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ABSTRACTS

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AT THE
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MEETING

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

MARCH 13–16 2015
1. **Adam Strich**, Harvard University

   **To Whom It May Concern: Semitic Dative/Allative Case Ending and its Berber Cognate**

   The origins of the Semitic case endings are relatively unexplored problems, due in part to the scholarly tendency to retroject the Semitic case system onto Proto-Afro-Asiatic, in part to the underdeveloped state of Afro-Asiatic studies, and in part to the seemingly poor chance of arriving at results. Despite such considerations, in this paper I shall propose a particular etymology for the Proto-Semitic dative/allative case ending *-is, preserved best in Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Hebrew.

   Although the sound correspondences across the branches Afro-Asiatic are a long-standing unresolved issue—several etymological dictionaries have been published, but all have met with skepticism—the equivalence of *s in the various protolanguages is clear enough, in no small part due to the anaphoric pronouns and causative affixes. It is thus phonologically unproblematic to suggest, as I shall, that Semitic *-is is cognate with Berber *as. The latter exists as an allative preposition in several Berber languages with two peculiar properties differentiating it from other prepositions: its complement does not appear in the annexed state and it cannot take personal pronoun clitics. It also occurs, in the conservative Tuareg languages, as an enclitic attached to fronted datives and possessors.

   I shall argue, on the basis of internal reconstruction, that Berber *as originally served as a particle marking the boundary between a left-dislocated topic and its clause. I shall further argue, on the basis of recent theoretical work about the relationship between datives and topics, that the use of *-is in Semitic derived from the sequence {topic + postpositive particle + clause} by reanalysis as {fronted dative constituent with case ending + remainder of clause}, at which point the case-marked dative could be moved to elsewhere within the clause, as attested.

2. **Øyvind Bjørn**, University of Texas, Austin

   **Loss of initial /n/ in Hebrew in its Northwest-Semitic Context**

   The initial nasal of l-n verbs in the Qal imperative and infinitive construct in Biblical Hebrew is manifest in some verbs, e.g. natōs (Prov 17:14), but absent in others, e.g. sā (Gen 13:14). This has been attributed to either the thematic vowel of the verb, or the imperative being clipped from the prefix conjugation. In this paper I will argue that there is no basis for the association of this phenomenon with the thematic vowel, and that the clipping hypothesis is untenable. There is rather a set of phonetic conditions that can account for the loss of /n/ in these forms. A voiceless fricative or a voiced velar following the /n/ affects the surrounding vowels, disconnects the nasality from the consonant and ultimately deletes it. This process is reconstructed to Proto-Northwest-Semitic, and its outcome can therefore be seen in Ugaritic and Aramaic as well.
3. Charles C. Häberl, Rutgers University

Arslan Taş Redux

Mesnil du Buisson’s 1939 publication of the first Arslan Taş amulet in *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud* generated an immediate and sustained interest among scholars. Classified by William F. Albright (1939) as ‘one of the most interesting documents in Northwest Semitic which have become known during the past few years’, it has been the subject of numerous attempts at decipherment by many of the most distinguished epigraphers and Semitists of the mid to late 20th century.

Though the script of the incantation is Aramaic and it was discovered within what would have been Aramaic-speaking territory, the language in which it is composed is decidedly not Aramaic. Cross and Saley (1970) first systematically addressed the language of this text, drawing attention to its orthography. They note that orthography regularly follows Phoenician rather than Aramaic practice, which is to say that the orthography is otherwise consistently ‘defective’, with no indication of word-final or word-internal vowels, apart from two words—*lw* in line 3 and *wšmn* straddling lines 17 and 18. The latter reading, initially proposed by Mesnil du Buisson (1939) and followed by all subsequent scholars, is peculiar, as the defective form *šmn* would be expected in its place.

If we restore the heavily damaged final character as a *waw* rather than a *he*, it assumes the form of the third masculine singular possessive suffix after a long vowel, just as in word *lw* ‘to him’ in line 3, which is likewise read with a final *he* by Mesnil du Buisson (1939) and many of the scholars who followed him. Such a form, the precursor of the (late) Punic suffix *-m*, is predicted by Huehnergard (1991, 190), but nowhere else attested; the more common allomorph of this suffix, a *yod*, could also be restored here. If this is the correct reading, then the referent is not clear: the suffix appears to be anchorless, and possibly serves to render the noun it modifies definite.

This function of the third person possessive suffixes is attested, albeit generally as a relic, in every branch of Semitic (Huehnergard and Pat-El 2012).

References:


4. BENJAMIN KANTOR, University of Texas, Austin

Where Does ᶠyê Come from? (Proclisis and Affix Pleonasm in the Biblical Hebrew Interrogatives ṭê and ᵠyêê)

The particle *لاقة- for the interrogative ‘where?’ is common in Semitic. In Biblical Hebrew (BH), however, we find two primary reflexes of this interrogative particle, ṭê and ᵠyêê, each of which exhibits a peculiar feature. First, *لاقة- has reduced in the word ṭê, even though monosyllabic words of the pattern *Cayy- should not reduce to ṣey in BH, but rather to Cay. Second, the unusual tsere (ër) ending in the word ᵠyêê has not yet been satisfactorily explained. I will argue in this paper (1) that the reason for the reduction of *Cayy- > ṣey in the word ṭê is because it is proclitic and (2) that the ending of the word ᵠyêê actually comes from the Semitic adverbial ending *-ay which we find numerously in Akkadian and as vestiges throughout the rest of the Semitic languages. Accordingly, the form *لاقة-ay may be reconstructed for BH ᵠyêê. This final diphthong (*-ay), however, reduced to -e because the word ᵠyêê, just like its counterpart, is also proclitic.

These findings contribute both to our diachronic understanding of BH as well as Semitic linguistics in general. First, they demonstrate that the sound rule in which unstressed diphthongs collapse (*ay > -ë / -str/) is one which can be seen operating in BH at more than one stage in the history of the language. Second, the adverbial suffix *ay being attached to an interrogative adverb provides us with an example of what is known as “affix pleonasm” or “overcharacterization.” Finally, such instances of affix pleonasm on this particular interrogative base (*لاقة-) seem to go back quite early in Semitic.

5. AREN WILSON-WRIGHT, University of Texas, Austin

A Reevaluation of the Semitic Direct Object Markers

Although verbal objects were originally marked with the accusative case in Semitic, several languages developed independent morphemes to mark the object of a transitive verb, which in some cases functioned alongside the accusative case. Scholars have long debated the relationship between the similar-looking Modern South Arabian, Ge-ez, Arabic, Aramaic, Samalian, Hebrew, and Phoenician direct object markers. Many, like Lipiński, Rubin, and Wilmsen, favor a maximal interpretation linking most, if not all, such forms despite clear phonological differences. In this paper, I will take a more minimalist approach. I argue that the direct object markers in Aramaic and the Canaanite languages derive from a single innovative form, which I reconstruct as * Propel. I further claim that the remaining forms are all unrelated.

References:
6. Sigrid K. Kjær, University of Texas, Austin

The Unique Case of Genitive Constructions in Sabaic

Little scholarly attention has focused on the grammar of the Old South Arabian dialect of Sabaic, and even less so on the syntax of this language. This paper will examine the use of genitive constructions in Middle Sabaic and draw comparisons to other Semitic languages.

The complimentary distribution of construct chains and syntagms with the relative particle is well known throughout the Semitic languages. Through this review, it will become evident that Middle Sabaic had a clear system for when each approach was preferred, and that this distinction is not what one would expect based on the distribution of these patterns in other Semitic languages. By using primary texts only recently made available from the Italian online database DASI (Digital Archive for the Study of pre-Islamic Arabian Inscriptions), I will highlight the distinct preference for construct chains in Sabaic and offer suggestions as to why and when a construction with a relative particle might be preferred.

7. Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee, University of Chicago

Performative Utterances in Semitic

Performative utterances, a concept first termed in this way by the philosopher J. L. Austin in 1962, designate verbal utterances that perform an action by themselves, as in “I hereby pronounce you husband and wife”, “I promise”, “I forgive you” etc. In many languages of the world, these “performatives” are expressed by a verbal form associated with present tense, as in the just mentioned English examples. Semitic languages are no exception to having performatives; they are well attested in Akkadian, Arabic, Hebrew, Ethiopian Semitic, and various dialects of Aramaic. In the majority of these Semitic languages, however, performatives are not expressed by a verbal form associated with present tense but with a verbal form commonly used for past tense contexts, that is the Akkadian preterite *iprus and West Semitic *qatala. The use of a past tense/perfective verbal form for performative function is not unparalleled but still unusual enough to warrant explanation. The most common explanation found in the literature on Semitic languages is that the past-tense form is used because the action is considered completed with the completion of the utterance by the speaker. This explanation seems unsatisfactory, however, from the perspective of the tense-aspect system of Semitic languages and the basic functions of their verbal forms. As an alternative analysis, the current paper suggests that the use of the perfect is caused by the fact that performatives inherently convey a single, punctual action. Performatives, by their very nature, cannot reflect repeated, durative, or habitual actions. It is this “punctual nature” of performatives that underlies the use of the perfect/preterite in Semitic languages. The use of the perfect(ive) for performatives in Semitic can further have interesting implications for the general analysis of the verbal systems of the individual Semitic languages in terms of their analysis as reflecting primarily a tense or aspectual systems.
8. NA’AMA PAT-EL and AREN WILSON-WRIGHT, University of Texas, Austin

Deir ‘Allā as a Canaanite Dialect

For almost forty years epigraphers, biblical scholars, and semitists have debated linguistic identity of the plaster texts from Deir ‘Allā. Overall the debate has hinged on the distinction between Aramaic and Canaanite. Scholars have classified the Deir ‘Allā texts in essentially four ways: 1) as Aramaic (e.g., Knauf); 2) as Canaanite (e.g., Hackett); 3) as a mixed language (e.g., Beyer); 4) and as a separate branch of Northwest Semitic (e.g., Huehnergard). Huehnergard has conclusively shown that the Deir ‘Allā inscriptions do not exhibit any of the known, innovative features of either Aramaic or Canaanite, and therefore must be regarded an independent branch.

In this paper, we suggest that Huehnergard’s arguments require revision. We have recently proposed two additional features of Canaanite that can be detected in primarily consonantal texts: 1) a relative pronoun derived from a grammaticalized form of *aθr- ‘place’ and 2) a systematic morphological and syntactic distinction between the infinitive absolute and the infinitive construct, at least in the G stem. These features, we contend, are both shared and innovative within the known Canaanite languages and also occur in the Deir ‘Allā inscriptions. We therefore suggest classifying this inscription as Canaanite.

References:

B. Islamic Near East I: Islamic Law. PERI BEARMAN, Harvard Law School, Chair (1:00 p.m.–2:30 p.m.) Astor Ballroom II

9. NIMROD HURVITZ, Ben Gurion University of the Negev

Remembering the Master: Ahmad ibn Hanbal in the Eyes of his Disciples

Historians of Islamic law continue to debate whether the madhāhib’s (schools of law) eponyms played an important role in the formation of each and every madhhab. The effort to understand what and how eponyms contributed to madhhab formation is likely to motivate historians of Islamic law to approach this question from different angles and to develop more nuanced tools of analysis.

The purpose of this lecture is to offer such an alternative approach. It asserts that alongside the information about what the eponym actually did, is another crucial question: how was he remembered by his followers and the rest of society? Reputation, no less than deed, is what attracted or repelled disciples to or from scholars. Therefore,
if we wish to inquire into the ways that eponyms influenced the formation of madhāhib, we need to look at what their disciples (and in fact, also at what their rivals) wrote about them.

This lecture will focus on Ahmad ibn Hanbal’s (d. 241) image, as it appears in the biographies that his closest disciples and relatives wrote. The specific aspect that it addresses is the vigilante activism to which the Hanbalis resorted in the early fourth/tenth century. It will argue that the Hanbalis’ self-image is that of defenders of Islam and a moral elite that is obligated to judge and punish sinners. Furthermore, it asserts that this self-image already appears in Ibn Hanbal’s biographies. By presenting a close reading of Šāliḥ ibn Ahmad’s Sirāt al-Imām Ahmad ibn Hanbal, Hanbal ibn Ishāq’s, Dhīkr mīhnaṭ al-Imām Ahmad ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Abī Yaʿlā’s Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābila, it will illustrate how the characteristics of Hanbali activism are found in their eponym’s biographies.

10. Dale Correa, University of Texas, Austin

The Legal Theory Avicenna Never Wrote: al-Dabūsī’s Taqwīm al-Adilla and the Avicennan Turn in Sunni Theology

Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā, d. 1037 CE), one of the most studied and celebrated pre-modern Muslim intellectuals, is well-known for his conceptualization of God as necessary of existence (wājib al-wuḍūd). As Robert Wisnovsky has noted, the widespread acceptance of this concept coincides with the shift in Sunni theology from regarding knowledge as either acquired (muktasab) or immediate (darūrī), to distinguishing three modes of knowledge: necessary (wājib), possible (jāʾiz/mumkin), and impossible (muntanē/muṣṭaḥbūl) (Wisnovsky 2004). This paper complements Wisnovsky’s observations of Avicenna’s influence by turning to an understudied Transoxanian Ḥanafī contemporary of his, Abū Zayd al-Dabūsī (d. 1039 CE), and al-Dabūsī’s conceptualization of evidence (ḥujja) as that which necessitates knowledge (al-mījiba līʾ-ilm) and that which facilitates knowledge (al-mujawwaza līʾ-ilm) in his work of legal theory, Taqwīm al-Adilla. The most important form of evidence that can fall into either category is the oral report, or khabar, which is itself an essential concept for understanding why the Qurʾān necessitates certain knowledge of the existence of God and how statements attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad at the very least facilitate knowledge by obligating certain actions.

The aims of this paper are twofold: first, to demonstrate that the occurrence of the necessitating/facilitating concept in al-Dabūsī’s work as a Transoxanian (Samarqandī) Ḥanafī is unique. Although later scholars of the Transoxanian Ḥanafī school embrace nearly the same concept, they do not use this vocabulary that so closely follows Avicenna’s wording. Second, I argue that al-Dabūsī’s formulation is particular to his personal-professional relationship with Avicenna, his colleague in Bukhārā. After reviewing references to al-Dabūsī in Avicenna’s diwān of poetry, I bolster Murteza Bedir’s suggestion (Bedir 2006) of a close relationship between the two scholars to conclude that the young Avicenna was essential to the development of al-Dabūsī’s theology in a way that would permeate al-Dabūsī’s writing in every discipline and demonstrate the interdependence of legal theory and theology for Transoxanian Ḥanafism.
11. Felicitas Opwis, Georgetown University

What’s in a Legal Commentary? Reflections of Changed Environments and Intellectual Dynamism in the Commentaries on Abū Shujā‘s Ghāyat al-ikhtisār

The extensive commentary (sharḥ) and gloss (ḥāshiya) tradition of Islamic law has often been denounced as contributing to the stagnation of legal thought and development. While more recent studies (e.g., El Shamsy, Ahmed, Saleh, Wisnowsky) have drawn attention to the commentary tradition as a source of original thought and intellectual development, few detailed studies on the actual content of such literature exist. This paper seeks to amend this lacuna by comparing the 5th/11th century work of Abū Shujā‘, commonly entitled Ghāyat al-ikhtisār—a textbook for teaching the fundamentals of Shāfī‘i law—with four commentaries and two glosses, written between the 7th/13th and 20th century. Its scope is restricted to comparing two sections of the original matn, namely those on “al-aqd. iya” and “jihād”, with their counterparts in the commentaries and glosses. The investigation focuses on the amendments and changes to the “original” doctrine and their justification. The close comparison of these topics allows us to gain insight into key aspects of legal life and whether and how they changed: the role of the judge and the relationship between the law and the political/military powers. The study shows that despite the authoritativeness of Abū Shujā‘s work as representing mainstream Shāfī‘i doctrine throughout the ages, the commentaries and glosses diverge at times greatly therewith. Analysis of these differences provides insight into how the social and political environment changed over time and how the commentators and glossists re-interpreted the textbook doctrine according to their respective environment. Furthermore, it shows that this genre of literature is not fruitless regurgitation, but functions to adapt the changing political and social environment to the traditional authority structures, thus allowing for flexibility and continuous relevance of Shāfī‘i law.

12. Jawad Anwar Qureshi, University of Chicago

The Exoteric Esotericist: Ibn al-‘Arabi’s Legal Theory and his al-Futuḥät al-Makkiyya

The studies of William Chittick and Michel Chodkiewicz on the Andalusian mystic Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-‘Arabi (d. 1240/637) have drawn attention to the centrality of the Qur‘ān to his thought. More recently Denis Gril has considered Ibn al-‘Arabi’s approach to hadith and law, while Mahmoud Ghourab and Eric Winkel have considered his approach to positive law (furū‘). Despite this rich scholarship on the relationship of Ibn al-‘Arabi’s teachings to the core textual sources and disciplines of Islamic thought, scholarship has not explored Ibn al-‘Arabi’s approach to legal theory (uṣūl al-fiqh)—specifically, did he adhere to the Zāhiri school as is often claimed, or was he an independent jurist deriving rulings as he saw fit? Building on the existing scholarship, I will examine Ibn al-‘Arabi’s legal theory as presented in chapter 88 from his al-Futuḥät al-Makkiyya, titled, “Knowing the Secrets of the Sources for Rulings of Sacred Law.” In light of this text and a number of his other related works, I argue that Ibn al-‘Arabi by and large adhered to the basic structure of the Zāhiri school as articulated by Ibn Hazm. Unlike the latter, however Ibn al-‘Arabi maintained a pluralistic vision of the law schools. What emerges is a legal theory that curtails the use of non-textual sources and censures legal conformism (taqlid), while centering itself on
the Qur‘an and Hadith. Ibn al-Arabī appears not so much as an esotericist (bāţīnī) as we usually see him, but, at least with respect to legal theory, as an exotericist (zhāhīrī).

C. Islamic Near East II: Textual Transmission. EVERETT ROWSON, New York University, Chair (3:00–5:00 p.m.) Astor Ballroom II

13. ISSAM EIDO, University of Chicago

The Role of the Moral Probity of Transmitters and Shaping the Authoritative Islamic Texts

The first three hijrī centuries witnessed diverse methodological disagreements between theological sects and divergent approaches to law and Hadith. Perhaps the most marked disagreement surrounded the standards for determining the veracity of the statements attributed to the Prophet.

The approaches established during this period towards textual criticism can be summarized into four dominant paradigms, each of which emphasizes and reflects a particular dimension of authority in the formative period: praxis (‘amal); the legal expertise of transmitters; the number of transmitters; and the moral probity of transmitters (‘adāla). The first, praxis, was the founding principles in the Mālikī school. The second approach, which gained prominence as the hallmark of the Hanafī school, privileged the transmission of a morally upright jurist over that of the morally upright non-jurist. The third and forth epistemological standards were the subject of some of the most intense disagreements between the proponents of Hadith (ahl al-hadith), broadly defined, and Mu’tazilites in the formative period. In the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, several controversies were sparked surrounding championing each of these two epistemological standards, traces of which are evident in Muhammad b. Idrīs al-Shafī‘ī’s (d. 204/820) al-Risāla. These controversies culminated with the proponents of Hadith upholding moral probity as overarching principle governing the acceptance and rejection of reports.

This paper attempts to study the impact of this prevailing standard in shaping the most important text (Sunnah) in Islam, the significance of the number of transmitters as a standard to reject Sunnah in Mu’tazilite thought, and accordingly forming the authority of ‘adāla as a subjective standard in the Islamic history.

14. KEVIN BLANKINSHIP, University of Chicago

Absent Commentary and the “Qur‘an” of Syrian Poet Abūl-‘Alā‘ al-Mavarrī

According to medieval Arab biographers, famed poet and iconoclast Abūl-‘Alā‘ al-Mavarrī (d. 1058 AD) wrote even more self-commentaries, prefaces and footnotes than he did literary works themselves. These secondary writings form a rich tapestry of “paratexts,” or texts composed by an author and meant to present and interpret other texts by that author; moreover, they have received less attention in modern scholarship. However, one thing escapes comment in al-Mavarrī’s paratexts: the accusation by medieval biographers that his work Paragraphs and Periods (Al-Fusūl wa’l-ghayāt) was meant to imitate the Qur‘an. This scandalous allegation—in the absence of a rebuttal from al-Mavarrī—serves as the key interpretive gloss for Paragraphs. It singles out two particular aspects of Paragraphs as warning signs that al-Mavarrī was trying to parody Islamic scripture: (1) the rhyming prose form and (2) the religious content.
With this two-part accusation in mind, I first analyze *Paragraphs* against the Qurʾān regarding form and content, the two concerns raised by medieval biographers. However, this analysis leads to an impasse: al-Maʿarrī’s work shows similarities to the Qurʾān, but also differences. How can we tell whether *Paragraphs* is an imitation without guiding statements from the author? In response, I turn to medieval Arabic definitions of Qurʾānic matchlessness (*iḥāz*), or qualities of the Qurʾān that cannot be imitated. These definitions include debate about literary imitation itself, which has also been neglected by scholars. Medieval theorists assert that it is the overall composition of any text, not just the Qurʾān, that true literary imitation seeks to emulate. Based on this explanation, it is hard to say whether any text is a conscious imitation without explicit directions from an author or commentator. This fact demonstrates the power of external commentary to assign meaning to texts for which that commentary might be deemed secondary.

15. GARRET DAVIDSON, University of Oregon

Transmission-Based Forty Hadīth Collections

This paper traces the development and function of the transmission-based forty-hadīth genre. The hadīth “Whoever of my community preserves forty hadīth of my *sunna*, I will be his intercessor [with God] on the day of judgment,” though considered to be weak by the vast majority of hadīth critics, inspired scholars to compose hundreds if not thousands of collections of forty-hadīth. Thematic and content-based forty hadīth collections, such as al-Nawawī’s famous collection, are the most well-known examples of this phenomenon. Alongside, this well-known genre of content-based forty hadīth works, there exists a vast and culturally important genre of transmission-based forty hadīth works. In these works, the focus is not on the content of the hadīth, but on the chains of transmission and the circumstances in which they were created. Although currently little known partially due to the fact that only a handful of these works have been edited and published, the production of transmission-based forty hadīth works was a prominent feature of Sunni scholarly culture for more than a millennium and scholars produced hundreds of works in the genre. Production in this genre was such a cultural mainstay that a single scholar, such as al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādi or Ibn ʿAsākir, would often produce multiple of these forty hadīth works in the course of a career. Excavating the contours and functions of this genre, therefore, is an important step towards deciphering the scholarly culture in which these figures operated and the texts that were produced therein. Towards this end the genre is situated in the constellation of post-canonical hadīth literature revealing how scholars employed the forty-hadīth format as a vehicle to demonstrate both the quality and geographical breadth of their chains of transmission and thereby their authority and place within scholarly networks.

