

PETER T. DANIELS

If the Greeks “Needed” to Write the Vowels, How Come the Iranians Didn’t?

Or, if the Phoenicians didn’t, how come the Ethiopians did? In general history works, one often reads that the Greek alphabet has explicit vowel letters because Indo-European languages are fundamentally different from Semitic languages: in the latter, all the meaning is in the consonants, but in the former, the vowels are equally important; thus Greek couldn’t be written without vowels. However, this view rests not only on a flawed understanding of the nature of Semitic word formation (the consonantal root is illusory, as has been recognized by Louis H. Gray, Gene Schramm, and Grover Hudson, and script-based), but also on unfamiliarity with other episodes of script transmission, in particular the adoption (with virtually no adaptation!) of Aramaic writing for Middle Iranian, viz. in the Pahlavi and related scripts. The only general account of this process previously available was Henning’s in the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* published 40 years ago, but P. Oktor Skjærvø’s recent treatments now make it accessible to a new generation. Comparison of these and other script transfers (step by step from the Mediterranean to the Pacific) indicates that the external circumstances of the transfer, rather than the phonological or morphological structure of the language receiving the script, determine the nature of the transfer.

W. RANDALL GARR

‘Image’ and ‘Likeness’ in the Inscription from Tell Fakhariyeh

In the Old Aramaic inscription from Tell Fakhariyeh, two terms refer to the statue of Had-Yithi: *šlmv* (11. 12.16), usually translated ‘image’; and *dmwt*, (11. 1.15), ‘likeness’. Despite their lexical difference, the two words seem to have the same semantic content, the same discourse function, and the same gloss in the accompanying Akkadian text (*NU*). This paper suggests that the difference implied by *šlmv* and *dmwt* may be explained by their respective contexts. *šlmv* coincides with royal language, has an explicitly regental referent, and is accompanied by curses against potential vandals. *dmwt* is different. *dmwt* lacks royal language or referent and appears in conjunction with the dedicator’s praise or petition of the god Hadad. Accordingly, the difference between *šlmv* and *dmwt* is pragmatic. The two terms connote two distinct functions of the statue as well as its referent: *šlmv*, a commemorative function based upon the ruler’s own sovereign power; *dmwt*, a votive or petitionary function attributable to the ruler’s dependence upon the ‘merciful god’ Hadad.

ELEONORA CUSSINI

Aramaic Inscription from Babylonia: A Palæographic study of the Murašû texts

The corpus of Aramaic epigraphs on cuneiform documents from Babylonia, although discontinuous and fragmented, provides significant data for the study of Official Aramaic. Despite the brevity of these inscriptions, their importance for the study of Aramaic, and for the investigation of Akkadian-Aramaic relationship during the Neo-Babylonian and Achæmenian periods is undeniable. This paper examines the Aramaic epigraphs written on contracts of the Murašû archive of Nippur with special attention to analysis of their script, and to its relation to other types of Aramaic scripts used on clay tablets from Mesopotamia and Syria. The Murašû archive has received extensive treatment by M. W. Stolper, and palæographic considerations are found in J. Naveh’s work. Nevertheless, a comprehensive palæographic analysis of this group of epigraphs remains a desideratum, especially in

view of the constant increase of the corpus of Aramaic epigraphs on clay tablets resulting from recent findings of monolingual Aramaic clay tablets, and bilingual Neo-Assyrian-Aramaic docketts. The present study is set in the framework of my own previous investigations of other bodies of Aramaic epigraphs, e.g., the Neirab archive from Tell Neirab (Syria), and the Kasr archive from Babylon. New copies of the Aramaic inscriptions have been prepared to assist in the present analysis, together with copy and discussion of unpublished material. A detailed analysis of the Murašû material will offer a revised palæographic tool, and will contribute to the general discussion on the issue of the development of Aramaic script on clay tablets during the Achæmenian period.

CHRISTA MÜLLER-KESSLER

The Babylonian Legacy in Aramaic Incantation Texts of Late Antiquity

Magical texts from Mesopotamia or Chuzistan may have been written in Babylonian Aramaic, Mandaic or Syriac dialects on earthenware bowls or metal sheets, but they reflect a common cultural background. Therefore the corpus of Aramaic incantation texts of Late Antiquity has to be studied as a whole. Cultural borrowings from Babylonia can be still observed in the survival of incantations, ritual practices, cults of former deities, lexicographical features and other elements, which altogether seem to outweigh their Iranian counterparts. Many of the *Vorlagen* of the magical corpus were probably compiled before the Sassanian period. At that time the Babylonian temples in Babylon, Borsippa and Kutha were still in existence, and a new religious group, the Mandæans, was recruited from that population. The phonological and lexicographical features of Mandaic give evidence for dating the beginning of the early Mandæan sect, and its presumable provenance. New magical texts on Mandaic lead rolls and incantation bowls housed in the British Museum, or other collections add further proofs. They shed light on the problem how well the Mandæans were still acquainted with the surviving cults of Late Babylonia. Former Babylonian and Iranian deities are listed in long demon accounts and worked into various incantations.

The result of this study stands in contrast to former opinions that the incantation formulas of Late Antiquity are more closely connected with the religion of the scribe, the script and the dialect, in which the formulas are composed and written. The method of analyzing and interpreting the incantation texts has to be reconsidered in light of the new evidence.

