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ABSTRACTS

OF
COMMUNICATIONS
PRESENTED
AT THE
TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHTEENTH
MEETING

CHICAGO

MARCH 14–17 2008
1. **Rebecca Hasselbach, University of Chicago**

   Early Semitic and Language Typology

   The reconstruction of the early or Proto-Semitic case system has traditionally been based on the case system attested in the classical Semitic languages—in particular Classical Arabic, Akkadian, and Ugaritic—since these languages exhibit the same basic triptotic case inflection in the singular and diptotic inflection in the dual and plural. It has long been recognized though, that the nominal endings in the earliest attested proper names, primarily including evidence from Old Akkadian and Amorite, do not seem to conform to the case inflection commonly reconstructed on the basis of the classical languages. Explanations for the divergences found range from reconstructing a different case marking system for Proto-Semitic, that is, an original diptotic case distinction in the singular vs. the commonly assumed triptotic system, a different alignment—ergative instead of accusative—, or simply the occurrence of sound changes, more specifically the loss of final short vowels, that caused the collapse of the original system. None of these explanations has gained wider acceptance so far, which is mainly due to the difficulties involved in analyzing the evidence and, consequently, in finding conclusive proof for any given theory. In order to get closer to a solution to this problem I suggest taking typological studies into consideration as complementation for the absence of conclusive and further reaching evidence. Typological studies are helpful for understanding the basic processes and directionality underlying language change. They can thus help us to go beyond the attested data and evaluate the proposed theories regarding Semitic case marking and alignment from a broader perspective. This paper will deal with whether and how typologies can be applied to Semitic, and with the theory of an early ergative alignment of Semitic.

2. **Janling Fu, Harvard University**

   A Case for Markedness in Amarna Canaanite? Distinctions between qtl/yqtl in the Byblian Corpus

   This paper examines the suffixal qtl and prefixed yqtl conjugations of the Canaanite verbal system as reflected in the Byblian corpus of the 14th century BCE Amarna letters. The seminal work of William Moran’s dissertation (Johns Hopkins, 1950) firmly located the verbal system of the Amarna letters as fundamentally West Semitic in grammar. In particular, regarding the focus of this paper, he distinguished between a suffixal conjugation qtl (corresponding to Hebrew qatal and Arabic qatala), which he felt predominated at Byblos over a second prefixal conjugation—the East Semitic (Akkadian) preterite iprus (seen in Hebrew yiqto:l or the Arabic jussive form yagzul). While he highlighted the use of these two conjugations in the expression of past tense, he did not, however, indicate clear distinctions between them, rather suggesting an equivalence. Anson Rainey in his own major study (1996) noted additional examples of the preterite, showing thereby its active, and so, and living, use during the Amarna
period. However, he likewise thought the two conjugations as overlapping in meaning. The dissertation by Paul Korchin (Harvard, 2001), drawing upon the Prague school’s theory of markedness in application to the Amarna prefixed conjugation, however, indirectly pointed toward the possibility of semantic nuances thus far glossed. While not himself comparing qtl and yqtl to each other, his recourse toward markedness, admittedly in itself multi-nuanced, has paved the way for the present reconsideration of the two conjugations as functioning within, largely, distinct spheres of usage. Following upon these scholars, this paper proposes an interpretation of qtl as present perfect, with yqtl as the simple past, within most situations. This paper thus attempts to address both a point of historical linguistics as well as offer a contribution toward elucidating the history of the Canaanite languages, including biblical Hebrew.

3. ELITZUR AVRAHAM BAR-ASHER, Harvard University

Synchronic and Diachronic Analysis of the Tenses of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic

[Paper withdrawn]

4. NA’AMA PAT-EL, Harvard University

The Proleptic Genitive in Aramaic: A Re-Evaluation

Aramaic has three types of genitive constructions: a synthetic construct, which is inherited from Semitic, a periphrastic genitive, which utilizes the relative particle d- and a proleptic genitive, which in addition to the relative particle also has a proleptic pronoun on the head noun. The origin of the periphrastic genitive in Aramaic was discussed in the literature ad extensu (Kutscher 1971; Garr 1990; Folmer 1995, ch. 4.1; Hopkins 1997 inter alia); there is a general agreement that the periphrastic construct in Aramaic is a calque of the Akkadian ša- construct (Kutscher 1971; Kaufman 1974; Muraoka 1983-84, Muraoka & Porten 1998 inter alia).

In this talk, the evidence for the assumption of Akkadian provenance will be reviewed and will be shown to be misguided. The periphrastic and proleptic patterns will be analyzed in light of Aramaic syntax and the syntax of other Semitic languages, especially Ethiopic, which exhibit similar patterns to Aramaic and Akkadian. It will further be shown that the development of these patterns in Aramaic is a smooth continuation of existing developments in this language. The conclusion of the paper is that it is highly likely that the development of the periphrastic and proleptic genitive in Aramaic is independent of the development in Akkadian; therefore, the existence of periphrastic and proleptic genitive in both Aramaic and Akkadian should be considered a parallel development.

5. AARON RUBIN, Pennsylvania State University

The Development of the Amharic Definite Article

Evidence from languages around the world shows that definite articles nearly always develop from demonstratives. This fact holds true for a number of ancient and modern Semitic languages, as I have demonstrated elsewhere. The Amharic definite article is thus quite remarkable, as it develops not from a demonstrative, but from a third person pronominal suffix. Though the morphological origin of the Amharic article is clear and relatively uncontroversial, this very unusual typological development has never been explained. There are Ge’ez precursors to the Amharic article, and similar articles in several other South Ethiopic languages, but the real key to uncovering the
history of the Amharic construction lies in the parallel development of definite articles in a number of Malayo-Polynesian languages, the most important (and well studied) of which is Indonesian. Indonesian also makes use of a third person pronominal suffix as a definite article, though with important restrictions on its use. These restrictions, which are found also in some of the Ethiopic languages (e.g., Chaha), help us to understand how a pronominal suffix, i.e., an indicator of possession, can come to indicate definiteness. The Amharic article must have originally functioned like the Indonesian article, but any restrictions have been lifted, thus masking its original function.

6. Fumi Karahashi, Chuo University, Japan

Some Notes on the Sumerian Interrogative Pronoun a-na

The Sumerian interrogative pronoun a-na “what” has been observed to occur in relative clauses, such as (1) and (2).

(1) nig₂ a-na bi₂-dug₄-ga he₂-eb-ga₂-ga₂
“He shall place (every)thing that/what(ever) I said” (TCS 1 109:19)

(2) a-na ma-ab-be₂-en-na-bi u₃-mu-e-dug₄ (Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 526)
“After you say what(ever) you will say to me”

This paper re-examines how the Sumerian interrogative pronoun a-na “what” was used in relative clauses and speculates how this secondary function was derived from the primary interrogative one.

7. J. Cale Johnson, University of California, Los Angeles

Mirativity in Sumerian

Mirativity is a grammatical category that indicates that the information that is contained in the clause that is marked by the mirative comes as a surprise to the speaker or is outside the bounds of normative social practice. In this talk, I first describe a particular morphosyntactic construction in Sumerian that regularly co-occurs with the ∗{ba-ni-} verbal prefix. I then argue that the ∗{im-ma-ni-} prefix is derived from the ∗{ba-ni-} prefix through the addition of a mirative (rather than a ventive) morpheme. The morphological form is identical to that of the ventive, but the meaning that I would like attribute to the construction is quite different. Although a number of different implications can be drawn from the identification of ∗{im-ma-ni-} as a mirative construction, perhaps the most important is the use of the mirative to describe the rapacious behavior of Enki in the marshes in Sumerian mythology, a usage that implies that Enki’s behavior was outside of social norms rather than the expected behavior of a deity.

8. Peter T. Daniels, New York

H.C. Rawlinson’s Contributions to Persian and Assyrian Studies

As is well known, I have long championed the achievement of Edward Hincks as the decipherer of Mesopotamian cuneiform. An invitation to write an article on the above topic for Encyclopedia Iranica necessitated an investigation into what Henry Creswicke Rawlinson (1810–1895) actually accomplished over his career, and it turns out that the misrepresentation of his work began even before his death and even outside his own writings. The piecemeal progress of his interpretation of Old Persian
(though somewhat mitigated by the intervention of Edwin Norris) is obscured by the simple fact that contributions written and published during the course of several years are customarily bound into a single volume labeled JRAS 10; careful attention to the chronology both of his own writings and of what he acknowledges learning from others makes it possible to tease out his own discoveries. His systematic comparison of Sanskrit in preference to “Zend” (Avestan) probably made his work more difficult than it might have otherwise been, but his translation of the Bisotun Persian inscription (DB) differs very little from R. G. Kent’s (1953).

There are no fewer than three treatments of Babylonian cuneiform slipped into JRAS 10 and 14 alone, but at every stage, Rawlinson was aware that his own work lagged behind that of those whom he regarded as competitors.

In the years after the decipherments were completed, Rawlinson from time to time published studies of (what would come to be called) Akkadian inscriptions and compiled historical essays based on just about every source except the cuneiform documents. He did not display the discipline of a scholar—in some essays, footnotes on tangential subjects go on for pages; he announced several projects in advanced stages of completion that were never published; he preferred derogating his “competitors” to building on their work.

Two students of Paul Haupt’s, Dr. C. Johnston, Jr., and Dr. Johannes Flemming, published accounts of Rawlinson’s work, the former in English (1889) and repeating Rawlinson’s view of things, the latter in German (BA 2/1 [date uncertain, the complete volume is dated 1894]) comprising a more dispassionate review of the history of the decipherments. The path was thus already blazed, for the English-reading world at least, for the utterly unreliable accounts provided by George Rawlinson (1898) and E. A. Wallis Budge (1920) that led to the near-total eclipse of Edward Hincks.

B. Ancient Near East II: History and Historiography. GARY BECKMAN, University of Michigan, Chair (2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) Renaissance Ballroom A/B

9. Dana M. Pike, Brigham Young University

Hammurabi’s Claims of Divine Election in his Royal Inscriptions

Divine election is claimed in many ancient Near Eastern texts. However, many things are not clearly understood about these claims. For example, what is the relationship between multiple claims of election made by a single king—claims he was chosen to build or restore as well as to rule in general?

Following brief comments on divine election in the ancient Near East, I analyze the claims of election preserved in Hammurabi’s royal inscriptions in connection with specific accomplishments. Particular attention is given to the claim he was designated as king before he was born and to the expression inu . . . ināmišu. In this context I consider whether there is a difference between grand (or cosmic) claims of election and practical, ongoing election to build, protect, and provide. Contra previous assertions, my analysis reveals a difference between Hammurabi’s election claims, suggesting people in antiquity did not believe that practical claims of election originated along with and as part of their rulers’ grand, pre-regnal election, but that such practical claims were continually issued from the divine realm during each ruler’s reign as each king demonstrated his ongoing capacity to do the gods’ will. I conclude that kings presented themselves as divinely chosen to do practical things, like restoring a temple...

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or building a canal, because they had already been chosen to rule by the gods and because they continued to prove themselves as divinely sanctioned, capable rulers.

This study is a test-case for further work on claims of election in ancient Near Eastern texts. My present focus is on Hammurabi because he and his reign have received increased attention the past few years and because the corpus of his royal inscriptions provides a manageable amount of documents with which to work.

10. **Theo P. J. van den Hout**, University of Chicago

The Rise of Literacy in the Hittite Kingdom and the Dating of Hittite Texts

It is usually assumed that with the introduction of the cuneiform script in Anatolia by Ḫattušili I (c. 1650 BC) there was an instant outburst of writings in Hittite. This has been inferred from both the existence of compositions attributable to that king and his immediate successors and of alleged paleographic evidence. However, most of the compositions’ manuscripts stem from the 13th cent. BC and the paleographic evidence is insufficient. Typological parallels of script introduction and a re-evaluation of the dated texts suggests that writing in Hittite may have started considerably later.

11. **Ilya Yakubovich**, University of Chicago

The Deeds of Anitta and the Legend of Sargon

The Hittite narrative about the deeds of Sargon I, known as the šar tanhârî epic, portrays Nur-dahhi, king of Purushanda, as the main adversary of the Akkadians. The town of Purushanda, which is attested in both Old Assyrian and Hittite sources, was situated in the western part of Asia Minor. None of the numerous monumental inscriptions left from the time of Sargon I refer to his military expedition against Anatolia. Furthermore, some of the historical details of the šar tanhârî epic do not match the Anatolian setting of this composition (e.g., Sargon I has to cross the Tigris on his way to Purushanda). Therefore, one has reasons to assume that the Hittites modified the plot of the Sargonic epic, but the precise purpose of this modification has never been adequately clarified.

I suggest that the setting of the šar tanhârî epic, reflects the hostile attitudes of the Hittites/Nesites toward the kingdom of Purushanda. The deeds of Sargon I described in this epic represent a mythical backward projection of the historical deeds of Anitta, king of Kanesh/Nesa and the founding figure of the Hittite annalistic tradition, whose military campaigns likewise resulted in the submission of Purushanda. The king of Purushanda was the only Anatolian sovereign who was referred to by the title “Great King” in the Old Assyrian tablets of the kārum II period. Anitta’s conquests triggered the transfer of this title to Nesa, thus enabling him and his successors to claim the supreme power over the whole of Asia Minor. These events remained of great importance for the Hittite state ideology even several hundred years after they had taken place, and this is why they were reflected in the Hittite version of the Sargonic epic.

12. **Ilona Zsolnay**, Brandeis University

The Transformation of Ishtar in the Inscriptions of Tukultī-Ninurta I and its Ramifications

Ishtar was arguably the most significant deity of the Assyrian kings. As a deity of war, she was the goddess to whom they ascribed not only their military victories,
but, at times, their very kingship. Aside from the inscriptions of the Sargonid kings, nowhere is the importance of Ištar more implicit than in the inscriptions of the Middle Assyrian king, Tukulti-Ninurta I. In the inscriptions of this king, Ishtar functions as his most able ally; however, the manner in which she supported him on the battlefield is depicted very differently in the inscriptions which date from the earlier half of his reign compared with those of the latter half. Once implored as a pacifier of opponents on the field of battle, Ishtar is re-imagined by this king as the very opposite, a goddess who creates fearless warriors, berserkers mad with lust for battle. This paper seeks to examine the transformation in the perception of Ishtar in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I and to explore the reasons for, and ramifications of, these changes.

13. Angela Roskop Erisman, Hebrew Union College

The Habur Campaigns in 9th Century Annals: Reflections on Composition Technique

This communication addresses the question of whether the scribes who wrote the Habur campaigns in the annals of Adad-nirari II, Tukulti-Ninurta II, and Ashurnasirpal II used itineraries as source documents. The question is raised by the fluctuation between first and third person verb forms in the account of Tukulti-Ninurta II’s Habur campaign. While the first person forms are characteristic of the annals overall, Hayim Tadmor and A. Kirk Grayson have expressed different views on whether the third person forms should be attributed to use of a source document or scribal carelessness. A second concern, raised by Grayson, is the dissimilarity between the Habur campaigns and K 4675+, an extant itinerary from the Neo-Assyrian period. Through comparison to the Middle Assyrian itinerary from Dur-Katlimmu, this communication will show that the Habur campaigns do fit the form of extant itineraries. Moreover, through study of the specific pattern of fluctuation between first and third person forms in the account of Tukulti-Ninurta II’s Habur campaign, it will show that these 9th century scribes did copy source documents into their texts. This explains the atypical nature of the Habur campaigns compared to the typical pattern for campaigns articulated by E. Badal and his team of scholars in their structuralist study of the annals and further applied to a variety of battle episodes by K. Lawson Younger, Jr. Not only do the Habur campaigns shed light on the sources used for composing the annals, but they afford us an opportunity to study the techniques used by the scribes to adapt these sources to their narrative contexts, further shedding light on the compositional process.

14. Steven W. Holloway, American Theological Library Association, Chicago

The Curious Case of the Missing Priests in Royal Mesopotamian Inscriptions

Royal Mesopotamian inscriptions, Sumerian and Akkadian, focus on the agency of the king to the exclusion of most other actors save for military antagonists and the royal family. Apart from the election of the ēntu-priestess and the priesthood of the royal narrator, priests are virtually absent from this text corpus until the late Neo-Assyrian annals and Nabonidus incorporate them into their narratives, albeit as exceedingly minor players. This situation has been little commented on by Assyriologists; I propose to canvass the (non)证据 in this presentation. For those engaged in comparative studies, especially biblicists, the striking non-appearance of priests in the royal inscriptions should be factored carefully into their analyses.
15. SARAH C. MELVILLE, Clarkson University

Reflections on Assyrian Strategy, “the Land of Assur” and the Collapse of the Empire

Explanatory models for the collapse of the Assyrian Empire at the end of the 7th century BC have been many and various, ranging from the economic to the structural and systemic. Each of these theories has merit, but none adequately addresses military issues. By approaching the problem from a strategic perspective, I hope to shed new light on the sudden fall of the Assyrian Empire.

C. East Asia I: Text, Language, Linguistics. NEWELL ANN VAN AUKEN, Grinnell College, Chair (1:15 p.m.–3:30 p.m.) Bridgeport Room

16. DONALD HARPER, University of Chicago

Cosmology and Philosophy in Early China: Reading the Shanghai Museum Manuscript Copy of Hengxian (Enduringness Precedes)

Hengxian (Enduringness Precedes) is one of many texts from the late-fourth century B.C. Chinese bamboo-slip manuscripts acquired by the Shanghai Museum in 1994. Hengxian is a rare example of early Chinese cosmological speculation. In the text the formation and functioning of the cosmos are the basis for a model of perfect human activity. Of particular interest is the correlation between cosmic process and names, and between names and human activity. Moreover, the Shanghai manuscript copy of the text consists of a primary text with added comments that form a second textual layer.

17. MATTHIAS L. RICHTER, University of Colorado at Boulder

Psychological Foundations for Ritual: Early Chinese Texts on Natural Disposition (xing) and Actual Inner Condition (qing)

The proposed paper will introduce two parallel texts found on bamboo manuscripts from the state of Chu and dated to c. 300 BCE. One of the texts, titled by its editors “Xing zi ming chu” (“Disposition emerges from the Mandate”), is part of a cache that was unearthed in 1993 from tomb no. 1 of Guodian, Hubei. The other, which the editors titled “Xing qing lun” (“Dissertation on Disposition and Condition”), appeared on the Hong Kong antique market soon after the Guodian discovery and was subsequently bought by the Shanghai Museum. Both texts are to a large extent parallel and appear to be almost identical. Taking account of various differences between the two manuscripts not only on the level of the physical realisations of their texts (format, layout, punctuation, style of writing, orthography) but also in the actual wording and organization of the texts, I will demonstrate how the two manuscript texts were at their time conceived of as different texts.

18. TIMOTHY MICHAEL O’NEILL, University of Washington

Language Theory in the Xunzi and the Great Preface

This paper will argue that Xunzian language theory—most clearly expressed in the Zhengming pian—underlies and integrally informs the Great Preface to the Mao version of the Shijing. In fact, this core of language theory seems to be the basic, if oft-unacknowledged, episteme followed by nearly all the Han guwen advocates.
and consequently—as the jinwen school lost out during the Eastern Han and guwen hermeneutics ultimately reigned supreme after Zheng Xuan—that of the vast majority of jingxue up to Qing times. In other words, I will contend that the Xunzi should be understood to constitute the single-most critical and seminal body of language-theoretical discourse in the entire Chinese tradition, and further that traditional literary theory and hermeneutics, beginning with the Dazu itself, should be reread and reevaluated in light of this.

19. **David Prager Branner**, University of Maryland

    Loan-graphs and the Sound of Written Chinese

    When we consider the inventory of sounds that make up the written Chinese language of some early period, it is difficult to avoid thinking about all the spoken words of that period, as attested imperfectly in the enormous corpus of received texts and lexicons. That is the principle underlying most etymological study of early Chinese.

    This paper proposes that the smaller inventory of words represented by proto-graphs (in their primary forms) allows us to observe the parts of the early language in a usefully different way. As a model of the early written Chinese language, such an inventory is quite incomplete but perhaps closer to representing the literal phonetic inventory of the writing system.

20. **Richard VanNess Simmons**, Rutgers University

    Two Generations of a Jingjiāng Village Dialect

    Jingjiāng County occupies an island on the northern edge of the Yangtze River in Southern Jiāngsū. The island formed out of silt deposits left as the Yangtze rounded a bend at that point in its course to the sea. As it rose out of the river, the fertile soil of the island first attracted settlers from south of the river, who brought their native Wú dialect with them. Later, land continued to rise on the southern periphery of the island substantially extending the breadth of the fertile ground. Immigrants from the Jiāng-Huái Mandarin speaking regions north of the Yangtze have more recently settled the newer land. Because high numbers of Wú speakers are concentrated in the most central regions of the island and also dominate the county seat, the island of Jingjiāng has a reputation as a Wú speaking county. But in fact at least a third of the island is Mandarin speaking. The strong Mandarin presence has strongly affected the nature of the Wú spoken in the Jingjiāng county seat. This paper presents a description of the island’s Mandarin dialect that is spoken in the southern village of Bāwéi and a comparison of the speech of two generations. The discussion is illustrated by a lively collection of local proverbs recorded by the elder of the two speakers.

D. East Asia II: Rhetorical Strategies in the *Huainanzi*. **Antje Richter**, University of Colorado at Boulder, Chair (3:45 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) Bridgeport Room

21. **Sarah A. Queen**, Connecticut College

    Orality and Performance in *Huainanzi* 17, “A Forest of Persuasions”

    This communication focuses on the oral and performative aspects of *Huainanzi* Chapter 17. As the chapter title, “A Forest of Persuasions,” suggests, the chapter collects numerous examples of a particular genre of performative literature known as
the shui, “persuasion.” In early Chinese literature, “Persuasions” are aphorisms that could be used to initiate and frame a persuasive oral argument in a variety of potential settings where the performativive aspects of language were particularly crucial, such as in formal court deliberations or debates. In contemporary parlance, “persuasions” might be called “talking points.” According to the summary of this chapter contained in the Huainanzi’s postface (Chapter 21, “An Overview of the Essentials”), the brief utterances collected in “A Forest of Persuasions” would empower the reader “to skillfully and elegantly penetrate and bore open the blockages and obstructions of the One Hundred Affairs, and thoroughly and comprehensively penetrate and pierce the barriers and hindrances of the Ten Thousand Things.” These “persuasions” were designed to provide a person engaged in oral argument or instruction with a kind of arsenal of well-turned phrases with which to capture the essence of various difficult concepts, and then proceed to evade or overcome potential rhetorical snags and obstructions. This paper will argue that the oral lore collected in this chapter is best understood as an exemplary collection of persuasions, and will show how the identification of this chapter as such a collection furthers our understanding of the performative aspects of the Huainanzi within the larger context of Western Han intellectual discourse.

22. Andrew Meyer, Brooklyn College
Paradox and Anecdote in Huainanzi

Chapter 18 of the Huainanzi, “Among Others,” is composed of short, modular units of anecdotal prose. Such anecdotes appear to have circulated in various forms (written, oral, or both) during the Warring States and Han periods, and constitute a characteristic literary genre of that era. Each anecdote has a beginning, a middle, and an end, with settings and characters that conform to conventional patterns. The time frame and dramatis personæ are limited, and locales tend to fall within common stereotypes that provide a discrete frame for the action (a royal court, a battlefield, a riverbank, a gateway, a bridge), though idiosyncratic settings occasionally appear. A skillfully crafted anecdote delivers a pithy, punchy illustration of some abstract principle, often framed as a paradox (“what many consider right is often wrong”) or some quality of a significant cultural icon (“Confucius knew how to judge the subtle tendencies of things”). The most skillfully crafted anecdotes give the impression of a snapshot that captures a moment of historical time. This communication will examine the characteristic literary form of these exemplary anecdotes, and will also show how they are deployed rhetorically to advance the substantive argument of Huainanzi 18, as stated in the chapter’s opening lines:

The arrival of calamity is generated by human beings;
The arrival of good fortune is effected by human beings.
Calamity and good fortune share a gateway;
Benefit and harm are neighbors.
No one who is not a spirit or sage can distinguish them.

23. John S. Major, New York
Refutation and Argumentation in “Huainanzi” 19, “Cultivating Effort”

This communication focuses on Chapter 19, “Cultivating Effort,” which consists of seven sections that either refute (nan, dissent from) or affirm (ming, clarify) a
proposition about the nature of sagely rule. In the former a proposition is stated, followed by the formula “I believe that this is not so” (wo yiwei buran); in the latter, the proposition is followed by the formula “how can I make this clear?” (he yi ming zhi). In both cases, extensive arguments and analyses are then marshaled to prove the point. The refutations and affirmations presented in this chapter are immediately distinguishable from ordinary expository writing by their careful selection and presentation of evidence, their artful combinations of prose and parallel-prose to lure the reader (or the hearer) into the rhythm of the persuasive argument, and the vividness and even vehemence of their tone. Such meticulously crafted set-piece arguments bespeak a well-developed tradition of performative language, and indeed this communication will show that the genre of the nan “dissent,” especially, has roots in the polemical literature of the Warring States Period; several examples from the Hanfeizi will be compared with those from Huainanzi 19.

The effect of grouping these arguments within a single chapter of the Huainanzi is to give the reader a vivid lesson in how to argue successfully either for or against a proposition, as well as to convey the substantive message of the chapter (which is that a would-be sage ruler must be prepared to exert himself to the utmost in order to succeed).

24. judson b. murray, Wright State University

Summary (lüe) as a Rhetorical Strategy in Huainanzi 21, “An Overview of the Essentials”

Chapter 21 of the Huainanzi, the text’s concluding postscript, consists of numerous summaries, and the scope of each summary expands as the reader progresses through the chapter. The progression builds from simple chapter titles to brief chapter summaries to a summary of the chapters in relation to one another (i.e., a summary of the work as a whole) to, finally, an historiographical narrative consisting of short summaries of several main currents of thought in early Chinese intellectual history culminating in the composition of the Huainanzi. Together these different lüe “summarize” the theoretical goals of the work, the contents of the individual chapters, the organization of the chapters in relation to one another, and, finally, they elucidate the contributions of the work within a comparative and historical framework. Therefore, they function as indispensable tools for readers to consult as they navigate their journey through this long and complex cosmological and political masterpiece. At the same time, collectively they are employed by the author as a compelling form of argumentation meant to convey the nature, purpose, and significance of the Huainanzi.

This communication will explore the use of lüe as a rhetorical strategy in Huainanzi 21 because close attention to this literary form enables readers to grasp the authors’ own understanding of their substantial literary composition, their view of the historical circumstances of the early Chinese empire, and their perspective on the Huainanzi’s place in the intellectual debates concerning political and ideological imperial unification during the first century of the Han dynasty. This communication will show how these various lüe are deployed both rhetorically and polemically to demonstrate the utter comprehensiveness and strong coherence of the Huainanzi’s vision, and thus to promote the text as the correct ideological and socio-political model for the unified Han empire.

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E. Islamic Near East I: Literature. (1:00 p.m.–6:00 p.m.) Renaissance Ballroom D

• Aesthetics. MAJD AL-MALLAH, Grand Valley State University, Chair (1:30 p.m.–2:30 p.m.)

25. ANYA KING, Indiana University


The Egyptian Christian physician Sahlân b. Kaysân (fl. 365/975–380/990) composed a short work on aromatics and perfumery, the Mukhtasar fi al-Tib, for the Fâtimid caliph Abû Maṣûr al-ʿAzîz (r. 365/975–386/996). Though this text was edited in the early 1940s by Paul Sbath, it has not received the attention it deserves. Ibn Kaysân’s work is one of the most important of the Arabic works on aromatics and perfumery both because it can be clearly dated and because it contains material untested elsewhere derived from the author’s personal experience. Ibn Kaysân wrote his work as a guide: it includes detailed accounts of the most important aromatics used in 4th/10th century perfumery, musk, ambergris, aloeswood, and camphor, and also twenty-six formulas for aromatic preparations. Information about Ibn Kaysân can be derived from this work. From the text, it is evident that Ibn Kaysân had extensive personal experience in the preparation of aromatic compounds, probably for use of the caliph. It was not unusual for a physician to have a knowledge of perfumery, because it was a component of medicine. But Ibn Kaysân seems to have had a particular interest in the subject, as can be seen from the range of learning of his book and its originality. The accounts of aromatics given by Ibn Kaysân contain comparisons of their different varieties and descriptions of the procedures for their evaluation. The formulas are all for luxurious perfumes destined for wealthy patrons, such as the caliph to whom the work is dedicated. Only seldom does Ibn Kaysân refer to fashions in perfume outside of Egypt, or to the practices of the common folk.