16. M. G. CARTER, Sydney University

The Namara Inscription, Line 4: a Reconsideration

The Namara inscription dedicated to Imruʾl-Qays, dated AD 328, is the most important pre-Islamic text we have, as evidence of a language almost identical with Classical Arabic. While there is no universal agreement on every detail of its contents, the reading of line 4 as LM YBLG MLK MBLGH, which can be transposed directly into Classical Arabic as *lam yabluʿ malikun mablajahu*, has never been challenged.
Since 1902 (Dussaud), when the inscription was first published, the French translation of these words has been “aucun roi n’a atteint sa gloire, jamais!” or variations thereof, while the earliest English translation (Beeston 1979) reads “no king had matched his achievements”. There are a couple of independent efforts in German, but otherwise all European versions are based on the French of Dussaud or Beeston’s English.

This paper will argue that the metaphorical translations in both French and English are inappropriate, and that the sentence is to be understood literally as “no king ever reached where he reached” in a purely geographical sense. The case will be supported by a parallel inscription (in Arabic) of remarkably similar wording, attributed to the Himyarite king ʾṢammar Yuharîs III (ca AD 275–300), and attention will be drawn to the fact that the city of Najrån, which is named as the place reached by Imru l-Qays, was proverbial in Classical Arabic for its remoteness.

D. Ancient Near East-South & Southeast Asia Joint Session, Organized and Chaired by STEPHANIE JAMISON and JESSE LUNDQUIST, University of California, Los Angeles. (1:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) Astor Ballroom I

17. BENJAMIN W. FORTSON IV, University of Michigan

Reflections on Retroflexion across Word-Boundary in the Rigveda

The retroflexion of both ṅ (ṇati) and ṣ (ruki), limited to word-internal application in Epic and Classical Sanskrit, is amply attested across word-boundary in Vedic, but, as is well known, their application is not consistent (for standard treatments see Whitney 1879:66, Wackernagel 1896:191). The factors allowing or blocking this post-lexical retroflexion have not been fully investigated. Some recent work has produced results that are promising but in need of further refinement and testing, as well as augmentation with more data. Cathcart’s statistical study of nati (to appear) suggested that retrojecting the phenomenon back to a prehistoric period correctly predicts many instances of suppression of nati. However, other instances are left unaccounted for, and his study did not consider structural factors from prosody or syntax. Hale, who has long pursued a prosodic-cum-syntactic account of external sandhi phenomena (Hale 1990, 1995), has noted recently (2013) that the presence or absence of nati postverbally appears to correlate with the verb’s position in the clause. But the ruki facts are quite different: retroflexion is not found after verbs in any position.

This paper is based on a complete collection of the relevant material and considers phonological, morphological, syntactic, prosodic, chronological, and metrical factors in an attempt to provide a unified account of the conditions on postlexical nati and ruki.

References cited:


I will show that two crucial attestations of Hittite gul(aš)sā- ‘fate’ in the “Hymn to Adad”, where they calque well-known Akkadian equivalents, have been misunderstood and ignored in all discussions of the Hittite word. They show that gul(aš)sā- was a result noun from the verb gul(aš)s- ‘draw, sketch’ and also ‘write, inscribe’ and that the dGulˇ seˇ s ‘fate goddesses’ are a personification of the result noun, just like Latin Fātum/Fāta. I will also defend the phonetic interpretation of the Hittite words against the arguments of Waal (2014) for a logographic reading gul-š-.

Na’ama Pat-El, University of Texas, Austin
The Semitic Perfect and the Problem of Third-Person Zero Morpheme

It has been observed in many languages that third person subject markers on verbs are frequently zero, while those of first and second person are overt. There have been several explanations for this phenomenon: some argue that they are less frequent in discourse, but others (e.g., Givón) argue that first and second persons, which are more accessible, constantly regenerate, while the third person markers do not. Proponents of this explanation assume that third person subjects do develop, but are subsequently lost and reduce to zero. For example, Middle Welsh 1sg oedwn vs. 3sd oed (Watkins 1962).

In this paper I suggest that in the paradigm of the West Semitic perfect (< Akkadian stative), the suffixes of the third person are nominal (i.e., reflect gender-number inflection), while first and second person suffixes are pronominal (i.e., reflect gender-number-person). In other words, I suggest that proto Semitic did not have a third person subject form at all. The short vowel used to mark the 3ms perfect form is, I suggest, a reanalysis of the 3fs –at.

References:

Nicholas Sims-Williams, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
A New Bactrian Inscription from the Time of Kanishka I

This paper will present a so far unpublished inscription inscribed on a silver vessel in 6 long lines of Bactrian Greek script of the ‘rectangular’ type characteristic of the
Kushan period. The inscription presents itself as a first person account by Nukunzik, who is also known from the Bactrian inscriptions of Rabatak and Surkh Kotal. Although the text bristles with difficulties as a result of its poor state of preservation and the presence of previously unknown words, it is clear that, like the Rabatak inscription, it contains historical data regarding Kanishka’s conquest of India. In particular, it refers to his return in the year 10 from India to ‘Tokharestan’—by far the earliest occurrence of this term in any known source. The inscription ends with a formula stating the weight of the vessel.

In addition to historical and linguistic aspects of the text, the paper will address the obvious question of its authenticity.

21. E莉ZABETH TUCKER, University of Oxford

A Textual Perspective on the ‘Ahuric and Daēvic Vocabularies’ of the Avesta

The Avesta’s contrasting sets of lexical terms that apply to good versus evil beings (puθra-: hunu- ‘son’, zasta- : gava- ‘hand’, tak- : duuar- ‘to run’, etc.) have received various linguistic and metalinguistic explanations. However, C. Watkins commented in 1995, in the same vein as V. N. Toporov had concluded in 1981, ”the question is complex and still not settled”.

Most studies have sought a solution from a historical or comparative Indo-Iranian linguistic angle, and have relied on early collections of the Avestan material such as those published by H. Güntert (1914) or L. H. Gray (1927), or the categorizations noted in Bartholomæ’s Altiranisches Wörterbuch (1904). A re-examination of the Avestan evidence itself is overdue.

My paper will focus on how different Younger Avestan texts employ ahuric and daēvic vocabulary, and the variations that can be observed from text to text. For instance, the Mihr Yašt (Yt.10) shows a set of oppositions which are realised with markedly different lexical items than those of the other ancient Yašt. Only in the Vidēvdād does a more stable set of lexical contrasts appear. Our accounts of the daēvic vocabulary require nuancing as just a small group of words are applied with complete consistency across the Avesta to evil beings, notably some words that occur in curse formulœ and a few that refer to evil people in the Gāthās (așī ‘eyes’, hunu- ‘son’, duuar- ‘to run’).

It will be argued that the textual evidence points to a developing literary convention which resulted in different Avestan composers selecting in various ways from the synonyms in their language to highlight the contrast between good and evil. Hence a single comprehensive explanation for the two ‘vocabularies’ is impossible.

22. ANTHONY YATES, University of California Los Angeles

On the Prosody of Derived Verbs in Hittite

Over the last thirty-five years, scholarship on Hittite prosody—e.g. Hart (1980), Carruba (1981), Kimball (1983, 1999), Melchert (1984, 1992, 1994), and most recently Kloekhorst (2008, 2014)—has made significant progress toward determining the relationship between plene writing and surface word accent (or ictus), and how Hittite thereby continues prosodic patterns inherited from Proto-Indo-European (PIE). Less well understood, however, are cases in which Hittite departs from such patterns—e.g. (1–4), where it is generally accepted that iterative-inchoative *ské/ő- and denominative *yé/ő- bore ictus on the derivational suffix in PIE (cf. Fortson 2010:989):
3.4.1 “Retraction” and the Synchrony and Diachrony of Hittite Verbal Roots

The verb forms in (1)–(4) are typical examples of the “retraction” phenomenon that has been discussed in the literature on Hittite and other Indo-European languages. While the descriptive ‘retraction’ evident in these forms is often ascribed to analogical processes (e.g. Yoshida 2010:390), they show certain previously unnoticed synchronic regularities that complicate their prehistory. I therefore develop a new account of their diachronic development, beginning with a (primarily) synchronic analysis of the Hittite situation.

Within Hittite, the verbal roots of (1–3) exhibit (both synchronically and diachronically) exceptional fixed root ictus not only in the derived iterative-inchoative stem, but also in the simplex present weak stem and participle: wekanzi (KBo 19.133 6), wekantan (KUB 4.3 Vs 16); aranzı (KBo 5.1 iii 25; iv 15), aranza (KBo 21.57 iii 8); anšanzi (KBo 5.1 iv 4), anšanza (KBo 16.97 Vs. 35). I propose that that the systematic synchronic exceptionality of (1–3) is due to the accentual properties of their verbal roots—specifically, that they are inherently accented. I argue that the prosodic patterns of inherited *skê/ô- and denominative *yê/ô- result directly from the fact that these suffixes are also inherently accented, but yield their accent to accented morphemes to their left. This analysis in turn supports the claim that ictus in Hittite is morphophonologically determined (cf. Yates 2014).

Having established the synchronic properties of (1–4), I turn to their diachronic development. Per Yoshida (2010), the OH/OS a-vocalism of the verbal suffix in (4) suggests that descriptive ‘retraction’ with respect to PIE has occurred already at the oldest stage of Hittite. Similarly, since even the archaic iterative-inchoative stems in (2–3) āršike- and ānšike- show root ictus (cf. Melchert 2013), it is likely that the proposed synchronic analysis holds already for this early stage. In view of these considerations, I offer a reassessment of the prehistory of (1–4), and their implications for Anatolian prosody.

References:


Michael Weiss, Cornell University

East-West Archaisms 97 Years after Vendryes

In a classic paper from 1918 J. Vendryes established the existence of an archaic stratum of lexicon shared between Italo-Celtic in the West and Indo-Iranian in the East. These items, Vendryes claimed, were typically absent in the intervening languages and concentrated in the sacral and legal vocabulary. The goals of this talk are three-fold: (1) to examine the continuing validity of Vendryes hypothesis; to what extent has improved lexical information and morphological analysis strengthened or weakened Vendryes’s core claim? (2) to examine the lexical correspondences between the Western languages and Anatolian and Tocharian; what, if anything, can be said about the patterning of these correspondences and how does Indo-Iranian behave in this regard. (3) To examine the possible causes for the disappearance of these archaic items in the intermediate languages.

Reference:


Jared Klein, University of Georgia

Rigvedic u: A Reassessment Forty Years Later

In Klein 1974 and again in Klein 1978 I interpreted u as originally a particle of anaphora, a usage best illustrated in the construction yá- ...sá/tá- u but also in sequences such as sá/tá- ...sá/tá- u. Since only the second of these two values was coordinately conjunctive, I took this as a Gelenkstelle which led to the subsequent employment of u more generally as a coordinate conjunction, as in I.139.4a aceti dasrå vy u nákim ṛywathaḥ ‘(Your chariot) has appeared, O wondrous ones, and you two open up the firmament’.

A recent article by Adam Catt (Catt 2012) has caused me to reassess my reconstruction, the rationale of which was the fact that the construction yá- ...sá/tá- u was the constructio difficilior relative to the coordinate conjunctive value ‘and’. But
Hock (1989) has argued that in the classical Indo-European “diptych corrélatif” the relative clause was conjoined with its correlative clause. If this is true, then *u*, as Catt maintains, is simply a sentential conjunction which need not necessarily be employed in coordinate structures.

Catt has stressed that as a Wackernagel’s Law clitic *u* may follow any type of word that can occur in clause-initial position. Such words often appear as part of rhetorically anaphoric structures. A thorough analysis of such structures in the Rigveda reveals that *u* is specialized as a conjoiner of identically repeated words. This is in part a consequence of the fact that the domain of anaphora is always sentential and *u* is a sentential clitic. Catt suggests that *u* may be fundamentally a marker of “parallel focus”. I would now go a step further and characterize it as a marker of “identity focus”. This identity may be that of anaphora in the linguistic sense (*yá-...sá/tá-u*) or associated with anaphora in the rhetorical sense (túm...túm *u*, súm...súm *u*, etc.).

References

25. PETRA GOEDEGEBUURE, University of Chicago

The Rise of Split-Ergativity in Hittite

The presence of split-ergativity in the Anatolian languages is currently one of the most debated topics in Anatolian syntactic studies. The question is whether the Hittite endings -anza /-ants/ and -antes /-antes/ and their Luwian and Lycian cognates are genuine ergative case endings within the neuter paradigm (e.g., GArrett 1990, Melchert 2011), consist of a motion suffix -ant- followed by the nominative common gender case endings that allows neuters to occur as transitive subjects (e.g., Laroche 1962), or are the nominatives of personifying or individualizing -ant- derivations (e.g., Zeilfelder 2001: 171ff., Dardano 2010: 184). What the proponents of each option have not fully taken into account is the chronological distribution of -anza-/antes forms. A chronological assessment of all nouns on -ant- shows that there is only clear evidence for the existence of ergative case endings in New Hittite (suggested in Goedegebuure 2012, but without presentation of the evidence), but that /-ants/ and /-antes/ originally consisted of an individuating derivational morpheme -ant- with nominative case endings. The semantic gap created by the grammaticalization of the individuating morpheme into ergative case endings in New Hittite was filled by the thematization of neuter stems. In short, I argue that the Hittite ergatives did not develop as the result of a syntactic reanalysis of sentences containing an ablative in Proto-Anatolian (so Garrett (1990)), but as the result of a change in the meaning.
of the individualizing morpheme -ant- within attested Hittite. Split-ergativity can no longer be reconstructed for Proto-Anatolian.

References:


26. JOSHUA T. KATZ, Princeton University

Vedic vápuś-

The etymology of the Vedic form vápuś- which is both an adjective meaning ‘wonderful, astonishing, marvelous’ and a neuter noun meaning ‘wonderful appearance, beauty’, is unclear. In this paper, I will summarize the argument I have made elsewhere for a hitherto unnoticed Greek cognate before turning to observations on how their pre-Indic background can provide insight into the meaning and poetics of vápuś- and related forms in the Rig Veda itself.

E. South & Southeast Asia I: Jain and Buddhist Text and Practice. JASON NEELIS, Wilfrid Laurier University, Chair (2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) St. Louis Room

27. MARI JYVÄSIÄRVI STUART, University of South Carolina, Columbia

Ayurveda among the Jains: The Case of Mental Illness

Following the valuable work of scholars such as Kenneth Zysk and Gregory Schopen, it is now commonly recognized that Buddhist monastic communities played an important role in the advancement of medical knowledge and the development of the classical Indian medical system, Ayurveda. In contrast, little is known about medical knowledge and practice among the Jains. In fact, many have concluded that pre-modern Jain communities were disinterested in medical treatment altogether, and prohibited it for their monks and nuns because physical discomfort was thought to serve a salvific purpose as it helped to eradicate negative karma. While Jain canonical texts do evidence a negative attitude towards the medical sciences, later post-canonical layers of Jain literature reveal in fact a much more complex relationship to practices of healing. They make frequent references to medical practice and the alleviation of sickness, demonstrate the authors’ familiarity with key Ayurvedic principles and medical
treatments, and devote long sections to interactions with doctors as something that a monastic community would have to negotiate as a matter of course. In this paper, I examine a set of passages from Jain monastic commentaries on the specific topic of treating mental illness. I will argue that the treatment of insanity in these texts has striking parallels with the classic treatises on Ayurveda—the early compendia, Caraka-saṃhitā and Suśruta-saṃhitā, as well as Vāgbhaṭa’s later synthesizing work, Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya. These parallels may indicate that the Jain authors were familiar with, if not the exact material compiled in the Ayurvedic treatises, at least a code of treatment known to physicians of the time that was in agreement with these medical compendia. This leads us to query the common assumption that the Jain tradition has historically not been interested in medicine and healing.

28. DANIEL M. STUART, University of South Carolina, Columbia

Ethical Extremes: Jain Influence in a Middle Period Buddhist Text?

Scholars have long understood that Buddhism and Jainism developed dialogically in conversation with one another, and the earliest known Buddhist texts provide ample evidence of such conversations. Such evidence continues in the sastric and narrative traditions, but largely disappears from the developed sutra literature of Common Era Buddhists—primarily, it seems, because such textual traditions became more concerned with issues of debate internal to the Buddhist tradition. It is striking, therefore, to find indications of Jain influence in the ethical considerations of the Saddharmasūtramupasthānasūtra, a middle period Buddhist Sanskrit text most likely from the Northwest of the Indian Subcontinent. Through a series of close readings, I will show how the text adopts Jain terminology in its discussion of karma, conceives of feelings of pain as purifying, and advocates extreme circumspection with respect to karmic minutiae. These elements of the text complicate its broader mind-centered ideology, and I will argue that the text can only be understood as mediating between Buddhist mentalist philosophical developments and Jain-like concerns with the concrete problems and consequences of minute karmic influences in the physical world.

29. MATHEW D. MILLIGAN, The University of Texas at Austin

Buddhist Monks and Ancestral Mothers: Metronymics in Early Indian Epigraphy

One major characteristic of the early Indian Buddhist sangha is its internal monastic hierarchy according to seniority and the ordination lineages stemming back to the Buddha. However, a very different second kind of lineage may be found in early inscriptions found throughout ancient South Asia: those that link the monks back to an ancestral mother and gotra. Monastic metronymics are a peculiar phenomenon within the context of the monasticism because they often provide status to the monks’ genealogical background before and beyond entering the sangha. In this paper, I survey the geographic usage and linguistic variances of metronymics as found in Buddhist inscriptions dating from 200 BCE to 200 CE. Tracing their appearance and disappearance over time yields insight into some sociological features of the early Indian Buddhist sangha. For example, I study local groups that gave more or less credence to such genealogical markers, the approximate internal hierarchical rank within the monastic order of those identified with metronymics compared to individuals devoid of such identifiers, and finally create an estimated roster of prominent monks that
may have continued contact with their prestigious families after ordination. Such observations potentially assist in filling historical gaps of knowledge pertaining to the lives of monks and how they related to society after taking vows and becoming part of the saṅgha.

30. RYAN RICHARD OVERBEY, University of California, Berkeley

Entering the Vault of Buddhas: Preaching and Presence in the Great Lamp of the Dharma Dhāranī Scripture

Buddhist preachers (dharmaḥāṇaka) played a crucial role in the formation and dissemination of the Mahāyāna. Scholarship on the preacher has tended to collect scattered passages about this figure from multiple scriptures, stitching them together to form a blurry, composite image. There is, however, a fascinating and comprehensive source extant only in Chinese. The Great Lamp of the Dharma Dhāranī Scripture, a massive text in fifty-two chapters, was translated into Chinese in the late sixth century by the Gandhāran monk Jiānagupta. Not only does the Great Lamp give detailed homiletical instruction to Buddhist preachers, it also constructs a theoretical framework for understanding the preacher and his relationship to the Buddhas. In the Great Lamp both the preacher and the audience use a variety of strategies ritually construct the scene of preaching, evoking the presence of Buddhas in the figure of the preacher himself.

Scholars who study Buddhist preachers have often regarded the preacher’s virtual Buddhahood with suspicion, regarding passages on the topic as “exaggerated,” or even as evidence that Mahāyāna scriptures were composed by self-interested dharmaḥāṇakas. In this paper I draw from the Great Lamp to place in broader intellectual-historical context the representing of the Buddha in the figure of the preacher. In the Great Lamp, the veneration of the preacher was not just a matter of self-promotion or hyperbole. Instead, we see a deliberate act of ritual representing using dharāṇi, special features of the Indian syllabary, carefully constructed ritual arenas, and deliberate acts of imagination. Mahāyāna Buddhist preaching can therefore be placed in a historical continuum with later techniques of ritual representing, such as “esoteric” Buddhism or Chán.

31. JOHN R. B. CAMPBELL, University of Virginia

Comparative Study of Sanskrit Poetic (alaṃkāraśāstra) Terminology in Buddhist Tantric Exegesis

The final quarter of the first millennium CE saw frequent use terms and semiotic concepts familiar from Sanskrit poetic theory (alaṃkāra-śāstra) by Indian Buddhist commentators on the so-called Mahāyoga scriptures. Assuming the central role these commentarial systems played in the forging and promoting of a trans-local, Vajrayāna-Mahāyāna synthesis, an inquiry into connections between individual hermeneutical systems and the śāstric discourse of poetics seems timely. Toward this end, this paper presents a comparative case-study of such usages in the commentarial literature dedicated to the Guhyasamāja Tantra, an important early Mahāyoga Tantra. The study focuses in particular on the Pradīpyodgostotana Tīkā, along with its substantial sub-commentaries preserved in Tibetan translation, particularly the Abhisamādhīprakāśikā of Bhavyakirti (c. 12th century). It will be argued that the recurrent use of Sanskrit
poetic tropes and theories of meaning throughout this literature is both indicative of a widespread assimilation of the *mantranaya* by a Buddhist mainstream as well as a key factor in that process of assimilation.

32. **Ingo Strauch**, University of Lausanne

   *Early Vinaya Texts and the Identity of Buddhist Schools: Karmavācanā Formulæ from Ancient Gandhāra*

The composition of the two basic Vinaya texts—the Prātimokṣaśūtra and the karmavācanā formulæ—reaches well back into the “pre-sectarian” period of Buddhist history that was marked by an oral tradition of text preservation and transmission. Soon after the emergence of distinctive school identities both these fundamental texts experienced a series of formal and content-wise revisions that eventually resulted in the establishment of rather distinctive versions. These versions usually allow for a clear attribution of a Vinaya text to one of the schools whose texts are preserved in different canonical traditions of the Buddhist literary heritage.

The redactional process, that led to these distinctive versions in the context of the shift from oral to written modes of text tradition, of the geographical spread of Buddhism and the emergence of various local and regional Buddhist traditions, is hard to reconstruct on the basis of the rather late manuscript material that was available so far.

The Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts from North-West Pakistan contains two birch-bark scrolls with texts of the Vinaya genre. According to their palaeographical dating to the 1st/2nd centuries CE these are the earliest preserved Vinaya manuscripts. The paper will introduce one of them—a small birch-bark with karmavācanā formulæ.

By comparing its evidence with parallels from extant Vinaya traditions the paper will discuss the possible mechanisms of the genesis of textual forms that end up in canonical versions with a distinctive and authoritative textual shape.