CALVERT WATKINS

An Indo-European Divine Name in Anatolian and Celtic?

For the Anatolian name of the Storm God we have basically two families: (a) an *nt*- participle with variants and derivatives, and (b) a thematic suffix *-unna-*. Thus, in the nominative,

- | | | |
|------------------------------|----------------|--|
| (a) South and West Anatolian | Tarḫunt-s | ($\text{u-}\eta\text{t} > \text{unt}$) |
| | Tarḫwant-s | (old full grade) |
| | Tarḫunt-as | (thematicized) |
| | Tarḫunz-as | (hypostasis or <i>-nt-$\dot{\iota}$o-</i>) |
| | Tarḫunt-i(ya)s | (post-Com. Anatolian <i>-ya-</i>) |
| (b) Central Anatolian | Tarḫunna-s. | |

(a) can be exactly equated with the Vedic participle and divine epithet *tūrvan* ‘overpowering’ (Eichner, IE **terh₂-*). For (b) there is ample Indo-European evidence for a suffix of variable form specifically in divine names, containing *-u-* and *-n(o)-*.

We also find a set of derivatives of the name of the Stag God, derived from the word for ‘horn’, parallel to those in the name of the Storm God:

- (a) K(u)runt-s
 later
 Runt-s
 K(u)runt-as
 Runz-as
 Runt-iyas.

The suffix of Tarḫunnas recurs exactly in the Gaulish name of the Celtic Stag God

- (b) C]emunnos,

also from the word for ‘horn’. It would be improper methodology to postulate an Indo European Stag God on the basis of an “equation” of Anatolian *K(u)runt-* and Celtic *Cernunno-*, and the iconic similarity of their respective images belongs to the plane of universals. Yet one might imagine an inherited portmanteau semantic structure for a divine name or epithet HORN (-u-) + possessive, OVERCOME (-u-) + possessive, which could be independently implemented in the given tradition. Such reconstructions provide a necessary flexibility in the determination and specification of semantic structures in many culturally important areas of the lexicon, as Benveniste in *Le vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* (1969) was at pains to show. It remains the case that the unique implementation of the possessive suffixes as

OVERCOME + <i>-unt-</i>	(Luvian)
OVERCOME + <i>-unno-</i>	(Hittite)
HORN + <i>-unt-</i>	(Luvian)
HORN + <i>-unno-</i>	(Celtic)

is a striking coincidence, and the existence of an Indo-European Stag God cannot be disproved.

H. CRAIG MELCHERT

Hittite *damnaššara-* domestic

H. G. Güterbock in 1961 tentatively identified the Hittite *Damnaššara*-deities (always plural) as ‘sphinxes’. As often in scholarship, his own explicit reservations about the proposal have been forgotten, and the interpretation has become standard, with an alleged connection of these deities with gates cited as support. As several scholars have noted, the *Damnaššareš* are primarily mobil figures, being said to ‘go’, to take part in processions, and to be brought into temples. As I will show, the supposed connection with gates is specious. As already seen by Goetze, their real association is with the canonical sacred objects of internal spaces: the god Šuwalijat, the offering table, the hearth, the wall, the door-bolt, the window.

Furthermore, *damnaššara-* at least once designates ‘men’ and also occurs as the epithet of various animals: male goats, a male sheep, and snakes. In one instance it appears to contrast explicitly with *gimraš* ‘of the field/open country’. The total evidence for *damnaššara-* argues that it is an adjective with a basic meaning ‘domestic, of the household’. The application to animals is straightforward. The men so designated are probably not servants, but ‘household members’ (Grk. οἰκέλοι, Lyc. *prñezehi-*). The *Damnaššara*-deities are protective spirits of internal spaces, dwellings and temples, comparable in function to the Latin *penates*. Although these probably are goddesses, the use of *damnaššara-* to qualify males suggests that the suffix *-(a)ššara-* here is not that marking females, but that which forms various secondary derivatives (such as *išpantuzziaššara-* ‘libation vessel’ < *išpantuzzi-* ‘libation’). The base **damn(a)-* is itself surely a derivative of the PIE word for ‘house’ **dóm-/dém-*.

DAVID TESTEN

Conjugating the “Prefixed Stative” Verbs of Akkadian

The two Akkadian verbs meaning “to know” (*idû*) and “to have” (*išû*) are well known for their anomalous morphology. Both are characterized by the fact that they show a defective paradigm, built upon a single stem-shape rather than the full set of alternating stem-patterns by which most Akkadian verbs distinguish tense/aspect—contrast the atemporal *ide* with, e.g., fully inflected present *i-parras* ‘he decides’, preterite *i-prus*, perfect *i-ptaras*. In their general configuration, the stem-shapes of “know” and “have” resemble most closely the preterite stem of the typical verb, but they differ from the general type in that their first syllable contains the vowel *-i-* whereas the typical verb’s preterite features an *-a-* or *-e-* throughout much of its paradigm (1 sg. *išu*, 2 msg. *tišu*, 3 msg. *išu*... vs. 1 sg. *aprus*, 2 msg. *taprus*, 3 msg. *iprus*...).

