aimed at preventing their remarriage, or referring to their communal authority.

This paper argues that this title should be re-examined in light of a more general Quranic theme—the influence and power of elite women, and their potential to either assist or frustrate the mission of God’s prophets. The Quran’s portrayal of Muhammad’s wives is an attempt to fashion a new female elite of Islam in the mold of the female elites of prophetic history. The reference to them as “mothers” evokes an image and title which is familiar from biblical tradition. Such a title can allow some women
to take on nontraditional roles because it constructs their “public” actions as an extension of their maternal responsibilities, yet it also leaves such women vulnerable to the accusation that they have exceeded their prerogatives. A’isha bint Abi Bakr made use of “maternal” rhetoric to rally men to her side against Ali, but later communal consensus, which determined that she should have stayed at home and avoided political involvement, had a decisive impact on the exegesis of Q 33:6. Exegetes from the formative and classical periods often attempt to occlude the possibility of a reading of this verse which could justify her assumption of such a public role.

- **Universals.** Ruqayya Khan, Trinity University, Chair (10:30 a.m.–11:30 a.m.)
  Bluebonnet Room

131. **Sebastian Guenther**, University of Toronto

The Principles of Instruction are the Grounds of our Knowledge: Al-Farabi’s Philosophical and al-Ghazali’s Spiritual Approaches to Learning

This paper explores the educational concepts advocated by two of the most influential Muslim thinkers: the 10th century philosopher and logician Abu Nasr al-Farabi, and the 11th century theologian, mystic, and religious reformer Abu Hamid al-Ghazali. It hopes to make a contribution to increasing our understanding of the educational foundations of a “learning society” as represented by Muslim civilization in classical times.

In establishing a catalogue of data drawn from a variety of al-Farabi’s and al-Ghazali’s writings, this article helps reveal some of the richness, sophistication, and diversity of scholarly discussion in Islam on educational theory and practice. It shows, for example, that the theoretical considerations that al-Farabi and al-Ghazali offer display a great desire for practical wisdom about learning and teaching, along with care for the ethical, moral, and emotional values of education. Furthermore, their educational philosophies share such characteristics as being part of a larger epistemological discourse, reliance on reason and rational argumentation, and pragmatism when it comes to the relation of science to society. Nonetheless, there are a number of significant differences between al-Farabi’s and al-Ghazali’s concepts of education (especially in terms of the content and structure of their proposed curricula, and the notion of ‘perfection’ as the ultimate goal of learning).

The paper concludes by examining the differences and similarities between the educational philosophies offered by these two sages, and whether—or to what extent—their pedagogical ideas hold significance for us today.

132. **Maya Yazigi**, University of British Columbia

- The Kitāb al-Ansāb of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Samʿānī: Revolutionizing a Literary Genre

[withdrawn]

133. **Hayrettin Yucsoy**, Saint Louis University

Kingship, Monotheism and the Caliphate: al-Dīnawārī’s Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl

Al-Dīnawārī (d. ca. 895–6 CE) was a polymath with extensive knowledge of grammar, lexicography, historiography, astronomy, botanic, mathematics, and even exegesis and jurisprudence. This paper argues that in his work al-Akhbār al-Ṭiwāl,
the Longer Narratives, al-Dînawarî attempts to link the Caliphate and Islamic faith into world history through three major themes: kingship, monotheism, and the geopolitical space of Persian territories. In this work, royal authority (mulk) represents one of the major institutions in human history closely related to but not subsumed under any particular religious tradition. Monotheism (tawhîd Allâh) signifies a broad faith in the oneness of God whose association with the notions of fate (qadîr wa qadar, maqâdir), divine favor (khasṣa, afâa, adhâra, and qallada Allâh), and astrology (îlâm al-nujûm) reminds the popular religio-political ideologies of the ancient Near East.

The pivotal importance of Euphrates-to-Oxus region and its center Babylon, as the birthplace and sustainer of powerful kingdoms, calls to mind the Sasanian model of geographical consciousness. Among the early universal historians, he is remarkable for his emphasis on kingship, which, although rooted in the territories of Irânshahr, aspired to be universal, whose social base included the ages old customary life, divine and human wisdom in the region. His ideological orientation sets him apart not only from the traditionist al-Ţabarî (d. 923 CE) but also from al-Ya'qûbî (d. 897 CE), Ibn Qutayba (d. 889 CE) and al-Masûdî (d. 955 CE), who otherwise fit, following Khalîlî, belletrist (adâbî) historical writing. Although the received wisdom has tended to dismiss al-Dînawarî’s historiographical credibility as littérature there is enough reason to think of his historical work as an experiment in the late ninth century CE with universal, secular and generalist form of historiography which was sympathetic to ancient Near Eastern socio-political heritage.
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