33. **Stefan Baums**, University of Munich

   *Peacock Arrows and Haughty Grass: Limits of Meaning in a Gandhāri Buddhist Commentary*

A first-century-CE Gandhāri commentary (British Library fragment 4) explains twelve Buddhist verses with parallels in the Dhammapada, Udāna, Suttanipāta, Theragāthā and other texts. Its exegetical services are similar to those of the commentary in BL 7, 9, 13 and 18 (ed. Baums 2009): linguistic explanation, doctrinal elaboration, categorial reduction, and intertextual references. Script and language of BL 4 are archaic and, together with the inconsistent application of function words, suggest that BL 4 was an earlier exegetical project that served as model for BL 7, 9, 13 and 18. After an overview of the commentary, the paper will focus on one particularly puzzling aspect: Both root verses and commentary contain apparently nonsensical mistranslations of words. One section turns the equivalent of Pali *passa orasikaṃ bāḷham bhetvāna yadi titṭhati* ‘see how (the arrow of desire) stands breaking the firm (heart) within (my) breast’ (Th 753) into *paśa moraśio vahi kidago bhitva titthādi* ‘see, the peacock-crested (sacrificial) grass stands breaking (my) heart.’ In the following section, Vimalakīrtiṇī’s nobility as *dumavhayāya uppanno jāto paṭḍhāketunā* ‘born of the tree-named one, begotten by the bright-banneerd one’ (Th 64) is glossed
by *sarvasa darbho chorido* ‘in all respects, (sacrificial) grass is cleared out.’ While these two passages can be explained as corruptions from Middle Indo-Aryan equivalents of *pasāyūmy aurasikam* and *darpaḥ*, two questions remain: How did they arise in the first place, and why were they allowed to stand in spite of their nonsensical appearance? The paper suggests an answer in terms of the dialectal background of this commentary and the common Buddhist strategy of redefining elements of the Brahmanical sacrificial cult, often poorly understood, in ethical terms.

34. **JASON NEELIS**, Wilfrid Laurier University

The Prisoner of Puṣṭalavatī in a Gāndhārī Avadāna

A story of groundless imprisonment of a character from Puṣṭalavatī (capital of ancient Gandhāra) by a Kṣatrapa named Spaduka is preserved in a first century CE Gāndhārī manuscript in the British Library collection. This brief narrative summary without direct literary parallels reflects efforts to localize Buddhist stories in the geographical, political and cultural contexts of the northwestern borderlands by incorporating contemporary regional figures. Versions of a story about a prisoner in Taxila who is released and becomes a monk in Central Asian Sanskrit fragments of Kumārālātā’s *Kalpānāmyāḍitikā* (edited by Heinrich Lüders, *Bruchstücke der Kalpānāmyāḍitikā des Kumārālātā*, Leipzig: 1926, 205–6) and in a Chinese translation attributed to Kumārajīva (*T4 203, no. 26* translated by Édouard Huber, *Sūtrālaṃkāra traduit en française sur le version chinoise de Kumārajīva*, Paris: 1908, 136–8) provide tempting narrative and thematic overlaps for interpreting the Gāndhārī avadāna. Based on consideration of similarities and differences between the Gāndhārī, Sanskrit and Chinese versions, I will propose that a *double entendre* of release from physical imprisonment and bondage to *samsāra* is attached to the story in the course of its transmission to Central Asia and China.

**A. Ancient Near East II: Special Session: How to Build a Long-Term Text in the Ancient Near East.** Organized by SETH SANDERS, Trinity College. RICHARD E. AVERBECK, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:30 p.m.) Astor Ballroom I

One of the most richly-documented areas of written ancient Near Eastern culture is the creation and transmission of long-lived texts. Documents from the Egyptian Pyramid texts and book(s) of the Dead to the Epic of Gilgamesh represent trajectories that can be traced over centuries and even millennia.

Yet despite the treasure trove of data and presence of valuable studies, the basic patterns and historical trends have never been surveyed by experts, let alone synthesized or theorized. This set of sessions aims to do that. Provoked by and building on new work about how scribes transmitted and created texts in cultures ranging from Old Babylonian Sumerian schools (Paul DelNero) and Late Bronze Age Hittite archives (Theo van den Hout) to first-millennium Judah (Karel van der Toorn, David Carr), we will ask if there was a shared ‘scribal culture’ that had special ANE ways of text-building, or whether text-building was essentially heterogenous. In terms of text production, are there common ways that larger long durée texts were put together out of smaller ones, such as adding new sources to the beginning, end or body of texts, or the serialization of compilations?
In terms of text reproduction, are there methods that were broadly shared, e.g. memorization vs. visual copying? Or is the pattern historically shifting, as in the transition from the memory-based replication of Sumerian classics to the tablet- and sign-based reproduction dominant in first-millennium cuneiform culture? Did scribes see text creation as separate from text reproduction, or was editing inseparable from textual production itself?

35. C. Jay Crisostomo, University of California, Berkeley

The Lexical and the Literary: Intertextuality and Composition in the Old Babylonian Curriculum

The Old Babylonian (c. 1800–1600 B.C.E.) scribal curriculum has been the subject of extensive research over the past 20 years. The primary focus of this research has been reconstructing the order of and the compositions used in Babylonia. The first phase of the curriculum largely comprised the reproduction of lexical lists; the second phase focused on literary compositions. The relationship between the two phases of the curriculum has been described in sociological terms, namely the use of Sumerian in an invented tradition and in the creation of a community of scribes. The present paper examines how the vocabulary used in literary curricular compositions reflects the lexical curricular compositions and what such dialectical interactions imply about text-building in the early second millennium.

The complexities of literary history embodied in the correlation of lexical and literary compositions have been examined previously by M. Civil and P. Michalowski. For the present paper, I discuss the interconnections between the lexical compositions used in Advanced Lexical Education (focusing especially on the lists Izi, Kagal, and Nigga) and two groups of literary compositions, the Enheduana corpus (Inana B, Inana C, Temple Hymns, and Inana and Ebih) and the Debates (Bird and Fish, Hoe and Plow, Copper and Silver, Winter and Summer, and Grain and Sheep). A quantitative assessment of overlapping and unique vocabulary shows that the lexical texts drew extensively from select literary compositions and these same literary compositions refer to particular lexical lists. This intertextuality dialecticism reflects the literary vocabulary of the lexical lists, which were then used to prepare student scribes for reading the literary compositions.

36. Paul-Alain Beaulieu, University of Toronto

Babylonian Chronicles and the Stream of Tradition

Chronicles make up a significant portion of the corpus of historical writings from ancient Babylonia, but to this day there is no agreement on their sources, their classification as textual genre, or their status as traditional texts. This paper will discuss some of these issues within the larger topic of the creation of permanent corpora of texts in the cuneiform world (the Stream of Tradition as coined by Oppenheim).

37. John Wee, University of Chicago

Straight from the Ummânu’s Mouth: Serialization, Classification, and Cuneiform Text Commentary

My paper surveys various approaches and assumptions in scholarship concerning the organization of textual material into “series” (iškaru), by focusing on scientific and casuistic cuneiform texts and their citations and commentaries mainly from the
1st millennium BCE. Of recurring significance are questions on how canonicity is defined, its relationship to serialization, and its hermeneutical similarities with modern practices of science. Building on a typology of commentary designations worked out by E. Frahm (2010), I examine what their syntax implies about the meanings and roles of expressions like “oral lore” (šat pî), “readings” (malsātu), “questions-and-answers” (masʾaltu), and “from the mouth of the ummānu-scholar” (ša pî ummāni). An understanding of this last expression may clarify the often-cited threefold classification of cuneiform texts as “series” (iškaru), “extraneous” (ahû), and “from the mouth of the ummānu-scholar” (ša pî ummāni), which a couple of astrological reports seem to imply. By insisting that the idea of a “text” could be fluid according to pressures of usage and interpretation, my paper answers to the session’s theme by emphasizing the importance of ambiguity and adaptability as factors of textual longevity.

38. Hannah Marcuson, University of Chicago
Ritual Transmission in Hittite Anatolia
In the last ten years, the Hittite ritual corpus and its transmission have received renewed scholarly attention. Significant variations and inconsistencies have been noted among and even within the different manuscripts, and long and complicated transmission histories have been outlined for several groups of texts. However, many larger questions remain unanswered: for example, what can be said about the reasons for, the context of, and the methods used in this transmission? Were these texts copied visually, or through memorization? If they were “scribal” in context, what relationship did they bear to the rituals practiced in contemporary Hittite society? Finally, what can be said about the (usually female) ascribed “authors” of these texts? I will address these questions through extensive textual analysis of the Hittite “Old Woman” rituals, which make up the largest portion of the Hittite ritual corpus.

39. Antonio J. Morales, Freie Universität Berlin
Text-building and transmission of Pyramid Texts in the Third Millennium BCE: Iteration, Objectification, and Change
The emergence of ancient Egyptian mortuary literature in the third millennium BCE is the history of the adaptation of recitational materials to the eventualities of materiality and media. Upon a gradual development as a layering of processes, the transformation of the oral discourse into writing began with the use of papyri for transcribing the guidelines of ritual performances as aide-mémoire, and culminated with the concealment of sacerdotal voices and deeds into the sealed-off crypt of king Wenis (ca. 2345 BCE). Thus, the genuine innovation of the Memphite priests, their real landmark, was the selfconscious recontextualization of discursive and scriptural materials into the architecture of the pyramid of a king in the late Old Kingdom, not the invention of a corpus. As a result, the texts inscribed on the walls of the king’s underground chambers did no longer belong to the realm of verbal art or functioned as operative instructions for the priests performing rituals. Now, these inscriptions represented a new systematization of ritual practices that perpetuated in stone their ultimate goal, the transfiguration of the deceased in the afterlife.

The process of commitment of ritual and magical recitations into scriptio continua in the Pyramid Texts was subjected to several stages of adaptation, detachability, and recentering. In mapping these dimensions of transformation, I shall identify a series of
transformational procedures mainly prompted by ritual iteration and change, namely entextualization and textualization, accompanied by decontextualization, objectification, and recontextualization. While the first two mechanisms of discourse adaptation superseded each other, the latter three procedures were the result of decentering the discourse from its original context. Investigating how the corpus emerged through the combination of recitations from different settings can therefore elucidate such issues as the transformation of oral written discourse into literary style, the remnant presence of poetic and speech elements in the corpus, and its flexibility to disseminate and adapt to divergent mortuary practices and beliefs in the second millennia BCE and beyond.

40. FOY SCALF, University of Chicago

From Beginning to End: Funerary Text Creation in Greco-Roman Egypt

With a continuous tradition spanning more than two millennia, the funerary text tradition in ancient Egypt offers an excellent data set for studying how compositions were composed and passed on in the ancient world. Clear evidence demonstrates the importance and mechanics of scribal copying in the transmission process. What remain less clear are the methods by which new compositions were created. In some cases, the accretion of scholia, commentary, and exegesis produced new versions of old texts. This is well illustrated by the continuum between Coffin Text (CT) spell 335 and Book of the Dead (BD) spell 17. In other cases, however, large collections appear in writing for the first time showing few hints at the earlier stages of their production. This is true for the Pyramid Texts (PT), whose pre-written forms can only be hypothesized.

Fortunately, fragmentary steps from conception to textualization are partially preserved for a relatively little studied corpus from Roman Period Egypt. A funerary composition sometimes referred to as the Demotic Book of Breathing consists of a series of formulæ recited on behalf of the deceased. It formed the end of the long tradition of native funerary literature in ancient Egypt, reaching its peak in the second century CE after the Book of the Dead had nearly vanished. Despite clearly representing the final stage in the PT-CT-BD tradition, scribes did not create this composition by copying from its predecessors. Instead, a new composition was crafted without direct parallel within the preserved comparanda. In addition, the new text was never fixed, as fifty separate exemplars attest to a core set of formulæ that could be added to, subtracted from, or rearranged at will. The variance in this corpus reflects a growing trend towards multiplicity in similar funerary manuscripts from Greco-Roman Egypt. A portion of this variance can be demonstrated to derive from an active oral tradition and it is this oral tradition, I will argue, that provided the raw material for new compositions such as the Demotic Book of Breathing. This paper will therefore address how textual traditions began by looking at the very end of funerary literature in ancient Egypt.

41. AARON TUGENDHAFT, University of Chicago

Were Alphabetic Cuneiform Texts Transmitted and Why Might it Matter?

As soon as they were first discovered in the early 20th century, Ugaritic literary texts began to be discussed as attesting a long Northwest Semitic poetic tradition—though the method of transmission was variously imagined as oral or written. More recent
work, in particular that of Dennis Pardee, has called such a picture into question, asserting that there is but slight evidence (if any) for such textual transmission—at least in writing. In response, Ed Greenstein has recently attempted to reaffirm a version of the traditional picture. This paper will present the available evidence and attempt to clarify the interlocking questions that are at play in order to attain a deeper understanding of the relationship between tradition and innovation at Ugarit in the late 13th century BCE, and its political implications.

42. Seth Sanders, Trinity College
Joseph, Ahikar and Enoch: Towards a History of Hebrew and Aramaic Narrative Technique in the First Millennium BCE

Formally, the narratives of the Hebrew Bible present a fascinatingly heterogenous collection. The most structurally distinctive narratives—the interwoven variants in the Pentateuch—differ as much from the most coherent biblical narratives like the stories of Ruth or Elijah as they do from other ancient Semitic narratives like the Ugaritic epic of Baal or the Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh. Virtually every possible historical account has been proposed to explain this pattern: the Pentateuch’s narratives could have been interwoven from preexisting sources, deliberately supplemented by editors, or grown piecemeal through the addition of fragments. This paper will argue that one of the main reasons it has been difficult to produce a plausible historical account of the Pentateuch as ancient Near Eastern literature is that some of the most relevant evidence has remained siloed off due to anachronistic academic or theological divisions not germane to the first millennium BCE. It will address this problem by examining first-millennium Hebrew compositional techniques in light of Aramaic, and vice-versa, using three well-known stories about sages.

To create more appropriate categories, I will first establish a baseline for the history of Hebrew and Aramaic prose narrative by briefly noting relevant features of the epigraphically attested Old Hebrew and Old Aramaic narratives of the late Iron Age. It will then note an important contrast between the two most extensively preserved Aramaic narratives of the Persian and early Hellenistic periods, the Tale of Ahiqar and the Enochic Book of the Watchers. While Ahiqar continues basic narrative features of Old Aramaic, the Book of the Watchers departs radically by interweaving parallel variants of the myth of the fallen angels (one version with Azazel as main protagonist and one version starring Shemihaza). These two epigraphically dated narratives about sages display a transition from a literary value of coherence in Ahiqar to one of comprehensiveness in the Book of the Watchers, in which multiple variants were preserved in narrative order at the cost of narrative coherence.

To conclude, I will ask where the Hebrew tale of Joseph fits into the baseline established by the epigraphically dated Aramaic narratives. Typologically the Joseph story shows a form of interweaving, and a departure from a shared value of coherence, of the type paralleled within Aramaic literature in the Book of the Watchers. While these hardly represent a complete picture of first-millennium narrative, they attest a clear but previous unremarked historical pattern in Northwest Semitic literature between the Iron Age and Hellenistic period. Working on inherited Hebrew as well as Aramaic narrative sources, Jewish scribal culture innovated a mode of building texts by compiling variants according to the order of their shared plots. The paper thus documents for the first time a mode of textbuilding that is independently attested
in both non-biblical epigraphic texts and Pentateuchal narrative, which represents a distinctive Judean analogue to the distinctively Mesopotamian tablet-based technique of serialization.

43. Ronnie Goldstein, Hebrew University Jerusalem

On Lies, Rumors and Rejected Traditions

The paper will deal with a literary device in the stories about Jeremiah and its consequences on our understanding of the different ways in which the existence of rejected traditions was explained in biblical times. The departure point of the discussion will be the double account of the secret encounter between Zedekiah and Jeremiah (Jeremiah 37:17–21; 38:14–28), and our suggestion that the writer of one of these versions was aware of the existence of the other and dealt with it in a unique manner. Not satisfied merely to replace the first version, the author of the revision appeared to have created an explanation for the existence of the other version as well. While the literary device, with its aim of discrediting an extant tradition, is unknown elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, the paper will discuss several examples of the method found in other ancient texts. These examples allow us to qualify the different ways in which this technique was used, and to understand its appearance in the Biblical text more fully.

B. East Asia I: Phonology. David B. Honey, Brigham Young University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m.) St. Ann Room

44. Nathan Vedal, Harvard University

Numerological Phonology: A Case Study in Ming Dynasty Scholarship

One of the most striking aspects of Ming dynasty (1368–1644) scholarship is the obsession with numbers, patterns, and all-encompassing schemes. Shao Yong (1011–1077), perhaps the strangest and most peripheral of the founding fathers of Neo-Confucianism, achieved a high position in the minds of many Ming scholars. However, the world of Ming scholars was different from that of Shao and the Song dynasty. Shao Yong was not primarily a phonologist, and his rhyme tables were exclusively part of his method for demonstrating a numerological basis for all phenomena. In the Ming, Shao’s approach was utilized in several scholarly works in which phonology was in fact the primary concern. It is this uneasy balance of theory and scholarly discipline that I am concerned with in this paper.

The problem I attempt to answer is what the appeal of the Shao Yong approach was to Ming scholars, particularly in the context of what could be termed a scientific field. By focusing on the mid-late Ming, I am looking at a highly-rarefied version of scholarly numerology. This will build on John Henderson’s classic study of cosmological thought in China. However by focusing on a relatively short period of time I will bring clarity to new developments in numerological thought during the Ming, and I believe ultimately tell us more about the tensions in post-Song scholarly and scientific thought. For the scholars discussed in this paper, there was a real connection between phonology and understanding the workings of the universe. At the same time, they hoped to contribute to the specific field of phonology, and framed their studies in response to a tradition of phonological scholarship. By refashioning an older numerological method, they hoped to create a more coherent framework for linguistic analysis.
The broad geographical spread that Mandarin dialects have today finds its origins in a variety of historical factors and events. Since at least Song times Mandarin dialects have moved into areas that once were on the frontier and peripheral regions in China as populations shifted and migrated due to famine, rebellion, military needs or expediencies, and refugee exodus. The city of Hangzhou became Mandarin speaking after the imperial court took refuge there, fleeing down from Kaifeng at the start of the Southern Song. Southwestern Mandarin took shape in the mix of Jiang-Huai and southern-type Mandarin that flooded into Sichuan and regions further south in the early years of the Ming. Much of this population movement resulted from the forced migrations instituted during the Hongwu (1368–1398) reign period. The earliest settlements of Mandarin speakers in China’s far northwest territories were initiated by the Qing when the Kangxi emperor established military courier stations to support troops fighting Russian encroachments along the Amur. These stations were manned by prisoners captured during the war against the Three Feudatories (Sannian zhi luann 三藩之亂 1673–1681) in Yunnan 云南 and Guizhou 貴州, where the final suppression of that revolt occurred. The communities that formed around the stations spoke a conservative variety of Southwestern Mandarin in a string of “zhannhua 战话” dialect islands that lasted throughout the Qing. Later the Northeast was inundated by northern Mandarin speakers primarily from Hebei and Shandong escaping flood and famine in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

This presentation takes a comparative perspective to examine the history, geography, and characteristics of these and other outlying Mandarin varieties, including the jinha 軍话 ‘military dialect’ and zhenghua 正话 ‘standard speech’ types that were brought to Guangzhou in the Ming.

The Zuozhuan recounts that in the second year of Lord Min (660 BCE), the Dī overthrew the state of Wēi, but in the following year, Lord Huán of Qi relocated Wēi, reestablishing its ancestral sacrifices. At least ten passages related to these events appear in eight different early Chinese works: in addition to the Zuozhuan, related accounts also appear in Lü shi chünqiü, Hán Shī wáizhuan, Xinxü, Lúnhéng, Shíjí (two accounts), Xinshü, and Guánzí (two accounts). It is widely acknowledged that early Chinese texts are composed of “building blocks”, that is, segments of text that were borrowed, modified, and reused in different contexts. Yet rather than being essentially the same story retold with variations or additions—that is, simple instances of building blocks borrowed and reused—these ten passages involve a far more complicated situation, in which three (possibly four) originally independent narratives have been repurposed and combined in different ways. This paper explores the relationships
among these narratives. The goal is not to reconstruct an earlier Urtext (or Urtexts) but to examine how these multiple story lines were combined and deployed in varying contexts to achieve different ends.

48. **Antje Richter**, University of Colorado at Boulder

**Illness and Healing in Chinese Medieval Narratives**

In this talk I am going to introduce a part of a larger project dedicated to medical narratives in medieval Chinese literature, a field that is practically unexplored despite the prevalence of medical narratives and their cultural and literary significance. As basic facts of life, illness and healing occur frequently and in a variety of patterns in Chinese literary texts of different genres, among which prose texts—spanning a wide range from historical to fictional—are especially interesting on account of the complexity and detail of their depictions. I will first discuss the internal structure of medical narratives, in particular how the following aspects are represented: causes and the development of diseases, the relationship between healers and patients and their respective agencies, the personal experience of illness, suffering, and healing. In the second part I will focus on the rhetorical and ideological functions of medical narratives within these literary texts, and in particular ask what role they play in larger narrative contexts and whether they are determined by didactic purposes. While one goal of this investigation is to find out how the authors of these texts tried to make sense of the working of their bodies and of illness, suffering, and healing, another goal is to highlight medical narratives as a reflection of these authors’ literary craft and narrative awareness.

49. **Michelle Low**, University of Northern Colorado

**Heaven Help Us: Baochou and Baoen in Chinese Niuxia Literature**

Stories about *niuxia* ("female knights") have held a significant place in the literature of China. They have appeared in historical and fictional works, as well as in poetry and drama throughout Chinese literature, written in both classical and vernacular language. This paper builds upon previous scholarship on the *niuxia* subgenre, specifically in Tang period classical language short stories, to further distinguish the *niuxia* from their male counterparts, the *youxia* ("wandering knights"). While previous scholars have discussed characteristics of the *youxia*, or themes in tales of the *niuxia* from early medieval through modern times, I show that although the *niuxia* are similar in many ways to their male counterparts, they possess certain moral characteristics that distinguish them from the archetypical *youxia* in significant ways. In addition to the traits of loyalty, righteousness, and a sense of justice that manifest in the youxia, even more central to the *niuxia* are the virtues of chastity and fidelity, both of which are ideal behaviors of women in traditional Confucian society. Besides guarding their chastity and maintaining loyalty to their husbands or betrothed, the *niuxia* also maintain a pronounced sense of filial piety, especially towards the male members of her family (fathers, fathers-in-law, brothers, or uncles). While there are stories that depict the *niuxia* acting as mercenaries, many more accounts show the *niuxia* as motivated into action for personal reasons, most often for *bao* ("reparation"). This paper focuses specifically on how the concepts of *baochou* ("repaying debts of enmity/vengeance") and *baoen* ("repaying debts of gratitude") manifest in several Tang period classical
language short stories of nūxia. In particular, I examine how the punishments and rewards meted out by the nūxia contribute to balancing social and heavenly order, as well as to alleviating the tension created when imperial law fails to uphold justice.