What is the source of the peculiarities surrounding these verbs? Synchronic irregularities frequently provide insights into the nature of earlier stages of a given language. It is suggested here that, however curious they may be from the standpoint of historical Akkadian, the shapes of “know” and “have” reflect the regular preterite-formation processes of a prehistorical stage of the language. An investigation into the reconstruction of Semitic verbal inflection suggests that the *ide* and *išu* which we find in the documented language have been left stranded by the expansion of what has now become the generalized pattern—i.e., they originated as preterite forms built from “weak” roots of a sort which has not otherwise survived into Akkadian.

ALAN KAYE

Afroasiatic and Alleged Nostratic Etymologies

We shall examine in detail a number of the proposed Afroasiatic comparisons within the framework of the Nostratic etymologies offered by Aharon Dolgopolsky in his *The Nostratic Macrofamily and Linguistic Paleontology* (Cambridge, England: The McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 1998). In addition, we will offer a number of theoretical and methodological points concerning the topic of distant genetic relationship and the use and misuse of the comparative method in historical linguistics.

Our conclusion is that there is no convincing evidence in favor of the Nostratic macrofamily.

TIMOTHY C. WONG

Commentaries and Evolutionary *Xiaoshuo* Texts

Textual scholarship on traditional Chinese *xiaoshuo* fiction, including the recent work of David Rolston, has shown us that such fiction is generically evolutionary. Still we have not explored the artistic implications of this fact, probably because modern (and postmodern) critics have been so intent on raising such fiction from its former lowly status by equating it with the modern novel in the West, which is assumed to be creational. This communication reviews Professor Rolston’s latest book (*Traditional Chinese Fiction and Fiction Commentary*, 1997) in terms of seeking out what the critic can learn from the textual scholar.

FANG-YI CHAO

On the Origin of the Aspect Markers in Chinese

The use of aspect markers to indicate the situation of events is one of the most important syntactic developments in Middle Chinese. It is widely accepted that the suffixal aspect markers *Le*, *Zhe*, and *Guo* are generated from the verbs, *Liao*, *Zhao*, and *Guo*, respectively. However, the factor or factors which motivate the change of these three verbs remain neglected. This paper, on the basis of overall typological changes in Middle Chinese, posits that language contact is the external factor

which triggers the change of the language, and that reanalysis and analogy are two major linguistic factors which lead to the grammaticalization of the concrete verbs in Chinese. The proposed process by which aspect markers *Le*, *Zhe*, and *Guo* can arise shows, contrary to previous proposition, that due to analogy to the verbal-complement compound, the concrete verbs *Liao*, *Zhao*, and *Guo* were detached from its complement and were reanalyzed as the complement in the verbal-complement compound. Through a further step of reanalysis, which turn the complement into grammatical suffix, the three concrete verbs *Liao*, *Zhao*, and *Guo* change their lexical meanings and grammaticalized into aspect markers. This study of the process of generating aspect markers not only clarifies the hypothesis that grammaticalization is a process rather than a consequence or a factor of syntactic changes, but also sketch the mechanism of grammaticalization in verbs.

CHARLES YIM-TZE KWONG

Man and Religious Nature in Ancient Chinese Poetry

From initial attempts at rhythmic language to more formalized expressions in the early pieces of *Shijing*, ancient Chinese verse has always registered Nature's importance as man's cradle and source of livelihood. Nature began as a fearsome environment which the primitive Chinese tried to overcome through collective effort; their livelihood activities and life experiences are recorded in early "labor songs". Such poems contain no "concept" of Nature, only those items directly related to livelihood pursuits. Hunting was the main livelihood activity, and the basic response to Nature was one of awe and conquest.

With the development of imaginative thought and language and Nature's domestication into a relationship of agricultural affinity, this response took on a supernatural dimension, as seen in religious incantations and songs expressing worship of an animistic world. The actual religiousness of the sentiment is uncertain, for the practically-directed prayers clearly arose from the hopes and needs of primitive livelihood. Seemingly exuding a mystical power in the course of singing and dance, such religious verse reflects a dual attitude to Nature: an appeasement of fearsome nature spirits, yet also an attempt through ritual to harness them to serve human purposes. Empirical agents affecting livelihood became deified spirits, enjoying sacrifices but summoned by words of authority to serve man's will. Majestic, supernatural Nature could apparently be mastered through intelligence and language. Like primitive poetry itself, visualizations of Nature in early China blend secular and religious, real and imaginary elements together.

This topic forms part of a half-written book that will be the first comprehensive study of the interflows shaping the Chinese vision of Nature and its poetic expression over time, and of Nature's total literary import on multiple planes. Related to the topic of this particular paper are a few articles and a book in Chinese on nature worship, but their focus is not on poetry.

DENIS SINOR

Women in Medieval Inner Asia

Not surprisingly, medieval Inner Asia was a man's world. Yet one must presume that at any given time roughly one half of the population was female. Culled from our meager sources the paper will present some data on women and will also remark on their role in the gradual Turkization of the whole region.

RUTH I. MESERVE

Punishments for Livestock Theft in Inner Asia

The early legal practices of nomadic peoples in Inner Asia were buried in custom, reflected and governed by everyday life, and sometimes not very far removed from the spiritual world. As might be expected in a steppe society, livestock theft was a major concern and was often dealt with harshly

by the authorities. Superstitious elements were also used to ward off cattle rustling; speech patterns advised against actually proclaiming that an animal had been “stolen”.