‘The Gift’ of the Spiritual: A ʿTaʾyibî Qasîdah Personified as the Speaking Soul

In this paper I will analyze how some motifs of love and devotion to the ʿDâʾî al-Muṭlaq are rendered in one qaṣîdah from the diwan of the post-Fatimid ʿTaʾyibî-Ismaili poet and ʿDâʾî, ʿAlî b. Muḥammad b. al-Wâlî (d. 612/1215). I will show that these expressions are not only honorific, nor just emphatic emotion, but in fact stand to symbolize the theological status and profound significance of the ʿDâʾî al-Muṭlaq within the ʿTaʾyibî creed. As a part of this paper I will also evaluate the ability of the qaṣîdah medium to be the vehicle of expression of such creed specific ethos, whilst retaining its seemingly eternal and moving literary capacity.

In previous proceedings of the AOS I have discussed that the ʿTaʾyibî qaṣîdah exhibits a highly discernable form and message. I showed that the aforementioned author is the founder of a new generic pattern of qaṣîdah poetry applicable specifically to the satr period of the ʿTaʾyibî daʿwah, where the supreme head of the daʿwah, the Imam, is in seclusion. His use of the qaṣîdah medium to show that while an ostensible loss of the Imam is felt, the daʿwah is redeemed in its entirety through the ʿDâʾî of the Imam was discussed. In the present paper I follow this with more specific focus on expressions of love and devotion in a qaṣîdah which is written as a letter to the ʿDâʾî,
and which is given life and personified as the author himself. This personification transcends the realm of metaphor to act as a symbol of the ‘true life’ giving grace of the Dāʿī. Finally this is briefly compared to Stetkevych’s formulation of ‘the gift’ to show that in the realm of such devotional expression, ‘entrapment’ does not apply, and further that both gifts,— of the poet and the praised,— are free of material gain; one is an impart of the salvation seeking soul itself, and the other, an untainted reciprocal gift that is quintessential and without all bounds.

27. TAHERA QUTBUDDIN, University of Chicago

Nature Imagery in The Classical Arabic Oration (Khutba): The Aesthetics of Orality and Persuasion

This paper discusses the aesthetics of orality and persuasion in the nature imagery of the classical Arabic oration (khutba). Focusing on the Arabic speaking world during pre-Islamic, early Islamic, and Umayyad times, it argues that oratorical imagery derived largely from the human lifeworld (particularly from natural objects and phenomena) because of its grounding in a predominantly oral culture. Drawing on a wide sampling of oration texts, the paper demonstrates that the early Arabic orator used these nature images both metaphorically and literally; metaphorically as symbols for concepts like death and knowledge, and literally as signs of the dominance of nature and the power of the Creator. In both cases, the use of graphic images well known to the audience helped the orator carry out his mission of persuasion by bringing abstractions into the realm of the immediate audio-visual—a key characteristic of orally based thought and expression (as defined by scholars of orality). The paper also analyzes the manner in which the imagery of the oration differed from that of its sister oral genre of early poetry. It argues that due to its individual religio-political functions, the khutba used a set of stock figurative images largely distinct from those of the early qasida.

Scholars have discussed at some length the imagery of early poetry, but the imagery of the early oration—or indeed, any aspect of this genre—has not received much attention. I believe that the oration is a significant genre that urgently needs scholarly notice, and that it is imperative to examine it in the context of its oral milieu. This paper uses some of the necessary (and sophisticated) tools provided by orality and persuasion theories to explore one facet of this major early verbal art form.

• Pragmatics. SAMER ALI, University of Texas at Austin, Chair (2:50 p.m.–3:50 p.m.)

28. MAURICE POMERANTZ, University of Chicago

“Your Letter has Arrived”: Understanding Epistolary Relationships in the Fourth/Tenth Century

A primary mode of long-distance communication, letters were important links that spanned the distances of place and time unifying many individuals and groups across the medieval Islamic world. However less often considered than the physical and temporal spaces that letters traversed, has been the role of letters in bridging (or failing to bridge) the social, religious and political distances that separated people from one another. In this paper, building upon scholarship in the epistolary practice in general, and that of late antique and the medieval West in particular, I examine
the kinds of literary and social codes implicit in the practice of medieval Arabic
epistolography.

In order to better understand the intertextual nature of epistolary relationships,
I focus my analysis upon examples of correspondence in which both sides of the
relationship are extant. In particular, I consider the lengthy literary exchanges such
as that which allegedly took place between the Buyid vizier, al-Ṣāhib Ismā‘īl b. Abbād
(d. 385/995) and the Ziyarid dynast Qâbis b. Wushmūr (d. 403/1013) preserved in
the collection Kamāl al-Balāghah compiled by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAli al-Yazdādī.
My aim is to examine through an intensive study of the text of these letters to
what degree letter writing can be understood as a form of social performance and
in what manner particular strategies of role-playing, appeals to emotion, and other
rhetorical and literary poses can be discerned in epistolary collections. By focusing
on interchanges over time, it is my hope as well that it will be possible to give some
sense of the diachronic development of epistolary relationships and what strategies
particular authors were attempting to achieve both in initiating a correspondence
with another person and in the act of responding to a letter.

29. Beatrice Gruendler, Yale University

The Apostil (Tawqī): Royal Brevity in the Islamic Appeals Court (Maẓālim)

In his anthology of modern poets, which he was not to complete, al-Ṣūlī bent the
rules and interrupted the section on poets beginning in alif (and their talented kin)
with a writer of prose, namely, the chief secretary of al-Mawmūn, ʿAlī b. Yūsuf (d.
213/828) and his family. This entry distinguishes itself from the preceding by also
including ʿAlī’s output in prose, divided between written edicts (tawqīyat) and
sayings (kalām), placed side by side with poetry as models of eloquence. A similar
treatment of prose and poetry as equal representatives of verbal art is found in Abū
ʿAlī’s Kitāb al-Maṣūn fī l-ʿadab and his Tafdīl balāghatay al-ʿarab wa-l-ṣajam as well as his student Abū Ḥilāl’s Kitāb al-Ṣināyatayn. The latter two authors
appreciated edicts as obeying the ʿijāz-ideal of rhetoric, otherwise exemplified by the
proverbs and verses placed side by side with them in the Tafdīl. Edicts are reported
already from Sasanian kings (ibid.) and early Islamic, Umayyad and Abbāsid caliphs
(Ibn ʿAbdūrabbih, ʿIqd, ch. 14 on “Edicts and Sections”). Anthologies and poetics
of the fourth/tenth century serve as a basis for a working definition and aesthetic
assessment of this early genre of written prose.

Tawqīyat appear as legally binding rulings on written petitions, recorded on the
bottom of the same document. They represent one of the earliest practices of admin-
istrative writing. Composed by rulers (or scribes on their behalf) to administrators or
subjects, the edict economizes in length what it lavishes in meaning. Certain stylistic
features, such as ellipsis, particularly lend themselves to this aim. Syntactic and (of-
ten antithetical) semantic parallelism underscore the legal structure of the ruling often
making one situation analogous to another. The content is practical with immediate
relevance to a case at hand but sometimes accompanied with the ethical principle
underlying the decision. This context may be assumed known and the parties are to
translate the general statement accordingly. Finally edicts can be combined with or
entirely formulated in verse, which endows them a with personal note. In sum, the
study of edicts brings back the treatment of prose as a verbal art to the very beginning
of Arabic-Islamic civilization.
30. Bilal Orfali, Yale University

Zād Safar al-Muluk: An Anthology on Travel Literature by Abū Manṣūr al-Thawālibī

Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Malik b. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Thawālibī (350–429/961–1039) was a prominent critic of Arabic literature and an author of anthologies and works of both adab and lexicography whose works influenced many anthology books from the 5th century and up to the advent of the modern period. Despite this enormous fame and importance, attempting to compile a bibliography of al-Thawālibī presents numerous problems of false attribution and duplication that modern scholarship started to unravel. In fact tens of the manuscripts attributed to him in various libraries around the world are not actually his. This paper discusses an unpublished anthological work of uncertain authorship, provisionally attributed to al-Thawālibī, which survives under the title of Zād safar al-muluk in the Chester Beatty Library (5067–3) and is dedicated to a certain Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. Sahl in Ghazna. The work consists of forty six chapters and discusses the advantages and disadvantages of all types of journey, whether on land or by sea; the etiquette of the traveler’s arrival, departure and bidding farewell; the hardships encountered while traveling such as snow, frost, excessive cold, thirst, fatigue, poison, and home sickness and their appropriate cures. In this paper I argue, through internal evidences and comparison with other authenticated writings, that the work is a genuine work of al-Thawālibī that was not mentioned in the surviving primary sources. I further attempt to place it within al-Thawālibī’s œuvre. Its importance lies in the fact that it reveals new aspects of al-Thawālibī’s scholarship and sources, mainly an interest in medicine and law, in addition to the originality of its subject matter, and the preservation of otherwise lost original sayings of 4th century udabā.

• Hamadhānī. Beatrice Gruendler, Yale University, Chair (4:10 p.m.–5:10 p.m.)

31. Robert Riggs, University of Pennsylvania

Free Will? You Would Have to be Crazy to Believe It: An Analysis of al-Hamadhānī’s al-Māristānīyya

When reading the maqāmāt of Bādīʿ az-Zāmān al-Hamadhānī, the reader (or listener) is continually struck by the ease with which he negotiates the various controversies and cultural norms of his era. In many ways the scurrilous trickster Abū Faṭḥ al-Iskandari echoes the protagonists of any number of picaresque narratives, while exhibiting distinctives that give him a decidedly Arabo-Islamic flavor. In most cases, al-Iskandari characterizes the ultimate charlatan, who is willing to disguise himself in a chameleon-like outfit to suit his given circumstances, in order to gain the greatest possible benefit from his unwitting targets. However, in one of al-Hamadhānī’s maqāmāt, al-Māristānīyya (the Asylum), this turns out to be far from the case, as the anti-hero in fact appears to be the mouthpiece for a particular theological position (Ashʿarism) which places him in the middle of a dogmatic controversy, rather than his more accustomed position of petty intrigue in more trifling concerns. This controversy revolved around the doctrines of free-will and predestination, as they were debated and upheld by Murtazilite and Ashʿarite theologians respectively. While this theological debate regarding God’s sovereignty and human agency is not exclusively Islamic in its content, the historical forces at work in the first three centuries of Islam
led to various socio-political struggles that affected the political landscape in which al-Hamadhānī operated. While Monroe and Rowson debate al-Hamadhānī’s sectarian affiliation, how al-Hamadhānī addressed this religious debate in *al-Māristāniyya* reflects his knowledge of theology as well as his willingness to subvert dogma to style and literary prowess. Utilizing Hāmeen-Anttila’s analysis and comparing al-Hamadhānī with an analysis of al-Ashʿarī vis-à-vis the Murtazilites sheds light on al-Hamadhānī’s hermeneutical methodology and pedagogical intent.

32. **Jeannie Miller, New York University**

Character Discontinuity and the Underworld in al-Hamadhānī’s *maqāmāt*

Previous work on al-Hamadhānī’s *maqāmāt* has highlighted the discontinuity and fragmentation of Abū al-Fath al-Iskandari’s identity as a distinctive feature of the collection, and one that is intimately linked to its episodic form. Abū al-Fath’s appearances in the *maqāmāt* consist of a series of role-playing performances determined not by any personal character traits but rather by the situation in which he finds himself. My paper examines al-Hamadhānī’s *Maqāma Shaymariyya* and compares the function and treatment of its protagonist, Abū al-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymari, with that of Abū al-Fath in al-Hamadhānī’s other *maqāmāt*.

Both protagonists participate in a mendicant “underworld” that was already a well-developed topos in the literary imagination of the time. They exhibit certain tropes associated with it, all of which point more or less toward the dissolution of a coherent identity: the loss of one’s name, animal-like features, bodily deformity, madness, constant physical movement (only sometimes involving travel), and various kinds of degradation.

Abdelfattah Kilito identifies the intentional abandonment of one’s identity as a common theme representing the category of *hazl* as opposed to *jidd*. Yet in his formulation, this self-dissolution is temporary, to be followed by a return to one’s position and status.

Abū al-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymari’s temporary stint in the underworld offers an informative contrast to the permanent fragmentation of Abū al-Fath, and highlights those features specific to Abū al-Fath which are not merely themes associated with the underworld. Abū al-Fath never narrates his own experiences and in fact it is unclear whether his memory extends beyond the common cultural heritage to include his own personal history. He is also indifferent to danger and potential patrons, and seems to rejoice in his own lack of a stable identity.

I argue that the characteristic levity of al-Hamadhānī’s *maqāmāt* at the linguistic, formal, and plot levels, is linked to the unique invention of a character permanently devoid of stable features, a character that insists on its own fictionality.

33. **Irfana Hashmi, New York University**

Problematizing al-Hamadhānī’s Sources in *al-Maqāma al-Waṣīyya*

Although little has been written on Bādiʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī’s famous sermons in *al-Maqāma al-Waṣīyya*, interest has gravitated towards a discussion of his intricate use of the two rhetorical processes *ḥall* and *naẓam*. Moreover, with regards to the question of authenticity, scholarly consensus has taken it to be a fact that the second sermon of the *maqāma*, attributed to Zayn al-ʿAbidin ʿAlī Ibn al-Ḥusayn is a false
one; this paper revisits that attribution and problematizes the claim that the homily is a clear-cut innovation on the part of al-Hamadhānī. After a careful survey of extant historical chronicles, it becomes clear that a longer version of the sermon existed in the medieval tradition and was transmitted by the well-known Damascene historian Ibn `Asākir (571–1176) in his voluminous biographical dictionary Tārīkh madīnat dimashq. The sermon also makes it into various hagiographic literature on Zayn `Abidīn. Although Ibn `Asākir is a later source than al-Hamadhānī (398–1008), the former’s citation of the sermon merits further attention: Ibn `Asākir’s inclusion of a full chain of transmission (absent in al-Hamadhānī’s version), the extra stanzas of alternating prose and poetry in Ibn `Asākir’s version, and the greater textual coherence of the longer sermon altogether question any absolute statement on the authenticity of the text or the authorship of al-Hamadhānī. In this paper, I attempt to address some of these issues in a close reading of the sermons side by side. The narrative “improvement” of Ibn `Asākir’s version of the report is paralleled in other Alid hagiographic writings and ultimately reveals the long life of this text in the Islamic tradition.

- Style and Skill. BEATRICE GRUENDLER, Yale University, Chair (5:20 p.m.–6:00 p.m.)

34. AZIZ QUTBUDDIN, School of Oriental and African Studies, London

A Relational Approach to the Analysis of Tahmīd (illustrated through an Opening by Hilāl al-Ṣābi‘)

This paper proposes a relational approach for analyzing the praise of God, or ‘Tahmīd’, which traditionally opens and introduces classical Arabic texts. Starting as a simple and brief convention, this formulaic beginning gradually morphed into an elaborate literary composition with its own rules and templates, and with its own claim to artistic merit. Through an analysis of a 5th/11th century Tahmīd written by the Abbasid chancery official Hilāl al-Ṣābi‘, I intend to demonstrate the utility of such a relational approach to studying Tahmīds.

The relational approach considers the Tahmīd as a carefully chosen set of explicit and implicit relations centering on God which contextualize the subject matter of the text. These relations suggest how the focus of the text fits into the larger scheme of creation. As a result the Tahmīd becomes the vital link between the microcosm and the macrocosm. These relations are not only enhanced, but in fact are in many instances even created through the use of rhetorical devices. These devices are deliberately chosen to create many-layered interlinking patterns, the decoding of which depends upon the astuteness of the reader. This seemingly formulaic convention is thus adapted to artfully contextualize, introduce and establish a suitable state of consciousness for a wide range of texts and situations by skillfully embedding multiple layers of meaning. The relational approach is effective for the excavation of these layers of meaning and for a better understanding of Tahmīds. The more relations we perceive, the more relevant and meaningful the Tahmīds becomes.

As there is a noticeable dearth of secondary scholarship on the historical development and literary value of this widespread literary tradition, the relational approach is developed through a survey and close reading of a wide range of Tahmīds, especially in chancery documents from the 1st/6th century to the 10th/16th century. Some premise and terms provided by modern philosophy scholars such as Lanz, Leighton,
Church and Hausmann while discussing Hume’s theory of philosophical relations, are a useful point of reference.

35. JOCelyn SHARLET, University of California, Davis

Identity, Professional Skills, and Social Mobility of Medieval Arabic and Persian Poets

This project examines the relationship between aspects of identity and professional skills in the potential for social mobility of medieval Arabic and Persian poets. Aspects of identity that are considered include ethnic, racial, religious, sectarian, tribal, family, regional, socioeconomic, political, and gender and sexual identity. The analysis focuses on professional skills in the refined rhetoric of praise poetry and other genres, and includes a comparative perspective on musicians who set poetry to music. This project addresses social mobility in terms of the ways in which these aspects of identity facilitate, interfere with, or appear visible yet irrelevant to relationships among participants in patronage networks. It offers several useful perspectives on this issue. First, it takes a comparative approach that includes both Arabic and Persian sources. Second, it includes material that is primarily prescriptive as well as material that is primarily descriptive. Third, it covers a wide range of aspects of identity. Finally, it compares the literary interest in these more limited aspects of identity with the broader literary interest in the professional identity of the poet. This project draws on research on the patronage of poets and musicians by Hilary Kilpatrick, Beatrice Gruendler, Geert van Gelder, and Julie Meisami; research on pre-modern culture by Roy Mottahedeh, Jean-Claude Vadet, Norbert Elias, and Shawkat Toorawa; and approaches to refined rhetoric in poetry by Ilya Hawi and Sirus Shamisa. The results of the present project suggest that although limited aspects of identity can have a range of effects on poets and musicians, professional identity of the poet allows considerable social mobility and interaction for people from diverse backgrounds. In particular, this project explores how the narratives of people from diverse backgrounds participating in patronage networks reveal cosmopolitan hegemony as a site of confrontation and negotiation.

F. South and Southeast Asia I. Śāstra, Ritual, and Society. CHRISTIAN K. WEDEMEYER, University of Chicago, Chair (2:00–4:30 p.m) Renaissance Ballroom C

36. TOKE LINDEGAARD KNUDSEN, Brown University

Astronomy as Revelation

During the period between the composition of the Siddhāntaśiromaṇi of Bhāskara II in 1150 CE and the composition of the Siddhāntasundara of Jñānarāja around 1500 CE, the Indian astronomical tradition entered a didactic period. Rather than composing important new treatises, the astronomers focused on writing commentaries and composing kośṭhakas (astronomical tables). A number of minor siddhāntas were, however, most likely composed in this period, including the Brahmasiddhānta, the Somasiddhānta, and others. These texts all belong to the school of astronomy known as the saurapakṣa, and present themselves as revelations by deities or ancient sages.
The *Brahmasiddhānta* is named by Jñānarāja as the main source for his *Siddhāntasundara*, and Jñānarāja further made a clear distinction between these minor *siddhāntas* and works authored by ordinary human beings. In this way, these minor *siddhāntas* had a significant impact on the history of astronomy in India, but in spite of this fact, they remain obscure: not all of them have been edited and published, and none of them have received an in-depth study.

This talk will focus on these minor *siddhāntas*, the role they played for Jñānarāja, and the way they influenced Indian astronomy through his treatise.

37. Mark McClish, University of Texas at Austin

**Examining the Evidence for a Verse-form *Arthaśāstra***

The extant *Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra* is composed of a mixture of prose and verse. It has been argued that the verses found in the present text are the remnant of an original verse-form *Arthaśāstra* (*Bhandarkar, Scharfe,* et al.). This paper examines the evidence that has been presented in favor of this position and concludes that it is insufficient to demonstrate the existence of an original verse-text. Instead, I shall argue that the same evidence indicates, rather, that the verses in the present text are most likely a later addition to the text.

38. Donald R. Davis, Jr., University of Wisconsin-Madison

**The Good of Hindu Law: *Varṇāśramadharma* and Sacrifice**

The connections of Hindu religio-legal texts (*Dharmaśāstra*) and the theological/philosophical tradition of *Mīmāṃsā* have often been noted and described. *Mīmāṃsā* provided the *dharma* texts with both a philosophically argued basis for authority and a set of hermeneutic principles that were accepted and used in Hindu jurisprudence. The present paper adds to these notable connections by arguing that *Dharmaśāstra* also appropriated the *Mīmāṃsā* view of sacrifice and, following Clooney, the “de-centered” place of humanity in relation to it. In place of sacrifice, however, the authors of *Dharmaśāstra* substituted the scheme of class and life-stage (*varṇāśramadharma*) as the central good of their system. This paper explores the implications of this substitution for an understanding of the classical Hindu view of law.

39. Anne Mocko, University of Chicago

**Kāṭṭo in Context: Notes on the Sanskritic Debt of a Nepali Royal Funerary Practice**

In June of 2001, the nation of Nepal was stunned by the massacre of the majority of its royal family, reportedly at the hands of the Crown Prince. As international news agencies scrambled to find stock footage of the rarely newsworthy Himalayan kingdom, and as the Nepali people struggled for understanding, the government swung into gear to fulfill the ritual obligations for two dead kings and their dozen deceased royal family members.

Of the resulting funeral obligations, probably the most flamboyant and the most controversial was the *kāṭṭo khuvāune*, an observation on the eleventh day after death. In the course of this ritual, a brahmin was dressed in the clothes of the deceased king, presented with a household worth of gifts, fed a ritual meal of 84 impure foods,
and dispatched on an elephant. As performed in 2001, the ritual raises a substantial number of interpretive questions, including questions of the social message (and effectiveness) of the performance, and the role of the media.

It also, however, raises the critical question of the relationship between ritual performance and text. There exists no ritual manual for kāṭṭo khwāune, and so the practice participates to an important degree in the non-textual folk traditions of the Kathmandu Valley. However, there do exist references in Sanskrit literature, apparently originating in the Padma Purāṇa, to what is widely considered the central source of the ritual’s power, the inclusion of the deceased’s powdered forehead bone in the ritual meal. This paper will build on the work of Marianna Kropf in identifying the Sanskrit references to such a practice, in order to problematize the manner in which text could be understood to inflect ritual, even in the absence of conscious textual reference by the ritual’s organizers.

40. PANKAJ JAIN, University of Iowa

Sustaining Dharma: The Role of Dharma in Environmentalism

The traditional grass-root rural Indian groups and tribes such as Bishnois, Bhils and Svādhyāya continue to live the dhārmic way of life in the sense that for them Indic Traditions are part of their daily way of life and thus there is no such thing as “religion” in their lives as there is no separation of sacred from profane. Therefore, there is no such thing as environmentalism distinct and separate in their lives. Being dhārmic automatically makes them environmentalist without being conscious about it. If Bishnois are saving animals and trees from invaders, they are simply living their traditions not “protecting the environment” per se. If Bhils continue to practice their rituals in their Sacred Groves, it is their ancient tradition, not “saving the biodiversity”. If Svādhyāyis are building Vrikshamandir, they are simply expressing their devotion and reverence for all creation according to the teachings of Gītā, not “restoring the environment”. The traditional, comparatively much less modernized Indian groups do not see religion, ecology and ethics as separate entities. In line with the etymological definition of dharma, their duty, virtue, cosmic ecological order and spiritual aspects of their lives are all intertwined just as Dharma in its various definitions and meanings includes duty, virtue, cosmic ecological order and spiritual aspects of lives.

A. Ancient Near East III: Mesopotamian Literature
Piotr Michalowski, University of Michigan, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) Renaissance Ballroom A/B

41. NIEK VELDHUIS, University of California, Berkeley

Semitic Lexicography in the Mid-Third Millennium

[No abstract submitted]

42. PAUL DELNERO, The Johns Hopkins University

Grammatical Variation and the Dating of Sumerian Literary Compositions

In recent years there has been an increasing interest in the role of diachronic change in Sumerian grammar. In place of comprehensive treatments that utilize texts from
different periods and genres to create a synthetic description of Sumerian grammar for all periods, there has been a call for studies that focus instead on groups of texts from specific periods to identify differences in the usage of Sumerian across time. Diachronic change has also been examined as a means of dating Sumerian literary compositions. In a pioneering study of this nature, Wilcke examined the frequency with which certain types of grammatical variants occur in the duplicates of a number of Sumerian literary compositions (Gilgamesh and Agga, Shulgi A, and The Lugalbanda Epic) to determine the dates when these texts, which are known almost exclusively from copies dating to the Old Babylonian Period, were originally composed.

Since earlier complete copies of the literary compositions copied during the Old Babylonian Period are generally not preserved, Wilcke’s study raises an important methodological question: can variants diagnostic of diachronic grammatical differences be detected in Old Babylonian copies of earlier compositions? To address this question, this paper will examine the relative frequency with which a particularly common type of grammatical variation—the variation between the nominal case endings “-a” (locative) and “-e” (locative-terminative)—occurs among the Old Babylonian duplicates of the compositions The Kesh Temple Hymn, Shulgi A, and Lipit-Ishtar A, which are known to have been composed during the earlier Early Dynastic, Ur III, and Isin-Larsa periods, respectively.

43. RICHARD E. averbeck, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School

Gudea’s Seven Stage Ziggurat?

The actual construction of Gudea’s Eninmu (Gudea Cyl. A xx 24-xxv 19) begins with Gudea carrying the work basket and laying the foundation (Cyl. A xx 24-26). The following passage (Cyl. A xx 27-xxi 12) refers to what many have thought to be seven blessings for the building of the temple (DI—SUM = sīlim—sum). Recently, Claudia Suter has revived and argued well for another reading (sá—sì “he marked a square”): sá mu-sì sig₄-ga gu bi-dúb “He marked a square, the chalk line was snapped on the bricks” (Cyl. A xx 27). Accordingly, the sevenfold repetition would refer to the construction of a seven stage ziggurat.

Suter admits that it is conjectural, but this is a very attractive proposal. It may be better, however, to understand the sevenfold sá—sì on the horizontal rather than the vertical plane, especially since that is the way sá is used in the field plans. If so, one could perhaps translate: he marked out (the line for) an (outside) wall, since Sumerian sá can refer to either a “square” or a “side of a square.” If so, these lines are not about a staged tower rising higher and higher, but rather the measuring and marking out (sá—sì) of the plan (gi-sú; Cyl. A v 4, vi 5, vii 6, xvi 17, xix 20) of the actual temple building that was the residence of Ningirsu and Baba (i.e., the gi-gunu₄; Cyl. A xxiv 20 and Stat. B v 18) built on top of the temple terrace platform (ki-sá; see Gudea Statue B vi 51-56).

44. ALHENA gADotti, Cornell University

Nanna-Suen’s Origins: Exploring the Dark Side of the Moon

At the 2006 AOS Meeting in San Antonio, TX, I argued that the sexual intercourse between Enlil and Ninlil, the consequence of which was Nanna-Suen’s birth, was rape. The plot of “Enlil and Ninlil” clearly indicates that both deities were virgins when Enlil raped Ninlil, thus making Nanna-Suen’s paternity secure. However, this
composition makes the patron deity of the Ur III dynasty a child of rape. This paper investigates the ideological and theological ramifications concerning Nanna-Suen’s origins.

45. JOHN LYNCH, University of California, Los Angeles

Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Problem of Paradise

The description of the netherworld provided by Enkidu in the Sumerian composition “Gilgamesh, Enkidu and the Netherworld” (GEN), with its alternating positive and negative views of the afterlife, is one of the most tantalizing, and at the same time vexing, passages in cuneiform literature. Until recently, scholars have generally dismissed the positive descriptions as contrary to fact, despite substantial archaeological and textual evidence of a robust cult of the dead almost certainly related to the beliefs illustrated by these descriptions. In particular, a comparison of the text records that document the Mesopotamian cult of the dead (primarily Sumerian ki-a-nag offerings and the Akkadian kispum ritual) with Sumerian ration lists argues in favor of GEN’s “positive” netherworld description. Meanwhile, similarities between the narratives of GEN, “The Death of Urnammu” and “The Death of Gilgamesh” indicate that these texts depict a common view of the afterlife, but one that is, at the same time, consistent with many of the negative views also visible in cuneiform texts. In fact, this analysis suggests that many of the supposed contradictions seen in the material by previous scholars are not contradictions at all, but simply reflect a radically different understanding of the afterlife than that current today.

46. JEFFREY COOLEY, Xavier University

Venus Phenomena and the Story of Inana and Shukaletuda

The Sumerian tale of Inana and Shukaletuda recounts how the goddess Inana is raped by a homely gardener upon whom she seeks and ultimately finds revenge. Though this general plot has long been understood, certain elements of the story have remained largely unexplored. Previous scholarship has often suggested that within Inana and Shukaletuda, the goddess Inana is often described in her astral manifestation (e.g., S. Kramer 1961, 117; K. Volk 1995, 177–179 and 182–183; B. Alster 1999, 687; J. Cooper 2001, 142–144). Nevertheless, to date there has been no systematic treatment of this assumption and this study seeks to fill this gap. It is my thesis that certain events of the story (i.e., Inana’s movements) can be related to a series of observable celestial phenomena, specifically the synodic activity of the planet Venus. Furthermore, it also explains the heretofore enigmatic climax of the story, in which Inana crosses the entire sky in order to finally locate her attacker, as a celestial miracle required by the planet Venus’ peculiar celestial limitations.