D. Islamic Near East III: Manuscripts and Material Culture. JONATHAN RODGERS, University of Michigan, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m.) Astor Ballroom II

50. ASMA HELALI, Institute of Ismaili Studies

Was the Šanāʾ Palimpsest a Work in Progress? Reconsideration of Old Qurʾān Manuscript Studies

Manuscript 01–27.1 held in the Dar al-Maḥtūtāt in Šanāʾ, Yemen, has been known as the “Šanāʾ palimpsest” since its discovery in 1976 by the German scholar Gerd Puin. MS 01-27.1 contains 38 folios of two superimposed Qurʾānic texts. The studies on this manuscript emerged from the scholarly interest in Qurʾān manuscripts that arose in the nineteenth century. The new dating technologies, namely radiocarbon 14 (RC14) dating, have influenced the atmosphere of research in the field thanks to the attractive prospects presented by the oldest dates obtained through this technique. Most of the studies focus on the differences between the manuscript, especially the lower layer, and the standard Qurʾān (Cairo edition). In my paper, I explain my method of deciphering and reconstructing the lower layer of the manuscript; I describe the challenges of the edition work and present my principal results. In contrast to other scholars who have studied the Šanāʾ palimpsest, such as Gerd Puin, Elisabeth Puin, Behnam Sadeghi and Mohcen Goudarzi, I focus on the usage of the manuscript by its contemporaries during the first/second century AH (seventh/eighth century CE). I conclude that MS 01–27.1 represents, especially in the lower layer, a work in progress and was never used as complete copy of the Qurʾān. My paper summarises my forthcoming book: The Oldest manuscript of Qurʾān in the view of its history of transmission. Manuscript 01-27.1 DAM, Šanāʾ. Edition and Commentary.

51. ADAM BURSI, Cornell University

Medicine without Idolatry: Healing Words in Early Islam

In early Islamic legal sources, healing and apotropaic incantations (Arabic ruqan) appear as a point of contention, as late seventh- and early eighth-century Islamic jurists debate the acceptability for Islamic practice of using ritually powerful words in the pursuit of physical health. Very critical attitudes appear, such as when the Kūfī jurist Ibrāhīm al-Nakhaʿī (d. ca. 96/717) states that “they hated amulets, incantations, and charms,” expressing a clear distrust of these medicinal words and objects. On the other hand, we also find more lenient opinions about many of these same practices, as when al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarî (d. 110/728) “saw no problem in the incantation against venom.” In statements ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad, we similarly find variant positions over the acceptability of healing incantations. In some cases, the Prophet labels their usage as idolatry (Arabic shirk) or sorcery (Arabic sihr), while in other cases the Prophet is said to have permitted certain types of incantations, as in the report that “the Prophet allowed an incantation for the evil eye and fever.”
I suggest that these divergent reports on incantations and other healing practices are related to early debates in Iraq and the Hijāz over the definition of acceptably “Islamic” practices, discussed by M. J. Kister and others. The Islamic sources do not question the efficacy of these healing practices: rather the tension is between the health enabled by such efficacious practices and the ritual pollution they may involve. Using the polemical labels “sorcery” and “idolatry” to discourage certain practices, these reports witness efforts to demarcate a specifically “Islamic” ritual practice of religious healing. This paper will explore the debates over healing practices in early Islam using the theories of Catherine Bell and Stanley Tambiah on the power of ritually recited words and the contested distinctions between “religion,” “sorcery,” “idolatry,” and “medicine.”

52. Paul Walker, University of Chicago

Should the Author’s Autograph Always have Automatic Precedence in an Edition: The Case of Maqrizi’s History of the Fatimids

The immense value of Maqrizi’s contributions to the preservation and reconstruction of Fatimid history makes what survives from his hand often exceptionally important. In this case, as with other examples of his writings, we possess, in a Gotha manuscript, the autograph copy of a portion of his original. To date four separate editions have appeared, either of that exact section or of the same material as part of an edition of the whole work. Although the modern editors professed reliance on it, a close examination raises questions. Did they all actually honor Maqrizi’s apparent intention in his choice of words? Or are they and we entitled to second-guess him? If so when and under what circumstances?

53. Bilal Orfali, Ohio State University

Emending the Maqamät of Hamadhānī

The Maqāmāt of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī has been the subject of a large number of articles and monographs in the field of Arabic literature. In spite of the recognized importance of Hamadhānī’s Maqāmāt, basic questions about the circumstances of the text’s authorship, collection, and transmission remain to be answered. This presentation reviews recent studies on the collection of Hamadhānī’s Maqāmāt and on the manuscript tradition of the work. These studies suggest difficulties in offering basic interpretations of the text of the maqamāt in the absence of a critical edition based on a thorough study of the work’s manuscript tradition. The presentation will then focus on select examples of textual differences between various manuscripts of the Maqamāt and how these differences affect the interpretation of the text.

54. D. Gershon Lewenthal, University of Oklahoma

‘The (Gem) Star-Spangled Banner yet Waves’: Iranian Priceless Treasures In Early Islamic History and Memory

The Arab-Islamic conquest literature is replete with accounts of great spoils seized by Muslim warriors during their invasion of Sasanian Iran. In fact, each major battle resulted allegedly in the capture of a remarkable object of astounding perfection and inestimable value, most notably the imperial Iranian standard, the Derafsh-e kāvarīyan at the Battle of al-Qādisiyah.
The exaggerated descriptions of these objects served multiple purposes in early Islamic society. Beyond their entertainment purpose for early oral story-tellers, reports of these treasures underscored the ‘embarrassment of riches’ in Sasanian society and the profound corruption of non-Muslim rule. Accompanying tales about Muslim fighters who failed to appreciate the worth of these items and about Muslim leaders’ insistence upon their equitable distribution—even at a cost of destroying the priceless objects—established the purity of Muslim aims. In this manner, the accounts of these spoils justified the conquest of Iran to both Muslims and non-Muslims in early Islamic society. Later historians may have also sought to use these stories as a subtle critique of their own worldly patrons. Finally, reports of the division of the booty seized by Muslim warriors served as a legal precedent for later Islamic scholars.

Original: Ultimately, the hyperbolic nature of the accounts of these objects tore them loose from their historical moorings, transforming them into symbols of empire, patterned after remembered and imagined glories of Sasanian Iran. But having entered into the realm of Islam, these precious items took on—somewhat ironically—an ephemeral nature. The description of the richness of the loot seized during the vanquishing of the Sasanian Empire reinforced the message of the legitimacy of Islam and dissoluteness of pre-Islamic Iran. Yet, paradoxically, as Persian-speaking provinces of the Islamic world began to assert autonomy beginning in the Ninth Century, new Muslim Iranians reclaimed these now-symbolic objects, adding them to their cultural arsenal in their efforts to forge an Islamic Iranian identity.

E. South and Southeast Asia II: Dharma: Household, Polity, and Person.
PATRICK OLIVELLE, The University of Texas at Austin, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) St. Louis Room

55. MATTHEW R. SAYERS, Lebanon Valley College
Pilgrimage to Feed the Dead: The Earliest Connections between śrāddha and tīrtha

The tradition of performing the śrāddha at Gaya dates back to the beginning of the Common Era. From the single verse extolling Gaya as the place to perform the śrāddha in the Vasiṣṭha Dharmasūtra to the more fulsome description of the pilgrimage to Gaya found in the Gaya Mahātmyā the Brahmin authors increasingly associate the performance of the śrāddha with pilgrimage to a tīrtha. In this paper I will highlight emergence of the connection between the ancestral rites and pilgrimage generally and outline the development of formulaic literary tropes used to extol the virtue of performing the śrāddha at Gaya specifically within the dharma literature and the Purāṇas. I aim to develop a better understanding of the earlier work done on the development of the Gaya Mahātmyā, specifically by Jacques, which fails to recognize some of the earliest patterns in the development of this mythic text. My goal is to develop a genealogy of the legend of Gaya with a special focus on the role the increased importance the śrāddha played in the dharma literature as central to the construction of the Gaya Mahātmyā.

56. DONALD R. DAVIS, JR., The University of Texas at Austin
“Sonuva...”: A Tiny History of the Putra and Duhitr in Dharmaśāstra

The study of the legal and religious position of sons and daughters in ancient India has been overdetermined by the compelling lists of twelve types of sons and the
succession lists for sons and daughters in the area of inheritance. In this preliminary survey, I will examine evidence for the social history of sons and daughters from other parts of the Dharmaśāstras and from epigraphical and literary sources. As one would expect the actual roles of children in legal and religious contexts vary a lot. The purpose of this communication will be to highlight some of the more interesting roles of children by building on previous work done by Jolly, Rocher, Trautmann, and Orr.

57. TIMOTHY LUBIN, Washington and Lee University

Minimum Daily Requirements: Daily Duties as a Template for the Pious Householder

From an early date, proper conduct (ācāra) for an Ārya came to be defined in terms of regular daily duties (āhnikāni), comprising a routine of personal hygiene and purity as well as acts of worship. The explicit aim of this meticulous routine was to prescribe a comprehensive basic standard of practice for the ideal ritual agent (an idea expressed already in the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa) though the ideal for the five daily “great sacrifices” [mahāyajñāh]. This perpetual cycle of sacred activity was intended to constitute one as an observant householder, and to serve as a template for others who wished to embrace the emergent varṇāśramadharma (piety in accordance with birth-class and mode of life). This paper begins with a brief overview of the range of activities falling within the category of āhnikā, and then discusses some oft-neglected sources from the early centuries of the Common Era (including the Baudhāyanaaghyaparibhāṣāsūtra and the Hiranyakṣigṛhyāśeṣasūtra) in which the notion of a set of “minimum daily requirements” of Brahmanical piety was first formulated.

58. STEPHANIE JAMISON, University of California Los Angeles

Houses, Housewives, and Householders

The standard word for ‘householder’ found in the dharma literature and other treatments of the āśrama system is grha-stha-, but this word does not occur in Vedic texts, where terms such as grha-pati- are found instead. Not surprisingly the change is not a mere case of lexical substitution, but involves the reshaping of a ritual role defined by the domestic fire. This paper will sketch the development and evolution of the concept of the householder from earliest Vedic through the middle Vedic texts and the gṛhya sūtras and into the dharma texts, paying especial attention to the pivotal role of the housewife in this reconceptualization and to the changing lexical realizations of these figures.

59. JAMES L. FITZGERALD, Brown University

Who put the dharma in the dharmaśāstra?

Patrick Olivelle has shown that the word dharma was not a particularly prominent word in Brahminic discourse prior to the emergence of the dharmasūtras in the third c. BCE. He pointed out that the word does occur in the Rg Veda (RV), though not with great frequency nor in a centrally important way, and he documented the thin thread of occurrences of the word in later Vedic literature. Olivelle showed further that in the post-Vedic era of Sanskrit literature, the word dharma showed up as a centrally

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prominent term in broadly datable texts first in the buddhavacana, then, possibly, the Apastamba Dharmasūtra (ca. 300 BCE), then the edicts of Aśoka, and after that in the later dharmasūtras, the epics, purāṇas, and dharmashastra. Olivelle further noted that a prominent use of the word by the Buddha and Aśoka shared an important continuity with Rṣvedic usage, in the sense of a ruler’s or leader’s issuing commands or directives (sāsana). Olivelle suggested that the genre of the dharmasūtras was created as a direct response to these developments, in which some members of the Brahminic tradition “reappropriated and re-defined dharma” to “underpin not the new theologies opposed to Brahmanical ritualism but the traditional values of the Brahmanical tradition rooted in the Vedas.”

My paper will re-examine the continua of the semantic history of dharma between the time of the RV and the prominent appearance of the word in the dharmasūtras and the MBh. It will then argue that while Olivelle may well be right that the existence of the institution of dharmashastra—that is, the creation of the textual genre of the dharmasūtras—was a cultural and political response to the institutionalization of the śramaṇas in the East and the ethical corollaries of their teachings becoming central to a grand political and social vision promulgated by a vastly powerful emperor, in fact the Brahminic authors of the sutras and the epics did not appropriate either the idea or the word dharma from their eastern challengers.

60. MARK McClish, Birmingham-Southern College

The Substance and Rhetoric of the Rājadharma in Three Traditions

In preparation for the forthcoming Oxford History of Religious Law and Jurisprudence, this talk provides an overview of scholarship on the topic of rājadharma (‘the Law for kings’) in the classical period and, in particular, critiques syncretic approaches to the topic that flatten significant differences in its presentation within various traditions, an approach exemplified by the work of Aiyangar (1941) and Kane (1946). Instead, this talk seeks to build on studies such as those by Sinha (1991) that foreground historical dynamism in the development of rājadharma as a key dimension of the religious and political history of the subcontinent.

This talk will outline an approach to the topic that relies on a differentiation between various dimensions of rājadharma: as political theory, as a body of techniques for statecraft, as kingly ethics, and, most importantly, as political rhetoric. In particular, I will focus on the link between the substance and rhetoric of rājadharma in three classical literatures: the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the early dharma tradition, and the Rājadharmaparvan of the Mahābhārata. It is hoped that such a comparative study can contribute directly to the strengthening of historical perspectives on rājadharma over against syncretic accounts.

61. DAVID BRICK, Yale University

India’s Seven Deadly Sins: Interpreting Apastamba’s Pataniyas in Light of Earlier Sources

Within classical Brahmanical thought, clearly the most important category of sin is sin causing loss of caste, variously referred to in Sanskrit as either pātaka or pataniya. Thus, Dharmashastra literature is replete with differing lists of such sins, the earliest of which is found at Apastamba Dharmasūtra 1.21.7–11. It is the aim of this paper
to provide a more detailed analysis of this difficult, yet historically significant passage of Āpastamba than is hitherto available. To this end, the paper will begin by ascertaining, with as much certainty and precision as possible, the meaning of each sin in Āpastamba’s list. In this, it will largely confirm the interpretations of both the text’s most well-known modern translators (Georg Bühler and Patrick Olivelle) and its sole medieval commentator (Haradatta). It will, however, disagree with all of these authorities on one significant point: the meaning of the term abhiśastya, which has been consistently, but probably incorrectly taken to denote any sin that causes one to become an abhiśasta (“reviled person”). Having established the most likely meaning of each of the sins given in Āpastamba’s list, this paper will then argue that the list as a whole is fundamentally derived from the interpretation of Rgveda 10.5.6 found at Nirukta 6.27. Hence, it will show that earlier scripture, rather than contemporaneous custom, was likely the primary source of Āpastamba’s list of pataniyás.

62. JASON SCHWARTZ, University of California, Santa Barbara

Why I Am So Clever, Why I Write Such Excellent Books, and What I Did to the Gods: Hemādri Reimagines Brahminical Normativity

As Hemādri wrote in his Vrata Khaṇḍa of the Caturvargacintāmaṇi, “Some people desire knowledge (jijnāṣā), others simply know, because they’ve read my books. And thus, by everyone without exception, there is designated no one else who ever was or will be, on the surface of the earth, more capable of knowing and acting than Hemādriṣūri.”

This presentation will focus on reconstructing the audacious intellectual vision of Hemādri, royal minister of the Seuna Yādava king at Devgiri, a deeply influential, but essentially unstudied, thirteenth-century polymath whose works left an indelible impression on the character of early modern Hinduism. Overturning centuries of Pūrvamīmāṃsaka-inflected consensus in regard to the proper scope of the field of law, Hemādri reimagines the emerging genre of the dharmaṇibandha as a vehicle for articulating a common (sāmānya/sādhāraṇa) dharma founded on shared moral values and ritual practices that are not contingent on one’s caste identity, sectarian commitments, or social position. Intent upon indicating the overwhelming persistence of shared values and ritual practices across a vast array of interpretive communities, Hemādri marshals a mountain of evidence, starting from the Grhya literature and working outward, which demonstrates that ancillary works of dharma literature, Puriṇc texts, and the “sectarian” dharmaṇastra of the Śaivas and Bhaṭavatas have common notions ranging from what constitutes a sweet thing to how one should define and use the products from a cow. In other words, in a manner distinctly reminiscent of more familiar traditions of Hindu Universalism, he purports to show that they share a worldview. I will read Hemādri’s interpretive project against the backdrop of the religious landscape of his day, drawing especially upon evidence from the Caturvargacintāmaṇi’s lost Tīrtha Khaṇḍa, portions of which I have recovered from an archive in Rajasthan.
A. Ancient Near East III: New Textual Discoveries. H. CRAIG MELCHERT, University of California Los Angeles, Chair (1:30 p.m.–2:45 p.m.) Astor Ballroom I

63. TYTUS MIKOŁAJCZAK, University of Chicago

Newly Recovered Inscriptions from Persepolis in the OI Museum

In the course of work on the Achemenet Project, a joint effort of the Oriental Institute and the Musée du Louvre to photograph and document Achemenid objects in the collection of the Oriental Institute Museum, I have identified fragmentary inscriptions that were previously unpublished, incompletely published, and/or misidentified. Of greatest importance is a fragment of an Elamite version of XP1, a text of Xerxes hitherto thought to be monolingual on the basis of an Old Persian exemplar discovered in 1967, that is, thirty years after the OI’s Elamite fragment was excavated. Also notable are two stone blocks inscribed in Greek, possibly from the reign of Alexander the Great or of Peucetas, the satrap of Persis appointed by Alexander. Greek epigraphers have been aware of these inscriptions, but knowledge of the current location was lost until now. This paper will discuss these inscribed fragments and their archeological context.

64. JACOB LAUINGER, The Johns Hopkins University

A Stele of Sargon II at Tell Tayinat

After studying five inscribed stone fragments from Tell Tayinat—four found by the Oriental Institute’s Syrian-Hittite Expedition and currently in the collection of the OI and one brought several years ago to the Hatay Archaeological Museum by a farmer who found it at Tell Tayinat—I have identified them as pieces of a hitherto unrecognized stele of Sargon II. In this paper, I describe the fragments; present the cuneiform text inscribed on them; explain why they derive from a single monumental stele; discuss reasons for attributing this stele to Sargon II; and, finally, consider why Sargon II may have erected it at Tell Tayinat.

65. M. WILLIS MONROE, Brown University

New Developments in Seleucid Astrology: A Re-analysis of the Micro-zodiac

Since the publication of Weidner’s study of the micro-zodiac texts, the tablets have often served as an example of the development of unique astrological texts during the Hellenistic period in Mesopotamia. These texts are particular interesting not only because of their connection with the old traditional genres of Mesopotamian learning, but also the way in which the scribes working with this material altered the format of previous texts and incorporated it into a schematic layout using the newly developed zodiac as their guiding paradigm. Recent work by the speaker has identified new fragments of this important text in museum collections. These new fragments help to give a fuller picture of the overall structure of the text, as well as point to key differences between the traditions extent in both Babylon and Uruk. From studying these new exemplars of the text it is clear that the scribes working with this material were borrowing from the same sources, but in some cases producing different versions of the text. While the overarching structure of the micro-zodiac remains constant, each new piece fits well within the traditional scheme. In addition, the composition of these texts has much to say about the way in which Mesopotamian scholars worked
with older material and wrote new texts. In particular, the tabular formatting of the text could function as a way of preserving knowledge transferred from more traditional methods of recording scholarly learning.

66. MARK E. COHEN, University of Maryland
Calendar Studies: Reexamining the Accepted Wisdom

This paper will present new argumentation on several calendrical issues, from Canaan to Babylon. It will argue that the Canaanite calendar, which is universally accepted as beginning in the fall, actually began in the spring. In addition it will discuss the possible significance of the elunum festival, as well as other issues.

67. RICHARD E. AVERBECK, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School
The Gods and the Creation of Humanity in KAR 4

Two new editions of the bilingual Sumerian and Akkadian creation text KAR 4 have appeared in the last two years; one by the late and lamented W. G. Lambert (Babylonian Creation Myths, 2013) and the other by Jan J. W. Lisman (AOAT 409, 2013). There are major differences between them; owing to the ongoing difficulties in our understanding of this composition. This paper will focus on the Sumerian text of the myth with the purpose of highlighting and clarifying the major problems, and suggesting helpful solutions to them. The goal is to advance our comprehension of this composition, in particular, and Sumero-Mesopotamian creation traditions in general.

For example, the text begins: (1) \(u\) an \(ki-ta\) gi-na \(bad-a-ta\)-\(e\)-\(s\)-a-\(\frac{-}{-}\) (2) \(dama\)-\(inanna\)-\(ke\)-\(e\)-\(ne\) ba-\(se\)_\(12\)-\(se\)_\(12\)-\(e\)-\(d\) (3) \(u\) \(ki\) \(\tilde{g}\)-\(\tilde{g}\)-\(\tilde{e}\)-\(d\) ki \(\tilde{d}\)-\(\tilde{d}\)-\(a\)-\(t\) “(1) After heaven was separated from earth, its firm companion, (2) so the mother goddesses could dwell there; (3) after the earth was built up to establish (a) place(s) there; . . .” First, some take the verb in line 2 to mean “create, appear” (e.g., Lambert “when the goddesses had been created”) and others “live, dwell” (e.g., Lisman as above). The problem with rendering line 2 as a reference to the creation of the mother goddesses is that this text focuses on the creation of humanity exclusively, not theogony. Second, Lisman suggests that “there” in line 2 refers to “there (i.e., in heaven)” (see an in line 1), as opposed to the earth (\(ki\) in line 1). The problem is that, just after this, the parallel line 3 refers to the establishing of places on earth.