Punishments for livestock theft must, however, be dealt with on two separate planes. The first included those punishments applied under law by a judge or court to a “convicted” thief or band of thieves. The second operated on the level of public opinion, capable of castigating the rustler(s) or, at the other extreme, rewarding or praising the clever thief, who managed to thwart the authorities. Whether operating under legal institutions or public opinion, both were often forced to consider the ethnic origins of victim and thief as well as their positions—official versus non-official, rich versus poor, etc.—adding fascinating elements to the equation of guilt related to punishment.

BARBARA KELLNER-HEINKELE

Russia and the Nogays in the 18th Century: Documents from the *Arkhiv Vneshney Politiki Rossiyskoy Imperii* in Moscow

The new accessibility of Russian archives in recent years provides Orientalists in East and West with possibilities of research that seemed almost unthinkable in the previous decades. A particular case in this context is the history of the Crimean Tatars which had disappeared from the agenda of Soviet historians altogether after, in 1944, Stalin had ordered the deportation of this people from its homeland to Central Asia.

In spite of the solid work of Russian scholars, published mainly in the 19th century and focusing on Russian-Crimean Tatar relations in the 16th to 18th centuries, not much is known on the political, economic and social factors that determined the Crimean Tatar khanate’s interior situation in the 18th century. On the basis of so far unpublished documents from the *Arkhiv Vneshney Politiki Rossiyskoy Imperii* in Moscow, this paper attempts to show the important role the Nogay tribes played in the khanate’s disintegration from within and their impact on Russian policy towards the Crimean Tatars before 1783.

MAJD Y. AL-MALLAH

Panegyric Poetry and Court Ceremonial: al-Mutanabbī’s “Victory Ode”

This paper is concerned with the controversy over the role of the panegyric ode in the court of a ruler and in medieval Arab society at large. The traditional opinion, led by scholars such as Ṭāha Ḥusayn, is that the panegyric ode was shamelessly used merely to flatter monarchs for entertainment and financial purposes, that is, to attain a generous reward from the patron. The other point of view, expressed by scholars such as Stefan Sperl and Suzanne Stetkevych, is that the panegyric ode had both political and ritual functions. Building on works by the aforementioned scholars, my paper will examine the role of one or two panegyric odes by al-Mutanabbī (d. 965). In particular, I am interested in victory odes (panegyric poems recited after a successful military campaign against the Byzantines) that were presented in the court of Sayf al-Dawlah al-Ḥamdānī (d. 967), the prince of Aleppo. I will argue that these odes are structurally built on two opposing images: the victorious prince and the defeated Byzantines. The ode declares the legitimacy of the prince based on, first, his military victory and ability to protect the people and, second, his ability to defeat and humiliate the Byzantines. One can contend, hence, that the court ceremonial of declaring victory and hence legitimacy for the Hamdanid prince relied primarily on al-Mutanabbī’s depiction of the emir as a military warrior—one who is in many ways mythic rather than real. The study will draw on a number of recent works on ceremony and speech-act theory. Works on ceremony will include “The Construction of Court Ritual: the Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies*,” by Averil Cameron; *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* by Sabine G. McCormack; *Eternal Victory* by Michael McCormick; *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* by Paula Sanders; “Abbāsīd Panegyric, The Politics and Poetics of Ceremony: Al-Mutanabbī’s ‘Īd-poem to Sayf al-Dawlah” and “The Qaṣīda and the Poetics of Ceremony: Three ‘Īd Panegyrics to the Cordoban Caliphate” by Suzanne Stetkevych.

Works on Speech-act theory will include *How to do Things with Words* by J. L. Austin; *Toward a Speech Act Theory of literary Discourse* by Mary Louise Pratt; and Beatrice Gruendler's Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard 1995) entitled "The Patron's Redemption: The Praise Poetry of Ibn al-Rūmī Dedicated to Ubaydallah b. Ṭāhir."

ELIZABETH M. BERGMAN

Metrics by the Meter in Ibn al-Ḥājib and al-Khazrajī

The versified mnemonic takes as its subject a technical or scientific topic, and sets that topic to verse to make the information it contains easier to learn and to recall at will. This paper argues that the versified mnemonic results not from a mechanical operation that versifies an existing prose text but from a complex process of adaptation. The adaptive process reduces a clearly defined body of knowledge to its essentials. These essentials are of course constrained by the exigencies of rhyme and meter. At the same time, the didactic intent of the author shapes the text into a mediatory instrument that schools the learner in the discourse of the topic as a whole as well as in its constituent parts.

The topic considered here is metrics (*al-urūd*). This paper examines two texts: *al-Maqṣad al-jalīl fī ʿilm al-Khalīl* by Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 1248) and *al-Qaṣīda al-khazrajīyya* by al-Khazrajī (d. 1228 or 1229). The two texts share a tripartite reminiscent of the classical Arabic *qaṣīda* and also of the treatment of metrics found as early as Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi's (d. 940) *al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*. They begin with the building blocks of meter, move on to the 16 meters of classical poetry, and close with a discussion of rhyme. They differ, however, in their treatment of the topic. Ibn al-Ḥājib grounds his text on dialogue, beginning with an introduction that addresses the novice and proceeds through definitions and lists. Al-Khazrajī, in contrast, relies on an oblique, highly allusive approach directed to an advanced student. Differences between these texts result, thus, from the level of the learner addressed rather than from differences in style or content. For all of the differences between them, each text skillfully evokes the scholarly tradition toward which it seeks to guide the learner and in which its authors is clearly an active participant

NITZA MAOZ

The Emergence of a System of Arabic Books for Children, 1826–1918, and Its Role in Building the Child Image

The study describes and analyzes the main aspects of a new system of books—**Arabic books for children and youth**—written and/or published in the Ottoman Empire between the years 1826 to 1918, mainly in order to serve the new education systems established among Arab populations. The books uncovered by this study clearly indicate that during the period under discussion a distinct style of writing for children was developed, which was didactic and educational. The new books defines children for the first time as a distinct group with special needs and reflects a concerted effort to adapt to a young audience from the linguistic, thematic, and stylistic points of view.