47. KAREN SONIK, University of Pennsylvania

Resurrecting Apsu: The Bad King and the Naked Dead

“Monster,” “personified subterranean waters,” “deified underground waters.” Existing classifications of Apsu, in the context of his appearance in Enûma eliš, are vague and variable, understandable given that his role as an actor in the Babylonian epic lasts a bare seventy lines. Despite the brevity of his appearance, however, Apsu’s part in Enûma eliš is far from negligible. This paper explores the function of the Apsu episode within its broader context, treating it not as a mere preface to the apparent
main action, the conflict between Tiamat and the gods, but rather as an integral part of the overall epic.

In the account of his life, Apsu fulfils two important functions. First, he illustrates the association of physical form and characteristics with function. Beginning as an elemental liquid entity at the opening of the epic, Apsu transforms into an at least partially anthropomorphic god following his sexual union with Tiamat and ultimately reverts to an elemental form upon his death. Second, he is woven into the broader themes of the epic by providing one of the three main models of rulership presented in *Enûma eliš*, in his case that of legitimate but unwise leadership.

The account of Apsu’s death is of no less interest. His execution is brief and comparatively painless, with Ea providing a magical anaesthetic, and he is left physically intact after his death: this is in stark contrast to the brutal slaying and butchering of Tiamat later in the epic. Apsu does, however, suffer an unconscious humiliation when he is stripped of his clothing and emblems, reiterating the association between clothing, life, and civilization well known from other Mesopotamian literary compositions.

48. SARA MILSTEIN, New York University

Descending to Heaven: A Re-evaluation of Ea’s Role in the Context of Netherworld Literature

The behavior of Ea in the Amarna text of Adapa has not been sufficiently understood. In particular, readers fail to recognize that Ea’s actions signal the reverse of his standard role in Mesopotamian literature as humanity’s ally. Although scholars identify Ea’s “preparation” of Adapa for heaven as purposely obstructive, they largely view it either as an attempt to prevent Adapa from receiving immortality or as an effort to reinstate him as Ea’s servant on earth. I aim to offer a fresh reading of the text, whereby Ea instructs Adapa to reject Ami’s offer of restoration in order to end his life. Moreover, I propose that this is not an isolated assault; rather, it follows logically from Ea’s initial failure to kill Adapa at sea.

The assumption that Anu offers Adapa immortality, as opposed to the restoration of his life, derives from the notion that Ea has endowed his servant with wisdom but not eternal life. Yet although this scenario is explicit in the Neo-Assyrian version of the introduction, we must not read it onto the older Amarna text. Upon eliminating this assumption, it is clear that Anu only intends to revive Adapa, an effort that stands in direct opposition to Ea’s menacing designs. Utilizing the motifs of Netherworld literature such as Nergal and Ereshkigal and Bilgames and the Netherworld, the author of Adapa constructs a reversal of the classic underworld expedition, in which a) Adapa ascends to heaven, not the Netherworld; b) he must partake of the offerings, rather than reject them, in order to survive; and c) Ea dictates a set of instructions designed not to save his servant’s life but instead to end it. Only within this context do we see that Ea operates not as Adapa’s benefactor, but rather as the ironic catalyst for his predicament.
A Savior in Stone: Cuī Róng’s (652–705) Inscription at Qǐmǔ’s Shrine

In this study, I examine a late 7th century stele inscription by Cuī Róng (652–705) written for the Shrine of Qǐmǔ. This temple was one of many complexes around medieval China that featured a relic from the body of a hero from high antiquity. This particular shrine featured a rock over 40 feet tall, which allegedly was the remains of the wife of Yǔ the Flood Queller. My paper draws upon a number of passages from this inscription revealing how the maintenance of the temple and the production of the stele arose from local interests rather than imperial intervention. Throughout the twentieth century, imperial iconography in such temple monuments was often interpreted as evidence of an empire-wide network of propaganda through which local practice might be displaced by imperially sanctioned ritual. I argue, on the contrary, that these temple inscriptions are evidence of how a local community requested an emperor to send priests who would perform lavish rites at a temple space. If chosen to host these ceremonies, temple leaders could provide an atmosphere conducive to local economic growth as multiple artisans were employed to ready the ritual grounds. These inscriptions were thus a rather expensive medium that temple leaders sponsored so that they might reap the benefits from hosting imperial rituals. While inscriptions might often appeal to a sovereign as a deity, these statements are not a sign that imperial propaganda was the primary basis for a temple’s existence and daily activities. In other words, one should not read these temple inscriptions as literal affirmations of imperially directed practice, but should use such narratives to show how the imperial court and local temples utilized a symbiotic relationship for differing ends.

The Origin of Han Yu’s (768–824) Inscriptions—the Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) Stele Inscription

Han Yu’s inscriptions are considered the best among his prose writing in that he not only demonstrates his innovative talent, but also leaves hints as to the development of the inscription genre. Han Yu claims that his inscription is a continuation of his uncle’s writing style, but declines to mention the influence of the Han stele inscription tradition. Likewise, criticism has failed to notice the influence of the Han stele on Han Yu’s style. This paper attempts to delve into the rhetoric Han stele inscriptions and Han Yu’s inscriptions share. First, I will examine how Han Yu’s “Temple Inscription of the God of the South Sea” derives its style and theme from the Han “Temple Inscription of Huaiyuan at Tongbo.” Han Yu adapts the grandiose and archaic spirit celebrated in the earlier inscription, and we see that Han Yu advocated it in his life and used it in his work. Second, I discuss Han Yu’s “Inscription for General Liu.” One finds the antecedent of its rhymed preface and eulogies in the several Han inscriptions. Along the same lines, Han Yu continued in the Han practice by only summarizing the eulogy and adding no additional commentary in his “Inscription on the Pacification of Huaixi.” Han Yu followed the Han stele inscription practice, at variance with the prescription of the Tang critics who maintain that the eulogy should be complemented with additional information. Third, I examine the phenomenon of using trisyllabic
line, which Han Yu employed in seeming innovation. In later years critics found his use of the trisyllabic line to be “eccentric and jarring,” but, indeed, it was actually found in many Han stele inscriptions. Last, I will argue that Han Yu’s several inscriptions for Liu Zongyuan and others attracted the criticism that he flattered the deceased; however, Han Yu actually modeled his work on that of Cai Yong. Cai Yong (133–92) approached the characters of Chen Shi and Hu Guang in various ways and Han Yu adapted this changing rhetorical approach to his own characters. I discuss that the only difference between the writings lies in the fact that Cai Yong quotes verbatim from classic Shi jing and Shang shu while Han Yu passionately expresses his own words.

Taking all of the evidence into account, a different view of Han Yu emerges: while Han Yu is thought to be innovative, he is actually adapting to convention.

51. LEI XUE, Columbia University

*Eulogy on Burying a Crane (Yiheming): Text and Context*

An inscription carved on a cliff of Jiaoshan Island in the Yangzi River, Yiheming, or *Eulogy on Burying a Crane* marked the burial site of a pet bird owned by a sixth-century Daoist master. Preserved only in fragments, the text of this inscription has long been the object of extensive epigraphic studies, which have focused on reconstructing the original text and decoding the names of places and people mentioned. This paper will challenge this methodology and read the inscription from alternative perspectives. First, I will demonstrate that the widely accepted “definitive version” of the text is a pastiche of various early transcriptions and freely invented emendations that accumulated over many centuries. Based on this textual analysis, the second part of my paper will treat the text within its literary context, a perspective that has been largely ignored in the study of the inscription. I will argue that although the content of this eulogy, written in honor of a pet crane, appears unique and unconventional, its theme and general form were part of a well-established tradition in the history of Chinese literature. Laments for birds, particularly for cranes, were rooted in the earliest history of Chinese poetry and were a rhetorical means through which human misfortunes were expressed. This inherited allegorical tradition was embodied in Yiheming. At the same time, the text should be understood in relation to the ritual genre known as muzhiming or epitaph, which the anonymous author of Yiheming transformed into a distinctive form of lyrical expression through techniques of imitation and parody that flourished in medieval China.

52. ANJIE RICHTER, University of Colorado at Boulder

*Reading Letters in Early Medieval Chinese Poetry*

The lament of separation is a major lyrical topos in Early and Early Medieval Chinese poetry, the “letter from afar” being among its more or less fixed expressions. Analyzing the narrative and poetical function of the topos, I will demonstrate that letters, which apparently bridge spatial and temporal gaps, nevertheless signify and prove the invincibility of the distance between sender and addressee.

In poetry, most often letters are thus mentioned as missed and longed for but never arriving, the hazards of their transmission being an important motif. If a letter is received after all, it is read and re-read in an especially intensive way, in some cases for years—ageing with its reader. The process of reading is described as involving not
only the actual content of a letter but also its physical features. The latter, as do nonverbal presents, appeal to the senses and may thus compensate for the absence of the sender.

Considering sensual aspects, which are referred to in non-poetical texts as well, may enhance our understanding of the implications of reading in Early Imperial China.

53. MANLING LUO, Washington State University

Self-Marketing and Patronage in Late Medieval Chinese Letters

Scholars have argued that it was common during the Tang for examination candidates to present their writings to potential patrons in order to win their support, a practice referred to as wenjuan (warming scrolls) or xingjuan (presenting scrolls). In contrast to the general conception of candidates’ promotion of themselves as the act of presenting their literary compositions, this paper aims to examine their self-marketing as specific rhetorical maneuver.

Focusing on letters that people wrote to targeted patrons requesting recommendation, review of their presented writings, or even monetary help, I will look into the intricate diplomatic maneuver that writers undertook to convince their patrons that it was worthwhile, and as a matter of fact, necessary, to help them rather than others. The fine line between a moving request and an irritating demand not only enables us to see the writers different rhetorical strength, but more importantly, the fluid boundaries of medieval patronage. The letters of self-marketing that any starter without powerful connections had to resort to, including famous poets Li Bai, Han Yu, and Bai Juyi, help to shed light on the dynamic roles of letters as a tool of persuasion and an arena of literary performance, the forging of fundamental social relations such as patronage, as well as the construction of cultural values in Tang China.

C. Inner Asia. DENIS SINOR, Indiana University, Chair (9:30 a.m.–10:30 a.m.) Bucktown Room

54. CHRISTOPHER I. BECKWITH, Indiana University

Dialectic in Buddhist and Islamic Central Asian Philosophical Texts

The most striking aspect of the great Latin summas by the thirteenth century scholastics, such as Thomas Aquinas, is their use of an unprecedented dialectical argument structure (Makdisi 1981). Its mysterious origin is compounded by the fact that the Tibetan method, which appears at the same time, is virtually identical (Beckwith 1990). Neither version’s source has been identified.

This paper shows that the Mahāvibhāṣāstra (Takeda and Cox, forthcoming)—an ancient scholastic text of the Vaibhāsikas (Sarvāstivādins), the dominant Buddhist school in Central Asia and Kashmir before Islam (Willemen, Dessein, Cox 1998)—and other Vaibhāsika texts use the same argument structure.

The conditions for the transmission of the argument structure to Islam are clear. The Nava Vihāra or Naubahār of Balkh, the great Vaibhāsika institution where Hsuan Tsang acquired a copy of the Mahāvibhāṣāstra in the 630s, survived under Islamic rule well into the eighth century. Khalid ibn Barmak, son of the rector, converted to Islam shortly before the Abbasid revolution. He and his famous ‘Barmaecide’ descendants fostered the transmission of ‘Indian learning’ to Islam for the next half century. The
Cential Asians Ibn Sinā (Avicenna) and Al-Ghazālī (Algazel), among other Islamic writers, employ this argument structure in their philosophical works, which had a revolutionary impact on thirteenth century Latin philosophy.

The transmission of the method to Tibet occurred via the Vaibhāṣika of Kashmir, who helped translate Buddhist texts into Tibetan. It was first used there by the brilliant twelfth century scholar Phyapa Choskyi Seṅge, who, uniquely in medieval Tibet, was openly pro-Vaibhāṣika (Van der Kuijp 1983).

The relationship of the argument structure used in the four traditions is demonstrated through analysis and comparison of the structure of specific arguments from texts of each tradition.

55. **Khodadad Rezakhani**, University of California, Los Angeles

**Bactria in Late Antiquity: A Survey of the Economy**

Bactria, the region to the north of present day Afghanistan, was located on the eastern fringes of the Sasanian Empire of Iran and at the crossroad of trade and invasion routes from China and the Central Asian steppe. For long, it was known for its commercial activities and its centrality in the trade route normally called the “Silk Road”. However, with the advent of the Sasanian Empire and the collapse of the powerful, but short-lived, Kushan Empire, the dynamics of the political power and economic activity changed in this region. The shaky control of the Sasanians over the region and the subsequent invasions and occupation by the Hephthalites, the Kidarites, and eventually the longer lasting Turkish and Islamic influence, greatly altered the face of Bactrian life in Late Antiquity.

A new set of documents, found since the 1990’s and only recently deciphered and published by Nicholas Sims-Williams of SOAS, has provided us with a new glimpse into the social, economic and even political life of this region during this period. The documents, probably the archives of a local governor, are mostly concerned with economic issues such as land sale and various court rulings and span through most of the Late Antique period (ca. 380s to 770 AD). These include many clues into the local economy, apart from the more cliché long-distance commerce that passed through this area. This paper tries to take advantage of the information provided by this valuable new discovery and corroborate the data with what can be deduced from the few archaeological surveys of the region and the information collected from various Islamic geographical and historical sources. The result is hopefully a clearer picture of the every day life of Bactrian peasants and petty landowners and a better understanding of the dynamics of the region which blossomed into another period of economic prosperity and political prominence under the early Islamic dynasties.

56. **Ailin Qian**, University of Pennsylvania

**Spice, Spiced Wine and Pure Wine**

In the second last line of Imruʾ al-Qaysʾs *Muwallaga*, we encounter the word *raḥīq*. As in the Qurʾān 83:25, it is usually interpreted as “pure wine”. Ibn Sīda defined the...
word as “the oldest and best wine”. While both Arthur Jeffery and Régis Blachère hold that the word derives from the Syriac or Aramaic adjective “far, remote”.

Interestingly, Imru `al-Qays modified the word with muالف (spiced). Thus reminds us of Cant 8:2, where the Hebrew word for “spiced wine” is rekah. Based on other cases of Hebrew loan words into Arabic, we could suggest the Arabic ruhíq is connected with the Hebrew rekah. Regah itself is also a loan word from the Akkadian riqqu which means spice. Thus the connotation of this Semitic root has evolved during history, especially after it appeared in both the Hebrew Bible and the Qur’ān. A comparison between Imru` al-Qays’s usage and later Arab poets does show the impact of the Qur’ān to the Arabic language.

57. JAMES BELLAMY, University of Michigan

A Brief Note on the Lord of Pegs

Twice in the Koran, Pharaoh, the ruler of Egypt, is given the curious epithet, the Lord of Pegs (Dhū l-Awtād). In each case Pharaoh is included in a list of peoples that sinned or disbelieved and so incurred God’s punishment. Surah 89:10: “Have you not seen how your Lord dealt with ’Ād, Iram of the Columns, the like of which had not been created in the land, and Thamūd, who cut holes in the rocks of the valley, and Pharaoh Dhū l-Awtād, who tyrannized (pl.) in the land and worked corruption in it.” And in 38:12: “Before them the people of Noah disbelieved, and ’Ād and Pharaoh Dhū l-Awtād, and Thamūd, and the people of Lot, and the People of the Thicket.”

The main objection that one can raise against the pegs is that they demean Pharaoh while ’Ād and Thamūd are magnified by the mention of their accomplishments. Pharaoh was of all those mentioned the greatest and most wicked tyrant, so he should be given an epithet that displays his power and authority, and not be reduced to ridicule by making him rule over pegs. Furthermore, since there was no archaeology or Egyptology in the seventh century, the Prophet could have known about Pharaoh only what he found in the Biblical tradition, in which there is no mention of pegs.

I would emend pegs (awtād) to idols (awthān), making Pharaoh Lord of Idols. This meets the main objection noted above by putting him on a par with the other people who were punished. The change meets all the requirements for an acceptable emendation, which will be discussed in the paper.

• Issues (10:50 a.m.–12 p.m.)

58. TODD LAWSON, University of Toronto


By the time of Tabari (d. 923), the problem of the Quranic [non]crucifixion of Jesus had been solved in what would come eventually to be known as Sunni Islam. In order to explain the multivalent Quranic phrase wa lakin shubbiha lahum the great exegete sorted through a select store of hadith to conclude that what happened was a miraculous shifting of the identity of Jesus onto another so that in the end Jesus himself was not crucified, rather he was raised alive to God. Classical, Buyid and post-Buyid Ithna ‘Ashari Shi‘i exegesis (e.g., Tusi d. 1067, Tabrisi, d. 1153) supports this understanding of the verse, relying on Tabari and various Mu‘tazili scholars. And this interpretation has remained a feature of 12er Shi‘i exegesis to our own day. Other
Shi'i scholars, e.g. the Isma'īlis, al-Razi, Sijistani, Kirmani, & the Ikhwan al-Safa) hold a very different view based on a very different reading of the same verses. Thus, Isma'īlī authors uphold the traditional Christian teaching that Jesus was crucified and died on the cross in contradistinction to majoritarian Muslim view. The irony is that both conclusions serve both communities in similar, parallel ways: they provide a typological prefigurement for the Imam/Qāsim. In the case of the Ithna'ashariya, the Imam is the hidden one, who, like Jesus remains alive but in the Unseen realm. For the Isma'īlis, the Imam is above all a spiritual reality, invulnerable to the assaults of an unbelieving and faithless world. In the case of the 12er tradition, however, an added feature of the exegesis is that it expresses agreement with Sunni Islam on an important point of sacred history. A comparison with pre Buyid, “proto -12er” authors reveals doctrinal development.

59. DAGMAR RIEDEL, Columbia University

In Praise of Academic Grazing: From Script to Print to Script

The unexplored riches of Islamic manuscripts have been the subject of wonder and lament for a long time. The practical difficulties and methodological challenges of cataloguing and using the preserved copies world-wide are usually acknowledged, and then used as justification for discarding them altogether in one’s research and relying entirely on locally available printed editions. While the decision is pragmatic with regard to the scholarly obligation to publish in a timely fashion, it often means that even easily available manuscript copies are not consulted. But in the face of bare-knuckled competition for funding in the Humanities in general and for the preservation and cataloguing of seemingly elitist and arcane primary sources in particular, not using resources at all de facto condemns them to death in a humidity- and temperature-controlled storage facility. In addition, there is no need to explore the implications of the fact that we are swimming without water whenever we are using imprints and manuscripts without a comprehensive grasp of a work’s textual tradition, while the task of critical cataloguing is generously left to later generations.

In the special collections of the Columbia University Libraries, there are three manuscripts of the very popular Koran commentary by ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Ṣaṣir al-Dīn al-Baydawī (fl. second half of the 13th century): two fragments and one complete copy. Another complete copy of the “Anwār al-tanzīl” is owned by the New York Public Library. These four manuscripts were copied between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, and provide only random glimpses of the later reception of this important Shafi'i tafsir. Comparing the manuscripts with the available imprints in Columbia’s collections, I will discuss the insights that can be gleaned from a juxtaposition of manuscripts and imprints, and the fate and fortune of a text in different times, locations, and formats.

60. DAVID POWERS, Cornell University

Q. 4:176 and Bibliothèque Nationale 328a

Verse 176 of Sūrat al-Nisā is easily identifiable: It is the last verse in the Sūra; bears the nickname of āyat al-ṣaaf or the summer verse; and, on the authority of al-Barāʾī ʿAzīz (d. 72/691–2), was the last verse revealed to Muḥammad. In addition, 4:176 is one of two Qur'ānic verses containing the word kalāla (the other is Q. 4:12). As for its content, 4:176 is one of the farā'id or inheritance verses: it awards shares
of the estate to brothers and sisters—traditionally understood as consanguine and/or
germane siblings. In my communication, I will raise and attempt to answer two
questions: (1) Why is 4:176 known as the summer verse; (2) and why does the
Islamic tradition identify this verse as the last verse revealed to the Prophet? My
answers will be based upon physical evidence found in Bibliothèque Nationale 328a,
a Qurʾān codex that has been dated to the end of the 1st century AH.

E. South and Southeast Asia II: Religion and Philosophy. DONALD R. DAVIS,
Jr., University of Wisconsin-Madison, Chair (9:30 a.m.–12:30 p.m.) Renaissance
Ballroom C

• Iranian and Indian Religion

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

The Ahuna Vairiia Prayer and the 21 Nasks of the Zoroastrian Sacred Corpus

In this paper I examine the division of the Sasanian-era Zoroastrian religious cor-
pus (Middle Persian den) into three fields of knowledge: seven Gathic nasks, seven
ritual nasks, and seven legal nasks. My discussion will focus on the symbolic inter-
pretations of the Zoroastrian priests who associated these 21 nasks with the 21 words
of the Ahuna Vairiia prayer (Yasna 27.13), and who correlated these three fields of
knowledge with its three verse lines. I argue that this division of a religious corpus
on the basis of its most sacred prayer and the resulting numerological speculations
on it and the sacred corpus share close parallels with the system of homologies (Skt.
bandhus) used in Vedic taxonomies of scripture and are vital for understanding the
associative nature of Zoroastrian interpretive thought.

62. JARROD L. WHITAKER, Wake Forest University

On Indra’s Body in the Rgveda

This paper will discuss Indra’s body in the Rgveda. It will argue that the poetic por-
trayal of and ritual interactions with the war-god’s body reflect specific ritualized ways
in which early Vedic men were expected to use their own bodies. A man’s body was
not only conditioned through physical acts, but was also symbolically shaped through
ritual performances. Ritual participation thus reproduces a violent masculine ideology
that early Vedic men were expected to embodied—whether poet, priest, or warrior.
The fact that Rgvedic poet-priests create, nurture, and strengthen Indra’s body high-
lights a significant ritual strategy wherein ritual experts wield considerable power over
their war-god, over ritual participants in general, and over martially-inclined males
more specifically. Moreover, the ritual construction of Indra’s body and depictions of
his physical exploits communicate to warriors and chieftains a martial ideology that
receives legitimization through ritual performances. Hence, men strategically sought
bodily invigoration in the ritual arena, especially by drinking sōma, in order to align
their own identities and violent actions with that of their war-god, while receiving
fame and wealth in the ritual arena and among their communities. This paper thus
seeks to build on and solidify many of the themes presented in previous meetings
of the Society over the past few years on masculinity, violence, and the body in the
Rgveda.
63. 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 Satapathabrahmana.

64. Matthew R. Sayers, University of Texas at Austin

Claiming Modes of Mediation in Ancient Hindu and Buddhist Ancestor Worship

During the transition from Vedic religion to the formative stages of Hinduism, the mode of mediation between the lay religious patron and various supernatural beings, e.g., gods and ancestors, shifted. While the earlier period was characterized by sacrifices into the ritual fire, the latter saw the emergence of gifting to individuals and small groups. A study of ancestor worship rituals, specifically the śrāddha, demonstrates how Brahmin and Buddhist authors claimed religious expertise within these new modes of patronage as the social value of large-scale sacrifice declined. For example, one aspect of the newer model was the substitution of the Brahmin for the ritual fire; similar efforts are found in the Buddhist discursive reworking their inherited ritual tradition. This paper will argue that both the Brahmanical and Buddhist intellectual discourses on the obligations of the householder reflect upon a broader encompassing tradition: householder religion. By focusing on how the householder is depicted in the extant texts of both traditions, particularly in relation to the ancestral rites, we can nuance our understanding of the relationship between the Brahmin and Buddhist religious elites and the relationship of both to the householder.

• Purāṇas and Pilgrimage

65. Benjamin Fleming, University of Pennsylvania

From Tīrtha to Pan-Indian Pilgrimage: The Vārāṇasi-māhātmya, Purānic Transmission, and the Twelve Jyotirlingas

This paper will build on Hans Bakker’s work over the past fifteen years, especially his studies of the early Skanda Purāṇa and its Vārāṇasi-māhātmya cycle. In particular I will consider evidence, heretofore overlooked, that demonstrates the continued transmission of the early Skanda Purāṇa’s yātṛā (pilgrimage route)—consisting of twelve lingas—in later Purānic works. It is through this later transmission that we can, for example, trace the yātṛā’s reception, incorporation, and eventual removal from the Śiva Purāṇa tradition. It is my contention that the yātṛā’s removal from that text is one of a number of signals that points to the gradual, but eventually large scale, development of pan-Indian pilgrimage routes and to the general re-conceptualization of the Indian sacred landscape in the medieval period. The cult of the twelve jyotirlingas, promoted by the Śiva Purāṇa tradition, is of particular significance in this process of reconceptualization.
Rewriting the Sacred Center: The Kāśikhaṇḍa and Vārāṇasī’s Viśveśvara Temple

The Kāśikhaṇḍa, by far the most detailed and best-known text of Purānic “glorifications” (māhātmyas) of the city of Vārāṇasī, is an iconic text. Few scholars to date, however, have seriously queried the socio-historical circumstances of the production of this important text. A prevailing assumption (shared by Kubernath Sukul and Diana Eck among others, and to some extent by Hans Bakker) in scholarship on Vārāṇasī dates the origins of the Kāśikhaṇḍa to the reign of the Gāhādvāla dynasty which ruled from Vārāṇasī throughout much of the twelfth century. The text, moreover, did not reach its final form until after the Gāhādvāla dynasty fell, due largely to the presumably cataclysmic 1194 attack of Qutbuddīn Aibak, after which the sacred infrastructure of the city was gradually rebuilt.

Departing from this view, this paper argues that the bulk of the Kāśikhaṇḍa was composed considerably earlier, to commemorate a late-eleventh century construction of an imperial temple dedicated to Śiva as Viśveśvara. This temple, moreover, marked a dramatic shift in Śaiva patronage, one that privileged Śaiva Siddhānta over the original Śaiva “settlers” of Vārāṇasī: the Pāṣupatas. The Kāśikhaṇḍa was in fact a state-sponsored literary project, written with purpose and precision, and the literary sophistication of the text testifies to this fact.

Specifically, I argue that both text and temple are attributable to the emergent Śaiva Siddhānta lineage known as the Mattamayūras, prominent teachers of which served as royal advisers to the kings of the Kalacuri dynasty. The grand temple may have been the so-called “Karnameru” of the feared Kalacuri conqueror Kārṇadeva, a temple which is mentioned specifically in Kalacuri inscriptions and alluded to in other sources. While the Kāśikhaṇḍa does not explicitly mention this temple as such, I will show that the text carefully encodes a legitimation of its construction by means of several intentional narrative strategies in evidence throughout the text.

• Indian Philosophy

67. NEIL DALAL, University of Texas at Austin

Maṇḍana Miśra and Śaṅkara’s Dispute over Brhadāraṇyakopanisād 4.4.21

Maṇḍana Miśra’s Brahmasiddhi represents a system of Advaita Vedānta that existed during the same time period as Śaṅkara. In subsequent centuries, many of his ideas were woven back into the mainstream tradition of Śaṅkara’s Advaita; however, Maṇḍana is often criticized for maintaining theories diametrically opposed to Śaṅkara. In particular, scholars and traditional ācāryas label him as a karmajñānasamuccayavadī, claiming he insists on the necessity of karma in the form of both ritual and contemplative action for gaining self-knowledge. This fundamental distinction between Śaṅkara and Maṇḍana is not always clear upon closer inspection of their writing. One important example of this ambiguity is found in their interpretation of Brhadāraṇyakopanisād 4.4.21 (tam eva dhīra vijñāya prajñāy kurvīta), which has important implications for their understanding of contemplative practice. Despite Śaṅkara’s stance against action, he curiously accepts an injunction (viddhī) for contemplation in this sentence. Maṇḍana on the other hand rejects any injunction even though he is supposedly a karmajñānasamuccayavadī, and believes the sentence...
endorses his flavor of contemplative action termed prasāṅkhya. In this paper I analyze their interpretations to explain this textual conflict and argue that their theories are compatible despite some differences.

68. ELAINE FISHER, Columbia University

Mīmāṃsā and the Problem of Social History

Mīmāṃsā occupies a curious space in the domain of Indian philosophy. In fact, very little in the course of Sanskrit intellectual history has offended modern sensibilities so much as the Mīmāṃsā “doctrine” of apauruseyatva—that is, the intransigently persistent belief of a hegemonic, elite brahminical intelligentsia that the Vedas have no author. But it is taken by numerous scholars today to be the hallmark of a deep-seated conservative and reactionary agenda on the part of the orthodox Vaidika community as a whole.

By defending the literal veridicality of Vedic language, Mimamsikas appear to grant the Vedic corpus untrammeled authority to order social reality because, unlike all other instances of intentional speech, the Vedas were never enunciated by any human and thus cannot possibly be mistaken. In short, “doctrine” is taken by numerous scholars today to be the hallmark of a deep-seated conservative and reactionary agenda on the part of the orthodox Vaidika community as a whole. On the other hand, it has often been suggested that the very naturalness of the Buddhist scriptural language performatively encodes its democratizing message; the Buddha inclusively endows all supplicants with an authentic sense of agency by teaching in their native dialects.