68. SHANA ZAIA, Yale University
How To (Not) Be King: On Negotiating the Limits of Power within the Assyrian Political Hierarchy

When Shalmaneser III’s otherwise strong reign ended in rebellions, Assyria entered a period of internal weakness that would last from the year 823 until 745. Although Shalmaneser III’s successor, Šamaš-Adad V, reinstated the Assyrian king’s hegemony to some extent, power would remain split between the recognized Assyrian king and his high officials (elsewhere called “magnates”), who had extraordinary influence until
Tiglath-pileser III’s reign. Several scholars have suggested that these officials acted as sovereigns in their own rights, usurping the king’s authority and contributing to the decline of the Assyrian political structure. Others, such as Kuhrt, have argued that shifting the power from a central king to several high officials in the peripheral areas is responsible for the relative stability of the Assyrian frontiers during this period. At the crux of this debate are the inscriptions that these high officials left behind, which mimic royal inscriptions in form and content. Although they comprise a relatively small corpus, these inscriptions are unprecedented in Assyrian history, reflecting the officials’ increased autonomy. While the texts have been used to reconstruct the tenure of the high officials and the extent of Assyrian territory during this period, what has thus far not been fully considered is how the language and conventions used in these inscriptions can inform us as to the ways in which high officials conceptualized and expressed their own role within the Assyrian political hierarchy. For instance, Assyrian kings were divinely appointed—even usurper kings claimed a divine right to the throne—and an official carefully not claiming the Assyrian kingship would thus avoid asserting divine endorsement, even though such phraseology was a fixed convention in Assyrian royal inscriptions. Indeed, the high officials never attempt to usurp the title or position of the Assyrian king, despite expanding their political independence. This paper will suggest that, for the most part, these officials recognized the ultimate sovereignty of the Assyrian king, negotiating their increased autonomy within the recognized bounds of the established political structures. Paying particular attention to claims of divine endorsement, conventions such as curse and blessing formulae, and modes of chronicling campaigns or building projects undertaken by the high officials themselves, this paper will seek to explore the ways in which high officials modified the form of royal inscriptions to adapt to their increased responsibilities while carefully not making claims to the Assyrian throne. In sum, this project aims to use the inscriptions from the period of weakened Assyrian kingship, during which the roles of high officials are in clearer focus, as a case study for how the officials negotiated the conventions and bounds of the Assyrian political hierarchy.

69. Ryan Conrad Davis, University of Texas, Austin
   High God, Personal God, or Both? The Case of Balasi’s Prayer to Nabû

Akkadian šuilla prayers are typically addressed to “high gods” whereas dingiršadibba prayers are directed toward personal gods. These two prayer types assume a vastly different relationship between the supplicant and the divine addressee. This difference is noticeable in how the deities are addressed, and in the initial greetings in both types of prayer (Lenzi 2010; Zernecke 2011). The distinction between the “high god” and personal god relationship breaks down, however, in LKA 40a, an exemplar of the šuilla prayer Nabû 2. This prayer is directed to Nabû as if he were a “high god” with whom the supplicant has little relationship, yet the supplicant is identified as “Balasi, son of his (personal) god, whose (personal) god is Nabû, whose (personal) goddess is Tašmētu.” The prayer reflects a profound disconnect between the close relationship stated in the prayer and the distant relationship assumed in the prayer. A thorough analysis of LKA 40a illuminates how human-divine relationships are not merely reflected in prayers, but also constructed within the prayer itself. The relationships constructed in prayers work as effective strategies, even if these strategies may conflict with the self-identified relationship held by the participant. This particular exemplar will also help in understanding the relationship of dingiršadibba prayers to
Akkadian šulla prayers in larger ritual sequences, such as the bit salâ mê and the bit rimki, where the same deity could be addressed in two differently constructed relationships within the same ritual.

70. GARY BECKMAN, University of Michigan

Hattusili between Gods and Men

Thanks to his “Autobiography” (CTH 81), we are provided with far more details about the career of Hattusili III of Hatti (early thirteenth century BCE)—childhood illness, early legal troubles, the quality of his marriage, etc.—than concerning the life of any other Hittite monarch. Nonetheless, in this document he makes every effort to deny his own agency, thereby deflecting onto his divine patrons responsibility for his usurpation of the throne. I will discuss how this paradoxical presentation of self fits within the ideology of kingship in the Hittite kingdom.

C. East Asia III: Reception and Construction of Writers. ROBERT JOE CUTTER, Arizona State University, Chair (1:45 p.m.–3:15 p.m.) St. Ann Room

71. WANG PING, University of Washington, Seattle

Where Did Xie Lingyun (385–433) Get His Style?

Anecdotal accounts as well as dynastic histories have us believe that Xie Lingyun was a man of an acute sense of fashion style and very much the Cover Boy of his time. Having inherited Dukedom at a tender age, Xie lived a life of exorbitant privilege, often exceeding ritual prescriptions and precedents. Unfortunately, the extravaganza of Xie’s life was thrown into an abrupt and abysmal end in his later years.

To students and scholars of classical Chinese literature, the writing style of Xie is a much-debated topic. Known as the “founder of Landscape Poetry,” Xie is also credited with the “Greater Xie Style,” as opposed to the style of his distant relative, the “Lesser Xie” or Xie Tiao, also a poet of renown.

This paper, through an analysis of the critical receptions accorded Xie during and after his lifetime, aims to investigate what the “Greater Xie Style” is and to what extent this style is qualifiable and/or quantifiable; how much this perception and representation of Xie’s poetry writing is traceable to his extant works; why this characterization may serve to reinforce some long-established yet potentially misleading claims about “Landscape Poetry” in general and Xie as a poet in specific; last but not least, how popular notions about Xie become entangled in the construction of a cultural, local, and/or literary account surrounding an unusually notorious life.

72. CHEN JUE, Princeton University

The Paradox of Politicized Poetry: The Northern Song Construction of Du Fu as a Confucian Poet

Du Fu (712–770) is widely known as a Confucian poet loyal to the Tang (618–907) court, and understanding of his poetry is often guided by this accepted image. However, noticing that such an image is distilled from only part, not all, of his surviving poems, I propose to take it as an authorial property attributed to Du Fu’s poetic texts by later readers. Few people prior to the eleventh century recognized Du Fu in this way. Rather, as I will argue, Du Fu’s image as a Confucian poet loyal to
the Tang court was the result of construction by Northern Song (960–1127) scholar-officials in the newly established cultural context of the dynasty. They favored this image because unlike the situation in the medieval aristocratic society, the emperor now played a more central role in the dynasty’s political life. For scholar-officials who had political ambitions but were also often confronted with risks of being frustrated in their career, spiritual models representing the choice of civil service and reclusion were simultaneously needed. Accordingly, the Confucian image of Du Fu and the recluse image of Tao Yuanming (ca. 365–427) were constructed to sustain each other. In the eleventh century discourse of factional struggles, it is especially noteworthy that Du Fu was admired by both the reformists and the conservatives, because his poetry was considered to have provided general principles of Confucian values while involving few ideas on statecraft or specific policy-making. In this sense, the Northern Song construction of Du Fu turned out to be a paradox: while poetry was forced into marriage with politics, it was poetry’s distance to politics that in the end established it as an indispensable part of Northern Song literati’s intellectual world.

73. YANG XIAOSHAN, University of Notre Dame

Wang Anshi and the Idea of Late Writing

Wang Anshi’s (1026–1086) poetic output in the last ten years of his life has received unanimous acclaim. This paper examines the relationship between the critical reception of his late poems and the development in the Song period of the idea of late writing, of which the core premise is that great writers achieve their best only in old age. I trace the genesis of this idea in the final canonization of Du Fu in the eleventh century, when the first efforts were made to periodize his poetry and to valorize his late works as the epitome of his poetic genius. Among Song poets, Wang Anshi was the first to whom this newly established model of hierarchical periodization was applied.

It is my argument that the idea of lateness in the Song is literary-critical construction invoked retrospectively by critics not just to evaluate the works of canonical writers but also to affirm and promote current literary and cultural values. In the case of Wang Anshi, the valorization of poetic mellowness is also linked to the perception of his late poetry as a break from the dominant conventions of Song poetry (which he himself had helped to shape) and a return to the modes of expression generally associated with late Tang poetry.

D. East Asia IV: Poetic Form and Imagery. MEOW HUI GOH, Ohio State University, Chair (3:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) St. Ann Room

74. DING XIANG WARNER, Cornell University

What’s Form Got to Do with It? [withdrawn]

This paper offers an analysis of a set of Tang poems that exemplify a particular form variously known as jieti shi 階梯詩 (stepped poems), baota shi 塔塔詩 (pagoda poems), or more descriptively cong yiyun zhi ... (poems expanding from one syllable to ...). By explicating what I take to have been the strategies of these poems’ authors to effect a complementary interplay between form and verbal expression, I venture to suggest some potential implications of these poetic specimens, including thoughts on how they might enrich and/or complicate prevailing assumptions about the Tang and its literary culture.
75. **WU JIE, Murray State University**

A Study on Three Group Compositions in Early Tang

This paper studies three group poetry compositions in the early Tang dynasty. The poems are among the very few extant group compositions from the second half of the seventh century. Most of the poets were mid- to low-rank officials; the most well-known for today’s reader is Chen Zi’ang (ca. 660–ca. 702). There has been little study on the poems or the background of the lesser-known poets. This paper discusses the poems by situating them in the context of the development of courtly poetry games from the late Southern Dynasties to the early Tang. My discussion focuses on the following two aspects. Firstly, rules of poetry games contributed to the similarities among individual poems in each of the three group compositions. Secondly, the technique of praises in occasional poetry, including rhetoric and the use of allusions, also made progress in the early Tang. This can be seen in the three group compositions as well as in prefaces to group compositions in the second half of the seventh century. My study contributes to the understanding of group compositions that took place outside the court literary circle in the early Tang. It also complements a part of literary history in the second half of the seventh century when the imperial court was no longer the center of literary production.

76. **YANG YING, Huaiyi Normal University**

Native and Foreign: “Fagara Flower” in Different Fields of Vision

Fagara is a traditional economic plant in China, whose fruit is called “fagara flower” because of its color and shape. Fagara’s frequent appearance in records of folk customs and traditional literature is likely due to its intense aroma and medicinal value. For most Chinese students and scholars, it is rather shocking to read Edward H. Schafer’s claim of “fagara as a male sex symbol.” (*The Divine Woman*, p. 75) He further suggested that such symbol was a typical metaphor. More surprisingly, his interpretation is widely accepted in the West, as similar opinions are expressed in Marcel Granet, E. N. Anderson, Andrew Dalby and other scholar’s books or articles. No matter on what area of research these scholars focused, they seem to, naturally, express the connection between fagara flower and male sex symbol.

I would like to in my paper explore the rationalization behind this claim and try to answer the following questions: does this interpretation apply well to Chinese literature or does it have any connections with Chinese ancient concept or customs? Would there be other possible origins for this idea?

From my point of view; the “fagara as a male sex symbol” idea doesn’t apply to Chinese ancient culture. It might derive from the western traditional concepts of Asian spices, which often lead to images like “lascivious Orientals.” Records show that fagara didn’t become commodities in Spice Trade like pepper, cinnamon or other spices. But it did have some aliases like “chinese pepper” or “Szechwan pepper”. Probably because of the similarity and unfamiliarity, it’s easy for the West to understand fagara through other famous spices. This is an issue that is worth further discussion, which I am hoping to do in this paper.
This study focuses on the relationship between literary writing and the cross-cultural exchanges during the third century when the first globalization brought by the Silk Roads ended. Even though the traffic across the Silk Roads gave rise to a multitude of changes, the study of Classical Chinese literature seldom mentions any influence of the Silk Roads on literary writing. The Silk Roads started in the second century B.C., but scholars pay more attention to their development during the Tang Dynasty, beginning in the seventh century, and leave the nearly seven hundred years before the Tang empty and void.

In order to close the gap between the Silk Roads and literary writing in third century China, this paper examines the process of transforming a foreign object, the pomegranate, into Chinese culture through literary writing. The pomegranate, one of the many fruits introduced to China through the Silk Roads, is one of the many exotic objects described in the third century yongwu fu. An analysis of eight rhapsodies on the pomegranate reveals traces of the cultural exchanges with distant people whose goods, ideas, and technologies entered China through the Silk Roads.

E. Islamic Near East IV: Philosophy. Special Panel Organized and Chaired by Frank Griffel, Yale University. (2:00 p.m.–4:30 p.m.) Astor Ballroom II

78. Damien Janos, Laval, Quebec

On the Causation of the First effect: A Problematic Passage in Avicenna’s Metaphysics of The Cure

Avicenna’s cosmology and metaphysics have received much scholarly attention in the past decades, and we possess a general notion of the contours and chronology of his corpus. In spite of this, numerous specific passages in his works remain obscure or tantalizing. This can be explained in part by the complexity of Avicenna’s thought and also by the turbulent history of the transmission of his corpus and the still ongoing attempt by scholars to provide final editions of his works. In this presentation, I will discuss one such passage (in Metaphysics of The Cure, Book Nine, Chapter Four) that presents both doctrinal and textual complications. The excerpt deals with the causation of the First Effect from the First Cause and the appearance of multiplicity in the former. In spite of its metaphysical and cosmological relevance, this passage has not previously been subjected to close scrutiny. Avicenna repeatedly engaged with the thorny issue of how multiplicity appears in the world, and the passage in question that appears in The Cure is only a reiteration of a philosophical problem that occupied him throughout his life. A brief analysis of the text suggests that Avicenna gestured toward a solution that relies implicitly on Plotinus’s own discussion of this topic in the Enneads and that is based on the idea of several intelligible (and non-temporal) stages or phases in the transition from unity to multiplicity unfolding within the First Effect.
Covenant and Creation in Islamic Theology and Exegesis: A History of the Controversy Surrounding Qurʾān 7:172

The Qurʾān gives special importance to the idea that God made contact with all human beings by establishing a covenant with them at 7:172 (“And when your Lord extracted the offspring from loins of the Children of Adam, and made them testify touching themselves, ‘Am I not your Lord?’ They said, ‘Yes, we testify.’”) The idea of a contractual relationship between God and human beings is a historical theme that Islam shares with other cultural and religious traditions that emerged in the Ancient Near East and that later emerged in the Reformed tradition in Christianity. In the Islamic tradition, the covenant has generally been understood as a primordial event that took place before the creation of the cosmos. At this event God extracted all future generations of souls from Adam’s loins and charged them with a religious obligation to live in service of Him.

Recent scholarship by Rosalind Gwynne has given the field a starting point for investigation into the theme of covenant by arguing that the covenant is “the logical key to the entire structure of the Qurʾānic argument” and that “virtually every argument in the Qurʾān expresses or implies one or more of the covenantal provisions.”

This paper traces the theme of “covenant” in Islamic intellectual history in the ninth through twelfth centuries. Its main focus is on the theological controversies that surround Qurʾān 7:172 in Islamic theology and exegesis. It highlights the difficulties that the Muʿtazila discovered in the Qurʾān’s logical reasoning at 7:172 and on this verse’s problematic metaphysical implications by examining Muʿtazili and Sunni commentaries. It proposes that when the Muʿtazila rejected the cosmological event of the covenant they also evidently rejected the contractual relationship between God and human beings, an idea that was central to the Sunni theological worldview. It argues that by turning their backs on this idea—which supports the structure of the Qurʾānic argument as a whole—the Muʿtazila undermined the ethos or value system that came with the Sunni understanding of the covenant, to wit the idea that God had an overall design for all human beings before their earthly existence.

Virtue Ethics (adab), Patronage, and Intellectual Guilds in Medieval Islam

This paper examines the role that manuals of virtue ethics (adab), which began to appear in the third/ninth century, played in the construction of intellectual guild identity. As an early genre in Arabo-Islamic ethical literature, these works shaped the social ideals and informed the expected moral habits (ahlāq) of the various classes of intellectuals and scholars in medieval through early modernity Islam; including the judges (al-Haṣṣāf’s Adab al-qādī), physicians (ar-Ruhāwī’s Adab al-ṭabiʿ), secretaries (Ibn-Qutayba’s Adab al-kātib), and philosophers (Hunayn ibn Ishāq’s Adab al-falāṣifa). While the precepts offered in these manuals are often of a practical nature (i.e., applied professional ethics), intended to inculcate knowledge and the virtues in the souls of members and prospective members of a guild, their authors also set forth a narrative genealogy of the guild itself, disassociating it, implicitly and explicitly at times, from other (less virtuous) guilds—the larger context of which was competition for official patronage and recognition.
Between Suspended Images and the World of Image: Suhrwardī’s Philosophy Reconsidered

The notion of an imaginable world, or ‘world of image’ (‘ālam al-mithāl), is recognized as one of the most important innovations of late medieval Islamic philosophy and is unique when compared to other philosophical traditions. It has been claimed, most forcefully by Henry Corbin, that this notion was developed by Suhrwardī (d. 1191), and was envisioned to function as a place for mystical encounters and eschatological experiences. In this paper, I revisit the sources, most notably Suhrwardī’s Ḥikmat al-ishrāq, and attempt to give a revised account of Suhrwardī’s thinking on this matter.

I shall first briefly touch upon its source, which is some comments by Ibn Sīnā on using the faculty of imagination after death. Then I will argue that these comments led Suhrwardī to propose a new category of being, namely ‘suspended images’ (ṣuwar muallaqah), next to the other categories of bodies, souls, and intellects. These suspended images fulfilled indeed a role in mystical and eschatological experience, but served a much broader purpose for Suhrwardī, namely, to account for any kind of sensory experience.

Going over some key passages, it will also become clear that Suhrwardī’s thinking was embryonic and he does not show a firm committal to it. In fact, I shall conclude by arguing that Suhrwardī’s idea of suspended images can be distinguished from the notion of a world of image. Of the latter, only traces can be found in Suhrwardī’s work and it finds full expression in the work of Shahrazūrī (d. > 1288), the main interpreter of Suhrwardī. Therefore, the world of image should not be attributed to Suhrwardī but to Shahrazūrī.

“They said he made claims of prophecy but he was innocent of that”: A New Source of al-Suhrawardī’s Execution and a New Interpretation of its Reasons

The execution of the Persian philosopher Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī, founder of the school of illuminist philosophy (ishrāq), 587/1191 in Aleppo was considered an important event by its contemporaries and is reported in quite a number of sources. In modern times the killing gained new significance as an example for the persecution of philosophy under Islam. Most of the sources, however, who inform us of what happened were written twenty or more years after the event by historians active throughout the 7th/13th century. The most detailed narrative in al-Shahrazūrī’s Nuzhat al-arwāḥ, for instance, was written between 1260 and 1288, quite possibly a century after the execution. In a paper I gave at the AOS meeting in Chicago in 2011, I presented Itmān Tatimmat Șīwān al-Hikma (The Completion of “The Continuation of the Cabinet of Wisdom”) as an unedited source on the history of Arabic and Islamic philosophy in the 6th/12th century. I determined Muhammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Nisābūrī (d. c. 590/1193) as the author of the text and the years right after 587/1191, i.e. right after al-Suhrawardī’s execution, as the time of its composition. Despite a significant geographical distance (al-Nisābūrī wrote in Ghaznā in today’s Afghanistan), al-Nisābūrī mentions the event and gives a brief account of what happened. Together with an anonymous and somewhat unreliable account in a local history of Aleppo, al-Nisābūrī is our earliest source on al-Suhrawardī’s death.
I will briefly present the source and suggest a new interpretation of the reasons for al-Suhrawardi’s execution. While almost all earlier interpretations see his death in connection with al-Ghazālī’s fatwā against three teachings of the falsāifa on the last page of Tahāfut al-falsāifa, I suggest that al-Suhrawardi was killed not because he was in conflict with al-Ghazālī’s teaching but quite the opposite, because he was so close to them.

83. Seyed Hossein Hosseini-Nassab, University of Toronto

The Prophet Muhammad in the Works of the Early Falāṣifa from Kindī (d. 873) to Suhrawardi (d. 1191)

This paper studies the significant, yet understudied, interrelations between falāṣifa (Arabic/Islamic philosophy) and Islam by analyzing the images of the Prophet Muhammad in the works of early falāṣifa (Arabic/Islamic philosophers) and shows a fascinating reconciliatory development in the history of Islamic thought. The paper begins by closely studying the confluence of the prophetic figure with Greek philosopher figures in certain Arabic biographical accounts, where we observe a Muhammadan typological figuration of certain Greek figures. This process of adaptation is also seen in the works of Peripatetic falāṣifa who transformed the Greek “natural” theory of prophecy into a Muhammadan, “supernatural” theory. This philosophical apology for prophecy is most apparent in the falāṣifa’s veneration of prophets, where the prophetic figure is considered as the best of people, the philosopher par excellence, and “almost worthy of worship.” Philosophical veneration of the Prophet however reaches a crescendo in the works of Ismāʿīlī thinkers, who developed an ontological and archetypal image of Muhammad. While the Illuminationist Suhrawardi (d. 1191) also ascribes the highest qualities to Muhammad, he occasionally values gnostics higher than prophets. Furthermore, Suhrawardi associates Muhammadan qualities to gnostics, including himself, and in some of his allegorical works implies that he himself had received divine knowledge directly from the angel Gabriel (who is actually his own inner guide and the Active Intellect) and thus implicitly places himself in the same apocalyptic position as Muhammad. Despite the significant differences between the images of the Prophet Muhammad in the works of the Peripatetic, Ismāʿīlī, and Illuminationist philosophers and the differences in their respective relationship with the Prophet, they all present Muhammad as a philosopher, their intellectual hero, and a true archetype of wisdom, who had access to knowledge of everything without being taught.

F. South and Southeast Asia III: Viṣṇava and Śaivite Text and Tradition.

James L. Fitzgerald, Brown University, Chair (1:30 p.m.–3:30 p.m.) St. Louis Room

84. Elaine Fisher, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Śaiva Advaita Before Appayya Dīkṣita

By the fourteenth century, the Śaiva Age, as Alexis Sanderson has represented the medieval period, had come and gone in south India. While in previous centuries Śaiva exegetes had found themselves in a position of cultural dominance, their successors were forced to adopt a more accommodationist strategy, reaching out to currents of Brahminical theology that were soaring in popularity in the early centuries of
the second millennium. Most notably among these was Advaita Vedānta. Whereas previously Śaiva theologians had defined themselves by their acceptance of the Śaiva Āgamas as the highest scriptural authority, on the cusp of early modernity sectarian communities in south India—both Śaiva and Vaiśnava—had come to structure their theology as a matter of course around competing interpretations of the Brahmasūtras. The result, succinctly, was an emerging hybrid current of sectarian Vedānta broadly classified as “Śaiva Advaita.”