The new education systems produced new generations of enlightened individuals who participated in creating a modern secular cultural establishment. This establishment played a major role in Arabic Ottoman culture. The texts prepared its readers to utilize and produce books and newspapers, including translations and adaptations from Western literature.

These modern texts for children and youth had a great impact on society as a whole, for they were used to prepare them to become "modern" rather than "traditional" adults. They also helped modern literary Arabic become accessible to a broader sector of the population as a main medium of expression in secular culture and literature.

This research, which includes approximately 500 books for children, covers (or more accurately: uncovers) for the first time a "**forgotten corpus: Arabic texts for children published in the 19th**

century”. Because this type of research has not been done before, its relationship with other scholarships is mostly marginal. However, it opens new research options, which were not previously considered.

JOHN C. EISELE

Mistaking the Map for the Territory: Representations of Arabic in Arab grammatical and modern linguistic traditions

This paper is a critique of analyses of Arabic done in both the Arab grammatical tradition as well as in modern theoretical frameworks. Its goal is to attempt to ground these analyses in a perspective which is more aware of the cultural, historical, and theoretical limitations and biases of representations of Arabic which are produced in both traditions. Understanding these biases (some of which derive from non-linguistic sources) and the contradictions they give rise to, it is hoped, will help to reinvigorate linguistic study in both fields by providing linguistic researchers with a framework in which to evaluate their analyses in a critically reflexive way.

The difference between traditional approaches to Arabic grammar and modernist approaches may be described in terms of the differing values (and stigmas) that each places on the subject of their study and on its manner of representation. For example it may be said that Arab grammarians valued the linguistic purity of Arabic and stigmatized linguistic diversity, ostensibly (as the stories of early grammatical tradition go) to protect and maintain the proper reading and understanding of the Quran. However, in the formative years of the tradition much more value was placed upon speech elicited from tribal ‘rawis’ from specific selected areas of the Arabian peninsula than was placed on the language in the Quran, to the extent that certain speech styles found in the Quran were judged not acceptable as the basis for analogical rule formation in the grammar. In other words, their actual practice (derived from the social and cultural concerns of individual grammarians, many of whom were non-Arab) contradicted somewhat their stated goals.

Modern theoretical linguistics, on the other hand, has tended to value linguistic diversity (by maintaining an interest in both official and unofficial forms of language) and has stigmatized attempts at linguistic purism. However the actual practice of theoretical linguists has tended to stigmatize the diversity of representation and has privileged the representation of a pure or idealized speaker competence. This is reflected in modernist linguistic representations of Arabic (especially Modern Standard Arabic), which often turn out to be little more than translations of the grammatical rules of Arab grammarians into modern theoretical terminology.

I will exemplify each of these problems with examples taken from the literature, and will point out the ways in which a critically reflexive understanding of these different approaches helps not just to clarify their limitations but also leads to a renewed appreciation of their insights and contributions to understanding the Arabic linguistic situation.

SIGNE COHEN

The *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* Reconsidered

This paper presents the results of a text-critical analysis of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*. It has been suggested that the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* is a heterogeneous text, containing passages from various time periods or by different hands. Most of the previous work on this Upaniṣad has, however, relied mainly on an analysis of its philosophical content to determine which parts are “original” and which parts are later additions. Such a conceptual analysis is highly subjective. A transition from one stanza to another may seem problematic to one interpreter and perfectly intelligible to another. In my analysis of this text, I have chosen to rely mainly on an analysis of the metrical and linguistic forms found in the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* to determine the relative age of its passages. After conducting such an analysis, I conclude that the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* was probably originally composed in a mixture

of *triṣṭubh-jagatī* and Vedic *anuṣṭubh*, with a few prose passages interspersed, while the passages composed in Epic *śloka* without *vipulās* (such as the famous parable of the chariot) must be regarded as later additions.

NATALIE GUMMER

Potent language: Translating the *Heart Sūtra*

The study of the historical translation of Buddhist literature has largely been conducted under the assumption that the primary concern of translators was the clear conveyance of a text’s “meaning”, the production of a “faithful” or “literal” rendering. While the aim of communicating meaning can hardly be divorced from the task of translation, translation practices are closely related to a range of other practices in Buddhist communities, many involving language and dependent for their efficacy upon fundamental assumptions about the power of language to create and transform reality. How does a recognition of such assumptions change the way we study the translation of Buddhist texts? This question is especially important to ask with regard to a genre of Buddhist *sūtra* literature that has as its primary focus the articulation of its own power—those *sūtras* which might be described as both promulgators and icons of the “cult of the book”. In this paper, I look closely at Kumaraśīla’s early fifth century Chinese translation of the *Heart Sūtra*. I argue that this translation of the Heart Sutra functions simultaneously as a highly rhetorical articulation of truth, and as a materialization of power in language. The form and content of the text work together in a particularly subtle strategy—one critically dependent on translation techniques—through which the referentiality of language is dissolved even as the power of language is affirmed.