This paper interrogates the assumption that Mīmāṃsā inculcates a reactionary, conservative brahmanical ideology specifically by means of the doctrine of apauruseyatva. I compare Sabara’s conception of Vedic language to contemporary accounts in the Jain sutras and Buddhist abhidharma literature to suggest that the Mīmāṃsā philosophy of language and exegetical strategy is in fact not so radically different from those of the supposedly heterodox traditions. Finally, I conclude with the necessity of exploring the implication of this trans-sectarian hermeneutic trend for the development of new textual genres and discursive practices in the early first millennium CE.

A. Ancient Near East IV: Ugarit. GREGORIO DEL OLMO LETE, University of Barcelona, Chair (1:30 p.m.–3:30 p.m.) Bucktown Room

69. THEODORE LEWIS, The Johns Hopkins University

Family, Household, and Local Religion at Late Bronze Age Ugarit

In the wake of the French Annales school many historians turned away from what they saw to be a narrow study of political, military, and diplomatic history and tried to articulate long term perspectives (la longue durée), which were grounded in geography and climate, economic cycles, large-scale social and cultural factors, and even the history of perception (“mentalities”). Likewise, textual scholars “read between the lines” of texts written (and edited) by those who wielded power to glimpse the lives of the semi-literate who held less or none at all. In particular, the lives of ancient women started to emerge as scholars willed themselves to look for them. Thus, historians of religion of the present generation focus on non-elite communities that were slighted
in the past in favor of the religion of the privileged. Studying the religion of families and households is long overdue.

70. WAYNE T. PITARD, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The Narrative Function of Anat and Athirat in CAT 1.3 and 1.4

During the past three-quarters of a century, scholars have been delving into the issues of how to interpret the actions of the two goddesses, Anat and Athirat, in CAT 1.3 and 1.4, the section of the Ugaritic Baal Cycle that recounts the story of Baal’s desire to build a palace. Many interpreters have viewed both deities in a fairly negative light, seeing Anat as a violent, sexually-charged bully and Athirat as a greedy schemer, severely at odds with her husband, El. In the course of preparing a commentary on 1.3 and 1.4, Mark Smith and I have come to several different conclusions about the functions of these goddesses within the narrative. This paper will discuss our interpretations of several of the episodes in which the goddesses appear, including the meetings that both goddesses have with El (CAT 1.3 V and 1.4 IV-V), as well as the meeting between Baal, Anat and Athirat (CAT 1.3 VI-1.4 III). We argue that while Anat is used in the narrative as an example of poor courtly protocol, Athirat’s actions throughout the story are best understood as being all perfectly appropriate in terms of etiquette and protocol.

71. DENNIS PARDEE, University of Chicago

Two Epigraphic Remarks on the Kirta Epic

Collation of the three tablets of the Kirta Epic kept in the Aleppo National Museum, Syria, has led to several new readings, two of the more important of which will be presented and discussed.

72. DANIEL E. FLEMING, New York University

Tablet Terminology at Emar and Ugarit: The Inadequacy of ‘Syrian’ and ‘Syro-Hittite’

One of the many intriguing features of the tablet finds from Emar is the coexistence of two radically different approaches to composing legal documents. Since the first publication of these texts, documents in vertical form, written across the shorter dimension, have been called “Syrian.” Documents written across the longer dimension are called “Syro-Hittite.” It was soon discovered that the scribal custom underlying each type is different, from paleography to legal formulary. Behind the “Syrian” and “Syro-Hittite” terms stands the notion that the latter reflects Hittite cultural influence. Indeed, the introduction and flourishing of this general style does follow the arrival of Hittite power, and its users often depend on the authority of imperial officials. Until now, no one has questioned the appropriateness of the designations. These categories are inadequate and must be abandoned. All the texts are Syrian, and the “Syro-Hittite” group shows no Hittite scribal or legal influence. Comparison with other documents from northern Syria confirms this evaluation. The Akkadian legal texts from Ugarit have the upright form of Emar’s “Syrian” type, while the formulary is entirely different from both Emar groups. Ugarit displays scribal preparation for everyday legal documentation that stands apart from all other known Syrian evidence. As part of a larger project on Emar in Late Bronze Syria, Sophie Démare-Lafont and I are therefore exploring alternative names, such as “Middle Euphrates
Style” and “Emar Free Form.” Ugarit’s Akkadian legal texts must also be understood in relation to the Emar fashions, in the larger landscape of Late Bronze practices in Syria.

73. J. N. Ford, Jerusalem

Ugaritic pqq “dung pellet” in the Magico-Medical Text RS 24.258 (KTU² 1.114)

RS 24.258 (KTU² 1.114) is a Ugaritic magico-medical text intended for the treatment of the effects of excessive drinking. It begins with a historiola thematically divided into three parts: (1) ‘Ilu’s banquet, during the course of which Yarihû acts like a dog (lines 1–15a); (2) ‘Ilu’s drinking party and its aftermath, where the inebriated ‘Ilu passes out after being besmeared with feces and urine by an enigmatic figure named Hby, possessor of two horns and a tail; and (3) a poorly preserved account which apparently relates how ‘Attar and ‘Anatu go and find a remedy for the now unconscious ‘Ilu and finally cure him (lines 22b-28’). The historiola is followed by instructions for the treatment of the effects of excessive drinking by the topical application of several therapeutic materials (lines 29–31’). Pardee (1988) has appropriately stressed the literary relationship between the references to a dog in the historiola and the use of dog hair as a materium medicum in the instructions. The instructions also call for the use of a material referred to as pqq, which is usually taken to be some sort of plant (e.g., Lewis [1997], Wyatt [1998], Pardee [2002], Watson [2004]). I will propose an identification of Ugaritic pqq with Akkadian piqqannu “dung pellet (of a sheep or gazelle).” This new interpretation of pqq leads to an identification of Hby as an oviform or capriform deity similar to the Greek god Pan (cf. de Moor [1987]) and to a better understanding of the structure of the text.

74. Matthew J. Suriano, University of California, Los Angeles

Building a Better Lineage at Ugarit: The Ritual and Political Context of KTU 1.161

Scholars have long recognized that the Ugaritic ritual-text KTU 1.161 (= RS 34.126) revolves around a central theme of “the King is dead! Long live the King!” Despite this, the political importance of the ritual has often been underestimated. As a result, the critical role that the ritual plays in dynastic succession has remained a recognized yet undeveloped aspect of the text. The context of the text is the wake of Niqmaddu and the ritual actions described in the text ultimately acknowledged and legitimized the defunct king’s heir, Ammurapi. The purpose of this paper is to describe in more precise terms the ritual context of KTU 1.161 by identifying Ammurapi’s role as ritual actor and describing the symbolic role of Niqmaddu along with the other defunct entities invoked in the text. Although the entire text will be surveyed, particular attention will be placed upon lines 20–22 and the subsequent actions of lines 23–30. The term at will be examined in light of Aramaic funerary texts (KAI 225). Additionally, a new interpretation will be offered for the preposition tht, which is used repeatedly and always precedes a proper noun. The use of this preposition in KTU 1.161 will be compared with biblical sources that contain king lists (Gen 36:33–39) and formulaic epilogues used to report dynastic succession (e.g., 1 Kg 22:40). The text ritually represents the linear descent of power and the new interpretation of lines 23–30 offered in this paper will demonstrate how the ritual itself reified an ideological concept of royal lineages that underlies king lists and genealogies found in other ancient Near Eastern sources.
75. Michael Timothy Fisher, University of Chicago

Clay Sealings from Tell Asmar: Stylistic Lag and Transition Between the Early Dynastic and Akkadian Periods in the Diyala Region

The reflection of political changes in the material record has long been a challenge within the field of Near Eastern studies, especially with regard to the heavily debated transition from the pre-Sargonid to the Sargonid period in central and southern Mesopotamia. To the present day the corresponding archaeological assemblages have largely been defined by the material discovered at Tell Asmar and Khafaje, two sites in the Diyala region that were excavated by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. A recent analysis of unpublished clay sealings from the Northern Palace at Tell Asmar (ancient Eshnunna) has called the historical and archaeological sequence of this site as it is published into question. By consulting unpublished field records from the Diyala expedition it was possible to reunite these sealings with their archaeological findspots, allowing a modification and refinement of the published interpretations. The consideration of specific sealings with early-Akkadian findspots advances an effort to reevaluate the relationship between the historical pre-Sargonid and Sargonid distinction, and the cultural Early Dynastic and Akkadian designations.

76. Clemens Reichel, University of Chicago

Propaganda versus Realpolitik—Royal Seals of Eshnunna from the Ur III and Isin-Larsa Period in Their Historical/Political Context

It is commonly accepted that artifacts in “royal” or “imperial” context—whether of a monumental or a small scale—serve as conduits for both political ideology and legitimization of a ruler’s reign. While such correlations are particularly apparent in monumental art (sculpture, reliefs, stelae) they can also be found on seals, where a connection between iconographic elements, legend, and function has been suggested repeatedly. A test case to investigate this relationship was found at Eshnunna (modern Tell Asmar) in the Diyala Region. A provincial capital within the Ur III state (2114–2026 B.C.), Eshnunna seceded from Ur around 2026 B.C. and became the capital of an independent state. Cuneiform texts as well as archaeological material retrieved from the Palace of the Rulers, Eshnunna’s seat of government, show that for some 200 years (ca. 2020–1820 B.C.) this city experienced periods of great political and military power followed by decline, conquest, and destruction. Such changes in fortunes required Eshnunna’s rulers to adjust titles, epithets and visual renderings in the iconography and inscriptions of their seals. The iconographic repertoire, legends, archaeological contexts and functional types of these seals, which were found on clay sealings and tablets from the Palace of the Rulers and which so far largely have remained unpublished, show common traits that set them apart from contemporary non-ruler seals. Certain developments in seal iconography and legends over time, on the other hand, correlate well with Eshnunna’s fortunes, suggesting that changes in images and inscriptions on these seals not only reference but often reflect new political realities.
77. ADAM S. MASKEVICH, The Johns Hopkins University

Life Amid the Ruins: Small-scale Occupation at Umm el-Marra, Syria

For the most part, the ultimate fate of inhabited sites throughout the Near East, from urban centers to rural villages, was eventual abandonment. Rarely, however, was this abandonment swift and total. Within the lifespan of a single site, it is not uncommon to see cycles of occupation alternating between intense and sparse habitation. Even when the vast majority of a site lay empty there was still often a core of settlement remaining. Excavators tend to gloss over these periods of ostensible abandonment and relegate them to a brief mention of “squatter occupation.” These periods, however, can shed important light on the history of a site. At Umm el-Marra, in western Syria, small-scale settlement is seen both before and after the site’s Late Bronze Age occupation. By focusing on these periods it is possible to gain new insights on both the local and international situation during the Late Bronze Age. Locally, we can see how a population adapts to changing circumstances and utilizes the remnants of previous inhabitants to create a new community. Internationally, the “squatter occupation” at Umm el-Marra coincides with rise and decline of Mitanni hegemony in western Syria. In this paper I will discuss the small-scale Late Bronze occupation at Umm el-Marra in relation to other sites in the region and what this says settlement patterns, particularly in relation to the Mitanni Empire.

78. PAULINE ALBENDA, New York

Made in Stone: Assyrian Pictures of Embattled Cities

Miles of stone reliefs once decorated the many walls of Neo-Assyrian palaces. Narrative compositions were frequently depicted on the carved blocks, and among their subjects were scenes of battle. Battles against foreign fortified cities were generally designed to be pictorial versions of historical campaigns undertaken by Assyrian kings. The royal annals give the textual evidence for the geographic locations of the respective named cities, as well as for other unnamed cities that appeared in the same chamber of Assyrian palaces. Of the 80 or more embattled cities represented on the Assyrian stone reliefs, some 26 have legible captions or brief inscriptions identifying them. The relative importance of a foreign city is indicated by its placement within the pictorial design. Moreover, representations of fortified cities may include details that are informative or noteworthy. Early on in the Neo-Assyrian period, the historical compositions were organized as self-contained panels, and in time evolved into mural and panoramic versions. A selection of foreign embattled cities depicted on 9th through 7th century Assyrian reliefs, some existing and others lost but recorded in line drawings, is presented through slides and discussed mainly from the visual point of view. A brief analysis of the artistic methods adopted for the embattled city scenes should provide insights into what ideas were expressed or emphasized in pictorial form.

79. ELEANOR GURALNICK, Chicago

Color at Khorsabad

Paul Emile Botta and Victor Place made the very earliest discoveries of color on the surviving sculptures from at least five major areas at the Palace of Sargon II at Khorsabad. They also discovered color glazed brick decorating some exterior walls above major doorways, and remains of paint from interior walls and ceilings. The
so-called hands that supported the ceiling beams were painted in solid creamy white. The color in rooms 2 and 4 was recorded in the drawings by Paul Emile Botta, and published with color added in the *Journal Asiatique* in 1843–45. A few glazed bricks from façade L survive in the Musée de Louvre. Most of the glazed brick was lost along with many sculptures in a shipwreck at the Shatt al Arab in 1855.

Recent cleaning and reinstallation of the sculptures from façade “n” of Court VIII and room 7 in the Oriental Institute Museum, revealed that much more color remained on the figures than had been recognized. Still more recently, examination of some 355 fragments of sculpture revealed that many from rooms 7 and 10 still retain their original bright colors. Remains of red, white, black, and at least three shades of blue survive on sculptures. These same colors decorated the throne room ceiling. Glazed bricks retain these colors and also yellow and green. Both the early excavations, and the more recent excavations by the Oriental Institute Museum in the late 1920’s and the early 1930’s found many scraps of painted plaster from the ceilings, and some suggestion that the walls above the stone revetments were painted. This paper will present a selection from the surviving evidence for the use of color to decorate and enliven the stone, plaster, and brick surfaces of Sargon’s palace at Khorsabad.

80. **ALEXANDER NAGEL**, University of Michigan

Color in Persepolis: New Research on the Polychromy of Achaemenid Sculpture

Persepolis is regarded as the spectacular heartland capital of the Achaemenid Persian Empire (c. 520–330 BCE). First excavated between 1931 and 1939, it was classified as a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1979. In the excavation reports that document the site, however, the original polychromy of its monuments is seldom mentioned, mostly only when traces of paint were visible to the naked eye. A new research project, initiated in 2007, has the aim to explore the surface condition and polychromy of the monumental sculptures and reliefs found at Persepolis. This paper will present the goals, contexts and methodology of the ongoing project, and the first results obtained. Traditional research in the excavation archives of the Oriental Institute at Chicago and in Persepolis, combined with scientific examination of the monuments in a first study season in Persepolis in Iran in summer 2007 allows us now to reconstruct several features of the site in the original color dimensions. In some cases the evidence is quite spectacular. During the 19th century, French and British antiquarians were the first modern travellers to notice traces of colour and paint surviving upon the buildings of the Persepolis. Yet, weathering and layers of grime usually hide the rich colors, which in the ancient Near East routinely adorned monuments in white stone and wood. Paint and gilding were important mediators of information, and as such they are crucial for understanding the iconography of the monuments.

C. **Ancient Near East VI: Economy and Society** **STEVEN GARFINKLE**, Western Washington University, Chair *(4:00 p.m.–6:30 p.m.)* *Renaissance Ballroom A/B*

81. **LANCE ALRED**, Cornell University

Beer and Women in Mesopotamia

Beer was a ubiquitous staple in ancient Mesopotamia, and its production, distribution, and consumption are attested throughout the cuneiform record. Curiously,
in Mesopotamia there seems to have been a strong association between beer and women, often woman of ill repute. For example, the laws in the Code of Hammurabi regulating the production and sale of beer refer exclusively to female brewers, or brewsters (Akkadian sabītum). Terracotta reliefs often depict women drinking beer through a straw while engaged in sexual intercourse. Perhaps most famously, when Gilgamesh travels to the end of the world in Tablet X of the SB Epic, he encounters a brewster named Siduri. This paper seeks to explore more closely the association between women and beer in Mesopotamia, and will propose possible reasons behind this phenomenon.

82. DAVID I. OWEN, Cornell University

New Light on the City of Iri-Sağrig/Al-Šarrāki

The city of Iri-Sağrig/Al-Šarrāki is well known in sources from the end of the Early Dynastic through the Sargonic, and Ur III periods, and at least until the 11th year of Warad-Sin in the Old Babylonian period. However, its actual location, somewhere between Nippur and Adab, and the details of its history have remained obscure since the site has never been located and excavated. Unfortunately, the tragic situation that has developed in Iraq has led to the looting of this site and the result has been that tablets from it have been appearing on the Internet and in various antiquities shops around the world. I have been recording these texts from photos posted on various web sites and have collected ca. 150 documents that can be securely associated with Iri-Sağrig/Al-Šarrāki by virtue of its unique calendar and the names of officials in that town. Furthermore, the Jordanian authorities in Amman have confiscated ca. 160 tablets identified by Giovanni Pettinato as having come also from Iri-Sağrig. Photos of the Amman tablets now have been placed at my disposal by the director of the Iraq Museum. As a result, I have compiled a substantial archive of over 300 “unprovenanced” texts. This paper will survey the preliminary results of my study and forthcoming publication of this unique archive and will highlight the evidence for a new calendar, a new messenger text type, and the substantial involvement of the royal family at the site. It will illustrate once again the necessity and importance of publishing unprovenanced texts before they disappear.

83. XIAOLI OUyang, Harvard University

“Merchants” in Ur III Umma: How to Characterize Them?

Documents from the province of Umma dated to the Ur III period (ca. 2112–2004 BCE) are recognized as the most informative source for studying “merchants” (Sumerian dam-gār) in that era.

Aided by two online databases BDTNS and CDLI, I identified a significant number of new texts that bear on the “merchants” but have never been studied before. In combination with existing scholarship, this new evidence substantiates certain technical aspects of their activities that have so far largely been speculated about, such as where they sold off goods entrusted to them and how they paid for their new purchases. By the same token, I was able to examine with unprecedented comprehensiveness the interaction between the “merchants” and the provincial administration as well as other members of the society. What I discovered, among other things, is that the “merchants” were instrumental in procuring a number of materials to help meet Umma’s bala-obligation toward the crown. As for their standing in society, eco-
nomically they belonged to the top tier, but hardly so in terms of social status. They also seem to have enjoyed some degree of economic autonomy as the administration sometimes had to pay for using their resources.

There are currently two competing schools of thought concerning the Ur III “merchants.” One perceives them as primarily government agents, while the other fundamentally independent and profit-driven entrepreneurs. To me, these two schools draw upon evidence different in origin and nature, and complement rather than contradict each other. My study demonstrates how the “merchants” in Umma, while socially bonded to and working for the local government, could have taken advantage of their ready access to capital and prospered economically. How far this conclusion can be generalized to other parts of the Ur III kingdom requires further research.

84. EDWARD STRATFORD, University of Chicago

A Year in the Life of Pūšu-kēn

Assyrian merchants conducted a brisk import of tin and textiles into the Anatolian plateau in the early second millennium B.C. Long distances both between Aššur and Anatolia and within Anatolia itself made effective representation in diverse locations an essential component of conducting trade. Despite steady progress in understanding the procedures of the trade over the past decades, the family firm has continued to serve as an ill-defined ontological point of reference for conceptualizing this organization of merchants and their activities. A nuanced description of business organization in Old Assyrian trade with sensitivity to private ownership, usufruct, and known financial mechanisms remains a desideratum. One promising approach to filling this need is providing a thorough description of the business operations of a few well documented merchants.

Epistolary material constitutes a considerable portion of the texts relating to any given merchant. However, few letters can be dated by explicit internal references, thus they have most often been used as a repository of unconnected anecdotes or effectively atemporal indications of personal relationships. A close reading of the material has yielded a considerable and unexpected advantage in providing descriptions of business activity of one well-known merchant. This paper will argue that significant portions of the correspondence of Pūšu-kēn can be woven together to form a narrative that documents roughly a single year in his life. The ensuing micro-narrative provides a substantive description of his business in a far richer context than has been previously available. A specific case from this year involving events reported in a small number of letters will provide a demonstration of the process of reconstruction and some of the inherent difficulties. The effects of this case on an understanding of the mercantile processes and commercial organization, including the family firm, in Old Assyrian trade will be reviewed.

85. SETH RICHARDSON, University of Chicago

The Late O.B. kārum at Sippar

The Late Old Babylonian kārum at Sippar has long been the subject of study in terms of its legal and administrative powers and practices local to north Babylonia—but less for the actual commercial business at hand, in contrast with its Old Assyrian analogues. This paper will review the evidence for the kārum as entrepôt for Euphratean business in the century prior to Mursili I’s destruction of Babylon; points
of contact, types of goods, archives and actors, the mercantile-diasporic community, and the relation of these subjects to the legal-administrative function of the kārum as corporate body will be discussed.

86. JACOB LAUINGER, Roanoke College

The Temple of Ishtar at Old Babylonian Alalakh

In the 1947 season at Alalakh, Sir Leonard Woolley excavated a structure that he identified as a temple belonging to the site’s Old Babylonian (level VII) occupation. While texts from level VII do mention a “temple of Ishtar,” a firm connection between this temple and Woolley’s excavated temple is still lacking. The first part of my paper focuses on epigraphic and archeological evidence that provides this connection.

The second part of my paper examines a collection of tablets that was found in the temple. In spite of their find-spot, these tablets do not document temple affairs. Rather, the tablets record silver that was disbursed to accomplish palace business. I argue that the find-spot of these tablets reflects the existence of an office of the palace administration that was located in the temple of Ishtar. The location of this office has important implications for our understanding of the relationship between palace and temple at Old Babylonian Alalakh.

87. JONATHAN S. TENNEY, University of Chicago

Dayyānī-Šamaš, Tambi-Dadu, and Their Four Children: Lower Class Families around Nippur under the Kassite Kings

The Middle Babylonian administrative tablet BE 14 58 records allocations of barley to forty-six individuals over a twelve-month period in Nazi-Marruttaš year 13 (=1295 B.C.). Sixty-five percent of the people are listed as members of a family. Four families are headed by males and three by females, with an average family size of 4.29 persons. One of these families, headed by a man named Dayyānī-Šamaš, can be traced through the cuneiform record for nearly two decades.

This tablet is one member of a group of over five hundred tablets and fragments written in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. that concern the administration and care of thousands of lower class individuals and families around Nippur. For almost a century, scholars—such as Clay, Torczyner, Petschow, Brinkman, and Sassmannshausen—have noted some aspects of this population; but no one has yet undertaken a full-scale systematic study of this group.

The paper explores the developments within the family of Dayyānī-Šamaš, describes the methods used to identify families in these documents, and suggests that the family was one of the primary units used to track and supply this population. It also demonstrates that this corpus is a valuable source of demographic information for one segment of Mesopotamian society.
Towards a Definition of Yongshi, Yonghual and Huaigu Subgenres

Poetry in which history or historical events serve as a primary theme in the poetic narrative has been classed as one of three subgenres: the yongshi, yonghual, or huaigu style of poetry. Scholars and critics all seem to agree that the main characteristic of yongshi, yonghual, and huaigu poems is that historical events or persons are central to the poems of these categories. However, as Zhao Wangqin and Li Yanmei, point out, scholars throughout the centuries have been at odds as to how to separate the three subgenres, and further distinctions between these different subgenres remain ambiguous. As one scholar described it, “Since ages ago, opinions have varied widely in the scholarly world about this problem, and it cannot decide which is correct.”

This paper reviews some of the traditional critiques of poems in the three subgenres, and then examines the characteristics of poems considered to be the prototypes of the yongshi subgenre beginning with Ban Gu’s (32–92) “Yongshi shi” and Zuo Si’s (c. 253–c. 307) “Yongshi ba shou” in order to work towards a definition of the yongshi, yonghual and huaigu subgenres.

Reading and Writing in Early Medieval China

Confucius’s advice for his son Li on learning the Odes is famous: “If you don’t study the Odes, you have nothing to use in your public speech.” During the Song dynasty, youngsters were told: “If you study the Wen xuan thoroughly (by flipping through the book for so many times that it is worn and torn), your goal to become an Outstanding Talent (xiucui) is half achieved.” Ever since the Qing, children have been urged to memorize the “three hundred poems of the Tang” for that is how anyone can become a poet. All such adages emphasize the importance of input for the end of output. In early medieval China, especially during the fifth and sixth century, the most potent age in Chinese literary production, what constituted the input in the learning of men of letters? To phrase the question differently, what were writers reading? How did they incorporate their reading into their own writing? How does an understanding of these questions help to explain some of the peculiar phenomena in literary production of the day such as boundary-crossing in genre? These are the questions this paper attempts to answer through a close analysis of selected poems by Liu Xiaochuo, a renowned figure from a rising literary family that had come to dominate the Liang literary arena following the waning influence of those “high gates” with a northern lineage.

2 Li Han, “Shi lun yongshi, huaigu zhi guanxi ji qi shi xue jingshen”, Journal of Shanghai University (Social Sciences), (Nov., 2006, 13.6), 65.
90. JIE WU, University of Washington

A Brief Discussion of the Seventeen Heptasyllabic Poems on Shicong Written in A.D. 700

In the early summer of 700, Empress Wu accompanied by sixteen imperial family members and distinguished ministers, paid a visit to Shicong, a scenic place in Mt. Song. Each of them wrote a heptasyllabic poem. These poems were later carved on a stele. This event is not recorded in either Xin Tang shu or Jiu Tang shu, but the rubbing of the stele has been preserved in the Junshi cuibian. A preface written for this occasion, attributed to Empress Wu, can be found in the Quan Tang wen.

This imperial outing is important in Chinese literary history. The seventeen heptasyllabic poems, some of which are regulated verses outnumbered all the heptasyllabic regulated verses that had been composed before in the early Tang. The relationships between the participants, who belonged to three opposite political parties, are complex and yet interesting. Evidence of their hostility in struggling for power in the imperial court cannot be found in the seventeen poems.

In this paper, I shall first give a brief introduction to the occasion and participants, and explain the relationships between the participants. Reading the seventeen poems against the background of the group compositions that had taken place in the early Tang, I aim to explore the function of poetry for aristocrats as a medium of communication on formal social occasions. I shall examine the variations that poets made to the conventional images, discuss the relationship between convention and originality in poetry composition on social occasions, and try to explore the courtly aesthetics of the early Tang poetry revealed in the seventeen poems which influenced the court poetry in Nara Japan.

91. XIAOSHAN YANG, University of Notre Dame

Tradition and Individuality in Wang Anshi’s Tang Bai Jia Shixuan

Wang Anshi’s (1021–86) Tang bai jia shixuan (Selections from a Hundred Tang Poets) is the earliest Song anthology of Tang poems. Because Wang left out many poets (e.g., Li Bai, Du Fu, and Han Yu) who were considered to form the core of the Tang poetic canon, his editorial intention and criteria have been a constant source of speculations and criticisms, especially in light of his own prefatory announcement that anyone who wants to know about Tang poetry should find it enough to read his anthology. The present paper reconsiders the Tang bai jia shixuan in the context of the tradition of anthologizing Tang poems up to Wang’s time. I first offer a critical account of commentaries on Wang’s anthology and sort out the controversies surrounding it. Then, instead of trying to reconcile Wang’s anthology with its preface or speculate about his editorial intention, I demonstrate the link between the anthology and its precedents. While the preface reflects Wang’s confidence in his own abilities and his penchant for bravado, his actual compilation is largely in line with and deeply indebted to previous anthologies. Special attention is drawn to the gap in the Song between the process of canon formation and the dynamics of the anthological practice with regard to Tang poetry. In the last part of the paper, I explore the significance of Wang’s compilation in the development of his own poetic style.
92. CHENGJUAN SUN, Harvard University

Li Yus Lyrics and “Tones of a Ruined State”

In their remarks on Li Yu’s lyrics, critics readily subscribed to those interpretive conventions that were entrenched in the literary history of a troubled era, most notably, the stereotype of “tones of a ruined state”. Upon a closer look, this phrase actually refers to a broader scope of writings than one may expect. In addition to the works “filled with lamentation and brooding,” as articulated in the original context, it also embraces omen songs and the so-called “decadent literature.” This inclusive phrase disposed readers to understand all his lyrics in light of his life experiences, and as a consequence, overlook the legacies of song lyric traditions and palace style poetry. Grief and melancholy, the moods symptomatic of a collapsed political order, came to be viewed as literary values, because they promised spontaneity, sincerity and reflective depth. This interpretative mode, whether natural or strained, would affect the choice of persona and gender, alter categorization of themes, and might change the meaning of a given phrase. Li Yu is credited with broadening the vision of lyric writing, and transforming this genre from the repertoire of professional entertainers in the low register to an art form embraced by literati to render their innermost feelings. Scholars usually focus on the distinctive quality of his lyrics. How are they different from those written by Wen Tingyun, Wei Zhuang and their imitators? How do they mark a sudden change in the evolution of this genre? This paper attempts to present the reverse of this picture, emphasizing the diversity of Li Yu as a lyric poet, and his indebtedness to earlier song traditions.