Previous scholarship has identified the sixteenth-century polymath Appayya Dīksita as the inventor of Śaiva Advaita, reviving the previously neglected commentary on the Brahmasūtrabhāṣya of Śrīkaṇṭha to craft a school of philosophy that previously did not exist. This paper aims to demonstrate that a continuous interpretive tradition does exist that links the early Śaiva Vedānta of the twelfth and thirteenth century, exemplified by Śrīkaṇṭha’s Brahmasūtrabhāṣya and Haradatta’s Śrutisūktimālā, and the sixteenth-century Śaiva Advaita of Appayya Dīksita. We can locate a direct transmission of Śrīkaṇṭha’s Brahmasūtrabhāṣya among the Sanskritic Vaiśāsivas of Karnataka, who between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries adapted Śrīkaṇṭha’s work to Vaiśāsiva doctrine by articulating their ontology as “Śaiva Advaita,” prefiguring the salient features of Appayya’s Śaiva Advaita in the Tamil country. By tracing this chain of transmission, we can begin to understand how the transformation of Hindu sectarian identity during the early modern period was a multi-regional process involving deliberate exchange between geographically and theologically distinct Śaiva traditions.

85. JONATHAN B. EDELMANN, Mississippi State University

The Antinomian Devotee: 18th Century Gauḍīya Vaiśnava Theology on the Relation of karma-yoga and bhakti-yoga

The question of the number, the efficacy, and the demarcation between the yoga-s is a subject of debate among Hindu scholars, e.g. Śaṅkara’s Gitābhāṣya 3.5, Rāmānuja’s Gitābhāṣya 18.5 or 18.66 (Van Buitenen 1968: 11), or Madhva’s Gitābhāṣyañātika 2.50 (Sharma Ch: XL VII). The locus classicus for the Gauḍīya Vaiśnava tradition in this regard is Bhāgavata Purāṇa 11.20.6–8, which establishes that there are only three yoga-s, i.e. karma, jñāna, and bhakti, and it prefigures a general relationship between them. The purpose of this paper is to examine how two leading thinkers in the Gauḍīya Vaiśnava tradition, Jiva Gosvāmin (c. 1517–1608) and Viśvanātha Cakravartin (fl. 1679–1709), distinguished karma from bhakti in their comments on the Bhāgavata Purāṇa and in independent texts. The problem addressed here is that Jiva and Viśvanātha seem to support an antinomian theology, one that places bhakti over and against karma. For instance, Viśvanātha writes in his Bhagavad Gītā 18.66 commentary: “[Paraphrasing Kṛṣṇa:] There should be no doubt with regard to sin on your part for giving up (tyāga) action in the form of nitya and naimittika because of my order . . . now I instruct you to give them up essentially” (Kṛṣṇadāsa Bābā 1966: 477). Okita (2014) and Hortsman (2005) note how the attitude expressed in passages like this led to antinomian behavior and problematized the Gauḍīya’s relationship with the King of Jaipurā. I further examine how Kṛṣṇadeva Sārvabhauma, a disciple of Viśvanātha and councilor to the King of Jaipurā starting in 1715, argued in his Karmaviṃśttī that bhakti is not at the exclusion of karma as many had thought on the basis of the early Gauḍīya Vaiśnava theologians.
References


86. DAVID BUCHTA, Brown University

Vindicating the Ornate: Citratāvya in Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism

The term citra is used by Anandavardhana, Mammaṭa and later writers on Sanskrit poetics to identify the lowest type of poetry, characterized both by an ornateness of sound and/or meaning and by the lack of any rasa suggested through such poetry, implying that these two characteristics went hand-in-hand. Scholarship on Sanskrit poetics has represented, and often reflected, this negative evaluation of ornate poetry. Such poetry, however, continued to be composed through Sanskrit literary history. Even Anandavardhana, the original critic of such poetry, composed a citra poem, his Deviśataka. Ingalls says of this work that it “exactly fits the definition of this execrated category of literature,” concluding that it contains “no rasa at all.” Citra poetry was especially common in the context of devotional poetry, as the recent work of Hamsa Stainton on Kashmiri Śaiva stotras and of Steven Vose on Jaina stotras demonstrates. Writers in the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava tradition, especially Rūpa Gosvāmin, Kaviśrūpa and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa, mounted a defense of ornate poetry, both through theoretical discussions of poetics and through the composition of citra poetry oriented to the evocation of bhakti as rasa. This vindication of poetry identified as citra parallels their case for bhakti as a legitimate form of rasa, or rather, as the only true form of rasa. This paper examines both the theoretical and the practical contributions of the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava tradition, highlighting an emic counter to the disregard for ornate poetry and suggesting an explanation for the resiliency of ornate poetry throughout Sanskrit literary history.

87. RAJ G. RAJAN, Philadelphia, PA

Peripheral Signals and Some Unique Aspects of Krishna’s First Theophany in the Mahabharata

In the Mahabharata there are four occasions when Krishna exhibits his divine form, variously known as rupam aisevaram, visvarupam, anantharupam and similar terms. Because of the popularity of the Bhagavad Gītā, the second theophany is better
known. Each theophany is in response to a particular situation. The first theophany of Krishna is exhibited in Dhritarashtra's sabha and it has many unique aspects. In this presentation, peripheral signals are defined as verbal and nonverbal gestures and actions which take place as Krishna enters the sabha before the theophany and as he exits the sabha after his divine manifestation. Scholars like James Laine and Alf Hiltebeitel who have discussed Krishna’s theophanies have concentrated on the theological, cosmological and philosophical aspects of Krishna’s divine manifestation. Peripheral signals and their significance are rarely given the importance they deserve. This paper describes the events which take place immediately before and after the theophany and they seem to indicate the possible outcomes of his peace mission. The theophany itself presents many unique features and some these will be discussed.

88. ELIZABETH ANN CECIL, Brown University

Śiva and Salt: Religious Life around the Salt Lakes of Northern Rajasthan (7th–10th century CE)

The districts of Sikar, Nagaur, and Jaipur in northern Rajasthan are home to a number of large salt lakes, most notably those of Didwana, Sambhar, and Sikar. Epigraphic and archeological evidence suggests that these lakes were important sites within the economic and trade networks of early medieval India. These places were also active religious centers where a significant number of monumental temples were constructed between the 7th–10th centuries. Donative inscriptions from the region attest, in particular, to the growth of early Śaivism and the Pāśupata movement in the areas surrounding these lakes. Images of the deified Pāśupata founder, Lakulīša, a common adornment of temples in the region, also provide compelling evidence for a Pāśupata presence.

Through a synthesis of epigraphic and material evidence gathered during on-site fieldwork, this paper will shed a fresh light on the role of these lakes and the salt trade in the development of the religious landscape in this historical period. I hypothesize that the flourishing economy in the areas surrounding the lakes made this an attractive region for Śaiva religious specialists, who found generous patrons among the upwardly mobile mercantile classes and local rulers. In theorizing the interactions of regional and religious economies, this study will enhance scholarly knowledge of the growth of the Pāśupata movement during a formative period in the tradition’s history.

G. South and Southeast Asia IV: Philosophy and Story. JOEL P. BRERETON, Chair, The University of Texas at Austin (3:45 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) St. Louis Room

89. CALEY SMITH, Harvard University

The Riddle of brahman and ātman in the Kaṭha Upaniṣad

The Kaṭha Upaniṣad is frequently portrayed as a late text that does not form an integral part of the Kaṭha canon and merely repackages narrative elements of the Kaṭha Brāhmaṇa with an “Upāniṣadic twist.” On the contrary, I argue that

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the Kaṭha Upaniṣad is best read as the capstone of Vedic education in the Kaṭha school, and, due to its numerous inter-textual references, presupposes knowledge of the other Kaṭha texts. I will demonstrate that the first vallī of the text employs learned allusions to the piling and pacifying of the fire altar to introduce the student to the synergistic relationship between microcosmos, mesocosmos and macrocosmos.

The terms brahman and ātman in Kaṭha Upaniṣad have been, for the most part, read through the lens of the later Vedānta, but the mysterious claims the text makes become clear once placed in the context of the Brāhmaṇas of the Black Yajur Veda. I will explore the ways in which the second vallī builds on the first and argue that ātman refers to Agni Vaiśāvānara and brahman to the Sun. The text is best read, not as a philosophy of nondualism, but rather as a theory of the fire altar.

90. LAUREN BAUSCH, The University of California, Berkeley

Karma as Rite and Retribution: The Agnihotra

Nineteenth century Indologists looked down upon the Brāhmaṇas as relics of a dark age sandwiched in between the religious poetry of the Rgveda and the lofty philosophy of the Upaniṣads. According to this general view, the doctrine of karma emerged only in the Upaniṣads, wherein rebirth is explicitly expressed. Contemporary scholars, such as Obeyesekere and Bronkhorst, have advanced the theory that the doctrine of karma originated in tribal and non-Vedic ascetic movements in the Gangetic Valley, i.e. Greater Magadha, circa the sixth century BCE. Others, such as Doniger and Tull, have discussed some Vedic antecedents for the doctrine of karma. Doniger posits that the śrāddha offering to deceased ancestors may represent an early Vedic notion of karma, while Tull describes karma and sacrificial rebirth in the Agnicayana ritual. This paper finds further evidence for the Vedic origins of the karma doctrine in the Agnihotra ritual. Since Yājñavalkya of Videha was a Vedic expert in the Agnihotra, I will present an exegesis of this yajña from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Kānya recension. The interpretation found in the Brāhmaṇa suggests that Vedic sources do provide early mechanisms for causation.

91. TIMOTHY LORNDALE, The University of Pennsylvania

Sāṃkhya and Polity in Māgha’s Śīṣupālavadha

In this presentation, I argue that in Māgha’s Sanskrit classic, the Śīṣupālavadha, there is a link made between descriptions of polity and the sāṃkhya school of philosophy. Māgha brings in sāṃkhya philosophy at key moments throughout the poem’s narrative. One of the most common occurrences of sāṃkhya in the Śīṣupālavadha is during descriptions of kings and their political activities. This presentation questions what it means to apply philosophical concepts onto poetry about polity. I will discuss, therefore, the implications of sāṃkhya philosophy in several key poems from cantos: 2, 14, and 15, where the majority of the sāṃkhya-inflected stanzas on polity are found. There is some nascent scholarship on the relationship between the Śīṣupālavadha and sāṃkhya in the early 20th century by E. Hultzsch, who wrote a brief article listing some occurrences of sāṃkhya-yoga in the Śīṣupālavadha. Recently, the works of Bronner and McCrea (2013) and Salomon (2014) have reignited interest in the Śīṣupālavadha, questioning the text-critical reception of the poem (commentators Vallabhadeva’s recension and Mallinātha’s recension) with respect to the 15th canto. Building on the work of these scholars, my paper will show that there is continuity between the work,
as a whole, and the version of the 15th canto found in Vallabha’s text through examining these sāmkhya-inflected stanzas.

92. **Steven E. Lindquist, Southern Methodist University**

Whitewashing the White Yajurveda? Re-composing the Character of Yājñavalkya

Yājñavalkya is the ritualist and philosopher *par excellence* of the White Yajurveda (*śuklayajurveda*), especially as he appears in chapters three and four of the Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. I have discussed Yājñavalkya in previous communications, such as the role of his authority, the functions of the rhetoric attributed to him, and his rise to prominence from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa to the Brhadāraṇyaka. This communication will discuss Yājñavalkya as he appears in the later literature, particularly in the Mahābhārata and certain Purāṇas. I will discuss how the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas portray Yājñavalkya, especially in how they contend with the origins of the White Yajurveda and with Yājñavalkya’s personality as the founder of the tradition.

**A. Ancient Near East V: Technologies of Divination. Mary Bachvarova, Willamette University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m.) Astor Ballroom I**

93. **Zackary Wainer, Brown University**

Beyond the Source Text: Mesopotamian Textual and Conceptual Parallels within the Commentary Series *Šūmma Šīn ina tāmartīsu*

Though the study of Mesopotamian commentaries has advanced appreciably in recent years, it is a field poised for further growth as scholars continue the vital task of cataloguing and editing commentaries and begin critically examining different aspects of the genre. Because commentaries have often been considered derivative and solely in relation to their source texts, ideas within a commentary that are not directly related to the source text have been under-investigated. One of the aspects of cuneiform commentaries that has yet to garner the attention it deserves is the commentary’s relationships with compositions and concepts beyond those found within the source text. Though a number of scholars have noted parallels between specific commentaries and other non-source texts, especially those from the Late Babylonian period, they have yet to consider what these parallels may indicate about commentaries and their composers.

This paper aims to address this gap by focusing on a number of texts and ideas associated with the serialized celestial-divinatory commentary *Šūmma Šīn ina tāmartīsu* (*SIT*). Though the explicit source text for this commentary series is the Mesopotamian celestial-divinatory compendium *Enūma Anu Enlil, SIT* clearly draws on other compositions, and ideas known from other compositions, in its interpretation of *EAE* and its independent expansions. I will begin by enumerating and investigating each of these texts and concepts employed by *SIT*. I will then examine how these texts and ideas are used within *SIT* and how they relate to one another. I will conclude by analyzing the effects these parallels may have on our understanding of *SIT* and its role within Neo-Assyrian celestial-divination.
94. **Joseph Lam**, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

The Inscribed Lung and Liver Models from Ras Shamra-Ugarit Revisited

In the 24th campaign of excavations at the site of Ras Shamra (Ugarit) in 1961, one clay lung model and a group of liver models were discovered, of which six (specifically, the lung model and five liver models) were inscribed with texts ostensibly identifying details of the divinatory settings in which they were employed. While these texts have received a number of careful philological treatments, the functional relationship between the content of the inscriptions and the objects themselves invites further exploration. In contrast to the liver models from elsewhere in the ancient Near East, the inscriptions on which served either as a reference for, or a record of, the markings on the actual animal liver and their interpretation, the models from Ugarit contain texts that pertain to the broader circumstances of the inquiry (including, in one case, accompanying sacrifices), an anomaly that thus prompted a noted specialist on these objects to classify the Ugaritic examples as uninscribed in his overall typology (Meyer 1987, 217). This paper will explore the significance of these functional differences for our understanding of the practice of extispicy in Ugarit vis-à-vis the broader Mesopotamian tradition, including the question of the relationship between divination and sacrificial practice.


95. **Matthew Rutz**, Brown University

Mesopotamian Hemerologies for Divination

Texts from the corpus of cuneiform hemerologies use the standard Babylonian calendar as a framework for expounding on traditionally favorable and unfavorable days of the year for various activities, from commonplace social behaviors to royal ritual practices. Looking across this corpus, it is well established that various cultic hemerologies refer to specific days on which, among other recommendations, the practice of divination was proscribed, and numerous dated extispicy reports suggest that such concerns may have had real effects on praxis, at least in the Neo-Assyrian period. However, there are hints that the traditions in circulation were far from monolithic: for example, an esoteric treatise on extispicy known from Assur and Nineveh contains lists of favorable days for divination that stand in stark opposition to what is found in the hemerologies. The purpose of this paper is to investigate this problem anew and shed light on it by presenting my preliminary reconstruction of a poorly known text that subjects the practice of divination itself to divinatory inquiry and interpretation. Though extant in only a handful of fragmentary manuscripts, copies of this compendium are attested in Middle Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian, and Late Babylonian versions. Perhaps known in antiquity as “good days for divination,” the text consists of two parts, both of which use the common Mesopotamian if-then textual format as a structuring principle. The first section focuses on the solicitation of the diviner and interprets the significance of the timing and means of performing divination. The second section reads the actions of both the client and the diviner and interprets the implications of those actions for the success or failure of the query. This composition draws on aspects of both the hemerologies and the corpus of human behavioral omens to theorize about the optimal conditions for making divinatory queries.
96. **JOHN STEELE, Brown University**

**Prediction, Calculation, Description: A Consideration of the Place of Theory in Babylonian Astronomy**

Late Babylonian astronomy encompassed the regular observation of celestial phenomena, the prediction of those same celestial phenomena through the application of cycles (the so-called “Goal-Year Periods”) to earlier observations, and the calculation of astronomical phenomena using the techniques of mathematical astronomy. Asger Aaboe, Francesca Rochberg and others have argued that the last of these practices—mathematical astronomy—can justifiably be called “theory” which in the Babylonian context does not refer to “explanation” but rather to “the application of general models to compute particular phenomena characteristic of the planets, sun and moon” (Rochberg-Halton, *JNES* 59 (1991), p. 117). Aaboe (*Phil Trans. Royal Soc. Lond.* 276 (1974), p. 273) specifically rejects the notion that Goal-Year astronomy is also an example of a scientific theory, arguing that it is only in the mathematical astronomy that we find theory. In the first part of this paper I re-evaluate the evidence for theory within Babylonian astronomy, arguing that the term is applicable to a wider range of astronomical activity in Babylonia than only mathematical astronomy. In the second part of this paper I present some examples from a newly identified genre of Babylonian astronomical text which attests to a new aspect of theoretical thought within Babylonian astronomy: an attempt to mathematically describe (rather than compute) the behavior of celestial bodies.

**B. Ancient Near East VI: Literature and its Tools.** **JOSEPH LAM, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, Chair (10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m.) Astor Ballroom I**

97. **MARY BACHVAROVA, Willamette University**

**Multiformity in the Song of Hedammu: The Evidence and the Implications**

The on-line Konkordanz der hethitischen Texte recently produced a new edition of the *Song of Hedammu*, including a number of new joins. In the process of producing a new translation of the text and working through the various tablets and copies, I realized that the story actually must have two separate versions, and accordingly published them in 2014 as two separate texts in *Gods, Heroes, and Monsters: A Sourcebook of Greek, Roman, and Near Eastern Myths in Translation*, edited by Carolina López-Ruiz (Oxford University Press). “Version X” has an extended telling of the seduction of Hedammu, and “Version Y” is a more swift-moving version. In this talk I explain how the tablet layouts with the new joins lead to this conclusion. I also argue that the fact there were two versions of the story supports my contention that the Hittite and the Hurrian versions of Hurro-Hittite narrative song, including the Kumarbi cycle, the *Song of Gilgamesh*, and the *Song of Release*, are oral-derived.

98. **GINA KONSTANTOPOULOS, University of Michigan**

**“The First is as a Fox:” the Role of the Seven Heralds in the Hymn to Hendursağa**

The Sumerian *Hymn to Hendursağa* is one of the earliest compositions dedicated to the deity and serves as a major source for his defining traits, which are represented in both this early hymn and later, Akkadian texts, such as the *Epic of Erra*, where the deity appears as Išum, the advisor and servant to Erra. In the *Hymn to Hendursağa*,

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the titular deity receives top billing, but he is not the only figure in the narrative. Instead, Hendursaga is accompanied by seven figures that appear under his command and control. Hendursaga's role within this hymn is defined by his position as the nigar, or herald, of the city. The group of seven figures that appear in the hymn are defined in a series of contradictions: they uphold the established, ordered functioning of society, only to be described as undermining it later in the text. They are even given different genealogies within the text, introduced first with a series of animal images, and later as the children of Enki. This paper explores the role of these seven figures in the hymn, analyzing how their own contradictory nature functions within the narrative. In particular, this study examines the ways in which their own roles are intrinsically connected to the office of the herald that Hendursaga himself occupies.

99. PHILIP ZHAKEVICH, University of Texas, Austin

Ancient Hebrew Terms Designating Reeds and Their Habitats

This paper is a study of ten biblical Hebrew terms designating marshes, ponds, reeds, and papyrus. The lexemes examined are: vah, bisä, 'ebeh, 'arot, gebe, hasir, aqam (agmon), qaneh, sup, and gome. While previous research has considered the etymology of these words, what is lacking is a study that presents the interrelationship between the meanings of these terms. The present study provides such a synthesis of these terms as belonging to one semantic group—one that includes all the words designating reeds and their habitats.

By examining the etymology of these terms, the use of these terms in ancient Hebrew, and the translation of these terms in ancient Bible translations, I attempt to map out the semantics of each lexeme. I demonstrate that of these Hebrew terms, only one (i.e., qaneh) both traces back to Proto-Semitic and refers specifically to reeds. The remaining words, however, either acquired the meaning “reeds, marshes” by semantic shift (e.g., bisä) or were borrowed into Hebrew from another language (e.g., sup). Additionally, I argue that while several of the examined terms carried the meaning “reed, marsh,” it was specifically the lexeme gome that was used in ancient Hebrew to refer to the manufacturable papyrus utilized to produce writing material.

100. ILONA ZSOLNAY, University of Pennsylvania

Nergal Revisited: An Analysis of CBS15209 aka Isme-Dagan N

CBS15209, Civil's Isme-Dagan N, is a single column type S tablet (imgida) which contains a heretofore unedited hymn to the god Nergal. Although referred to by both W. H. Ph. Römer and J. J. van Djik, this isolate has received little attention. Based on tablet form, in OLZ 90, Steve Tinney has suggested that it together with IsD C (SRT 36), a hymn to Nippur, IsD K (N 5873+N 6989), a hymn to Inanna, and IsD X (UM 29-16-3), a hymn to Enki(?) form an Isme-Dagan cycle (all three tablets perhaps being written by the same scribe). However, although all contain similar terminology, their syntax, subject matter, and style are quite different. In this presentation, I will discuss the contents of Isme-Dagan N and investigate the tablet’s relation to other productions attributed to the Isin king.
C. East Asia V: History and Philosophy, Antje Richter, University of Colorado, Chair (9:00 a.m.–11:30 a.m.) St. Ann Room

101. Daniel Coyle, Birmingham-Southern College

Rediscovering the Zonghengjia 綜橫家: A Lost Lineage in Chinese Philosophy

For a time during China’s Warring States (ca. 453–221 B.C.E), the zonghengjia 綜橫家 ("lineage of comprehensive strategy") superseded Confucian exemplarism as a paragon of efficacious socio-political order. The seminal histories of the Han (202 B.C.E –220 C.E) include the zongheng lineage among the most prominent streams of pre-Qin philosophy and culture. Yet after the Han ascendency of Confucianism to orthodoxy the zonghengjia 綜橫家 all but disappear. Today, it is thought that we know “almost nothing” of their teachings (Crump 1965; Knechtges 1976; Fu 1995; Jiang 1997), and the conventional contention is that the zonghengjia 綜橫家 have no real philosophical doctrines at all—Hu Shi, Zhao Jibing, Jiang Boqian, and Jiang Zhuyi make such claims (Fu 1995; Zhan 2003). This paper carefully enquires into neglected texts of zonghengjia 綜橫家 (including the Zhanguoce 戰國策, Guiguzi 鬼谷子, Sun Bin bingfa 孫臏兵法, and select passages from the Shiji 史記), to identify, mine, and explicate the central ideas of the lineage. These texts reveal a philosophical lexicon that centers on the idea of “quan 權” (“expeditiously weighing-and-balancing powers and circumstances”). Quan 權 includes bian 變 (“alternating with a situation”), hua 化 (“transforming into other”), shi 勢 (“cultivating propensities”), shi 時 (“timing with seasons”), and shun 順 (“complying with higher order”). I conclude that not only is there an identifiable zongheng philosophy, which is characterized by expediency and pragmatic eclecticism, but that this tradition constitutes a grounding undercurrent to the persistent flow of Chinese culture.