Such a close reading provides resources for reconsidering the relationship between the communication of meaning and the creation of power in processes of translation in historical Buddhist communities, and suggests that we approach the study of Buddhist texts in terms of not only what they say, but also what they do.

MARIA HIBBETS

Altruism, Violence, and Generosity: Buddhist, Hindu, and Jain reflections on the gift of fearlessness (*abhaya-dāna*)

This paper examines from a comparative perspective Theravāda Buddhist, Hindu Dharmaśāstra, and Jain theoretical reflections on a category of gift known as the “gift of fearlessness” (*abhaya-dāna*). Previous scholarship has generally overlooked *abhaya-dāna*. When scholars have noticed it, however, they have tended to treat it simply as another expression of the religious value of non-violence (*ahiṃsā*) so prevalent in South Asian religions. My approach, however, takes seriously the fact that *abhaya-dāna* was categorized by South Asian theoreticians as in fact a type of gift. Medieval sources ranging from Dharmaśāstra *nibandhas*, Jain *śrāvaka-cāras*, and Theravāda anthologies on lay ethics, insist that the term be treated as one gift among other, more tangible gift items. This suggests that we ought not to dismiss native classifications and taxonomies, but instead consider ways in which the virtues of generosity and non-violence may be conceived within a single category.

The gift of fearlessness involves either rescuing beings from violence threatened by others, or abstaining from violence oneself. In the second sense, the gift of fearlessness suggests that merely refraining from inspiring fear in others can be considered a gift or an act of generosity towards them. The intersection in this gift of two very different virtues, generosity and non-violence, is illuminating for understanding South Asian views on human nature, social obligations, and the implications of the gift itself. Moreover, the use of the language of gift-giving for a conscious act of self-restraint brings together in a curious way two often opposed religious values in Indic religion: positive, merit-making activity on the one hand, and renunciation and withdrawal from activity on the other.

JEROME H. BAUER

The Origin of the Harivaṃśa Lineage

The Śvetāmbara Jaina story of the “Origin of the Harivaṃśa Lineage” (Prakrit *Harivaṃśakulupattī* is the seventh of ten *Āścaryas*, authorized rule violations or boundary transgressions, included in the Śvetāmbara Jaina *Āgama* (Canon). The story, told in many medieval commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra*, concerns a pair of karmically linked twins (*yugalika*), two individuals who are reborn together in successive lives. In one existence they are illicit lovers who repent at the very instant of death. The story goes on to describe a divine intervention to correct the “mistake made by karma,” the unfair rebirth of these lovers in an exalted position in another “continent” or parallel world (*mīthunakakṣetra*) and their destined rebirth in heaven. The story is told variously, sometimes involving technical violations of the Jaina non-transactional karma doctrine.

The paper discusses the story as an exception to the general karmic rules of rebirth, as an articulation of conflicted feelings about deathbed conversion, and as a “theodicy,” a characteristically Jaina solution to the problem of evil and unjust suffering. The paper also discusses briefly the theme of incest in stories of karmically linked twins.

GEORGE THOMPSON

On the Language of the Daēuuas

Since Güntert’s path-breaking study of 1914, the language of daēuuas has been assumed to be a phenomenon entirely internal to Avestan, i.e., as a set of lexical items within Avestan with strongly negative connotations, in contrast with a corresponding set of ahuric terms with positive [or at least neutral] connotations. It is also generally assumed that this pair of vocabularies is related to the peculiarly Avestan form of dualism that demonizes ‘dēuuaiiasnas,’ ‘those who worship the daēuuas,’ in contrast with ‘mazdaiiasnas,’ ‘those who worship Mazdā.’

In this paper a new hypothesis relating to the language of daēuuas will be explored. Without denying the general legitimacy of the standard view, which relates the Avestan phenomenon to the more general Indo-European one, the dichotomy between the “language of gods” vs. the “language of men,” it is argued here that this set of daēvic terms may refer to, or imply an awareness of, a non-Avestan language or dialect. I suggest that this language is Vedic, known internally as the “language of the gods” [daivī vāc], and by no means a language unknown in early Avestan texts. More specifically, I would suggest that the “Vedic” that I claim to be known to speakers of Old Avestan is specifically the formulaic poetic language out of which the Rgveda itself was constructed. As all students of Old Avestan know, this poetic language formed the fundamental background to the innovative poetry of Zarathuštra’s Gāthās.

Evidence of mutual knowledge between speakers of Old Avestan and speakers of Old Vedic will be offered in support of this claim.

PAUL-ALAIN BEAULIEU

Babylonian Uranography

In his article “Eine Beschreibung des Sternenhimmels aus Assur,” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 4 (1927) 73–85, Ernst Weidner published VAT 9428, a Neo-Assyrian text from Assur preserved in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin. VAT 9428 has been until now the only known text from Mesopotamia to contain a systematic description of constellations. The purpose of this communication is to discuss two unpublished texts from the Yale Babylonian Collection which belong to the same genre as VAT 9428. The most important one is MLC 1866, dated to the year 97 of the Seleucid era and copied by the high priest (*šēšgallu*) of the temple of Anu. It consists of the upper part of a large tablet (about one third is preserved) which may have contained the complete catalogue of constellations known to the Babylonians. YBC 7831 is a small undated fragment, and is probably

also from the Hellenistic period. I will discuss the contents of these texts and assess the significance of the genre for our understanding of late Babylonian intellectual history.