93. HUICONG ZHANG, Harvard University

Not So “Gracious and Proper”: A Study of Yang Weizhen’s Poetics

Yang Weizhen (1296–1370) was one of the most influential poets during the period of Yuan-Ming transition. He reformed the poetic style of his time by rejuvenating long-neglected yuefu poetry. Yang’s fondness for the yuefu genre and his poetics marked a sharp contrast with the prevalent aesthetics of most Yuan poets of the Yanyou reign (1314–20). Through a comparison of Yang Weizhen’s poetics with the dominant trend of Yuan poetry before him, the present study examines how Yang changed the contemporary poetic trend and evaluates his contribution to the revival of yuefu poetry at the end of Yuan.

Yuefu poetry had long been neglected in the Song dynasty and by most Yuan poets before Yang Weizhen. Around the time of the Yanyou reign, most prominent poets took High Tang poetry as their model and favored the poetic form of “recent style regulated verse” (lúshi). They also promoted a poetic style that was “gracious and proper” (yazheng) and required simple and plain diction, familiar allusions, and restrained and decorous expression of strong emotion. In a word, the Yanyou poets pursued a poetics of modesty and appropriateness.

In contrast, Yang Weizhen advocated a poetics with more freedom and individuality. He stressed originality in composition and spontaneity in emotional expression. He believed that good poetry should spring out of the poet’s genuine feeling, articulated in his original voice. With a poetics so different from the mainstream, Yang was naturally drawn towards the yuefu genre neglected by Yanyou poets. In Yang’s opinion, yuefu poetry was the most suitable means for a free expression of one’s emotions because...
it was not bound by the strict prosodic rules required for regulated verse. Through yuefu, Yang expressed his iconoclasm and found his own unique poetic voice.

94. SUN XIAOJING, University of California, Berkeley

_Daqu_ (‘big suite’) and Medieval Court Performance

The Chinese medieval _daqu_ or ‘big suite’, a performance consisting of a succession of musical sections that combines song lyrics with instrumental accompaniment, and includes solo or ensemble dance movements, is one of major components of court music, yet has not been given much account in previous scholarship on the literary/cultural history of the period. The lyric of _daqu_, as a sort of performance text that fossilizes the ‘performance context,’ through lines of ‘self-commentary’ that are often found inherent in dance lyrics, provides a valuable window into the relations between dance movement and a specific historical moment of performing, and the often submerged link between text and performance. This paper will start by looking at _daqu_ piece(s) composed by the Southern Song Councilor and writer Shi Hao (1106–1194), which, being noticeably complete and extensive, contains not only detailed notations on the presenting, speaking, and acting of each role, but also descriptions of singing and dancing performance between sections. While textual examination contextualizes the performance texts, the second part of the paper, which will investigate the Song (960–1279) court performing practices of _daqu_—especially that of the ‘Training Quarter’ (jiaofang), where the performance of _daqu_ is mainly carried out during Tang and Song—that we may infer from general accounts in official histories and some sporadic discriptions in literati prose fictions, is meant to historicize them, suggesting how _daqu_ functions as an intermedium of literati composition and performance.

E. Islamic Near East III: Philosophy and Science

EVERETT ROWSON, New York University, Chair (1:30 p.m.–3:30 p.m.) Renaissance Ballroom D

• *Ikhwān al-Ṣafa‘*, Ghazālī (1:30 p.m.–2:30 p.m.)

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


Although the Brethren of Purity (the *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā‘*) are often studied, much about their teaching on love remains to be investigated. Their position was influenced by Sufi theory on divine love and the form of the good life connected to the Platonic idea of _erōs_ (that the universal power of union is essential for the good life) and the Aristotelian idea of _philia_. The *Ikhwān* saw love as the moral basis for community since love is the immense yearning for unity within the soul that is necessary for the attainment of virtues, harmony, and perfection.

The *Ikhwān*’s epistles, especially _On Love_ (al-ishq), demonstrate how their ethical vocabulary of love, friendship, and cooperation is echoed in the contemporary discourse of al-Tawḥīdī (315–411/927–1023) on friendship, its link to society, and his principles of community. These ideas also affect another fourth-century ethicist,
Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), especially his *On the Refinement of Character* (*Tahdhīb al-Akhlah*), and his *Essay on Love* (*mahabbah*).

These authors further incorporated Sufi language, themes, and practices in their treatment of the beauty of the soul and its desires, the community as one body, ‘spiritual friendship’ and the acquisition of knowledge, and how they present new norms of moral action within Būyid society. They found mystic communion with God not only through asceticism, but just as significantly in the realm of ordinary human relationships via a life of virtuous living. This experience emphasizes the love of God from ‘above’ for humanity, and humanity’s love for God’s creation from ‘below’.

The strong similarity between the Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ’s ideas and those of Miskawayh on love and the purity of the soul, and that they can be defined further through al-Tawhīdī’s views on friendship, shows how all three attempted to develop a form of practical moral philosophy, which they taught as conditions for a community’s survival and welfare.

96. **Abbas Hamdani, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee**

*Ikhwan al-Ṣafa’* between al-Kindī and al-Fārābī

The paper has a historical and chronological purpose of determining the time-layer of the ideas contained in the *Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ*, but in doing so, it is necessary to compare its theological and philosophical ideas with those of al-Kindī and al-Fārābī in terms of a.) the question of pre-destination and free-will, b.) the question of the emanation of several Intelligences, c.) the qualifications of an ideal ruler, d.) the authorship of the *Rasā’il*’s passages on music reproduced in verbatim translation of the medieval Latin work *Liber Introductorius*, etc. and e.) certain Islamic beliefs regarding creation *ex-nihilo*, the role of prophecy and the idea of resurrection.

The paper will conclude that the time-layer suggested by these ideas are post-Kindī but not post-Fārābī and do not justify the usual attribution of the *Rasā’il*’s authorship to a group of tenth century authors named by the celebrated man of letters Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī but belong to an earlier period, most likely between 260 H./873 C.E. and 297 H./909 C.E.

97. **Frank Griffel, Yale University**

What Did al-Ghazālī Mean When He Said that the Connection between a Cause and Its Effect is not Necessary?

In a famous statement from the beginning of the 17th discussion in his *Incoherence of the Philosophers* (*Tahāfut al-falāsifa*) al-Ghazālī says that “the connection (al-iqrārān) between what is usually believed to be a cause and what is usually believed to be an effect is not necessary (darūrī) according to us.” In later works like his *Standard of Knowledge* (*Miṣyār al-‘ilm*), however, al-Ghazālī acknowledges that in order for us to have certain knowledge (*‘ilm yaqīn*) of the outside world, we must assume that the connection between cause and effect will not be different from what it actually is. How else could we assume that our perceptions of the world are truly relating to the objects outside of our minds? Scholars like Richard M. Frank who believe that al-Ghazālī accepts the cosmology of Avicenna with its secondary causes and intermediaries found it difficult to square their interpretation of al-Ghazālī with the 17th discussion in the *Incoherence*. 

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Recent contributions by Taneli Kukkonen and Blake Dutton have shown that in his
*Incoherence* al-Ghazâlî criticizes Avicenna’s understanding of the modalities, namely
what is necessary, possible, and impossible. This criticism suggests that what al-
Ghazâlî meant with “necessary” is different from Avicenna’s understanding. While
Avicenna followed Aristotle and meant with “necessary” that something is always
the case, al-Ghazâlî applied the understanding developed in Ashârîte *kalām* where
necessity, possible, and impossible apply to mentally conceived alternative state of
affairs. As long as the connection could be different from what it actually is, it
cannot be called necessary. In this latter sense the 17th discussion criticizes Avicenna’s
necessarian ontology, but not his secondary causality.

- *History of Science (2:50 p.m.–3:30 p.m.)*

98. **KEVIN VAN BLADEL**, University of Southern California

The Chronographical Contents of the Thousands of Abû Ma'shar

The first monograph by David Pingree (1933–2005), the renowned historian of
astrology, was *The Thousands of Abû Ma'shar*, published by the Warburg Institute
in 1968. It is a study of the *Kitâb al-Ulûf* (Book of the Thousands), a work composed
between 840 and 860 by the astrologer Abû Ma'shar al-Balkhî of Baghdad. Though
the *Kitâb al-Ulûf* is lost, Pingree reconstructed its contents on the basis of summaries
made by later astrologers as well as direct citations preserved by other Arabic authors.
For the last forty years, *The Thousands of Abû Ma'shar* has remained a standard
reference in the history of Arabic sciences.

Pingree showed that the astrological system of millennia devised by Abû Ma'shar
was a synthesis of the Indian doctrine of *yugas* with Iranian traditions of historical
astrology. His analysis also argued that Abû Ma'shar deliberately concocted a false
history of science to connect his astrology with the ancient Hermes Trismegistus. Ping-
ree considered it a “brazen imposture,” “hilariously inaccurate” and thus in keeping
with Abû Ma'shar’s incompetence in mathematics. In Pingree’s view, the historical
part of Abû Ma'shar’s book was a sham, albeit an interesting one.

This presentation will demonstrate that Abû Ma'shar’s book did not contain a
newly-constructed, deliberately deceptive history of science, as Pingree argued. Abû
Ma'shar was not a forger of historical reports. Rather, the *Thousands* included a
detailed treatment of ancient chronology based in large part on earlier Christian
chronography mediated by Syriac tradition. The work is one of the most important
witnesses to the early development of the science of chronology in Arabic and was
influential in the development of Arabic historiography. Abû Ma'shar’s *Thousands*
was an attempt to combine historical astrology with currently available pre-Islamic
chronography, both to test historical astrology and to prove its validity.

99. **ROBERT MORRISON**, Whitman College

Astronomy in Judeo-Arabic and Hebrew

By the ninth century C. E., in the Islamic world, scientists had begun to identify the
flaws and inconsistencies of Hellenistic astronomy. Later, in the twelfth and thirteenth
centuries, two new astronomies emerged to replace the Hellenistic writings. In the
Islamic East (i.e., Iran), scientists developed theories that eliminated the noted incons-
istencies but retained the predictive accuracy (do the theoretical models account for
the available observations?). In Andalusia, philosophers and scientists, both Jewish and Muslim, took a different tack and addressed some of Ptolemy’s departures, made in the name of predictive accuracy, from Aristotelian philosophy. The result was the second of these astronomies is to continue my in-depth study of a Judaeo-Arabic text, *The Light of the World* (*Nūr al-ʿĀlam*) from approximately 1400, that belongs to the second of these trends.

In a 2005 presentation at AOS, I described *The Light of the World*’s model for the motion of the sun and the development of that model in the subsequent Hebrew recension of *Light of the World*. In this presentation I would like to present *The Light of the World*’s ideas about the motions of the other planets. In particular, I am interested in the ways in which *Light of the World* could be evidence for a heretofore unknown path of transmission of Islamic science from the Mashriq to Andalusia, and then into Hebrew scientific texts. Time permitting, I would also like to examine the broader intellectual milieu of this text.

F. Islamic Near East IV: Language: Revolutionary Grammar, organized by Alexander Key. Kristen Brustad, University of Texas at Austin, Chair (4:00 p.m.–6:00 p.m.) Renaissance Ballroom D

100. Elias Muhanna, Harvard University

Semantics or Poetics?: Reframing Ibn Jinnī’s Theory of Greater Derivation

This paper addresses the theory of “greater derivation” (*ishtiqāq al-akbar*), which was formulated by the medieval Arab grammarian, Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002). This theory, which proposes that words containing the same (variously ordered) radicals can be shown to share a common meaning, was not adopted by the mainstream Arabic grammatical tradition and is generally considered by modern linguists to be a creative but erroneous hypothesis about the nature of the Arabic lexicon.

On the basis of a close analysis of the sections of Ibn Jinnī’s *Khasāʾiṣ* which deal with greater derivation, this paper argues that the prevailing scholarly consensus on this theory relies upon a misreading of Ibn Jinnī’s arguments. As I attempt to show, Ibn Jinnī refers to greater derivation alternatively as a semantic phenomenon and a philological method. He is careful to argue that it does not permeate the entire Arabic lexicon, nor is it a principle which can be consistently used to extrapolate semantic categories. This suggests that his perception of this phenomenon differed substantially from later characterizations of his theory. The goal of this study is to provide an appraisal of the phenomenon that is true to Ibn Jinnī’s own nuanced descriptions, drawing attention to those features which have eluded scholarly commentary, and attempting to tease out assumptions and consequences which remain unspoken or opaque within the text.

By examining the arguments and hermeneutical principles which underlie Ibn Jinnī’s propositions, I aim to outline the scope of the theory of greater derivation, and suggest what it reveals to us about Ibn Jinnī’s understanding of the structure of the Arabic language.
101. DOMINIC LONGO, Harvard University

The Mystical Grammar of ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 1072)

The Grammar of Hearts (Nahw al-Qulūb) by ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (d. 1072) is a somewhat obscure text by a rather well-known Sufi author. The most obvious question about this opusculum is why Qushayrī chose the form of a grammar book for this particular treatment of Sufi concerns. In the scant scholarship treating this work, this most pressing question has not been adequately answered. A literary approach to this Sufi text raises questions concerning the peculiar hybrid genre of religious writing which might be called ‘mystical grammar.’ Qushayrī’s text might not have been the first, and was certainly not the last, example of this hybrid genre. Investigation of The Grammar of Hearts reveals, underlying this religious genre, a specific nexus of meaning intertwining language with the divine-human relationship.

102. ALEXANDER KEY, Harvard University

“Speech Is Words, Composed.” Attacks on Grammar in the Twelfth-Century Islamic West: The Reply to the Grammarians by Ibn Maḍā‘ī

Ibn Maḍā‘ī wrote The Reply to the Grammarians as a strident attack on Arabic grammar, and it appears at first glance to be a work of iconoclastic simplicity that languished in historical inattention until the twentieth century, when ideas of revival of the Arabic language prompted Shawqī Dayl’s 1947 edition, and Ronald Wolfe’s 1984 dissertation. The subsequent 1979 edition by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Bannā, and the discussions of, inter alia, Ronald Wolfe and Kees Versteegh focus on its grammatical theory, and its modern-day relevance.

The aim of this paper is wholly different. I argue that Ibn Maḍā‘ī was no futile iconoclast, but rather a powerful and respected political, legal and cultural figure seriously engaged in an existing project. The paper is a detailed investigation of the introduction to The Reply to the Grammarians, the dedications, citations and invective of which provide a series of entry points into its context.

Detailed analysis of this political and grammatical context enables me to attempt reconstruction of an intellectual current in the Islamic West that attacked structures of knowledge created in the East. It can be seen as an intellectual coming of age for a West previously restricted to reiterations of Eastern dynamics, and it started with Ibn Ḥazīm’s revival of Ḥāʾirism in fiqh, which was adopted by the Almohad regime. Two judges under the Almohads, Ibn Maḍā‘ī and al-Suhaylī, applied the Ḥāʾirī intellectual approach to another core site of cultural legitimacy: language. The steps they took would, despite the failure of the Almohad project, find a later echo in North Africa with Ibn Khaldūn, who referred to an Andalusian school, the work of which I believe freed him to make his unique observations on language in the Muqaddimah.

103. WOLFHART HEINRICHS, Harvard University

Ibn Khaldūn as an Historical Linguist

In the voluminous sixth chapter of his Muqaddima (somewhat neglected by modern scholarship), Ibn Khaldūn presents a panorama of Islamic intellectual history, to which he not infrequently adds his personal, often critical, observations. The paper will discuss a case in point, namely his treatment of the language situation in the Arabic-speaking world. More precisely, it will deal with the spoken language rather than the
language-oriented disciplines (nahw, lugha, bayān, adab) and the problem of teaching the fushā, which are also of interest to him. He first discusses the Bedouin language of his time, and expresses the following ideas: (1) He still subscribes to the “corruption” (fasad) theory, i.e., the “corruption” of the old fushā resulting in the Bedouin language of his day. However, the result of the “corruption” is a new language and not corrupted fushā. (2) The means a language has to express specific syntactic relations may change over time, ḍrab ("desinential inflection") may be replaced by word-order and qarāin ("[disambiguating] contextual elements"). (3) A dialect is a language without an explicitly formulated grammar. (4) Language change occurred at least twice in the history of Arabic (Himyaritic > fushā > contemporary Bedouin language). (5) Phenomena in existing language forms may be traced back to more ancient forms through comparative methods: the Bedouin qāf pronunciation of standard qāf seems to be attributable to the old fushā. — [Ibn Khaldūn adds a smaller chapter on the urban speech-form, which he again considers a separate language. However, whereas the Bedouin language evolved through internal processes, the urban speech-form is to some extent shaped by substrate languages.] Against the background of the traditional view of the immutable ‘arabiyya these opinions are revolutionary. They are a natural outcome of his developmental view of history.

104. RACHA EL OMARI, University of California, Santa Barbara

Ar-Rummānī and the Mu’tazilite Grammarians of the 4th/10th Century

‘Alī b. ʿIsā ar-Rummānī (d. 384/994) was a Mu’tazilite follower of the school of Ibn al-Iṣād (d. 326/938) and a noteworthy yet controversial grammarian, mostly, as Michael Carter had argued, because he applied elements of Mu’tazilite theology to his grammar (Carter, 1984). Ar-Rummānī became memorable for allowing his Mu’tazilite inclinations to affect his contribution to grammar and not simply because he was a Mu’tazilite. He was not the only grammarian of Mu’tazilite allegiance; biographical dictionaries of grammarians abound with Mu’tazilite grammarians contemporary of ar-Rummānī. The Mu’tazilite turn to grammar in the 4th/10th century had already been highlighted by Kees Versteegh, and more remains to be done in explaining the nature and implications of this turn for both the history of grammar and of theology (Versteegh, 1997). This paper contributes towards explaining this turn from the perspective of the less studied works of biographical dictionaries of grammarians. It places ar-Rummānī’s achievement as a Mu’tazilite grammarian in the larger context of his contemporaries. It argues that ar-Rummānī’s position as a Mu’tazilite grammarian was not unique to him but rather the culmination of a trend that started a generation earlier and culminated in his generation. It also provides evidence to show that the Mu’tazilites’ work on grammar dwindled in the generation following his own.

The paper is divided in two parts. First, the generation of ar-Rummānī, his predecessors and his followers will be examined in six major biographical dictionaries of grammarians and their evidence will be compared to other sources including Mu’tazilite biographical dictionaries. Second, the paper examines the structure of these dictionaries and their premises, thereby providing a case study of the function of biographical dictionaries of grammarians.
105. CHARLES S. PREBISH, Utah State University

Implications of the New Dating of the Buddha: Cooking the Buddhist Books

This paper considers the implications of the new theories for the dating of the historical Buddha, and the ramifications of the new date for Buddha’s demise for early Indian Buddhist history. Most recent Buddhological scholarship now places Buddha’s death within thirty-five years, on either side, of 400 BCE. As a result, of particular interest are the proposed new dates for the first, second, and third canonical Buddhist councils, as well as the details concerning the non-canonical council from which Indian Buddhist sectarianism arose, and the rise of Buddhist sectarianism itself. The paper also considers the proximity of the above events to the reign of King Aṣoka and the role Aṣoka may or may not have played in the above. This paper builds on the work of the 1988 symposium at the University of Göttingen convened by Professor Heinz Bechert, and on the historical research of Buddhological scholars such as Erich Frauwalner, André Bareau, Charles Prebish, Richard Gombrich, Hajime Nakamura, and others. The paper concludes by affirming the traditional 100 year duration between the first and second councils, as well as the Prebish/Nattier theory for the rise of Buddhist sectarianism, but locates these events closer to, and possibly coincident with, the reign of king Aṣoka, thus altering significantly the traditional understanding of Aṣoka’s position in early Indian Buddhism.

106. STEFAN BAUMS, University of Washington

Stages of Dependent Origination: Sanskrit vartman, Pali vaṭṭa, Gândhārī vatānī and vaṭa

Several schools of early Buddhist thought subdivide the twelve-linked chain of dependent origination (pratītyasamutpāda) into three separate stages. In the Yogācārabhūmi (Savitarkasavicārabhūmi) and the Daśabhūmikasūtra, these stages are called klesavartman, karmavartman and duhkhaṃvartman. Commentarial and abhidharma texts of the Pali tradition show a similar subdivision into kilesavatā, kammavatā and vipākavatā, but one single Pali text, the Neṭtippakaraṇa, has dukkhavatā for the third stage. Another major tradition of early Buddhist scholarship has recently become accessible through the discovery of numerous first- and second-century manuscripts in the Gândhārī language. In one of these manuscripts—a commentary on a selection of canonical verses (British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragments 7, 9, 13, 18)—the subdivisions in question occur in two separate linguistic forms: on the one hand kilesavatā, kammavatā and dukhavatā, on the other kilesavatāni, kamavatāni and dukhavatāni (< OIA vartanī). On the basis of this new evidence, the present paper will argue that Pali vaṭṭa should be understood as derived from OIA vartman (making it a doublet of vaṭumā) rather than from vrṭta (the traditional etymology); it will compare the use of the concept of the three vartmans in the Yogācāra, Theravāda and Gândhārī traditions; and it will discuss this further indication of the isolated position of Peṭakopadesa and Neṭtippakaraṇa in the Pali tradition and the special re-
relationships of these texts to Northern Buddhism in general and the Gāndhārī tradition in particular.

107. **CHRISTIAN HASKETT**, University of Wisconsin-Madison

**Further Terms for Confession in Indian Buddhism**

To date, confession has been treated by scholars of Indian Buddhism as a single category. My previous papers have sought to revise this notion and highlight the plurality of contexts, functions, and terminologies which pervade confessory texts. I have also been suspicious of unsupported explanations of a history of evolution from the *prātimokṣa* confessions of the *vinaya* to the expiatory confessions of the *Ugra* and *Triskandha sūtras*. I now offer some philological support for such a connection based on parallels between confessional formulae in the *Vinayavastu* and in the *Āryatriskandhasūtra*, both in terminology and in ritual performance. The shared use of the triad *prati-√dis, ā-vis-√kṛ, and (na) prati-√cchad*, considered in the light of the dissimilarities between two texts, will reveal and clarify the ritual logic of Buddhist confession (*deśanā)*.

108. **JEFFREY S. DURHAM**, University of North Carolina at Wilmington

**Irreversibility and Emptiness: Salvific Certitude and Textual Action in the Aṣṭasahasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā**

Perfection of Wisdom texts typically explicate the concept of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). Many key Prajñā texts, however, go well beyond philosophical discussion. In particular, they aim to generate ‘irreversibility’ (*avaivartya*)—the specifically Mahāyānic assurance that one will never be ‘turned back’ in the quest for enlightenment—and this independently of any extra-textual mediator. Accordingly, this paper explores how the *Aṣṭasahasrikā*, a text dealing directly with emptiness, might operate of itself to generate irreversibility.

The question of how Mahāyānic texts operated, both socially and psychologically, has long been a subject of sustained interest. From the perspective of institutional history, Schopen (1975) noted that the *Vajracchedikā* attempts to establish itself as a center of religious activity theoretically independent of any institutional substructure. From a gnoseological perspective, Harrison (1982) recognized that certain *samādhi*-class texts functioned to inculcate alternative states of consciousness—a first clue that the texts in question were ‘performative’ in nature (Austin: 1955), and were hence designed to ‘make a difference, not mark a difference.’ (LaCapra: 1983) Most recently, Nattier (2003) explored how *Ratnakūṭa*-class texts worked so that ‘a few good men’ might preserve the Dharma in the Last Days.

But precisely how might Prajñā-class texts directly inculcate irreversibility? In Abhidharmic praxis, Cox (1992) has shown that a process whereby one infers the presence of an underlying condition (*dharma*) from manifest condition (*laksana*) lies at the heart of the process. Mahāyānic thinkers took this epistemology as their starting point, but deployed it in a new way: they construed the presence of the text itself, along with a lack of fear regarding its doctrines, as a sign (*laksana*) that one has in fact attained the vaunted status of irreversibility. On this account, the ancient sūtra operates first as an independent locus of gnoseological certitude, and secondarily as an institutional focus for ritual activity.
Indigenous Historiography of Indian Esoteric Buddhism: An Analysis of Indic and Tibetan Sources

For most of the history of research on Indian Esoteric (or “Tantric”) Buddhism, scholars have been alternately perplexed or bemused by the idea that these traditions claim “historical” derivation from the Buddha. Bemusing or no, the confusion, at least, would seem to be due in part to the fact that the data employed in interpreting this claim has been rather thin. This is in part due to another fact: precious little material dealing with this topic has been available in Sanskrit. The only document in Sanskrit devoted to the history of these traditions is the much-discussed “Shamsher Manuscript” (studied separately by Lévi and Tucci) and this is little more than a lineage list.

There are, however, two other sources of information by which to attempt to understand how this claim was understood and interpreted by the tradition: Indic sources and Tibetan sources. Though we do not have documents of “Tantric historiography” in Sanskrit, nor do we seem to have other Indian works devoted primarily to narration of Tantric Buddhist histories, we do have “Indic” exegetical works (i.e. translations of what are very likely Indian sources) that articulate elements of the historical models employed by traditional authors. In addition to these Indic fragments, there also exists a large body of writing in an historical idiom by later Tibetan votaries of Indian Esoteric Buddhism.

This paper will survey and interpret the evidence provided by both these under-utilized sources and will work to unpack the varieties of historical understanding put forth in these diverse texts. Hypotheses advanced in my previous work on the historiography of the Nāgārjunian Tradition of Guhyasamāja exegesis (2006 AOS Annual Meeting) will be tested against both a) a larger corpus of documentary evidence and b) the more ramified issue of the historiography of Buddhist esoterism more generally.

Theater of Embodiment, Poetics of Dislocation: Mahāyoga Hermeneutics in the Pradīpodyotana-nāma-Tīkā

Among the more astonishing developments in early medieval Indian Buddhism is the appearance of Mahāyogatantra systems in the monastic vihāras of Northern India, reflected in the composition of liturgical manuals and scholastic commentaries devoted to the “unexcelled yoga” class of tantric scripture. This paper looks at the role of scholastic commentary in facilitating—from the 7th to 9th centuries—the adoption into the institutional mainstream of practices and symbolic systems apparently at odds with normative monastic Buddhist values.

The mature esoteric synthesis of the monastic centers has often been characterized as a consequence of an antagonistic relationship between radically opposed milieus of text production: the non-institutional Siddha redactors of the Tantras and their conservative, clerical exegetes. Departing from this view, my study argues that the identities of these respective text communities were far less clearly defined than usually assumed. It finds, rather, much to suggest in this text and its related exegetical literature that such shifts in Buddhist orthopraxy resulted from developments internal to the Sangha itself.
To approach these socio-historical issues, my paper examines the hermeneutic strategies of the *Pradīpoddotana* of Candrakīrti (c. 7–9 century), a Sanskrit commentary on the *Guhyasamājatantra*. A pivotal work of Buddhist exegetics, the *Pradīpoddotana* represents a significant shift from prior scholastic composition by providing systematic analysis of and pedagogy for Mahāyāganātra revelation and *sādhana*, locating both within normative Mahāyāna cosmology and practice. Linking the text to pervasive, post-Gupta Buddhist discourses of “non-located nirvāṇa” (*apratisīṭhita nirvāṇa*) and Buddha-embodiment, in the service of which—it is argued—a Siddha/cleric dichotomy is deliberately and rhetorically overdrawn, this study suggests an environment in which the Siddha cultural ideal had already been thoroughly assimilated by the monastic mainstream.

- **East Asia and South and Southeast Asia Joint Session: Cross-cultural Transmission between South and East Asian Buddhism.** Organized by Jason Neelis, University of Florida, Chair (4:00 p.m.–6:30 p.m.)

111. **Jan Nattier**, International Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, Tokyo

Now You Hear It, Now You Don’t: The Expression “Thus I Have heard” in Early Chinese Buddhist Translations

Much has been written in recent years on the punctuation, and therefore the proper interpretation, of the famous formula beginning “Thus have I heard...” (*evaṁ mayā śrūtaṁ*) that appears at the beginning of Indian Buddhist texts. Far less has been said, however, about the renditions of this formula in Chinese Buddhist translations. In this paper I will focus on three different Chinese equivalents of this phrase: (1) *wen rushi* “I heard as follows,” which was standard in most Chinese translations produced prior to 400 CE; (2) *rushi wo wen* “Thus have I heard,” the usual form in translations produced by Kumārajīva (c. 344–309 CE) and afterwards; and (3) the total absence of any equivalent of this formula in the authentic works of the Yuezhi translator Lokakṣema (Zhi Loujiachan, fl. 165–185 CE). The reasons for these varied choices will be considered in light of the larger issue of literary practices in India and China, and in particular, of the place of written and oral literature in these two very different cultural contexts.

112. **Stefano Zacchetti**, Università Ca’ Foscari di Venezia

An Early Collection of Buddhist Scriptures: Some Reflections on An Shigaos Translations

About twenty texts survive today which can be ascribed to the Parthian translator An Shigao (active in Luoyang from 148 CE). They represent the earliest available body of Buddhist scriptures translated into Chinese, and their significance for the study of topics such as early Buddhist literature, early Chinese Buddhist thought etc. can be hardly overstated. As a result of recent research and manuscript discoveries, we have now a considerably clearer picture of the nature of this textual corpus.