102. David B. Honey, Brigham Young University

Sima Qian as Pioneering Classicist

Sima Qian (145–ca. 86 BC) does not elicit the association of classicist upon first notice. His role as grand historian who chronicled the history of China from its legendary times up to the reigning son of heaven, Emperor Wu, and the stamp his historical work placed on the written format and historiographical consciousness of all later historians, understandably overwhelms any other perception of his intellectual profile. This is especially true in that he is regarded as the father of Chinese historiography, on a level of eminence enjoyed by that of Herodotus in the West, with whom Sima is often compared.

My treatment here of Sima Qian and his great work will examine his role as classicist, not historian. We will find that his work as a classicist encompassed the roles of textual critic, commentator, translator, and interpreter, all of which pioneering work should earn him praise apart from his well-deserved fame as the father of Chinese historiography, and ensure him a place of honor in the history of Chinese classical scholarship.
Mark G. Pitner, Elmira College
The Reception History of Guo Pu mu: Responding to the Place and the Dead

Guo Pu (276–324) was beheaded in 324 by orders of the General Wang Dun (266–324) and buried somewhere in southern China, the exact site of which has long been a topic of debate with at least six separate burial sites receiving notation in the textual history. Of these sites we shall focus on the one site that through a combination of factors has had the greatest circulation attracting the attention of travelers and poets since at least the Northern Song. Despite the historical facts being stacked against it, the site that has drawn the most attention is a lonely little rocky island off the coast of Jinshan near the modern city of Zhenjiang. This site is recorded in a range of sources from stele inscriptions to paintings from local histories to poems. In this paper we shall focus on a set of poems that help to construct a link between Guo Pu and this place. By examining this lineage of poems on the topic of “Guo Pu mu” we gain insight into the evolving reception history of both the dead as well as this location, and a number of tantalizing hints as to what might really have happened to Guo Pu’s corpse in 324.

Liu Cuilan, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München
Xuanzang (602–664) and His Pilgrimage to India: A Buddhist Monk Who Broke the Tang Code on Border Control

In Tang China (618–907), all individuals are required by the Tang Code to apply for a transit permit (guosuo) to travel domestically or abroad. The Chinese Buddhist monk Xuanzang (602–664), however, secretly crossed China’s northeastern border for India without such a permit in 629, when all the borders of the country were closed to restrict the movement of people. How did a Buddhist monk manage to travel abroad without a legal document issued by his native country? How did the Tang court react to his illegal exit from and re-entry to China? Did his identity as an ordained Buddhist monk help to reduce or augment his penalty for breaking the Tang Code? Placed in the cultural, social, and religious context of Tang China, this article discusses the significance of Xuanzang’s travel to India from a legal perspective, with a particular focus on how his identity as an ordained Buddhist monk impacted the Tang court’s treatment of his illegal act. This article benefits from existing studies on the transit permit system of Tang China by Chen Xilin (2000) and Arakawa Masaru (2001) but departs from them to focus on the legal case of Xuanzang who breaks the Tang law on border control to shed light on the interaction between religious and secular law in Tang China. My investigation reveals that as soon as Xuanzang attempted to cross the closed border illegally, the Tang court immediately issued an order to arrest him. Sixteen years later, his violation of the Tang law still shadowed his return to China in 645, but no penalty was charged against him. This contrast informs us that the religious identity of an ordinary Buddhist monk does not exempt him from persecution when he breaks the Tang Code, but that of a highly respected eminent monk does.
105. **Jeannie Miller**, University of Toronto

**Al-Jāḥiẓ’s Citation of Full-Length Poems as a Structuring Device**

Al-Jāḥiẓ’s works typically cite short excerpts from poems as part of a larger argument or compilatory statement; occasionally, however full-length poems appear. This paper examines the role played within the flow of the text of his *Book of Animals* by full-length poems, including these examples:

1) a humorous poetic recipe for a disgusting emetic (I:252–253) capping the part of the Dog-Rooster debate dealing with disgust

2) a full-length poem by al-Bahrānī detailing the superstitions (according to al-Jāḥiẓ) of the ancient Arabs regarding *jinn*, metamorphoses, and other topics (VI:80–82)

3) the series of poetic commentaries at VI:281–443 in which the poem by al-Bahrānī is commented along with two didactic poems by Bishr b. al-Mu’tamir detailing the Design in Creation animal by animal.

I will argue that al-Jāḥiẓ uses full-length poems as concluding devices on a large scale, similar to his use of Qurān citations on a small scale, and that the poems serve to summarize the main points of what has been said, while providing an engaging mnemonic. James Montgomery has recently (*In Praise of Books*, 2014, 64–69) pointed out that a table of contents for al-Jāḥiẓ’s *Book of Animals* appears at the start of volume VI. I suspect it is no accident that this retrospective (and in part prospective) reassessment of the book’s contents and structure occurs so close to the commentaries which act as summaries and mnemonics for the main points of the *Book of Animals*: to distinguish between natural and supernatural so as to reject what al-Jāḥiẓ regards as superstition, and to see in a wide perspective God’s Design in His creation of the animal world.

106. **Laura Harb**, Dartmouth College

**Abū Nuwās’ *fārisigāt* and Macaronic Poetry in the Early Abbasid Period**

While there is some discussion of the phenomenon of inserting foreign speech into Arabic poetry in the Andalusian *muwashshahāt*, we know very little about the Eastern manifestations of the phenomenon. The most notable examples can be found in the *divān* of Abū Nuwās, which contains a set of poems designated as “*fārisigāt***” in which the poet inserts primarily Persian words into the otherwise Arabic poems. The phenomenon was not limited to Abū Nuwās, however. Jāḥiẓ mentions a number of poets who mixed foreign speech into their poetry and cites some of this poetry in his *Kitāb al-bayān wa’l-tabyīn*. Ibn Dawūd al-Isbahānī also discusses this phenomenon in a section of his *Kitāb al-zahra* dedicated to “beautiful poetry that exceeds the known limits”. The attitudes to this unconventional practice seem surprisingly positive. But does the use of foreign speech in these poems amount to anything more than a mere eccentricity? Through the analysis of some poetic examples, I argue that Persian is used in a way that thematically and acoustically contrasts with Arabic; that is, the mixing of the languages reflects tensions that are represented between Arabic and Persian in the subject-matter of the poem. Macaronicism therefore constitutes another layer of aesthetic expression. This gives us an example of yet another way the
early Abbasid poets were pushing the boundaries of convention and reflects the degree to which they were open to experimenting with new techniques. This complicates the conventional narrative of the Arabic poetic tradition which takes for granted Arabic poetry’s form and language, and brings to light the cosmopolitanism (with the tensions that come with it) of early Abbasid cities, particularly Baṣra.

107. DAVID LARSEN, New York University

Ma‘nāhu ka-ma‘nāhu: Captivity and Semiosis in an Anonymous Arabic locus probans

This paper’s subject is a pair of basīt-meter verses rhymed in alif-hā that are added with some frequency in Classical Arabic lexicography. Conventional in theme, the rare words they present are the reason for the verses’ preservation: nowhere, other than as lexical šawāhid, do the verses appear. From the standpoint of semiotics, it is their inclusion of a very common word that draws notice. The word is ma‘nā, whose manifold importance to intellectual history goes without saying. What calls for exploration here are the verses’ provenance, their deployment by ‘Abū ‘l-Husayn Ahmad ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004), and the way he connects the hermeneutic “meaning” and psychological “intention” of al-ma‘nā to verbs of captivity, duress and exposure.

108. EREZ NAAMAN, American University

Ijāza and Tamlīṭ: Forms of Verse Improvisation

My paper concentrates on ijāza (‘completion’) and tamlīṭ (‘finishing’), two almost-identical forms of poetry in which two or more individuals participate in the composition process either as an assignment from the higher in rank to the lower or as a consensual peer endeavor. Unlike naqē‘id (‘contradicting poems, flytings’), an ijāza or tamlīṭ constitutes one composition (not two) featuring no invective element. Starting with the ‘Abbāsid, these forms of poetry based on collaborative-interactive composition became a favorite entertainment activity at medieval courts. In the informal entertainment sessions, patrons and their protégés enjoyed engaging in this type of composition, which entailed full command of prosody, improvisatory skills, and quick wit, and was driven by a strong spirit of competition.

The most important medieval work collecting numerous examples of tamlīṭ and ijāza is Badā‘r al-badā‘ih, compiled by ‘Alī b. Ṣāfr (d. 613/1216), which is a major source for this paper. Another important source is Kitāb al-aghānī the famous work by Abū ʿl-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. ca. 363/972), which by virtue of its success propagated the ‘Abbāsid models of ijāza and tamlīṭ to other courts. To engage in composition of this sort, patrons had to be confident in their poetic skills. A failure on their part would certainly harm their reputation as a whole in a society that attached great importance to excellence in language and poetry. Aside from its entertaining value, the chief goal of the patrons initiating extempore collaborative composing was to demonstrate their excellence and superiority over other skilled individuals in order to gain social prestige. In addition to the discussion of these little-studied forms as practiced at various courts, I will address the definitions given to ijāza and tamlīṭ by medieval literary critics. It will become clear that while effort was made to differentiate between the two, ijāza and tamlīṭ have been often used interchangeably in the sense of collaborative-interactive or collaborative composition of verse.
Towards a Vocabulary for the Quantitative Analysis of the \textit{Vetālapaṇcaviṃśati}

How might textual scholars analyze and compare texts both within and across traditions? Furthermore, how might such methods adapt easily to the later inclusion of more textual artifacts? To answer these questions, I propose a vocabulary for the quantitative, technology-assisted comparison and analysis of Sanskrit texts and manuscripts. This prospective vocabulary—initially consisting of the three categories ‘names’, ‘motifs’, and ‘narrative elements’—provides varying degrees of granularity as well as a set of broadly applicable topics in order to assist in the analysis of both very similar and very diverse texts. I apply the vocabulary in the quantitative analysis of several selections from the medieval Sanskrit story collection \textit{Vetālapaṇcaviṃśati} across its major textual traditions, demonstrating how these elements permit us to visualize and discuss similarities and differences within a large, fluid text corpus where more manual efforts rooted in text-variant analysis might experience difficulty. I conclude that, comparing across traditions, the continuity of certain elements and the demise of others suggests a fundamental nature of some individual \textit{Vetālā} tales. Additionally, the \textit{Vetālā} texts exhibit within certain traditions more variation than can be easily explained by textual corruption and cross-contamination. These methods build upon prior efforts to reconcile similar questions in the context of the critical editing of such fluid texts, and the particular difficulty faced by the traditional critical edition paradigm with respect to Sanskrit story literature. I further suggest how the results may implore us to re-examine our notion of textual evolution and the role of scribes as innovative agents rather than simply as imperfect copyists.

\textit{Śaṅkara}’s \textit{Pāṇiniyogaśastravivaraṇam} over the reading \textit{kāsthamaunākāsthamauna} read and explained by Vācaspatī in \textit{tattvavaivāsāraḍi}. Halbfass (Tradition and Reflection 1991:239 note 96) asks how Vācaspatī could have disregarded readings like this in his commentary, if he knew Śaṅkara’s commentary, but does not directly evaluate Wezler’s claim that the \textit{pāṇiniyogaśastravivaraṇam} reading is superior. I will show here that \textit{ākāramaunam} is defensible as \textit{lectio difficilior}. I will defend this reading with reference to \textit{mānavadharmaśastram} and other texts that use the term \textit{ākārah} in the sense of facial expression or appearance and related meanings.

\textit{Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇī}: an Early Grammar of the Telugu Language

The \textit{Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇī} is a grammar of the Telugu language written in Sanskrit, organized into five chapters (\textit{pariccheda}): \textit{sanyāśa} (metalinguistic terminology), \textit{sandhi} (euphonic coalescence), \textit{ajanta} (nominal bases/verbal stems ending in vowels), \textit{halanta} (nominal bases/verbal stems ending in consonants), and \textit{kriyā} (verbal
action). Attributed to Nannaya (11th century) by Telugu tradition, there are compelling arguments that it may have been actually composed as late as the 16th century. The *Andhraśabdacetimāṇi* is composed along the lines of various Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali, and Tamil grammars which range from the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* and the *Kātantra* to the *Prākṛta-prakāśa* and Kaccayāna’s Pali grammar, as well as the *Tolkāppiyam*. This presentation takes up the first chapter of the *Andhraśabdacetimāṇi*—the *saṃjñā pariccheda*—and discusses a.) the expected convergences with Paninian and pre/post-Paninian terminologies and techniques of linguistic description, and the significance of these links toward understanding a regionalized Telugu consciousness of linguistic identity and b.) the striking divergences and novel terminology introduced by the author of the Telugu grammar to necessitate a thorough description of the unique features of the Telugu language. Taking together both the convergences and divergences with earlier grammars in India, a close study of the *Andhraśabdacetimāṇi*—and, in particular, its opening chapter on metalinguistic terminology—broadens our perspective of the interconnected yet discrete linguistic practices of cosmopolitan and regional cultures in South Asia.

112. Aaron C. Sherraden, The University of Texas at Austin

*Mañipravāla-lakṣaṇam, Mañipravāla-lakṣyam*: Defining a Socio-Linguistic Identity for Malayalam

The *Līlātilakam* of late-fourteenth century Kerala represents an attempt to grammatically and aesthetically solidify an on-going aureate tradition blending the *keralabhāṣā* (old Malayalam) with Sanskrit lexical and poetic systems. That tradition takes shape as a literary and dramatic language known as Mañipravālam—*maṇi*, the red ruby of *keralabhāṣā* and *pravālam*, the red coral of Sanskrit. Ideally the two blend together in a seamless and unnoticeable mixture, importing Sanskrit poetics as the basis of its aesthetics. The author of the *Līlātilakam* adds his linguistic project to the long line of theoretical contemplation in Sanskrit poetics, but one that is notably distant from Tamil poetic and literary traditions. A primary motivation behind developing Mañipravālam lies in the desire to distinguish *keralabhāṣā* and the region where it is spoken from the socio-linguistic dominance of Tamil. We can see how the author situates his work with Sanskrit poetics by looking at his descriptions of the key concept of *rasa*.

Beyond its theoretical distancing from Tamil, the opening chapter also serves as the author’s platform to argue for the linguistic independence of *keralabhāṣā*, illustrating phonetic-based and, perhaps most interesting, context-based evidence for such an argument. From the first *sūtra*, Mañipravālam is the union (*yoga*) of *bhāṣā* and *samskṛta*, where *bhāṣā* can only mean *keralabhāṣā*. The author elucidates instances of potential confusion surrounding the definition of *bhāṣā*. For example, owing to context, even words from Kannada used within a properly constructed Mañipravālam verse fall within the *keralabhāṣā* lexical sphere. The paper will draw upon the few studies of this text by Brough, Kunjan Pillai, Ezhutaccan, and Freeman.

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Regional Mutations of the Vetāla Tale Collection: A Phylogenetic Approach

This paper will present the results of the first phase of the Vetāla Project, a five-year study of Śivadāsa’s Vetāla-pañcavimśati, or the “Twenty-Five Tales of the Animated Corpse,” involving the creation of a new, “dynamic” digital edition of one recension of this text attributed to a “Vallabha,” “Vallabhadāsa,” or “Kāyasthavallabhaśivadāsa.” Based upon a working stemma codicum of twelve such manuscripts, derived on phylogenetic principles using cladistics software, this presentation will compare this primarily Western Indian recension to other regional inflections (in Eastern and Northern India) of this treasured medieval Sanskrit story collection, investigating the extent to which regional literary and scribal cultures may have impacted the transmission and development of the larger textual tradition.

F. South and Southeast Asia VI: Poetry, Geography, and Commentary.
STEVEN E. LINDQUIST, Southern Methodist University, Chair (10:45 a.m.–12:15 p.m.) St. Louis Room

Ornamenting the Body of Poetry: Concerning Early Alāṅkāraśāstra and an Ontology of Poetics

A number of studies on Sanskrit poetics (Alāṅkāraśāstra) have detailed a shift in rhetorical perspective that took place in discipline of Sanskrit Poetics from the ninth to eleventh centuries, particularly in the works of Ānandavardhana (9th century) and Abhinavagupta (11th century). Such studies rightly point out that the discourses on dhvani and rasa, that are the central preoccupation of these latter authors, required a more active analysis of the semantic and psychological experiences of the literary audience than did the categorizations of literary excellences (guna), blemishes (doṣa), figures of speech (alāṅkāra) and styles (rīti) that characterized early works in the discipline—those of Daṇḍin, Bhāmaha, Udbhaṭṭa and Vāmana. A committed theory of an “internalization” in Sanskrit poetics, however, presupposes that early works in the tradition investigated objectified features in literary works, understood to facilitate or compromise the charm of poetry, and that later works refocused the target of investigation to include the semantic and psychological processes within an educated literary audience. Such a redirection would be partially analogous to the shift from the ontological fixations of the early Vaiśeṣika school, preoccupied in discerning objective categories of reality, to the more epistemologically grounded discourse of the Nyāya school, which directed its attention principally to the means and validation of knowledge. This paper investigates whether early Sanskrit rhetorician truly considered literary features such as excellence, blemishes, figures of speech and style to be objective elements of the text, and considers the utility of different ontological models form the classical period, that might orient the investigations found in the earliest work of Alāṅkāraśāstra.
Luther Obrock, University of Pennsylvania

The *Vyākhyāsudhā* of Raghupati: An Early Commentary of the *Kumārasambhava*

This talk introduces the *Vyākhyāsudhā* of Raghupati, an early commentary on Kālidāsa’s *Kumārasambhava*. Preserved in several manuscripts in Kathmandu, Raghupati’s text has never been edited or studied. The earliest dated manuscript of *Vyākhyāsudhā* is written on palm-leaf in Maithili script and is dated to Laksmana Samvat 123, approximately 1243 CE, making it one of the earliest surviving commentaries on the *Kumārasambhava*. From the available manuscripts, the *Vyākhyāsudhā* circulated quite widely in the Mithilā region, although it never gained the transregional appeal of commentaries like those of Mallinātha or Vālabhadeva. Given its regionally bound popularity, this study of the *Vyākhyāsudhā* is the first step in understanding localized traditions of commentary and specifically regional communities of readers for *kāvyā*.

This talk will concentrate on two themes: Raghupati’s introduction and his commentarial style. First, I look specifically at Raghupati’s contextualization of his commentary, and the way he imagines his commentary acting. Secondly I turn to his commentarial practice, looking specifically at his reliance on polysemy to open new pathways of interpretation. A reading of Raghupati’s commentary can shed new light on the history of commentarial literature in South Asia and can provide important insight into mapping commentarial styles and idioms. The study of commentarial practice and its role in creating the Sanskrit literary tradition is in its early stages, and a close reading of the *Vyākhyāsudhā* adds another voice to the rich and largely unmapped world of commentarial practice in South Asia.

John Nemec, University of Virginia

Dying to Redress the Grievance of Another? On *prāya/prāyopaveśa* in Kalhaṇa’s *Rājatarāṅgini*

While Hindu law has customarily forbidden suicide, there exist in parallel various social institutions that make constructive use of acts of willful self-harm. Washburn Hopkins cataloged some among these by identifying seven types of death by starvation (*prāya*) in dharmaśāstric, epic, and other sources (Hopkins, “On the Hindu Custom of Dying to Redress a Grievance,” *JAOS* 21[1900]: 146–159). Left out of his heptadic typology, however, are the many exemplars of *prāya/prāyopaveśa* in Kalhaṇa’s *Rājatarāṅgini*, which Hopkins deemed a literary production historically too late in the making to be included in his study. In this presentation, I will examine selected narratives invoking *prāya, prāyopaveśa* and related terms in the *Rājatarāṅgini*, and in doing so I will question whether Kalhaṇa has suggested that Brahmins engaged in the fast-unto-death not only to redress their own grievances, but also those of others, most notably those whose caste statuses were said to be inferior to their own. In so doing, Kalhaṇa arguably depicts the fast-unto-death not only as a Brahminical tool that was used to compel Kashmiri kings to conform to dharmaśāstric strictures of good government, but also as an instrument that could be deployed coercively to promote policies that favored not only Brahmins but also other, non-Brahmin subjects. The existence of such a form of the fast-unto-death would be significant, for
it signals an altruistic use of caste status, whereby Brahmins threatened their own
deaths, promising thereby the karmic and social consequences of brahminicide, not
only for their own ends, but also in order to compel those sovereigns who pursued
selfish interests (by abusing state power) better to serve the common good.

A. South and Southeast Asia VII: Purāṇa. Adheesh Sathaye, University of
British Columbia, Chair (1:00 p.m.–2:15 p.m.) St. Louis Room

117. JAMES F. PIERCE, University of Virginia

Bridling the Feminine Divine: The Fraught Theological Vision of the Devīpurāṇa

Composed in a context of significant cultural transition in early medieval Beng-
gal, the circa 7th–9th century Devīpurāṇa—an influential yet understudied Śākta Up-
apurāṇa—offers a literary snapshot of a shifting religious identity. In harmonizing pop-
ular practice with orthodox ideology, the text pivots on the integration of a burgeoning
feminine divine and the novel negotiations of gender prompted by this inclusion. By
introducing fierce indigenous goddess figures who challenge Brahmanical convention,
it ascribes to the feminine divine a novel position of power and prominence; however,
it also seeks to tame and domesticate feminine energy, bringing it under the direction
of masculine oversight. The Devīpurāṇa’s distinct portrait of the Goddess thus re-
veals a feminine divine that is exceedingly martial, fundamentally argumentative, at
times grotesque, and often deadly, but which is subject to male ambitions. Juxtapos-
ing this characterization of the Goddess with those of foremost Śākta texts empha-
sizes the complex portrayal of a Goddess who suffers from an imposed domestication
that she violently resists. Joining conversations begun by Thomas Coburn and C.
Mackenzie Brown—whose work has focused on the Devīmāhātmya and Devībhāgavata,
respectively—an intertextual consideration underscores the Devīpurāṇa’s distinctive
theological vision of the Goddess as neither a sovereign power with free license nor an
obedient and supportive wife; rather, her untamed energies are forced into a discordant
union with male oversight. Negotiations of religious power and authority thus neces-
sitate the mediation of gender relations, giving rise to a milieu which simultaneously
exalts the Goddess in her various manifestations and regulates those feminine forces
in religiously productive ways. In accordance with the dual Brahmanic and Tantric
outlook of the text, the practitioner is now enjoined to praise the supremacy of the
Goddess, to confront and revel in her awesome ferocity, and to direct her feminine
energies along fruitful spiritual pathways.