FRANCESCA ROCHBERG

On Prediction in Babylonian Science: The Case of celestial divination

Although a connection between rational prediction and science seems obvious, just how this is to be understood is not. The move from an observation of an occurrence of a phenomenon to a prediction of future occurrences of that phenomenon is a crucial step in the formation of science, because knowledge claimed on the basis of a prediction has been viewed as very different from that reported in an observation. Indeed, the process of induction has been the focus of centuries of philosophy of science seeking to understand precisely this formation. Even in the face of the much disputed relation between observation and theory, it can be maintained that an observation says nothing about future occurrences whereas a prediction, by definition, does.

This paper investigates the nature of prediction as one aspect common to a number of texts counted among the Babylonian tradition of “science.” The success of late mathematical astronomy has been measured in terms of the accuracy of its predictions of dates and positions of celestial phenomena, and the mere fact of its predictiveness, as explicated by O. Neugebauer and others, has earned it a place in the history of positive science. The mathematical astronomical science of late Babylonia did not emerge from the head of Zeus, fully mature, but in several respects traces back to earlier tradition, to early astronomy and to divination. To my knowledge the way in which prediction itself formed an important connecting link from early to late tradition and how it was transformed from its role in a system such as celestial omens to one so different from it as the ephemerides of the late *tupšar Enūma Anu Enlil*’s has not been investigated.

JOHN M. STEELE

Eclipse Prediction in Late Babylonian Astronomical Texts

The Late Babylonian Astronomical Texts contain records of a large number of predictions of lunar and solar eclipses. These predictions range in date from the latter half of the eighth century BC to the first century AD. Clearly the earliest predictions must have been made using eclipse cycles such as the Saros of 223 months (slightly more than 18 years). This cycle was well known to the Babylonian astronomers. This is shown, for example, by a number of texts which contain records of successive eclipse observations and predictions arranged in columns which are separated by one Saros. By the Seleucid period the astronomers of Babylon and Uruk had also developed an advanced mathematical astronomy which was capable of making eclipse predictions. In this paper I will discuss these various methods of eclipse prediction and whether they could have been used to produce the predictions found in the astronomical diaries and related texts. Finally, I will make some remarks about what this may tell us about the relation between observation and theory in Late Babylonian astronomy.

KTZIAH SPANIER

Aspects of Feminine Authority: The *ana abbūti* Texts from Nuzi

The *ana abūti* clause, which appears in certain inheritance documents, illuminates an aspect of feminine authority at Nuzi and elsewhere in the ancient Near East. In it the testator designates a woman, usually his wife, “for paternal authority”. The woman would function as his surrogate in matters concerning his offspring and estate. In most cases, the extent of her authority is clearly delineated. The patriarchal estate would remain intact during her lifetime, and all the testator’s offspring would be under her guardianship. In some instances, her authority over the heirs was limited to her ability to inflict punishment for improper behavior, but in others she could disinherit

one of the sons, and/or redistribute the patriarchal legacy, thus deciding the final disposition of the estate.

It has been suggested that this clause was meant to protect the woman after the testator's death, or that it gave her the authority to act as guardian for her minor children. An examination of the texts indicates, however, that the ultimate heirs were not always minors, and that the woman was not necessarily their mother. In many instances, the authority vested in her far exceeded her need for protection.

I propose to demonstrate that the *ana abūti* clause functioned to make the woman the effective head of the family, and that her authority was commensurate with many of the patriarchal duties and privileges.

RAYMOND WESTBROOK

Hard Times: CT 45 37

The Old Babylonian document CT 45 37 is a record of litigation. Fifteen years after a *nadītum* had sold her female slave to another woman, the seller's nephew brought suit against the buyer, claiming that she had not acquired ownership of the slave thereby. The court imposed an oath on the buyer and prescribed its terms. She was to swear that in buying the slave she had paid the full price *ina maruštim ina mēsirim*. The purpose of this paper is to elucidate the meaning of this obscure phrase by applying the principles of Old Babylonian sale law. It is suggested that the judgement of the court illustrates the concern of the law to reconcile the demands of commercial utility with those of social justice.

PEGGY J. BODEN

“If the workmanship of that god is not suitable for repair. . . you send it to Ea”

In the course of maintaining the temple statue as a living, vital resident of the temple, its material form required repair from time to time. According to a first millennium text from Assur, repair or reconstruction of the temple statue was surrounded by spiritual precautions and preparations. This same tablet (A.418) includes seven lines of text which address the possibility that the damage or deterioration to the statue is too severe for repair. Although the instructions are euphemistic, this communication suggests that an irreparable statue is disposed of by throwing it into the river. The text states that an irreparable statue “should not be restored” and further, a gift including several pounds of metal is bound to the damaged god before it is “sent to Ea” during the night. Other ritual circumstances which include throwing objects into the river, and the close association between the river and Ea are cited as supporting evidence.