A particularly interesting feature of interest presented by An Shigao’s translations is that (not unlike, for example, the Gilgit manuscripts or other more recently unearthed collections of Buddhist Indic manuscripts) they are a group of texts of which we know that they were available to certain persons in a certain place and at a certain time.
They form, in fact, one of the earliest collections of Buddhist scriptures available to us which can be dated with some precision.

It is in this perspective that, in the present paper, I will try to approach this material: what can this corpus tell us concerning the persons involved in its production, as well as the religious and social context within which it was produced? For all the difficulties they pose, these translations, I believe, can shed some light on some intriguing issues, such as the typologies of scriptures circulating on (presumably) the Silk Road around the mid 2nd century CE, and the nature of the early Buddhist community gathered in Luoyang around the translator and teacher An Shigao.

113. Daniel Boucher, Cornell University

What is a ‘Hinayana Zealot’ Doing in Fourth-Century China?

Zhu Fadu, a monk of foreign extraction born in China, describes himself as a “Hinayana” zealot. He argued against Mahayana ideology, defames its texts, and advocates a reliance on Sakyamuni Buddha alone. He seems to have gathered a small coterie of disciples, principally nuns, during his lifetime, and his followers are known from Chinese sources centuries later. My presentation will seek to reveal what is known about this obscure figure and to address how we should understand this polemic, coming as it does on the cusp of the translation of huge compendia of Mainstream textual sources into Chinese. Were Chinese monks confused by this seeming shift in the textual representation of Buddhism? Were foreign translators inciting their disciples to profess a sharply delineated affiliation for the first time? I hope to address these questions in light of the larger set of developments occurring in the transmission of Buddhism from the Western Regions to China at this time.

114. Neil Schmid, North Carolina State University

The Narrative Instantiation of Sakyamuni’s Pure Land

Dunhuang manuscripts provide comprehensive documents detailing the texts and rituals used in the “popular lecture” (sujiang), the primary means of proselytizing in medieval China during the Tang and Five Dynasties periods. Two core genres were used in these liturgies, sutra lecture texts and karmic narratives. The latter employ the genre marker “yinyuan” or “yuanqi,” (nidana or avadana) while a number of specific features define as them as a distinct corpus. Yet remarkably, the greatest number of these manuscripts does not recount typical avadana, nidana, or even jataka stories. Instead, the majority of the texts during this period concern the life of Sakyamuni Buddha as based on the Fo benxing ji jing (T190). The remaining stories are all canonical avadanas which take place in India during Sakyamuni’s life. In contrast, no indigenous Chinese Buddhist narratives, such as miracle tales yingyanji, were employed. Questions then arise: Given the general didactic nature of the popular lecture, why are only stories set in a delineated distant time and place used to the exclusion of other narratives? Why is there a continued emphasis on the life of the historical Buddha, especially when the ever-growing pantheon offered a multitude of other cultic possibilities? Finally, what is the relationship between the textual, ritual, and visual renderings at Dunhuang? This paper examines the ritual and doctrinal implications of this corpus of narratives and its visual analogues at Dunhuang. I demonstrate that these narrative were not only depictive but were foremost performative. Their ritual enactment invoked the time and place of the historical Buddha’s life, thereby
relocating the adherent in close proximity to Śākyamuni and the True Dharma. I then discuss how this unstudied cult of Śākyamuni rearticulates Pure Land doctrine, and how the Cult of the Āstamahāpratihārya in Pala India provides a useful point of comparison.

115. **Tansen Sen**, Baruch College, City University of New York

Buddhism and the Maritime Networks between India and China

[Paper withdrawn]

116. **JASON NEELIS**, University of Florida

Overland Shortcuts for the Transmission of Buddhism

Since monks, missionaries, and travelers from throughout the Buddhist world arrived in China via multiple maritime and overland routes, the standard model of point-to-point contact diffusion is difficult to apply. Erik Zürcher develops an alternative model of long-distance transmission to explain the early phases of hybrid forms of Buddhism in Later Han period China (“Buddhism Across Boundaries: The Foreign Input”). He draws attention to a “curious situation” in which the first Iranian, northwestern Indian, and western Central Asian foreign translators of Buddhist texts were active in the Chinese capital at Loyang at least a century before Buddhist monasteries were established in the Tarim Basin around 250 C.E. These foreign monks traversed mountain ranges and deserts between South Asia, Central Asia, and China, but hagiographies generally do not record many geographical details about their itineraries (unlike accounts of Faxian, Xuanzang and other Chinese pilgrims to India). Some of these figures as well as other travelers followed networks of overland routes which connected the Upper Indus region of northern Pakistan with the southern Tarim Basin in Xinjiang. These difficult shortcuts between the northwestern borderlands of the Indian subcontinent and the Western Regions (Xiyu) of China facilitated long-distance travel and transmission of Buddhism through areas which initially lacked the resources to support monasteries. Graffiti inscriptions and rock drawings at important nodes illustrate the passage of Indian, Iranian, and Chinese travelers through the mountain valleys of northern Pakistan. Such epigraphical and visual evidence reflects various stages in the regional establishment and transmission of Buddhism. Comparisons with connected transit zones in the Tarim Basin illuminate broader patterns in the movement of Buddhism between South Asia, Central Asia, and China. The apparent discrepancy between literary accounts of foreign monks and the dearth of archaeological remains of Buddhist monasteries in the regions through which they traveled disappears with the application of Zürcher’s model of long-distance transmission.

8:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m. **Plenary Session: Exile and Banishment**. JERROLD S. COOPER, The Johns Hopkins University, Chair. Renaissance Ballroom A/B

117. **RAYMOND WESTBROOK**, The Johns Hopkins University

Ancient Near East: Exile and Banishment in the Ancient Near East

118. **STEPHEN BOEKENKAMP**, Arizona State University

East Asia: Self-exile from the Transcendent Realms: Daoism and Medieval Performance Anxiety
119. MICHAEL COOPERSOHN, University of California, Los Angeles
   Islamic Near East: Invisible Cities

120. ROBERT GOLDMAN, University of California, Berkeley
   South and Southeast Asia: Exile and the Kingdom: Banishment, Abjection, and Loss in the Making of the Indian Epic King

11:00 a.m.–11:45 a.m. Special Session: Presidential Address 2007: Between Something and Nothing, One Year After. PAUL KROLL, University of Colorado Renaissance Ballroom A/B

A. Ancient Near East VII: Religion and Magic. JACK M. SASSON, Vanderbilt University, Chair (1:30 p.m.–4:30) Renaissance Ballroom A/B

121. TZVI ABUSCH, Brandeis University
   The Revision of an Incantation: Analysis and Manuscript Support

   Last year, I discussed Maqlu II 19–75 and demonstrated on internal grounds that that incantation had undergone expansion. I noted that segments of the text were interpolated and that their inclusion was marked off by repetitive resumptions. That analysis was based solely upon critical analysis, for there are no known manuscripts that represent an earlier form of the incantation without the interpolation(s) and repetitive resumption. However, the conclusion that incantations in Maqlu may sometimes have been revised by means of interpolation and expansion is not simply the result of critical analysis; it is evident in the manuscript tradition as well. For when we examine the manuscripts of incantations that contain lists or enumerations, we occasionally find that some of the manuscripts do not contain the list or contain shorter versions thereof.

   In this paper, I shall provide an example by examining a Maqlu incantation that in my judgement contains a significant expansion that is set off by a repetitive resumption. But, in this case, we shall notice the absence of the expansion and the repetitive resumption in one of the manuscripts and show why it is likely that this manuscript represents an early form of the text.

122. BEATE PONGRATZ-LEISTEN, Princeton University

   This paper explores the intertextual relationship between the ‘letter of the god’, the Sargonid oracle collections, and the fictive dialogue between God and king. All these text categories grow out of a situation of crisis. Appealing either to the contemporary or future political elites, they reflect the endeavor of the scholarly elites to reinforce royal authority. Although oracle collection and fictive dialogue possess the discernible traits of oracular deliveries they have no prophetic or cultic setting, rather they emerge from the context of historiography destined to write the ideal biography of the king.
123. Jack M. Sasson, Vanderbilt University

“You must not Covet”: A Possible Context for the 10th Commandment

It cannot be said that the tenth commandment in either or both of its recensions in the Hebrew Bible has lacked scholarly attention. There is debate on translating (hence also interpreting) the verbs at its core, on establishing its intent, and on its place within Near Eastern legal traditions, from which it is largely absent. In this paper I suggest a potential context for its inspiration by alluding to recently recovered cuneiform documents.

124. Tawny L. Holm, Indiana University of Pennsylvania

An Aramaic Sacred Marriage Text from Egypt

Aramaic Papyrus Amherst 63 (xvii 7–19) contains a sacred marriage text featuring the goddess Nanay. The papyrus as a whole contains a unique amalgam of religious concepts from Mesopotamia, Syria-Palestine, and Egypt, and, it has been suggested, transmits the Aramaic liturgy of a New Years festival (R. C. Steiner 1991). The sacred marriage text should first be placed in the context of the many other compositions found on the same papyrus (written in Demotic Egyptian script and dating to the fourth or third century B.C.E.). Moreover, it also needs to be considered in the light of other ancient Near Eastern sacred marriage texts.

125. K. Lawson Younger, Jr., Trinity International University

The Phoenician God Kur(ra) in the First Millennium Sources

Recent epigraphic evidence from Cebel Ires Dağı, Çineköy and Tell Şeh Hamad have provided further important additional documentation in Phoenician for the deity Kur(ra). This paper will investigate the growing attestations for this deity in the first millennium sources, both alphabetic and cuneiform, and will propose a reassessment of the enigmatic phrase b'l krtrys in the Phoenician text from Karatepe. The paper will also evaluate the possible etymology of the deity’s name and the possible connections with the third millennium Eblaite deity Kura.

126. JoAnn Scurlock, Elmhurst College

Searching for Meaning: A Further Correspondence between Enûma eliš and Genesis

[No abstract submitted]

127. Mary R. Bachvarova, Willamette University

Transmission of Literary and Religious Motifs within and beyond the Near East

Walter Burkert’s image of the wandering poet or seer as transmitter of cosmogonic texts and divinatory techniques from the “despotic” East to the “free-market” West during the Orientalizing Period (750–650 BC) has captured the imagination of many scholars of the ancient world, especially Classicists. On the other hand, first and second millennium Near Eastern (Akkadian and Hittite) and Greek texts provide clear evidence for other mechanisms by which formative contact within the Near East and across the Mediterranean occurred that allowed for the transmission of religious practices and the texts connected with them. After re-examining evidence used by
Burkert in his *Orientalizing Revolution* (1992) to support the “wandering poet” hypothesis, including Old Testament prophets, Homeric bards, and liver divination, I discuss healing/purification rituals involving extra-effective exotic gods, practices, and performers; and feasts and festivals both as a locus for long-distance elite interactions and as opportunities for contact between local performers and supra-local audiences. I focus on the public performance of or allusion to famous “epic” or cosmogonic songs such as Gilgamesh, Atrahasis, Enuma Elish, and the Kumarbi cycle.

**128. JOHN JACOBS, Yale University**

A Latin “Translation” from Šumma izbu in Cicero’s *De divinatione*

Divination plays a central role in the cultures, especially the political cultures, of both the ancient Near East and the ancient Mediterranean. Consequently, scholars have sought to identify points of similarity and difference which may prove whether any organic links exist between the two regions, e.g., the Etruscans and Lydia. In this paper, I will present the first example of a “translation” from a Mesopotamian omen series into Classical (i.e., Greek and Latin) literature.

One of the most important of these omen collections from the ancient Near East is that known by its incipit as Šumma izbu (Leichty 1970). The first tablet supplies a number of interesting omens related to human births which resemble those of animals, including the omen BE SAL UR MAH U₃ TU URU BI DIB-bat LUBAL BI LAL-mu (“If a woman gives birth to a lion, then the city will fall, and the king will be captured”) in 1.5.

This same omen reappears, thousands of miles away and thousands of years later, in the fictional philosophical dialogue *De divinatione* (*On divination*), published in 44 B.C. by Cicero, the Roman orator and statesman. While arguing in favor of divination, Cicero’s younger brother Quintus cites a number of examples for the importance of divination in history, including the omen *si mulier leonem peperisse visa esset, fore ut ab exteris gentibus vinceretur ea res publica, in qua id contigisset* (“If a woman dreams that she has given birth to a lion, then the state in which that has happened will fall”) in 1.53/121.

Despite the change from Sumer-Akkadian to Latin, the omen retains virtually the same syntactical structure. While it would be difficult to prove any organic link here, the existence of both Hittite and Ugaritic translations, of which fragments are extant, makes direct transmission into the Classical world at least a possibility.

**B. East Asia V: History and Historiography.**

ROBERT JOE CUTTER, Arizona State University, Chair (1:30 p.m.–4:15 p.m.)

*Bridgeport Room*

**129. NEWELL ANN VAN AUKEN, Grinnell College**

Who Is a rén? The Use of rén in the *Chūnqiū*

The use of the word rén in the records of the *Chūnqiū* sheds light on the official record-keeping practices of the ancient Chinese state of Lú, and also on the nature of the interstate hierarchy as viewed by Lú. In *Chūnqiū* records, the word rén typically refers to an individual, and occurs in the plural only rarely. Thus a record like *Zhèng rén fá Wèi* must be understood as “Someone from Zhèng attacked Wèi,” not “Men
from Zhèng attacked Wéi,” as it has conventionally been understood. This use of rén is parallel to references to individuals in other Chànquīu records, in which actions and achievements are ascribed to individual feudal lords and noblemen, rather than being attributed to the entire group of people who participated in an event. Whether a person could be referred to as rén depended on the status of his home state in the interstate hierarchy, and in some cases also on his status vis-à-vis other individuals named in the same record. Diachronic changes in the use often for individuals from particular states may be observed, and the changes appear to correlate with fluctuations in the rank of those states in the interstate hierarchy. For the most part, the label rén was not applied to individuals of very high rank, nor for those of very low rank. It was often used in records containing reference to a high-ranking feudal lord together with a lower-ranking individual, such as a nobleman; in these cases the lower-ranking person was referred to as rén, perhaps to spare the higher-ranking individual the humiliation of having his name appear in conjunction with a person of substantially lower rank.

130. SHUHUI WU, Mississippi State University

Shiji Commentary and Criticism in Late Imperial China: The Twelve Annals

In its depth of research and the quantity of publications over the past three decades, the study of shiji (The Historical Records) in the People’s Republic of China has progressed dramatically. Moreover, it introduced new research methods and fresh, new perspectives on the book and its author, Sima Qian. Contemporary studies of shiji and of Sima Qian have culminated in encyclopedic-style works with novel interpretations. None of this new trend has yet made its way into books in Western languages.

The present paper is derived from the first chapter of my forthcoming monograph, Commentary and Criticism of Shiji in Late Imperial China, which will introduce the Twelve Annals in four levels (cengci):

1. The role of the Twelve Annals in shiji focus on the arrangement of the five sections (wuti) and Sima Qian’s rationale for his rubrics;
2. The interrelations of the Twelve Annals with a focus on the question of the sequence of these twelve chapters;
3. A discussion of an individual chapter, the first known as the Annals of the Five Emperors;
4. An examination of the five emperors with a special focus on the role of the Yellow Emperor.

At each of these four levels I attempt to provide an exegesis of the intentions and historiographical views of Sima Qian, as well as an analysis of the problems and criticisms of shiji identified by scholars from the Song to the late Qing period.

131. ESTHER PARK, Princeton University

The Shiji as Defamatory Text: The History and Significance of an Anecdote

Sima Qian (145–ca 86 BCE) compiled the Shiji [Historian’s Records], a history of China which has become a foundational text of Chinese civilization. Its reputation was not always so secure, however. Because the great historian was castrated in 98 BCE for defending a turncoat general Li Ling, readers like Ban Gu (32–92) in the Eastern
Han (25–220) accused Sima Qian of defaming his emperor and other contemporaries out of personal resentment. An anecdote contemporaneous with Ban Gu, paints a slightly different and probably apocryphal picture of Sima Qian’s relationship with his ruler, Emperor Wu (r. 140–86 BCE). In this story, first attributable to Wei Hong (1st c. CE), Emperor Wu reads the Shiji chapter about his own reign and, enraged by its frank (or exaggerated) criticism, has the text destroyed. Later, he used the Li Ling incident as a pretext to have Sima Qian punished. During the Six Dynasties period (220–589), this anecdote and related stories played a significant role not just in discussions of the Shiji, but in how the relationship between emperor and historian was conceived.

Today scholars ignore or discount Wei Hong’s anecdote. Yu Jiaxi argued that it contradicts Sima Qian’s own account, and that Wei Hong’s work was generally untrustworthy. Wei Hong’s anecdote surfaces occasionally in footnotes (such as in volume II of William Nienhauser’s Shiji translation) or is mentioned in passing and with disapproval in modern Chinese scholarship. Due to its implausibility, however, it has not been seriously addressed in modern times. However, in this paper I will trace the history and influence of this and related anecdotes in the late Han and Six Dynasties, arguing that regardless of actual reliability, they were influential in the discourse of official historiography.

132. NICOLAE CRISTIAN STATU, University of Heidelberg

Restoring the Judgment of the Sage: The Basic Import of the Hanshu and Its Underlying Vision of Social Order

The critical attention so generously bestowed on Sima Qian’s Shiji in recent years has helped restore, to some extent, long overlooked dimensions of that text: political, ideological, philosophical, personal, religious. On the contrary, Ban Gu’s Hanshu has continued to be regarded as one of the “standard histories,” zhengshi, an impersonal collection of documents, outstandingly rich yet hopelessly biased source of information on the Western Han. The aim of the present paper is to place the text in its original context, in order to understand the fundamental intention behind it, as well as the argument it articulated for a contemporary reader. For this, the paper turns to the three topics which both Ban Biao and Ban Gu believed were inadequately treated by Sima: Confucian scholars, wealthy entrepreneurs, and wandering outlaws. Based on a detailed analysis of the structural devices used in the three corresponding chapters (Hanshu 88, 91, and 92) to revise the “faulty” counterparts in the Shiji (chapters 121, 129, and 124), as well as on explicit statements elsewhere in the Hanshu, an attempt is made to reconstruct the vision of order and of history from which Sima was held to have deviated and which the Bans set out to reaffirm.

133. THOMAS JANSEN, University of Cambridge

Two Competing Histories from the Southern Dynasties Period: A Comparison of “Discussions” (lun) in Shen Yue’s Song shu and Pei Ziye’s Song lüe

Twenty years after Shen Yue (441–513) had compiled his Song shu (History of the Liu-Song; 488) the conservative antiquarian and historian Pei Ziye (469–530) privately compiled his Song lüe (Outline history of the Liu–Song; 508). In his work Pei set out to “erase matters of minor importance” in Shen Yue’s representation of Song history and to “show the essential events without self-seeking motives.”
Unfortunately, Pei Ziye’s counter-history to the official Song shu has been lost. Fragments of the work, however, including its “summary discussion” (zonglun) and a number of “discussions” (lun) by the historian on people or events, have survived in Sima Guang’s Zizhi tongjian and other works. In two instances, Sima Guang placed the discussions by Shen Yue and Pei Ziye side by side, possibly implying that the two histories are to some extent complementary and are best read together.

Basing my paper on an analysis of these two parallel discussions, I seek to examine differences in the two historians’ interpretation of the recent past. I will show in what ways the evaluation of historical issues was linked to the political issues of the day. My overall aim is, firstly, to shed light on the political and intellectual rivalries at the courts of the Qi and Liang dynasties and how they manifested themselves in historiography. Secondly, my paper is an initial attempt to explore the comparatively uncharted territory of Southern Dynasties historiography through a comparative study of the work of two of its major figures, one of them (Pei Ziye) largely unknown today.

134. Hsüeh-Yi Lin, Princeton University

Martyrdom and Beyond: The Donglin Academy and Its Historical Representations

This paper examines how a particular incident—the government inflicted prosecution—in the history of the Donglin Academy shaped its historical representations during seventeenth century. My research is based on personal anthologies, correspondences, biographies, and historical writings, and will give special attention to the 1625–27 martyrdom and its effects. The first part of this paper is an examination diversity within the Donglin Academy: it includes some Donglin leaders public criticisms of the Wang Yangming learning, as well as a discussion of other more pro-Wang Yangming figures. To some Donglin leaders, such as Gao Panlong, Wang Yangming’s tolerance of different moral standpoints was problematic, whereas for others Wang’s understanding of human nature remained appealing and plausible. This heterogeneous composition shows that essentially the Donglin was not harmonious in terms of moral-philosophical standpoints. This study confirms recent scholarly consensus about the heterogeneous composition of early Donglin leadership but gives more attention to the intellectual background. In the second part, I further look at the impacts of Donglin martyrdom. I argue that, regardless of their different ideas on human nature, the remembered martyrs showed an uncompromising position of absolute moral decisiveness. This absolute moral decisiveness later became dominant in the public narratives of a unified, heroic Donglin, while their intellectual disagreement was gradually forgotten. In the end, different moral-philosophical standpoints of Donglin members were deliberately “united” by a single radical political practice, namely martyrdom, and those who drifted away from the political agenda were gradually excluded or neglected in the remembrances of Donglin.
135. Ahmed El Shamsy, Harvard University

Were there Regional Schools of Law in Medina and Kufa?

Joseph Schacht defined the ancient schools of Islamic law as primarily regional in nature, their followers clustered in specific geographical locations. Recently, Wael Hallaq has disputed Schacht’s characterization, arguing that legal doctrines already in the second/eighth century were associated with particular jurists, not with localities, and that no regional schools of the kind that Schacht postulated ever existed.

I intend to show that the confusion regarding the reality or otherwise of regional schools originates in an inappropriate definition of “regional” school. A close study of two works, Ḥuṣayn ibn Ṭālib al-Madīna by al-Shaybānī (d. 189/804 or 805) and Ikhtilāf ʿAlī wa Ibn Masʿūd by al-Shāfīʿī (d. 204/820), reveals that regional schools did indeed exist, but that their character differed from the model developed by Schacht and dismissed by Hallaq.

Al-Shaybānī’s Ḥuṣayn and al-Shāfīʿī’s Ikhtilāf are written with the same purpose in mind: to challenge the claims of the Medinan (al-Shaybānī) and Kufan (al-Shāfīʿī) schools to represent direct continuations of prominent regional traditions. What both works seek to prove is that these traditions are neither homogeneous nor historically immutable. The very existence of the refutations, however, demonstrates that there were schools that explicitly styled themselves as regional, and that drew their legitimacy from this claim. We cannot thus simply reject the concept of the regional school as fiction and move on. Rather, we must inquire why groups of scholars would brand their teaching as being particular to a specific region, and what this tells us about the nature of Islamic legal scholarship in this early period.

136. David Vishanoff, University of Oklahoma

The Muṭāzila of Baghdād and the Eastern Zāhiriyya: A Scripturalist Alternative to al-Shāfīʿī’s Vision of Islamic Law

Most Sunni legal theory pursues al-Shāfīʿī’s project of establishing a correlation between law and revelation. This paper reconstructs the history of an alternative program usually identified with the Zāhiriyya: law should be grounded in revelation, but it should be reinvented from scratch by applying revelation directly to each new legal problem, without extending revelation’s reach through analogical reasoning, and without exploiting its ambiguity to justify existing laws. This alternative was formulated in Baghdād by a network of literalist, scripturalist, rationalist Muṭāzila. al-Nazzām (d. 221/836), for example, finding no consistent moral logic behind God’s commands, argued that if law was to be considered revealed at all, one would have to be content with following the Qurʾān to the letter, without any attempt to reinterpret it or apply it to problems it did not explicitly address. Others developed this idea into a constructive legal project, arguing that any rational being can apply scripture directly and without uncertainty to particular legal cases. Jaʿfar ibn Mubashshir (d. 234/848) took the important step of broadening his scripturalism to include some Prophetic traditions. The main tenets of his legal theory were then replicated, without their rationalist underpinnings, by Dāʿud al-Zāhiri (d. 270/884), and
later elaborated into a philosophically sophisticated hermeneutic by Dāʾūd’s followers Niftawayh (d. 323/935) and Ibn Dāʾūd (d. 297/910). This scripturalist challenge to existing legal systems proved unsustainable, however, and subsequent generations of Zāhiriyya, finding themselves increasingly marginalized, unsuccessfully sought to mitigate their unorthodoxy by letting analogical reasoning in through the back door. When Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) attempted a Zāhiri revival in Andalusia, he adopted many aspects of mainstream interpretive theory, and placed a new emphasis on traditions. This is why the Zāhiriyya have sometimes been associated with traditionists, rather than with their fellow scripturalists among the Murtazila of Baghdād.

137. Christopher Melchert, University of Oxford

Nasāʾī’s Travels

Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad ibn Shuʿayb al-Nasāʾī, Sunni traditionist, was born in the city of Nāṣ or Nisā in Western Khurasan in about 215/830–1. He began to collect hadith away from home in 235/849–50 and probably settled in Egypt around ten years later. Different early reports place his death in Palestine on 13 Ṣafar 303/28 August 915 and in Mecca in the month of Shaʿbān 303/February-March 916.

Nasāʾī’s most important works are *K. al-Sunan al-kubrā*, until recently thought lost, and *al-Mujtabā*, about half as long, both collections of hadith arranged by topic. *Al-Mujtabā*, not *al-Sunan*, has usually been identified as the fifth of the Six Books; however, some medieval scholars who treated the Six Books (e.g., Ibn Ḥasākir, al-Mizzī) worked from *al-Sunan*.

The differences between the two books, which apparently do not include the relative soundness of the hadith included, have been well surveyed by ʿUmar ʿImām Abū Bakr, *al-Imām al-Nasāʾī* (Riyadh, 1424/2003). I propose to establish more surely the shape and chronology of Nasāʾī’s travels in search of hadith by establishing a list of his immediate sources.

138. Sean Anthony, University of Chicago

The Domestic Origins of the Early Islamicate Prison

This paper examines the curious phenomenon of the usage of private homes as places of punitive confinement and the state conversion of formerly private homes into prisons in early Islamic period—here defined approximately as the period spanning from Muḥammad’s lifetime to the rise of the Sufyānids. Several instances of this phenomenon that occur in the early period are examined in order to tease out the implications they may hold for our understanding of the emergence of the early Islamic state and the transformation of the tribal structures of leadership effectuated by the social upheavals and innovations concomitant with the first waves of conquest. Finally, the paper concludes with a discussion of the origins of the most famous early Islamic prison, the Zubayrid Ārim prison in Mecca, as well as the factors that led to the eclipse of the domestic prison in ʿIrāq under the governors Ziyād b. Abīhī and his son ʿUbayd Allāh.
139. SANDRA TOENIES KEATING, Providence College

_Dwâwa_ and Conversion: The Polemical Context of Ahmad ibn Hanbal’s *Radd ‘alâ l-Zanâdiqa*

The *Radd ‘alâ l-Zanâdiqa wa-l-ˇGahmiya* by Ahmad ibn Hanbal is among the first formal refutations of ideas that later will be rejected by the rising school of orthodoxy within ‘Abbasid Islam. Although this text has been studied by modern scholars with a particular interest in Ibn Hanbal’s apparently anthropomorphic views, this is to reduce its significance within the polemical context of the early ‘Abbasid period. In particular, many of Ibn Hanbal’s arguments are especially relevant for Muslims engaged in spreading the teachings of Islam among Christians, as well as for those attracted by the insights offered by newly-translated texts of Hellenistic philosophy.

This paper will draw out some particular trajectories of Ibn Hanbal’s polemical approach, and identify their relationship with developments among his Christian contemporaries in order to offer a wider reading of the context in which the *Radd* appears.

140. MARK WAGNER, University of Southern Mississippi

“The Greatest Humiliation”: Legal Debates on the Collection of Excrement in Eighteenth-Century Yemen

In the early 1790s Muhammad ‘Ali al-Shawkânî (d. 1834), the chief qâdi of Yemen, began calling for the Jews of that country to be forced to collect human excrement and other unwholesome refuse. Several prominent Zaydi jurists argued against his proposal. Using the texts of these debates, I will detail Shawkânî’s arguments in favor of undertaking this dramatic change in the status quo of Muslim-Jewish relations in Yemen, as well as his opponents’ counterarguments. I will detail the social context of Shawkânî’s proposal, specifically, the actual process of collecting excrement as well as the tensions between Muslims and Jews in the urban setting of Šan‘ân. I will also address the ideological underpinnings of Shawkânî’s proposal, namely the scripturalist exegesis for which he became a hero to Salafis of various types. For his willingness to dispense with precedent Shawkânî has also been characterized by scholars Wael Hallaq and Ahmad Dallal as a forerunner of Islamic modernism. Shawkânî’s attempts to force the Jews of Yemen to collect excrement some of the pitfalls inherent in such a radical break with traditional norms. My interpretation of the debate over excrement collection follows closely Bernard Haykel’s assessment of Shawkânî’s significance in *Revival and Reform in Islam: The legacy of Muhammad al-Shawkani* (Cambridge 2003). Indeed, this paper is intended to serve as an introduction to a translated and annotated collection of the texts of the debate themselves, a project that Professor Haykel and I have undertaken jointly. I will conclude by explaining the impact of Shawkânî’s (ultimately successful) proposal to force the Jews of Yemen to collect excrement on the Jews themselves insofar as it created an endogamous caste of Jewish dung-collectors who were ostracized by other Yemeni Jews until the mid-twentieth century.
141. Jens Scheiner, Universität Hamburg

*Isnād-cum-matn*-Analysis and Historical Akhbār: The Case of the Conquest of Damascus

The conquest of Damascus is one of the main events of the early Islamic conquests in Syria. Although there are more than 600 traditions scattered throughout various parts of the Islamic literature, we barely know what really happened at its walls since almost all traditions contradict each other in several points. One of them is the question who conquered Damascus. Was it Khalid b. al-Walid or Abū Ubaydah or both of them? Another is the question if there was a peace treaty or if the city was conquered by force?