118. JOËL DUBOIS, California State University, Sacramento

Reconstructing Paurāṇika Storytelling Culture: Reorienting Scholarly Analysis
of the Purāṇas [withdrawn]

119. MANDAKRANTA BOSE, University of British Columbia

The Body and the Paintbrush: the Idea of Representation in the Citrasūtra of
the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa

The Citrasūtra section of the Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa advises the prospective
painter to learn the art of dancing because “without knowing the texts of dancing, it
is difficult to learn how to paint, [as] they both imitate the world” (VDP, III. 2.4). Yet
when we think of imitating human beings in painting, what similarity can there be between representation by lines, colour and texture and representation by movement? The question has not been addressed by scholars as yet. The present paper argues that *VDar* conceives painting the body not merely as its replication as an inanimate object but as a signifier of the intangible attributes of the living subject, including emotional values. Since the most palpable manifestation of life is motion, the artist must implicate motion in representations of the body. Thus, a painting is conceived as a motionless signifier potent with motion. Simply put, the art of painting remakes the human body as an icon of motion. Dance being pre-eminently an art of the body, it gives the painter an awareness of what constitutes motion. This explains why the body in classical Indian painting, as also in sculpture, so often appears in dance postures. Seen in this light, dance simultaneously creates graphic images of the body and charges it with meaning, turning the human body into a metaphoric paintbrush, which the painter must simulate with an actual paintbrush to make a painting come alive.

**B. Plenary Session: Age.** **RONALD C. EGAN,** Stanford University, Chair (2:30 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) *Astor Ballroom I*

120. **DANIEL C. SNELL,** University of Oklahoma

   *Ancient Near East: Age in The Ancient Near East*

121. **MATTHIAS L. RICHTER,** University of Colorado

   *East Asia: The Useful and the Useless: Perceptions of Age in Early China*

122. **JACOB LASNER,** Northwestern University

   *Islamic Near East: Life Cycles and the Quest for Legitimacy In Early Islam: Reflections on the Birth of the Prophet Muḥammad*

123. **PATRICK OLIVELLE,** University of Texas

   *South Asia: Age, Aging, and Old Age in Ancient India*

**A. Ancient Near East VII: History and Historiography.** **SETH RICHARDSON,** University of Chicago, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) *Astor Ballroom I*

124. **SETH RICHARDSON,** University of Chicago

   *Goodbye, Princess: Iltani and the DUMU.MUNUS.LUGAL*

   The Babylonian princess Iltani has been known to us at least since the 1899 copies of T. G. Pinches. Within fifty years, following a proliferation of published texts featuring the princess, it became probable there were at least two such persons by this name and title: by now, it can be shown there were at least three. But the problem hardly ends there: a close inspection of the disparate epistolary, administrative and commercial evidence for these Iltani’s does little to clarify their activities or status, nor even their relation to the king. An analysis of that evidence leads me to propose a redefinition of the title DUMU.MUNUS.LUGAL and a reinterpretation of the position and purpose of women bearing the name Iltani.
Rebel with a Cause: The Ideology of Rim-Sin II of Larsa

The great rebellion against Samsuiluna of Babylon represents a watershed moment in the history of ancient Mesopotamia, and has received attention from both Dominique Charpin (OBO 160/4) and a recent study by Andrea Seri on Rim-Anum of Uruk. In the span of a single year, most of the major cities of the south rose up against Babylon, catching Samsuiluna off guard and plunging the entire region into crisis. The Kassites made their first appearance in history, fighting against both Babylon and the rebels, and when Samsuiluna finally restored his kingdom four years later, the damage caused by the fighting was so severe that much of the south was abandoned, forcing the Babylonian king to accommodate large numbers of refugees and reconsolidate his rule in the north.

Rim-Sin II, the leader of the rebellion, remains an enigmatic figure, however. Hailing from Larsa and taking his name from the famous Larsite king of a generation before, he was eventually defeated and killed by Samsuiluna, but not before he had taken steps to secure his place as king of the entire south. Based on his year names and a letter, Rim-Sin II clearly saw himself as the legitimate king of southern Mesopotamia, but also saw his kingdom as based on a collection of city-states in the model of Rim-Sin I and Hammurabi, rather than as a nascent regional state following the model that Samsuiluna and his successors would adopt. Thus Rim-Sin II represents the last effort to retain the older city-state model of kingship in Mesopotamia. This study will consider how he appealed to past kings for ideological justification as he attempted to cleave his own state away from that of Babylon.

Dual Offices in Hittite Sources

There are a number of Hittite state officials who are attested in pairs, and many of these are the heads of high-level offices in the administration. Most of these dual offices are distinguished by the designation “of the Right” or “of the Left,” which is a practice also known from Mesopotamian sources. The exact meaning of this Right/Left designation remains unclear. Different opinions expressed previously include the suggestions that they may be a reference to the wings of the army, or a reflection of the position of the officials in court protocol, or that they may define the rank of the officials “of the right” as primary and those “of the left” as secondary. With certain titles, the right/left designation is almost always attested in association with an institution (é or É.GAL), and on account of this, it has also been suggested that it may be a reference to the topographical location of the said institution, some even adding that “of the right” might refer to a location in the north and that “of the left” to a situation in the south. This paper presents an analysis of the dual offices in Hittite sources and evaluates the feasibility of various explanations.

The Waters of Girsu/Lagash

There are hundreds of shipping records from the Ur III Dynasty (ca. 2100-2000 BCE), which is well known for its bureaucratic fervor. Taken in isolation each of these texts is relatively ordinary and uninspiring but when collectively mined for the
information they contain about geographical locations, man-hours used, institutions named, and individuals involved they illuminate the vast economic networks that existed as part of the Ur III state. A remarkable body of scholarship dealing with the economic structures of the Ur III state already exists and treatments detailing the waterways of the province of Umma have been put forth. In this paper the economic networks of Girsu/Lagash will be discussed, with a particular focus on the shipping records and the waterways of the province.

128. Dustin Nash, Muhlenberg College

The Separate Contours of Simalite and Yaminite Group Identity in Letters from Mari

Scholarly interpretations of the precise socio-structural relationship between those tribal confederacies identified as the “Sim’alites” (dumuʾsi-ma-al) and the “Yaminites” (dumuʾya-mi-na) in letters and administrative records from the site of Mari (ca. 18th century BCE) have changed dramatically in recent years. Above all, there is growing recognition that use of the term hana in the Mari archives most commonly refers to “mobile pastoralists” in general, or “Sim’alites” in particular, and does not represent an overarching ethnonym that encompassed both Sim’alites and Yaminites. The divergent terminology that identifies the subunits of each group, gayum for the Sim’alites and li’mum for the Yaminites, as well as these lower order collectives’ political viability, underscores the larger groups’ fundamental separation. The present paper supports this interpretive trend by contributing new evidence of the distinct contours of Sim’alite and Yaminite group identity. Thus, by examining the ways in which both peoples use the Akkadian fraternal kin term ahum (i.e. “brother” or “kinsman”) to communicate individual membership within these tribal associations, significant differences in their conception of the boundaries that demarcate intra-group identity become evident. More specifically, while Sim’alite usage of ahum privileges the shared identity of all Sim’alites as hana, regardless of gayum affiliation, internal Yaminite exploitation of this same term limits its reference to membership within the same li’mum.

129. Paul Gauthier, University of Chicago

Accounting for Change: Reassessing the Middle Assyrian Gināu Tables

The tabular summary texts from the archive of the Gināu Agency have been central to the discussion of Middle Assyrian geography and the Middle Assyrian period more generally since J. N. Postgate first published about them in 1985. In this paper I will look at the accounting mechanisms used to produce these documents. A better understanding of these mechanisms can considerably refine how the tables are used as sources for historical geography. First, in the tabular texts the apparent changes in the roster of provinces result from an accounting convention and consequently cannot be used to estimate the expansion or contraction of the kingdom. When this convention is corrected for, the roster of provinces is essentially unchanged for the duration of the archive. Second, it is possible to derive the annual tax assessment for each province from the tables. Using this information it is possible to discern the major administrative components of the kingdom. What is more, one can combine these numbers with the receipt figures for individual years to study the varying financial fortunes of the provinces and larger administrative units of the kingdom over the duration of the archive.
130. EDWARD STRATFORD, Brigham Young University

Caravans, Cuneiform, and Clay: Beginning a Social Geography of Anatolian Geography during the Old Assyrian period through pXRF Analysis

Though most tablets of the Old Assyrian trade were excavated from Kanesh/Kültepe, a great many were created somewhere else, whether in Asshur or somewhere else on the Anatolian plateau, across a wide array of locations traversed by caravans of traders. Despite advances in recent years, the locations of some of the major cities of the period are still disputed, including Purushattum (Hittite Purushanda). While these arguments have largely revolved around analysis to textual data, there is an opportunity to bring material analysis to bear on the topic as well. Nondestructive portable X-Ray Fluorescence (pXRF) analysis offers the possibility of material analysis of documents created in the many locations in the Old Assyrian trade. This presentation will report on the limits and benefits of correlating proposed locations of text creation with the elemental analysis offered from pXRF analysis. While elemental composition analysis cannot necessarily provide geochemical sourcing, initial correlation between how we read the text and how we read the trace elements in the clay suggests that most tablets were not recycled and re-made into other tablets (in agreement with other statements), and that it will be possible to associate many documents with settlements known from the Old Anatolian period, and perhaps in the future, associate these with archaeological sites. The presentation will focus on determining location of the origin of texts, the correlation of this with the elemental composition, and address some of the interesting finds, setting the stage for the potential and importance of such a project for better explaining the Old Assyrian trade.

B. Islamic Near East VI: Minority Religious Communities.
ROBERT G. MORRISON, Bowdoin College, Chair (9:00 a.m.–11:30 a.m.)
Astor Ballroom II

131. ERIK HERMANS, New York University

Ibn al-Muqaffa’, John of Damascus, and the Categories of Aristotle

Ibn al-Muqaffa’ is traditionally seen as one of the foundational pioneers of Arabic prose writing. However, scholars often neglect the fact that he is also the first Aristotelian translator. In the middle of the 8th century, Ibn al-Muqaffa’ translated a paraphrase of the proto-Organon—the first set of logical texts in the Aristotelian corpus—into Arabic. This is the first Greek text ever to be translated into Arabic. Ibn al-Muqaffa’s Persian background seems to contradict the generally accepted view that the Persian politico-cultural sphere was not a conduit of Greco-Roman thought. This paper will explore the possible origins of the Arabic text through a close analysis of the part that discusses the Categories. It will be argued that Sassanian Persia was an alternative link between Late Antique Alexandria and the early Caliphate—alongside the Greco-Syrian intellectual sphere.

Secondly, this paper will contextualize Ibn al-Muqaffa’s decision to translate a paraphrase of Aristotle’s Categories by comparing his activities with that of John of Damascus. Ibn al-Muqaffa’ and John of Damascus are considered to be at the opposite ends of two different traditions. Ibn al-Muqaffa is one of the first Arabic prose writers, whereas John of Damascus is seen as the last in a line of Greek Church
Fathers. Nevertheless, these two contemporary intellectuals shared an interest in the Categories of Aristotle. A comparison of their milieus and activities will elucidate the genesis of Ibn al-Muqaffa’s Aristotelian translation.

132. Ryan Schaffner, Ohio State University

Saving Souls and Tricking Satan: The Doctrine of Atonement in an Early 9th Century C.E. Muslim Polemical Text

In this presentation I will examine the doctrine of the Atonement as it appears in al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm’s early 9th century C.E. Kitāb al-radd ʿalā al-naṣārā (Refutation of the Christians). The majority of al-Qāsim’s treatise is typical of early Muslim polemical works against Christianity in that he summarizes the Christian doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation according to the three sects of the Melkites, Jacobites, and Nestorians, followed by arguments meant to refute them. Al-Qāsim’s text is unusual though for its inclusion of a detailed and careful summary of the doctrine of the Atonement. In David Thomas’ article, “The Bible in Early Muslim anti-Christian Polemic”, he has noted the close attention al-Qāsim paid to accurately portraying Christian doctrines, drawing particular attention to the Incarnation. Because his focus in that article, however, is on the use of the Bible by Muslim polemicists, there is only passing mention of this particular section of al-Qāsim’s text. In this presentation I will provide an analysis of al-Qāsim’s formulation of the Atonement and its place in his text, examine how his summary relates to Christian views on the doctrine, and explore potential influences on his understanding of Christianity, particularly as it relates to the Atonement.

133. Clint Hackenburg, Ohio State University

Voices of the Converted: How Medieval Christian Converts to Islam Refuted their Former Faith

This presentation will discuss the manners in which five medieval Christian converts to Islam refuted their former faith. I will argue that Christian converts to Islam anchored their refutations of Christianity in precedents established in the Qurʾān, Sīra, and ḥadīth resulting in biblically-based rather than logically-based argumentation. The converts discussed in this presentation will include ʿAlī ibn Sahl Rabbān al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 860), al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyūb (fl. ca. mid-tenth century), Naṣr ibn Yaḥyā (d. 1163 or 1193) or possibly Yaḥyā ibn Yaḥyā, Yūsuf al-Lubnānī (d. ca. mid-thirteenth century), and Anselm Turmeda (d. 1423) who was later known by the name ʿAbdallāh al-Tarjumān. The dual heritage of these converts allowed them to uniquely fulfill the Qurʾānic commission set forth in Sūrat Yūnus 10:94 which states, “So, if thou art in doubt regarding what We have sent down to thee, ask those who recite the Book before thee. The truth has come to thee from thy Lord; so be not of the doubters.” Additionally, these converts emulated earlier paradigmatic figures like Waraqa ibn Nawfal, Sergius Bahīrā, and Salmān Fārisī, each of whom represents the prototypical Islamicized Christian found in the Sīra and ḥadīth literature. Therefore, I hope to prove that throughout the medieval period, Christian converts to Islam felt an acute sense of responsibility and obligation to contribute to new anti-Christian dialectical strategies. As a result, Christian apostates helped to establish a distinct framework of anti-Christian polemic founded upon criteria established in the Qurʾān and in the life and teachings of Muhammad.
Kevin van Bladel, Ohio State University

The Kentæans, a Iraqi “Șabian” Sect of Sasanian Origins

Specialists in the history of the Aramean Iraqi sect of baptizers known as the Mandæans have long noted reports about the existence of a much less well known but related sect called the Kentæans (or Kantæans). Wilferd Madelung in particular devoted part of an article to a summary of information about them drawn from early Muslim heresiographical sources, in particular Abû ʻIsa al-Warrāq. The present contribution will point out several further hitherto unrecognized sources about the Kentæans in both Aramaic (Syriac and Mandaic) and Arabic, making it possible to corroborate elements of the Muslim heresiographers’ reports summarized by Madelung, to sharpen somewhat our knowledge of the doctrines of the sect, and to refine the chronology and geography of the Kentæans, who came to be regarded, among many other groups, by the qur'anic term Șabian.

Omid Ghaemmaghami, Binghamton University

After a Break in the Sequence: The Intermissionists in Early Shi‘i Islam

The year 874CE witnessed the death of the 11th Shi‘i Imam, Ḥasan al-ʻAskari. Almost instantaneously, his followers splintered into at least fourteen groups. Some alleged that al-ʻAskari was in hiding and had not died. Others claimed that the new Imam was al-ʻAskari’s brother Ja`far. Still others, a small minority at first by all measures, contended that the next Imam was a hitherto unknown and concealed son of al-ʻAskari. This group would eventually come to be known as the Twelver Shi‘a.

In this communication, I will cast light on another faction that emerged after the passing of al-ʻAskari a group that has thus far received but passing attention. This faction—which I will call the ahl al-fatra (the intermissionists)—was convinced that with the death of the eleventh Imam, an interval or break (fatra) in the sequence of Imams had begun. The intermissionists contended that just as there had been no Prophets or Imams between Jesus and Muhammad, the earth would be without an Imam until such time as God decides to send the Qā‘im. In this paper, I will consider how this faction is described in early heresiographical works and introduce some of the reports or traditions on which they likely relied to support their position.

Leila S. al-Imad, East Tennessee State University

Mithaq al-Nisā and its Impact on Druze Women Past and Present

The Covenant for women or Mithaq al-Nisā found in Kitāb al-Hikmah (The Book of Wisdom) attributed to Ḥamzah Ibn ʻAlī addressed the importance of women in the Druze Da’wa and the necessity to educate them in its beliefs. The text of the Covenant is very clear in that it treated women as equal to men, in so far as their ability to understand the scriptures. They could then be the best helpers of their brethren in the faith, in proselytizing and in spreading the new religion.

The Covenant in many ways addressed the men who did not want or feel the necessity to educate their counterparts in the tenants of the new Da’wa by explaining, “un-initiated women could bring shame and calamity to the whole Da’wa if they are kept ignorant of its beliefs”. Al-Mithaq goes further to ask the educated men to educate their counterparts so that ignorance would disappear and women then can actively participate in their religious and social duties.
Mithāq al-Nisā’ goes further to ask of the men who were going to become mentors for the women to follow certain steps, which the Covenant spells out. It provides a directive for men and a protocol that they must follow.

This paper will attempt to address the reasons why Ūmzah Ibn ‘Ali was so keen on educating women and why he wanted them to be actively engaged in the Da‘wa. It will also explore the effects this Mithāq had on the status of Druze women and the different roles they play as wives, mothers, and marja’s in the religious circles. There has not been any comprehensive study on Druze women, especially from a scriptural point view. This paper will begin to fill this gap.

C. South and Southeast Asia VIII: Rgveda and Atharvaveda. Stephanie Jami-son, University of California Los Angeles, Chair (9:00 a.m.–11:00 a.m.) St. Louis Room

137. Jarrod Whitaker, Wake Forest University

Myth, Ritual, and Tradition: Identifying the “Thrice-Seven” (trisaptāḥ) in AVŚ 1.1.1

At the AOS annual meeting in 2012 and at the 6th International Vedic Workshop in India, January 2014, I presented papers that interpreted the opening hymn of the Atharvaveda Śaunakiya Saṃhitā, particularly the martial bow metaphor contained in its third stanza. This paper will examine the poet’s use of the unclear numerical designator “Thrice-Seven” (trisaptāḥ) in the first stanza. According to Whitney (1905: 1–2), the “thrice seven” may not indicate a definite number, such as 21, but signals an indefinite number, “dozens” or “scores,” and thus it could be an account of all possible phonemes or syllables. Thieme (1985) doubles down on the phonetic interpretation but argues that the number is exact and refers to the 21 sounds of Sanskrit as understood by early Indian linguists, such as Kātyāyana. An examination of the Rgveda and both recensions of the Atharvaveda will show that the qualification “thrice-seven, three times seven” does invoke an allusion to speech and its parts, yet also activates a more complex mythological statement that the poet wishes to make about his ritual tradition. By invoking the “Lord of Speech” and the powers of the trisaptāḥ, and by making a redactional choice to open the Śaunakiya Saṃhitā with this hymn, the poet underscores a crucial message about his ritual tradition’s cosmological heritage, its founding fathers, and its powerful nature.

138. Signe Cohen, University of Missouri

Spells, Memory, and Desire: Smaṇa in the Atharvaveda

The Sanskrit noun smāra means both “memory” and “desire”. The intricate interplay between these two meanings in classical Sanskrit literature has been examined in some detail by Charles Malamoud and others.

In this paper, I will examine the use of the term smāra in the Atharvaveda. In several AV passages, such as 6.130 and 6.131, smāra appears to have the meaning “magic spell” or “charm”. In this paper, I will analyze how this meaning of smāra in the AV is intricately linked to both notions of memory and desire.
139. Marianne Oort-Lissy, Leiden University

*Paippalāda Atharvaveda* 8.1: Kinship and Kine

In my research on *Kāṇḍa* eight of the *Paippalāda Atharvaveda* I have mainly looked at those hymns that are solely in the *Paippalāda Samhitā*. Recently I had the opportunity to look closely at one hymn that is also in the *Śaunaka Saṃhitā* 5.11.1 which is very interesting because the theme is intriguing.

8.1 is a dialogue hymn between *Varuṇa* and an *Atharvan*. *Varuṇa* has given the *Atharvan* a *prśini* (spotted) *cow* as a *daksīna* and wants it back. The priest is surprised that the god wants it back. After all when a gift or fee is given it should stay with the recipient and not be given back to the giver. The dialogue reveals not only ideas about ritual but also poetry and the final conclusion also shows us something about family ties and the name of the *Atharvan*.

140. Joel P. Brereton, The University of Texas at Austin

Word Position in R̥gvedic Poetry

The more closely scholars have examined R̥gvedic poetry, the more apparent has become the R̥gvedic poets’ deliberate and intricate construction of their verses. The poets deploy a wide variety of poetic techniques, and this paper will examine just one of them: the meaningful positioning of words in the verse line. In particular, it will discuss the placement of a word between two other words so that the word could be construed with either and should be construed with both. The paper will discuss not only the occasions but also the reasons that poets use this technique.

141. John J. Lowe, University of Oxford

Transitive Nominals in R̥gvedic Sanskrit

The existence of ‘transitive’ nouns and adjectives, i.e. that govern objects, has long been problematic for formal linguistics: nouns and adjectives are often defined as inherently non-transitive (Chomsky, *Remarks on Nominalization*, 1970). Nevertheless several old Indo-European languages attest such forms. I have previously discussed this phenomenon in Old Avestan, and in this paper I discuss a parallel investigation into the phenomenon in R̥gvedic Sanskrit, which provides considerably more data.

It is clear that some noun and adjective categories in Vedic can and do govern objects; it is less clear what the conditions on this were. I approach the problem systematically, bringing together all forms from the relevant morphological categories to provide a coherent account of this phenomenon in Vedic.

In morphological terms, some of the categories show an indirect association with the verbal system. This association is not enough for the forms concerned to be treated as non-finite categories, like participles, the transitivity of which is cross-linguistically unremarkable. It does, however, suggest a derivational relationship with the verbal system, which helps to explain why these categories can show so prototypically verbal a feature as transitivity.
Moreover, I show that there is a statistically significant correlation between transitivity and predication; i.e. transitivity is more likely when the noun/adjective concerned is predicated in a nominal clause (with or without a copula). As predication is prototypically a verbal feature, the association between predication and transitivity is also a natural one. This is distinctly different from non-finite verbal categories like participles, whose transitivity is not related to any syntactic context (and which are rarely predicated). I argue that transitivity with nouns and adjectives may have originated in the syntactic context of predication, but could be extended by the Vedic poets to other contexts for poetic effect.
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