This presentation, that includes the results of my recently finished PhD, will try to answer some of these questions by applying the *isnād-cum-matn*-analysis to these 600 traditions. The *isnād-cum-matn*-analysis was developed and tested by scholars like Harald Motzki and Gregor Schoeler and focuses on the connection between the tradenten and the contents of traditions. This close connection allows researchers to group traditions into clusters and date them according to the death dates of the transmitters.

After having established and dated these clusters I have reconstructed the oldest layers of traditions referring to the conquest of Damascus.

By analyzing the motives of these oldest layers it will become clear how the earliest Muslim historians explained what happened at the walls of Damascus and which historiographical features were added to traditions in a secondary stage.

142. Steven Judd, Southern Connecticut State University

Ibn ʿAsākir’s Interpretation of The Fall of The Umayyads

Ibn ʿAsākir’s *Tārīkh madīnat dimashq* is the most important extant source for understanding the history of Islamic Syria. Unfortunately, the format of the work combined with Ibn ʿAsākir’s determination not to assert his own opinions openly makes it difficult to uncover what he thought about the events he chronicled in the thousands of biographies he included. This paper examines clues about Ibn ʿAsākir’s interpretation of the fall of the Umayyad dynasty, arguably the pivotal event in the history of Islamic Syria.

Lacunae in the text, particularly the absence of biographies of the caliphs Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik and Yazīd b. al-Walīd, make this task difficult. An analysis of his entries on al-Walid b. Yazīd and Marwān b. Muḥammad offers some evidence of Ibn ʿAsākir’s interpretation of the fall of the Umayyads, but hints of his views are either buried in the mass of material he included or implied by sometimes blatant omissions of well-known reports.

Additional evidence appears in his biographies of lesser players in the Umayyads’ demise. An examination of a number of these biographies reveals unique material, some of which appears without any source attribution whatsoever (a peculiar phenomenon in Ibn ʿAsākir’s work!). In at least one instance, Ibn ʿAsākir even resorted to first person narrative, which is even more unusual.
The choices he made in biographies of prominent late Umayyad figures, along with the often un-attributed accounts of lesser players offer a possible explanation for Ibn ‘Asakir’s understanding of the fall of the Umayyads and reveal his sometimes strained efforts to preserve the dignity of Damascus in the face of its dynasty’s collapse.

143. ROBERT HAUG, University of Michigan

Exporting Kharāj on the Eastern Frontier

Studies of the Eastern Dynasties of the 3rd–4th AH/9th–10th CE centuries (namely the Tahirids, Ṣaffārids, and Sāmānids) often note the lack of regular payment of taxes to the central ‘Abbāsid authorities in Baghdād as a sign of their independence from and independently minded approaches towards the caliphate. In this paper, contemporary geographic texts which describe the conditions of the eastern fringes of the ‘Abbāsid domains will be used to present an argument that broader notions about the meaning and intentions of kharāj (land tax) and its relationship to the maintenance of the jihād were present along the eastern frontier and that these notions may have complicated the matter of the return of kharāj monies to the caliphal authorities regardless of notions of independence.

144. ALI QUTBUDDIN, Institute of Ismaili Studies

Religious Diversity and the Mission: The Fatimid Outlook on the Universality of Religions

The Fatimid experience of statehood was an ideal stage on which their outlook on the universality of religions was played out. Their largely benevolent attitude to all religious communities living under their rule exemplified this openness of spirit and ideology. In this paper I attempt to examine the ideology of the Fatimids in this regard and compare that to the practice that they adopted in their administrative affairs of state. I also look at how the missionary activities of the Fatimids fitted into the religious tolerance practiced by them. Although previous studies have mentioned the religious tolerance of the Fatimids, none have, to my knowledge, compared that with the underlying Fatimid ideologies of the history of religions. This I do by looking at well-known Fatimid authors such as Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, al-Qāḍī al-Nurmān, al-Kirmānī, and al-Mu‘ayyad al-Shirāzī. I aim to demonstrate in this paper, that religious ideology was a strong force for good-practice in the Fatimid’s attitude to diverse religious communities, and was as operative as political considerations, if not more so, in its formulation and execution.

E. South and Southeast Asia IV: Linguistics and Literature. JAMES FITZGERALD, Brown University, Chair (1:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) Renaissance Ballroom C

• Linguistics, Lexicography, and Grammars

145. STEPHANIE JAMISON, University of California, Los Angeles

Does Sūre Duhitār Have a Brother?

The famous phrase Sūre Duhitār ‘daughter of the Sun’ in Rig Veda I.34.5 has long been identified as showing the sandhi product -e from final -as before a following dental, rather than the more normal -o. This -e outcome is not found elsewhere
in Sanskrit in external sandhi, but in internal sandhi it is represented in several high-profile lexical items, such as the imperative to \( \sqrt{as} \) ‘to be’: \( \text{edhi} \) \(<\ast \text{az-dhi}\)\); the weak perfect to \( \sqrt{sad} \) ‘sit’: \( \text{sedur} \) \(<\ast \text{sa-zd-ur}\)\); and the famous noun \( \text{medh} \) ‘wisdom’ \(<\ast \text{mnz-dh}\)\; cf Avestan \( \text{mazd} \). Moreover, Eastern dialects of Middle Indo-Aryan, starting with the \( \text{A\text{š}okan inscriptions, regularly show} \ -e \) in external sandhi, where Western dialects have \(-o\), both deriving from underlying \(-as\).

This paper will present another potential case of \(-e\) as an external sandhi product in the Rig Veda, in a disguised formula in a passage that has elicited more than its share of absurd or tortuous interpretations. Assuming the change \(*-as > -e / \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_Dental\) there not only adds another instance of this rule to the dossier, but also simplifies the interpretation of the passage in which it occurs.

146. PETER M. SCHARF, Brown University

Levels in Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī

In 1969 Kiparsky and Staal proposed that Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī contained a four-level hierarchy of rules. While modifying the interrelation of the levels, Kiparsky (2002) still maintains the four-level hierarchy. R. Rocher (1964: 51) and Cardona (1976: 215–224) argued against such a hierarchy, the former maintaining that Pāṇini operated just with a two-level hierarchy of meaning and speech. Cardona was willing to accept the propriety of speaking of one intermediate level on the grounds that the assignment of kāraka terms involved both semantic and cooccurrence conditions. The present paper clarifies the issue, argues that the assignment of abstract l-affixes to the same level as kāraka classification by Kiparsky is problematic, that most rules considered to be purely phonetic (sandhi rules) in fact include morphological conditions (for which the author is indebted to personal communication by George Cardona) and concludes that although there are intermediate stages in derivation, Pāṇini considers there to be just two levels. The semantic and syntactic levels are properly coalesced in a syntactico-semantic level and the abstract morphological and the morphophonemic level are properly coalesced in a single morphophonemic level.

147. HANS HENRICH HOCK, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Kintarhi—‘what then’ or ‘but’?

The Sanskrit expression kintarhi, common in Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya, is open to two different interpretations, either in its literal sense (‘what then?’) or grammaticalized (‘but’, compare kintu). The latter interpretation is found in standard dictionaries, such as Böhtlingk-Roth and Apte, and is reflected in the fact that many editions do not insert a danḍa after kintarhi.

I argue that the literal interpretation is more appropriate.

First, kintarhi is in many passages used in parallel with expressions such as kastarhi, kena tarhi, kva tarhi, for which only a literal reading is possible. True, all of these expressions have an adversative force, but in the case of kastarhi etc. this is only incidental. Second, unlike kintu, kintarhi does not enter into a quasi-paradigm of grammaticalized forms of the type kintu: kiṃca: kiṃ vā, or api tu: api ca: api vā, and not kintu: kas tu: kena tu ... Rather, the relevant paradigm is kintarhi: kastarhi etc. Put differently, while kintu etc. have become isolated from the interrogative paradigm, kintarhi has not. Third, the frequency of kintarhi compared to the
forms such as kastarhi can be accounted for by observing that kim is the unmarked form in the paradigm, usable not only in constituent questions, but also in “content questions” (comparable to relative yad in reference to “Satzinhalte”). Finally, a literal interpretation of kintarhi places it firmly within the style of argumentation in the Mahābhāṣya, where questions are a favorite rhetorical device.

Coming to a better understanding of this case, where we have a broader range of evidence, will (I hope) help in attempts to explain structures such as Aśokan kinti, for which we lack clear antecedents or parallels.

148. PERIANNAN CHANDRASEKARAN, Norcross, Georgia

Kōti: a Crore or a Score? Reconstruction and Etymology of Dravidian Numerals

The issues in Dravidian numerals are two fold: reconstructing to ProtoDravidian and etymology. On the reconstruction side while some numerals have been reconstructed with little problem others such as the ones for ‘one’, ‘three’, ‘nine’ and ‘ten’ present serious difficulties. This is due to the peculiar situation of some numeral stems sharing the same initial syllable but differing in subsequent ones. Such a variation is seen within a single language as well across different languages. This has resulted in some scholars proposing a single root for the given numeral with others proposing different roots. But with some numerals such as for “three”, attempts (Krishnamurti 2003) using a single root (PDr. *muH-) have encountered serious difficulties in reconstruction and have had to rely on introduction of the hypothetical laryngeal phoneme H in the protoform.

Current etymology of Dravidian numerals though reasonable in some cases is overall uncertain. Also some etymologies have been used to arrive at far reaching conclusions such as an original octogenal counting system. Blazek (2004) provides an excellent survey of the results from various scholars including recent ones by Starostin; he also attempts some extra-Dravidian genetic and substratum etymologies.

My contribution in this paper is two fold: treating the deceptively similar stems as from different roots (but having survived due to attraction of initial syllables) and finding a uniform operating principle for the Dravidian numerals. A major source of the reconstruction problems is the lack of a systematic etymological principle for numerals. I present compelling evidence from Dravidian and areally related etymons that helps us understand such a semantic development of Dravidian numerals from more elementary ideas. Fractional numerals and zero also will be considered.

149. ANDREW GLASS, University of Washington

Going Live with a Dead Language: Dictionary Making in the 21st Century

The digital and internet revolutions have radically altered the way dictionaries are made and used. Classic dictionaries in every field are being converted to digital forms, while new dictionaries are being created in electronic form, many of which will never appear in print format.

The Gāndhārī Dictionary Project of the University of Washington is harnessing the advantages of this new in order (speed, accuracy, automation, negation of distance) to radically reduce the drudgery and delays involved in lexicography, and is thus freeing the scholars involved to concentrate on their real work. Since the dictionary is being compiled online, anyone interested in Gāndhārī is able to use this resource as it
This presentation will explain the methodology behind this dictionary project, as it proceeds from corpus to text to lemma—combining the best of new technology without sacrificing traditional standards of scholarship.

150. RAMASWAMY CHANDRASEKHAR, Brown University

Early Kannada and Telugu Grammar Texts in Sanskrit

The traditional grammars of the modern Indian languages are based on Pāṇinian grammar framework. In the context of recent attempts to apply Pāṇinian grammar framework to Indian languages (also English) in Natural Language Processing applications such as Anusaraka by IIIT Hyderabad, it will be advantageous to examine the early grammars of Kannada and Telugu written in Paninian framework.

Kannada and Telugu are Dravidian languages spoken in the states of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh in Southern India. They are highly influenced by Sanskrit in terms of vocabulary, grammar and literary styles. They both are rich morphologically and are agglutinative in nature. This talk will explore the tradition of Kannada and Telugu grammars whose first grammars were written in Sanskrit in Pāṇinian framework in sutra style. It will compare Kannātakabhasābhūṣaṇa and Śabdāmanḍapārpaṇa, the Kannāḍa grammatical treatises and Telugu grammatical treatises by Namayya, Ātharvaṇa and Ahobala with Pāṇini’s Āśādhyāyī. It will examine the techniques used by these Kannāḍa and Telugu grammarians to fit the Pāṇinian structure to these languages.

• Literature in Translation

151. DEVEN M. PATEL, University of Pennsylvania

Source, Exegesis, and Translation: Sanskrit Commentary and Telugu Transcreation of Naisadhīya 19.60

In the early centuries of the second millennium, a remarkable conversation began in South Asia between the emerging textuality of regional languages and the established literary sources of classical Sanskrit. At least in part, the rich academic discourse that accompanied the Sanskrit sources had an important function in mediating this dialogue. The literary culture built around the seminal twelfth century Sanskrit court epic Naisadhīyacarita of poet-philosopher Śrīharsa presents a fecund site for exploring the nexus between the Sanskrit kāvya tradition, the exegetical practices of the early to midsecond millennium, and the growing practices of regional-language translation of classical Sanskrit sources. This paper proposes to discuss the convergence of these phenomena in the form of a discussion of verse 19.60 from the famous Naisadhīya. This verse—occurring in the context of bards awakening King Nala by describing the dawn—playfully embeds a grammatical reference from Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya in the form of a conversation at dawn between a crow and a cuckoo. The exegesis of Sanskrit commentators Nārāyaṇa and Cāṇḍuṇḍaṇī unpacks the reference and embellishes the avian interaction to paint a charming picture. I submit that it was this commentarial flourish that provides the source material for the “transcreation” of this verse in Telugu poet (and Naisadhīya commentator) Śrīnātha’s fifteenth century Śrīgāra-Naisadham, a unique translation/adaptation of Śrīharsa’s Naisadhīyacarita. Taken together, these materials offer an especially revealing example of the process by which the creative text, the commentary, and the adaptation of commentary into creative text operates in South Asian contexts.
In the late sixteenth century C.E., the Mughal Emperor Akbar patronized the translation of a series of literary texts from Sanskrit into Persian. Scholars have long been aware of these translations, but few have seriously examined the translated texts or theorized on the meaning of this literary project. This paper will frame and address the following questions: What was involved in the Mughal process of translating Sanskrit texts? What did it mean for these Sanskrit works to be brought into the Indo-Persian literary sphere? Why did the Mughal court undertake such an extensive translation project? In light of these questions, the paper will focus on three texts translated under Akbar: *Mahaâbhârata*, *Pañcatantra*, and *Nal va Daman*. The Mughals translated these texts in the sense of both linguistic and cultural appropriation. They placed the texts in particular Persianate contexts through carefully chosen styles of writing and vocabulary registers. Moreover, the Mughals incorporated the new Persian texts into wider cultural contexts by framing the texts with prefaces, illustrations, and so forth. Through these processes, the Mughals transformed the meanings of Sanskrit stories, ideas, and nuances, which allowed the texts to be intelligible and in some cases highly influential in Indo-Persian culture. From the processes of appropriation and reception we can begin to reconstruct the complex theoretical frameworks that operated behind Akbar’s translation project. Previous scholars have been misguided in suggesting a single motive to which we may subordinate these literary events, often political aspirations. In contrast, a close look at these translations suggests that a variety of frameworks operated simultaneously within Akbar’s translation project. This broader perspective affords a fuller understanding of these translations as aesthetic events and cultural-political forces in the Mughal Empire.

**Indo-Islamic Literary and Intellectual History**

My paper will explore Ishrâqi, or Illuminationist, trends in the religious thought of the Naqshbandî theologian and metaphysician of Delhi, Khwâja Mir Dard (1720–1785). According to Seyyed Hossein Nasr, the spread of Muslim philosophy in India was inextricably tied to, if not identical with, the Persian Ishrâqi school founded by Shihâb al-Dîn Suhrawardî (d. 1191). The influence of the school in India first manifested during the few centuries that followed the death of Suhrawardî and reached its zenith during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (d. 1605). Additionally, the works of Mullâ Šâdra (d. 1640), of the Ishrâqi-based school of Iṣfahān, began to impact Indian scholars almost immediately after his death, especially in Avadh. In his work on Suhrawardî, Mehdi Amin Razavi hints at the influence of Ishrâqi ideas on “such grand [Suﬁ] masters as Shâh Waliyyullâh and Shaykh Aḥmad Sirhindî and their mystical schools,” but adds that the idea requires further exploration. Despite our knowledge of these links, then, much work remains to be done to determine the content and lines of Ishrâqi influence in India. My paper adds to our knowledge of this intellectual trend by tracing these influences in the thought of a representative of the Naqshbandî Mujaddidi lineage of Aḥmad Sirhindî (d. 1624). Dard was a poet.
and theologian based in the Mujaddidî tradition, as well as a religious revivalist and author of Persian prose works on the main intellectual debates of his day. I will demonstrate some Ishrâqi influences on Dard’s epistemology and ontology as well as his use of Ishrâqi philosophical terminology in his magnum opus, ‘Ilm al-Kitâb. In this way, I shed light on intellectual links between Ishrâqi thought and one of the most influential Sufi lineages in India.

154. SherAli Tareen, Duke University

The Rose and the Rock Revisited: Sufism, Reform, and Heterologies in the Intellectual History of the Deoband Madrasa

How do we account for the tensions between the rose and the rock, or the mystical and the rational self in the intellectual history of South Asian Islam? In this paper, I approach this question by examining the life and thought of a major Sufi figure in 19th century India, Hajji Imdadullah Mahajir Makki (1814–1899). More specifically, I consider his ideas on the permissibility of the Muslim ritual of Mawlid, or the celebration of the Prophet’s birthday in an attempt to identify ways in which he deals with the inherent tensions between a mystical and legal epistemology.

Born in 1814, Hajji Imdadullah is best known as the foremost inspiration for the establishment of the reformist Deoband Madrasa in the North Indian town of Deoband in 1867. Hajji Imdadullah often found himself in the midst of heated debates on questions of ritual and popular practice in Islam since his circle of close disciples included both reform minded ʿulama such as Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (the founder of Deoband) and other more mystically inclined individuals such as the Chishti Sufis or the members of the Bareli school of thought.

One of the most explosive of such debates revolved around the celebration of the Prophet’s birthday/the Mawlid. Towards the end of his career, Hajji Imdadullah drafted an essay in Urdu entitled “Faisala-e Haft Masala” (A Resolution to the Seven Controversies) in which he tried to establish some kind of compromise on this issue. My paper is based on a reading of this text. By examining Hajji Imdadullah’s hermeneutics of reconciliation, I conclude that Hajji Imdadullah’s discourse is a clear case of a heterology, at once embodying rational and mystical logos in a mutually intelligible fashion. Further, I locate Imdadullah’s discourse as part of a larger trend in the intellectual history of the Deoband Madrasa whereby the adoption of heterologies not only allowed the early ʿulama of Deoband to successfully wrestle with the inherent epistemological tensions between mysticism and the rational-self, but it also allowed them to think through the idea of ‘religious reform’ in a highly elastic and multivalent fashion.

The two central issues examined in this paper are as follows:

1) The problematic of translation in the articulation of mystical discourse when mediated through a distinctly legally oriented (Shari‘ah based) vocabulary.

2) The status of the Prophet and the mobilization of the Prophetic spirit in both intra-Muslim contestation over matters of doctrinal significance and ritual practices, and in attempts to reconcile these differences such as that of Hajji Imdadullah.
A. Ancient Near East VIII: Law and Society. Eva von Dassow, University of Minnesota, Chair (9:00 a.m.–11:00 a.m.) Renaissance Ballroom A/B

155. Laura Culbertson, University of Michigan

Changes in Disputing and Litigation Procedures under the Reigns of the Ur III Kings

Recently, some studies of Ur III legal texts have noted provincial and regional variations in certain aspects of Ur III legal texts, including, for example, differences in the types of officiators and witnesses who were present at settlements and trials. Taking such conclusions into account, this paper aims to investigate the possibility of diachronic changes not only in the types of persons who were involved in “adjudication,” but also of changes in the very procedures that were used to close cases. Central to this investigation are the milestones in the evidentiary or negotiation procedure, for example oath-taking and its precise use and context. It will be suggested that there are a number of detectable changes in litigation procedure and methods for dispute resolution during the second half of the Ur III state, possibly corresponding with regnal turnover.

156. Andrea Seri, Harvard University

Management of Prisoners of War at Uruk during the Reign of Rim-Anum

This paper deals with the management of prisoners of war at Uruk during the reign of Rim-Anum (ca. 1734–1732 BC). Although well documented, this topic has previously received little or no attention. My analysis is based on a corpus of approximately 250 cuneiform tablets originating from the bit asirī, the house of prisoners of war in the city of Uruk. This compact archive covers a period of around eighteen months. During this time men of Uruk, led by their newly appointed ruler Rim-Anum, sought to become independent from the Babylonian dominion of king Samsu-iluna and to incorporate new territories in the realm of Uruk. These struggles for independence and expansion yielded a considerable number of prisoners of war who were dutifully recorded by scribes of the bit asirī.

The study of those records allows me to trace the characteristics of the captive population of Uruk, such as sex, age group and family ties, geographic provenance, means by which prisoners were obtained, as well as their professions and social status. This archive casts light on the circulation of people within the environs of Uruk but it also provides information about more distant territories as for instance Eshnunna and Elam. Once in Uruk, prisoners of war experienced a change of their status and became slaves. The state could keep certain slaves, grant a few others to temples and deities, and assign the rest to state affiliates or private persons. What is more important, I show that at some point slaves assigned to individuals temporarily reverted to the bit asirī as labor force. This suggests the most efficient management of personnel. By assigning slaves to individuals the state seems to have maximized the use of food rations. Yet the state could benefit from the work of these prisoners as part-time laborers.
157. **Annunziata Rositani, Università della Calabria, Italy**

Old Babylonian Harvesters Loan Contracts from Tell ed-Dăr

This paper provides a preliminary study on nearly 80 unpublished harvesters loan contracts kept at the British Museum of London, coming from Tell ed-Dăr, which mostly date back from the kingdoms of Ammi-ditana and Ammi-šaduqa. Through a comparative analysis of both published and unpublished harvesters loan contracts a specific study of each text’s typological elements is carried out. Particular attention is paid to the quantities of barley or silver registered as allocations in our contracts and to the Personal Names featuring as creditors, beneficiaries and witnesses.

This contribution relies on Prof. M. Stol’s and Prof. D. Charpin’s valuable work which I have taken as my starting point.

The analysis of all the possible hypotheses on the beneficiaries’ duties allows us to infer that these texts have the formal aspect of a loan contract, of an *obligatio* whose subject is a *facere*. It seems that the beneficiaries had the only duty of finding the harvesters and bringing them on the fields at the harvest time. They are very similar to the “labor contractors” known by Larsa texts. It is possible to reconstruct a hierarchic organization very similar to that operating at Larsa: the *issákku*, as share-coppers with the responsibility on many fields, probably of the Šamaš Temple; the creditors of our contracts, maybe with the duty of managing the agricultural works in some fields (=undertakers) and, at last, the beneficiaries of our texts as “labor contractors”. The allocations of our texts could be considered as wages for the beneficiaries instead of borrowings for the harvesting, and the verb *illak(ū)* could be translate with “will go” instead of “will perform the services” with the harvesters.

158. **Jeremiah Peterson, University of Pennsylvania**

Personal Name Lists at Old Babylonian Nippur: An Overview

It has long been recognized that lists of personal names were used in the scribal curriculum at Old Babylonian Nippur, ever since Edward Chiera’s detailed publication of the pre-war exemplars of these texts in volume 11 of the *Publications of the Babylonian Section*. However, the content and sequence of these lists is in need of further qualification. In the course of my work with lexical fragments in the Babylonian Section in Philadelphia, I have established the existence of nine reasonably well-attested separate personal name lists, as well as several other, rarer lists. I will discuss the individual contents of these lists, the level at which they were encountered in the scribal curriculum, and the possible role(s) that they played in the curriculum.

159. **Maynard P. Maidman, York University**

Municipal Governance and Malfeasance in Middle Assyria: The Case of Mayor Kušši-harpe Revisited

Ever since texts pertaining to the legal problems of Nuzi’s Mayor Kušši-harpe were published in 1936, the notoriety of this ancient figure has attracted popular notice, ranging from the *Smith Alumnæ Quarterly* to the *National Geographic* to, most recently, the *New York Times*. Yet, relatively little scholarly attention has been devoted to the episodes of this case. At this moment, twenty-four texts, almost twice the original number published, may be identified as belonging to this dossier. This
rich sub-corpus, an outstanding source for micro-historical analysis, deserves detailed reconsideration.

Although Kušši-harpe stands accused with a colorful array of charges, and though particular moments in the record of his tribulations may echo in one’s mind (“I did not have sex with her”), these trial records also document a more significant, if less lurid, aspect of urban life in the Late Bronze age. The accusations of official misconduct leveled at the mayor and at his administrative cohorts reveal, by negative example, aspects of municipal bureaucracy and administrative responsibility in the governance of a trans-Tigridian town on the eve of the Middle-Assyrian political resurgence.

This paper describes some of these features and reflects on a conundrum raised by the existence of these records.

160. SHALOM E. HOLTZ, Yeshiva University

A Neo-Babylonian Royal Judge and the Career of His Court Scribe

Numerous Neo-Babylonian archival documents illustrate the activities of the royal judges of Neriglissar and Nabonidus in Babylon. C. Wunsch has devoted several studies to these judges and has reached important conclusions about their organization. Royal judges of Nabonidus from outside Babylon did exist, but are not as amply attested. For this reason, the texts that attest to the activities of the royal judge named Šuma-ukīn are especially important, as they shed light on the administration of justice outside of Babylon proper. These texts are also significant because they mark the beginning of the career of Ileši-Marduk descendant of Eppes-ili, the scribe who composed them. Later documents show that a scribe of the same name was active in the Eanna, where he survived the transition from Neo-Babylonian to Persian rule and eventually rose in the ranks to an administrative position beyond the writing of legal documents. Thus, the career of Ileši-Marduk is similar to that of Nabû-ahhê-iddîn. As G. van Driel has shown, this well-known scion of the Egibi family began his activity as a scribe in the courts of the royal judges of Nebuchadnezzar and eventually became a royal judge himself during the reign of Nabonidus. Tracing these two men’s parallel paths opens important windows into the elite circle of the royal judges and the lives of their court scribes.

B. East Asia VI: Fashioning Images and Deploying Descriptions. WANG PING, Princeton University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–11:45 a.m.) Bridgeport Room

161. MARK PITNER, University of Washington

Disability in Early China

Disability, irregularity, deformity compose a regular counter mode to the deceptive ubiquity of ability, regularity and form, creating a productive regular alternative narrative within the discourse of early China. This mode has a broad range of articulations from the deformity of Dismembered Shu (Zhili Shu) where his physicality made him available to social and philosophical discourse, to the irregularity of Yang Xiong’s (53 BCE–18 CE) stuttering (kouji) which is an important fact that was used to define him, to the disabled body of Sima Qian (145–ca. 86 BCE) which was actively incapacitated in the tragic confluence of volition and compulsion. The language and imagery of physiological difference informs a broad array of spaces in early China from the human body to the so called heterodox or “carbuncular” texts. This mode
of body coding, biography, provides a unique and often overlooked set of information and will be the subject of this paper.

162. XURONG KONG, Kean University

Which Is a Yongwu fu, Cao Pi’s (187–226 or Fu Xuan’s (217–278) “Fu on the Willow”?

Despite sharing similar rhyme schemes and imagery, these two pieces of fu have distinct structure, purpose and style. Cao Pi used six-words per line for the whole piece, while Fu Xuan mingled four- and six-word lines throughout. Cao Pi lamented the deaths of his friends over one specific willow that he planted fifteen years previously, but Fu Xuan rhapsodized willows in general. In effect, Cao Pi’s work seems lyrical and more emotional, while Fu Xuan’s appears to be descriptive and more objective.

They lived only half century apart, but their respective “Fu on Willow” are quite different. Did this sub-genre always have two styles? If so, could we find some pieces similar to Fu Xuan’s work? If not, then how could we interpret the new features in Fu Xuan’s work? Did they originate from his own understandings of this sub-genre? If so, is it possible to claim that he attempted to refine this sub-genre?

In order to draw a clear picture of the development of this sub-genre, it is crucial to start with a preliminary work, such as this paper, which demonstrates and analyzes the differences and similarities between two representative fu pieces on the same subject, willows.

163. YUE HONG, Harvard University

The Romantic Lover: A New Mode of Literati Self-Fashioning in Ninth Century China

This paper will discuss how the image of the “romantic lover” emerged to become a popular mode upon which ninth-century literati fashioned themselves. After Ouyang Zhan died in 800, two contemporary accounts of his life were written—one by Han Yu and another by Meng Jian. Discrepancies between the two accounts are striking. While Han Yu depicts Zhan as a moral exemplar, filial son, kind husband, and sincere friend, Meng Jian’s focuses on Zhan’s romantic encounter with a courtesan. What accounts for this difference? Why does Meng Jian choose to write about one of Zhan’s love affairs, a topic seldom found in biographical accounts of literati prior to the ninth century?

Previous scholarship argues that Han Yu’s emphasis on Zhan’s moral excellence conforms closely to well-established patterns of contemporary biographical writing while Meng Jian’s modest description of Zhan’s romantic affair does not. It suggests that Meng Jian’s romantic account more closely adheres to the truth. I argue, however, that Meng Jian’s romantic lover is as idealized and generic as Han Yu’s moral exemplar. By placing Meng Jian’s account of Zhan’s romance in context, alongside other ninth century love stories, I will show that they share many structural, thematic, and rhetorical elements in common. In doing so, I hope to demonstrate how the image of the romantic lover, like that of the moral exemplar, was constructed.
Y. Edmund Lien, University of Washington

Dunhuang Gazetteers of the Tang Dynasty

Between the Dunhuang collections housed in the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale de France, there are a dozen manuscripts that are either Dunhuang gazetteers or works about Dunhuang containing information suitable for a gazetteer. They record regional information in the Tang and hence offer a unique opportunity for scholars to understand historical facts and local customs of this western frontier of China during the seventh to tenth century.

All of these gazetteers of Shazhou (ancient name of the region that included Dunhuang County and Shouchang County) are fragmentary and they are roughly divided between descriptions of the two counties. S. 788 is particularly interesting because it has the end of the former and the beginning of the latter in equal proportion, thus revealing an overall structure of the gazetteer. Moreover, S. 788 can be seen as a working document prepared by the gazetteer compiler showing his plan and traces of his editing. While all remaining Dunhuang gazetteers are copies of finished works, S. 788 is the original of a unique draft left behind by its author.

In this paper, we focus on S. 788 and compare it with other Dunhuang gazetteers, such as S. 2593, P. 2005, P. 2691, P. 2695, P. 5034, and S. 367. From them, we piece together a social, geographical, religious, economic, and even political profile of Dunhuang that was deeply rooted in its waters, both as a resource and as a threat. The legend of an officer from the Tang court who came to slaughter a menacing dragon, the practice of casting gold and silver figurines into a local fountain as sacrificial offerings, oases that supported the trade routes with the Tartars, numerous channels and ditches used in irrigation, and even booming sand dunes in the region all point to the inhabitants love-hate relationship with water.

Jeongsoo Shin, University of Washington

"Admonition for the King of Flowers": Making of King Peony in Korean Literature

Sŏlch’’ong was born in 655, the son of Wonhyo (617–686), the foremost monk in the Silla Dynasty (94 BCE–935 CE), but he had expertised in Confucian classics and literature. His prominent scholarship appealed to the King Simmun (reg. 681–692) who wished to establish Confucian authority in opposition to Buddhism-oriented aristocrats. His close relationship with the king would motivate him to write “Admonition for the king of flowers” (Hwawanggae). It is structured as a tale within a tale. The King Simmun, tired of feasts and music and desiring some intellectual stimulation, summons his vassal Sŏlch’’ong, who relates the fable of the King Peony of Flowers choosing Hoary Head (windflower) over alluring laday Rose in a dilemma situation.

This piece has been conventionally discussed as the first Korean short story in classical literary Chinese, but few have paid attention to the literary influence of fu. The prodigal king’s conversion to an upright ruler by his consultant vassal is a recurrent theme of the Former Han fu (206 BCE–24 CE). Prosopopoeia of flowers may originate from the Six Dynasties (220–589 CE) fu on personified objects. Chinese backdrop, nevertheless, is considered Sŏlch’’ong’s deliberate attempt to avoid conflict from aristocrats.
More important is Sŏlch’ong’s novel creation of a triangle relationship among three personified flowers. If the Peony King and Rose are metaphor for the King Sinmun and an aristocrat, respectively, withered Windflower may represent Sŏlch’ong himself, whose Sixth Grade status handicapped his court life, despite his remarkable scholarship. Such a competition of a group of flowers in a fictional kingdom is not found in the Chinese literary tradition; flowers were ordinarily likened to court ladies or sometimes a man of dignity in the case of the lotus. Therefore, the political allegory of a flower garden is the author’s unique accomplishment through reinventing a Chinese troupe.

C. Islamic Near East VII: Early and Later Sufism. Papers dedicated to Gerhard Bowering from his Students, organized by Bilal Orfali. Paul Walker, University of Chicago, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m.) Renaissance Ballroom D

166. Samual Noble, Yale University

Tears in Early Sufism

Weeping and tears, as an important part of human emotional experience, are also frequently an important part of religious experience. Islam is no exception to this. Scholarship of the 19th and early 20th centuries generally assumed that there existed in early Islam a distinct movement of ascetics called bakkâ-un, or ‘weepers.’ Dozy, for example, defines ‘bakkâ’ as ‘les pleureurs, classe d’hommes pieux qui plorait leurs péchés aprè avoir lu le Coran’ (Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes. Beirut 1991, 107). Massignon lists them as a distinct group among the ascetics of Basra (Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulmane, Paris 1954, 166–9). Meier however, convincingly rejects this understanding, and instead sees it as a generic term for ascetics given to copious weeping (EI2, q.v. Bakkâ’).

This paper will examine accounts of early Sufis collected in the Hilyat al-Awliyā of Abū Nu’aym al-Isbahānī (d. 429/1038) and the Shifat al-Safwa of Abū al-Faraj Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) in order to understand how the act of weeping was understood in its social context. The paper identifies distinct but interrelated patterns in the practice of weeping among early Muslim ascetics. Qur’ānically-oriented understandings of the practice of weeping were centered on the weeping of those condemned to hell and the weeping of those who hear the Qur’an’s message and believe in it. This is manifested in the practice of the qass and wāqiz: they out of their fear of judgment and hell while also causing their audience to weep as they realize and accept the truth. However, not all Sufi weeping was a spontaneous emotional reaction. In many cases, it seems that weeping came to be seen as something spiritually beneficial and thus came to be seen as being worthy of pursuit in itself.

167. Yasir Kazi, Yale University

Contextualizing al-Muhāsibī’s (d. 243/857) View of ‘Aql

Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Hārith b. Asad (165–243 A.H./781–857 C.E.), more commonly known as al-Muhāsibī, was born in Başra, and lived most of his life in Baghdād. Al-Muhāsibī had been preceded in Başra by famous ascetics, mutakallīmān and scholars of the Ahl al-Hadīth. It was this combination of environment and training that was to shape the theology and tendencies of al-Muhāsibī himself. After undergoing a spiritual
crises, the path that he eventually chose for himself was that of the ascetic Şûfîs, and it is this field in which he was to achieve his primary claim to fame. However, along with his Şûfic tendencies, there was clearly a strong influence of kalâm on him as well, thus making him perhaps the first major precursor to later Sunnite ‘Ghazâlî-an’ orthodoxy.

This paper seeks to take a closer look at one of al-Muḥāsibî’s lesser known works, the Kitâb mawâqiyyat al-aql wa ikhtilāf al-nâs fîhî (‘The Quintessence of the Intellect and the Difference of People Regarding It’). This work is unique in that it represents the first attempt of its kind in early Sunnî theology to understand the role, essence and function of the human intellect. Al-Muḥāsibî’s thesis is that true intellect leads one to be a better servant of God, and guides one to piety. My paper will, firstly, given an overview of al-Muḥāsibî’s primary arguments; secondly, attempt to contextualize them with respect to al-Muḥāsibî’s Zeitgeist; and, lastly, show the effects of his theses on later theologians.

Although some general studies have been written about al-Muḥāsibî, in particular, Margaret Smith’s Muḥāsibî: An Early Mystic of Baghdad (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1974), and Joseph van Ess’s Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥârîth al-Muḥāsibî (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn, 1961), this precise tract has not—to the best of my knowledge—been studied separately.

168. Matthew T. Warren, Yale University

Don’t a Poet Know It: Jâmi’s (d. 898/1492) Verse Translations of Ibn al-Fârîd’s (d. 632/1235) Tâvîyyah al-Kubrâ and the Consolidation of a Commentary Tradition

The high tradition of Persian and Arabic Sufi commentary literature presses the dual issue of translation as interpretation and, more, of interpretation as creative composition in its own right. The Ibn al-ʿArabî school’s commentary tradition on Ibn al-Fârîd’s (d. 632/1235) famed Tâvîyyah al-Kubrâ, initiated by Ṣâʿîd al-Dîn Farghânî’s (d. 699/1300) influential yet little studied Persian and Arabic commentaries on the poem, was particularly vigorous; Farghânî’s rigor and thoroughness did much to make the Tâvîyyah a favorite of the school for half a millennium. Some two hundred years into this commentary tradition, the preeminent poet and Naqshbandî shaykh ‘Abd al-Râhîm Jâmi (d. 898/1492) translated the poem into Persian in both rubâ‘î and qasîdah forms. As he explicitly states in an introduction, Jâmi’s partial translation of the Tâvîyyah into successive rubâ‘îs represents a consolidation of the interpretations of Farghânî and other intervening commentators; the rubâ‘î form, he asserts, is the one most suited to such an undertaking. The purpose of his emulative qasîdah translation, however, is less clear. While not unknown, and certainly encouraged by the contemporary value placed on emulative poetry (istiqbâl), there are few extant precedents for this type of metrical translation. The reason for this paucity of known examples—and further, for the unique nature of the manuscript in which Jâmi’s translation is preserved—may lie in the very pervasiveness of istiqbâl in poetic practice during this period, which, relatively speaking, made the technical achievement represented by this form unremarkable.

This paper is the first to examine these two translations and the relationship between them, and asks whether Jâmi intended his qasîdah translation of Ibn al-Fârîd’s Tâvîyyah as a consolidation of the Ibn al-ʿArabî school’s commentary tradition on
the poem, as with his partial rubá’í translation, or simply as a technical exercise. Those interpretive dependencies that are identified in the course of this inquiry in turn locate Jámí more specifically within this sustained and influential commentary tradition, while casting light on the importance of evocative poetry to Sufi commentary literature in fifteenth-century Iran.

169. KAZUYO MURATA, Yale University

Love and Beauty in Rúzbihán Baqlí (d. 1209)

Love and beauty are perennial themes in Sufism. It is a common practice for Sufis to love God whom they see as beautiful. Yet, extensive research on the Sufi understanding of beauty is yet to be undertaken. The present contribution forms the initial part of a larger project investigating the concept of beauty in medieval Sufism, and it focuses on a single author, Rúzbihán Baqlí Shírází (d. 606/1209), who is known for his love of God and beauty and for his visions of God expressed in ecstatic sayings. In this paper, I investigate Rúzbihán’s discussions of key terms surrounding the concept of beauty in his Arabic work, Mashrāb al-árwâh, in which he presents a thousand and one stations on the path to God. This book provides a “map” of nearly a thousand Sufi technical terms in their interconnections to one another, which facilitates structural understanding of the key Sufi terms related to beauty. Among the concepts and terms to be treated in this paper are: beauty (jamāl, hûsn), majesty (jalâl), perfection (kamâl), love (‘ishq, mâhabba, pleasure (ladhâha, wijdân), attraction (jadhb), imagination (khâyâl, mithâl), light (nûr), and others (muşâhâda, raḥmân, tajallî, etc).

Rúzbihán remains one of the understudied figures of medieval Islam, and attention to this particular work is even more limited. Yet, his numerous references to God’s beauty in this work make him a perfect candidate for a source for the present research. Further, his style in this book is such that he provides further support for his arguments by referring to the sayings of Sufis at the end of each section, which give us excellent points of reference for further inquiry into earlier Sufi sayings on beauty.

D. Islamic Near East VIII: Literature. TAHERA QUTBUDDIN, University of Chicago, Chair (10:50 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) Renaissance Ballroom D

170. DAN SHEFFIELD, Harvard University

Marvelous Journeys to the Land of the Sagsdrân: Questions of Genre and Register in Classical Persian Literature

The subject of the “marvelous” (‘ajab) in Islamic literature has attracted some attention in recent years. One important instance of frequently occurring marvels is that of monstrous beings. In addition to the better-known jînm and ‘îfrît (of Arab origin), and the dîv and pârî (of Iranian origin), Hellenistic monsters, which occur also in Classical and European sources, proliferate throughout the Persian corpus. “is group of monsters, which includes the sagsâr (called cynocephali by Pliny), the davâlpây (Pliny’s himantopodes), and the pilgush (Pliny’s panotii) among others, is associated with the “popular” genres of secondary epic and romance. However, the role of marvelous imagery in Persian courtly literature (âdab), and its connection to “popular” traditions, has not been explored. In my paper, I focus on episodes involving the sagsâr, a monster with the head of a dog, which is found throughout
Persian literature. I will present short excerpts of texts and images involving the sagsār from a variety of genres, including secondary epic, prose romance, marvel literature, courtly poetry, Sufi masnavīs, and even Judeo-Persian exegetical texts and Zoroastrian Persian cosmological literature. Following Shāfi Kadkanī’s discussion of genre in Persian literature and employing contemporary theories of register in comparative literary studies, I will demonstrate that the sagsārs and other examples of the marvelous transgress the boundaries of genre and register. Furthermore, I will show that the full significance of this imagery in Persian literature can only be fully appreciated with comprehensive, intertextual investigations of material from a variety of genres and registers.

171. ARIE SCHIPPERS, University of Amsterdam

Symmetrical Verse Structures in Arabic Andalusi Poetry

The increasing popularity of the use of symmetry and formulaicness is noticeable in the work of a number of Arabic Andalusian poets. They consciously aimed at symmetrical structures, even in their non strophic poems. The strophic poem, such as the muwashshah and the zajāl, is possibly a consequence of that tendency.

In the following paper I want to discuss symmetry and formulaicness in theory and practice in the work of a selection of poets of al-Andalus namely Al-Mu’tamid (1039–1095), Moses ibn Ezra (1065–1138), Ibn Khafajah (1056–1138), the washshah al-Arnā al-Tuṭīlī (d. 1130), Judah al-Harizi (1160–1225), and Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ibn Marj al-Kuḥlī (d. 1238).

My contribution is to evaluate formal developments in Arabic Andalusian poetry and to determine the place of the strophic genre of the Muwashshah within this development. Earlier studies about verse symmetrical segments in Arabic poetry were done by Raymond Scheindlin, Magda Nowaihi, Andras Hamori and others. As my specific contribution to the discussion the work of two Jewish poets who wrote Hebrew as well as Arabic poetry, will be considered.

172. MOHAMMAD HASSAN KHALIL, University of Illinois

Is Ibn Taymiyyah Really the Author of Fanā al-Nār?

Fanā al-Nār (also known by the misleading title al-Radd ‘alā man qāla bi-fanā al-jannah wa-al-nār) is a controversial treatise which puts forth an argument for a non-eternal Hell. It has traditionally been assumed that Ibn Taymiyyah was the author of this treatise. Nevertheless, the manuscript of Fanā al-Nār located in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah does not explicitly list Ibn Taymiyyah as the author: “It appears to be from among the works authored by Ibn Taymiyyah” [emphasis mine]. Moreover, many (though certainly not all) scholars of the Wahhābi school of thought have argued against Ibn Taymiyyah’s authorship of Fanā al-Nār, in large part because of its controversial content, i.e., its apparent support for Hell’s annihilation and the possible salvation of all—a position that contravenes what has traditionally been considered the ījmā position.

In the present paper, I argue that Ibn Taymiyyah was indeed the author of Fanā al-Nār. Not only are there explicit references to Ibn Taymiyyah’s authorship of the treatise by contemporaries, both foes and friends (with no competing claim from that era), but it is also congruous with other writings attributed to him. This latter
assertion will be demonstrated by referring to Ibn Taymiyyah’s careful wording in his *Fatūwā*. Finally, I assess the implications of this study.

173. GABRIEL REYNOLDS, University of Notre Dame

Abraham the Ḥanīf

The meaning of the Qurʿānic term Ḥanīf has long been a subject of scholarly fascination. Already in 1910 Nöldeke argued (Neue Beiträge, 10) that the term is derived from its Syriac cognate Ḥanpā. Most critical scholars (including Andrae, Mingana, Ahrens, Jeffery and more recently Luxenberg) follow Nöldeke’s argument. The problem therein, however, is that Syriac Ḥanpā means “pagan” while the term Ḥanīf is used in the Qurʿān in a positive sense. In response Jeffery suggests that pre-Islamic Christian Arabs used Syriac Ḥanpā not only for a pagan but also for anyone (including a monotheist) who was neither Jewish nor Christian. Horovitz, following traditional Islamic accounts, proposes that even before Muḥammad certain Arabs adopted a pure, simple monotheism without embracing Judaism or Christianity. The Christian Arabs took to calling them “pagans” out of disdain for their heterodoxy, a name which these monotheists eventually adopted for themselves.

Yet the solution to this problem, I will propose at AOS 2008, lies not in traditional accounts but rather in the Qurʿān itself. Of the ten times that the term Ḥanīf appears in the Qurʿān, it refers specifically to Abraham seven times (Q 2.135; 3.67, 95; 6.79, 161; 16.120, 123). In each of these cases the Qurʿān insists that Abraham was a Ḥanīf, not one of the pagans (mušriki transparent). In two cases (Q 2.135; 3.67) the Qurʿān adds that he was neither a Jew nor a Christian. This addition is the key to understanding Ḥanīf. Hence it emerges that the Qurʿān does not intend with Ḥanīf that Abraham (unlike Jews and Christians) was a pure monotheist, but rather that he was a Gentile (and yet “not one of the pagans”). The Qurʿān has adopted the secondary meaning of Syriac Ḥanpā (according to Payne-Smith, gentilis, ethnicus). The term Ḥanīf, in other words, is essentially synonymous to the term ummi that the Qurʿān uses for its own Prophet. The Qurʿān’s strategy with Abraham, meanwhile, is not unlike that of Paul in Romans 4.

E. South and Southeast Asia V: Sanskrit Epics, organized by James Fitzgerald. STEPHANIE JAMISON, University of California, Los Angeles, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) Renaissance Ballroom C

175. MARY BROCKINGTON, International Association of Sanskrit Studies

Nala, Yudhisṭhira and Rāma: Fitting the Narrative Pattern

The function of the Nala episode as a reflecting commentary on the central plot of the Mahābhārata is obvious and has been thoroughly explored by other scholars. The tale’s function in pointing forward to the Virāṭaparvan also emphasises its pivotal character in the epic; the framework coda, in which Yudhisṭhira too is granted supreme mastery of the dice, enables him to fulfil his chosen role as the dicing-master at Virāṭa’s court. Thoroughly embedded in the Mahābhārata tradition though the Nala episode is, linguistic evidence has long been known to demonstrate that its author or adapter sometimes drew on the text of the Rāmāyaṇa for his material.
In this paper I propose to examine the episode from a new point of view, that of narrative strategy, investigating how closely the composer replicates his Mahābhārata exemplar and the extent to which he draws on the Rāmāyaṇa and other unrelated tradition for narrative motifs. His motives and narratorial skill in choosing and adapting his source material will be explored, and my conclusions can be expected to cast further light on the increasingly close and involved relationship between the two major examples of ancient Indian fiction and on the creative role of their narrators.

176. JOHN BROCKINGTON, University of Edinburgh

The Spitzer Manuscript and the Mahābhārata

In this paper I examine the process of growth of the Mahābhārata, taking as my starting point the evidence of the Spitzer manuscript, a Sarvāstivādin manuscript from Qizil belonging to the Kuśāṇa period, which contains an archaic, though regrettably fragmentary, parvan list for the Mahābhārata. I summarise the original notice by Dieter Schlingloff (JAOS 89: 334–338), as well as more recent publications on the Spitzer manuscript by Eli Franco, and I also note remarks by Alf Hiltebeitel and James L. Fitzgerald. The main part of the paper will then re-examine the available evidence for and various views on the growth of the Mahābhārata, demonstrating both their limitations and their potential; in particular, the implications of the parvan list which is found in the Harivamsa (App.I.40.109–138) will be addressed. In conclusion, I put forward suggestions for the likely extent of the Mahābhārata by the early centuries of our era, taking this beyond merely the issue of the status of the Virāṭa and Anuśasana parvans to an analysis of its growth overall.

177. GREG BAILEY, LaTrobe University

Further Instances of Intertextuality between the Mahābhārata and some Pāli Texts

At an earlier meeting of the AOS I presented a paper devoted to an analysis of the compound sthavirabuddhayah (MBh 3.188.38), where I argued that on the basis of śleṣa this may be taken as a direct reference to Theravāda Buddhists. In the present paper I extend this article by focussing on a series of text which assert in strongly declarative terms a confirmation that a person who behaves in such or such a manner should be regarded as a brāhmaṇa. Given the importance of brāhmins as role models in both the MBh and early Buddhist literature any close parallels are worthy of study if only from the vantage point of intertextuality. However, given the paucity of direct references to Buddhists in the MBh any piece of evidence suggestive of direct borrowing or mere allusion must be taken seriously.

Accordingly in this paper I compare, contrast and analyse seemingly parallel texts taken from MBh 3, 197, 30–40, 12, 229, 22 and 237, 11–24 with Sutta Nipāta, Vāsettha Sutta (PTS pp. 120ff), SN Vāsettha Sutta (PTS 11.115ff) and Dhammapada Sect. 26. Examples of these are the following:

MBh 3, 197, 32ab yaḥ krodhamohau tyajati tam devā brāhmaṇam vidhuh

Sutta Nipāta 632cd na hanti na ghāteti tam abhaṁ brūmi brāhmaṇam

And whilst some variations are obvious, the similarities are of sufficient importance to justify further investigation. This investigation will analyse the literary structure of these passages, their content and their context. Clearly, contested images of the
brāhmaṇa as a generic group and role model are fundamental in the Pāli Canon and in the *MBh* and it is tempting, if speculative, to conclude that one body of texts (passages) is consciously developing off of the other. This conclusion will be tested in this paper.

178. THENNILAPURAM P. MAHADEVAN, Howard University

The *Mahābhārata* Southern Recension, Brahman Migrations and Paleography

The Malayalam version of the Southern Recension (SR) of the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh*) is consistently the shortest and “best” of the SR manuscripts examined in Poona toward preparation of the Critical Edition (CE). It also regularly aligns with the Śārada version of the Northern Recension (NR), the text of the CE, whereas the Tamil (Grantha)-Telugu versions of the SR, with those of the vulgate versions of the NR texts. Sukthankar found this anomalous, as Kerala, the home of the Malayalam version “lies in the far south at the opposite end of India from the province of Ś[ārada], a Northern version” (1933: lxxiv).

My paper solves this anomaly by correlating the textual history of the *Mbh* with the history of the Brahman migrations to peninsular India, which brought the epic to the south, and that of Brāhmi paleography.

Two Brahman groups arrived there separated in time by half a millennium, the first wearing their traditional hair tuft toward the front of the head and thus known as Pūrvaśīkā, and the second group, to the back, known as Aparaśīkā Brahmans. I suggest that the Pūrvaśīkhas, already attested in Sangam poetry, brought a *Śārada* text with them and made from this the *Pūrvaśīkā* text by ca. 6th century CE, the archetypal SR text. At the Kalabhrāt Interregnum (ca. 5th to 7th CE) and the consequent fragmentation of the Pūrvaśīkā group, a *Pūrvaśīkā* text went to the Malabar area of Kerala through the Palghat gap with a branch of the Pūrvaśīkā Brahmans, the historical Nambudiri Brahmans. This version came to CE editors from their homes, having remained dormant for more than a millennium, thus retaining its ancient alignment with the *Śārada* text. A *Pūrvaśīkā* text remained with branches of the Pūrvaśīkā Brahmans in the Tamil country, producing the Tamil(Grantha)-Telugu versions with Sukthankar’s hypothetical NR σ-text (1933: xxx) that came with the Aparaśīkā Brahmans.

The history of Brāhmi paleography supports this contention.

179. LUIS GONZÁLEZ-REIMANN, University of California, Berkeley

Kalpas in the *Mahābhārata*

In Purānic and Śāstric cosmogony, the kalpas constitute the main unit of world creation. The theory of kalpas, or days of the god Brahmā, makes its appearance in the literature at the end of the Vedic period, in both Buddhist and Brahminal texts. This paper analyzes the presence of the theory in the *Mahābhārata*, 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.

180. ALF HILTEBEITEL, George Washington University

Dharma and the Yaksha’s Questions

This presentation will examine the Mahabharata episode of “The Yaksha’s Questions” (3.295–99) from the standpoint of dharma. This looks easy to justify, since the
son whom the god Dharma desires to know through questions is called Dharmaraja and Dharmaputra. But a difficulty lies in the fact that the most stimulating reading of the episode, David Shulman’s (The Wisdom of Poets [2001]), reduces dharma to an intermediate “level” of meaning between a “simple truth” or “news” (vartika) level and a “context-dependent” daiva or destined level (53–55). Shulman argues that the episode shows a “preoccupation with language” (42) that encourages such a “dissection of language levels” (51). But whereas the first level interests him for its direct formulation of obvious truth and the third for its “latent theory of knowledge in relation to language” (55–56), the dharma level concerns ethical language whose “truth level” is open to “disjunction” and “gaps” (51), since Yudhishthira’s “chosen ideal” of “non-injury” is a dharma value that he will be unable to uphold (57–59). In questioning this assessment and overall analysis, I will offer two considerations to take dharma beyond this sandwiched treatment. One is that “The Yaksha’s Question,” despite its being part of the main story, is called an upakhyana or “subtale” (Mbh 1.2.127ab). This connects it with dharma in other subtales that make a link between the god Dharma and Yama, god of death. Second, I will propose that Dharma in the form of a Yaksha signals not only a relation to Yama, but a typical “possessing spirit.” The Yaksha does not really kill the four brothers but “makes them fall,” and Dharmaraja is something of an exorcist in fielding its questions and getting it to reveal its true identity. What is dharma in such a context?

181. JAMES FITZGERALD, Brown University

Philosophy’s ‘Wheel of Fire’ (alatacakra) and Its Epic Background

At Mahābhārata 12.195.23 the often insightful commentator Arjunamiśra suggests we understand calam in the stanza

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{calam yathā dyśipathan paraitī} \\
\text{sūksmaṃ mahād rūpaṃ ivābhīpāti} \\
\text{svarūpaṃ ālocayate ca rūpaṃ} \\
\text{paraṃ tathā buddhipathāṃ paraitī //23//}
\end{align*}
\]

as “alatacakram iva,” “like a circle of fire.” Is he right? And if so, how do we understand this stanza? I shall discuss this stanza and Arjunamiśras gloss, using them as a point of departure to investigate this old trope and its epic background more fully. There may be more to the alatacakra than meets the eye. Or should that be less?

182. ADHEESH SATHAYE, University of British Columbia

Was the Mahābhārata an Encyclopedia? Orality, Narrative Structure, and the Legends of Viśvāmitra in the Great Sanskrit Epic

Through his extensive ‘rethinking’ of the Mahābhārata, Alf Hiltebeitel has provocatively argued against the standard Indological assessment of the great Sanskrit epic as an ‘encyclopedia’ (Alf Hiltebeitel, Rethinking the Mahābhārata [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001], 15). Furthermore, by construing the epic not as a product of a long oral narrative tradition, but as a written text—perhaps even the work of a single scholarly committee—Hiltebeitel argues for the epic as a distinctively literary creation (Hiltebeitel, Rethinking, 20–21). In order to test the strength of these claims, and as part of a larger effort to bring contemporary theories of orality and performance to bear on the perennial debate about the textual life of the Mahābhārata,
this paper will focus on one key question: how does the Sanskrit epic incorporate legendary narrative material that it clearly has not invented? I will tackle this issue through an examination of how the *Mahābhārata* presents the legends of Viśvāmitra, the King who became a Brahman. As one of the principal Vedic sages, Viśvāmitra signifies at once extraordinary religious power and a hallowed political past, and it is in order to solidify its own religious and historical authority, I argue, that the *Mahābhārata* includes stories about him into its primary narrative of fratricidal war. At the same time, by opening its central narrative to secondary “oral” material, the composers of this text have created a uniquely hybrid structure that is at once “oral” and “literary”—or to be more precise, simultaneously “fluid” and “fixed”—a text that balances its extensibility and intertextuality with an overarching scholastic authority. Rather than an ‘encyclopedia’ in the modern sense, then, perhaps the *Mahābhārata* more closely resembles a *museum*—a sophisticated narrative space within which audiences are presented with authoritative, structured and ethically regulated cultural experiences of the past.
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