TIMOTHY J. COLLINS

Theurgical Elements in Babylonian Medical Incantations

Babylonian medical incantations (which treat an illness whose incidence they do not attribute to any suprahuman cause) typically express their illness's remedy without appealing to a god for help, as if they were to be efficacious automatically; yet some medical incantations conclude by appealing to a god in passing, which suggests that they were efficacious only theurgically (i.e., by persuading a god to intervene). How does one explain the presence of theurgical elements in incantations that otherwise seem intended to work automatically?

Some have assumed that all medical incantations were thought to be theurgically efficacious, and only seem to make little or no attempt to persuade a god to help because they follow rhetorical principles peculiar to magic, or else because they preserve forms from an earlier, non-theurgical conception of magic, which have been transposed into theurgy and endowed with a new meaning.

In this paper, however, I argue that Old Babylonian medical incantations were composed to be efficacious automatically, but were subsequently reinterpreted as being efficacious theurgically. I suggest that this change does not reflect a shift in Babylonian conceptions of magic over time, but rather medical incantations' transition from the oral to the written tradition.

ANNE MARIE KITZ

Divination in Ancient Near Eastern Religion

In general, modern scholarship has assessed the practice of divination according to the nature of extant textual materials. One perspective emphasizes omen literature and concentrates on the associations drawn between a sign and a particular meaning. An alternate, but related approach stresses ritual documents. This view purports that human endeavors directly contributed to the production of signs.

While both positions may be valid, they tend to overemphasize the contribution of human beings to the general process. Since divination presumes some form of divine communication, it may be productive to shift the focus from an analysis of human actions to one that examines the range of divine activity. To do this one can begin with the hypothesis that divination was based on the presupposition that *all divine action caused material reaction*. Since the deities were free to manipulate any element of the created world, then all things, animate and inanimate alike, could at any time become the conduit through which divine sentiments were expressed. Divination is a human response to this theological principle. It seeks to study divine activity as manifested by its affects on the physical universe. Consequently, the principal role of a diviner is to authenticate and, most importantly, interpret the relevance of these heaven-sent omens.

A classification of divination strategies according to this premise illustrates the breadth of the deities' transcendent nature. Additionally, the degree of divine power involved in material contact correlates with physical effects that range from violence yielding deformation and scars, to gentle provocation producing unusual behavior. These effects constitute the signs that are then interpreted by the diviner. A brief review of one major category, anthropomancy, the divine manipulation of human beings, and its subsets demonstrates that human beings experienced the divine in a manner that was shared by all elements of the physical universe.

JACK M. SASSON

Ancestors Divine

This presentation inspects comparative evidence on divinized ancestors in Mari documents and in the Hebrew Bible.

JAMES EVANS

Cycle Theory in Ancient Literature

Ancient Literature encompasses all the languages of the ancient Middle East. Many of the cycles are calendric, astronomic, or numeric. These I term mystification, or m-cycles. They are of interest only to document the high state of astronomical knowledge going back to 2000 BC. The real interest is in 'human' or mass-psychological cycles. These I term h-cycles.

The Sumerian King List dates to circa 2000 BC. After the flood, 23 kings ruled for 24,510 years, 3 months, 3 one-half days, the remnant of 24,513.5 years. It is twelve h-cycles of 2043.6 years, equal to $746130 * 12$ days. 746130 is the product of the numbers 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 17, 19

Herodotus writes that the number of Persians who crossed from Asia was 5,283,220. This is 100 times the probable actual number, it is equal to $7 * 47 * 71$ * (h-cycle 226.175) days, and also 249.5 h-cycles of 57.97 years.

Herodotus states that the Egyptians calculated 341 generations to their history, a reference to the 341.3 year h-cycle.

Diodorus Siculus quotes Egyptian history as '470 kings and 5 queens', taken as $4700 * 226.175$ days, less $5 * 360$ days, the date of the Rosetta stone from 3102 BC, the start of the Egyptian calendar and epoch of the 36.5 year h-cycle.

The list of the gifts in Esdras 1:7 read as a linear string is 3326357. This is 14707 h-cycles of 226.175 days. It is also 112641 lunar months and 1029 m-cycles of the rotation of the lunar orbit.

During the reign of Ammizaduga of Babylon a series of observations of the planet Venus was recorded as the observations of Ninsianna Ahutum, the "other" Venus. The ninth year of this King is named, "Year of the Golden Throne". In this year, 1575 BC, The epoch of this 'Second Venus' h-cycle of 226.175 days coincided with the summer solstice, at the same time as the conjunction of the planet Venus.

The apocryphal Book of Adam and Eve, in Ethiopian, speaks of Adam and Eve having sex 226 days, four hours after the Creation, a creative explanation of "Investment Day"

MELINDA ZEDER

The Role of Pastoralism in Developing Specialized Urban Economies in the Ancient Near East

In the ancient Near East the development of specialized pastoral economies was tightly linked to the corresponding emergence of increasingly specialized urban economic systems. While pastoralists supplied critical meat, dairy, and fiber resources to settled rural and urban dwellers, so too were pastoralists dependent on settled populations for agricultural and craft goods, as well as access to pasturage near settled areas. At the same time, the mobility and relative freedom from central control enjoyed by pastoral specialists in these early urban contexts also represented a significant destabilizing element. Monitoring the role of mobile pastoralists in Near Eastern urban contexts is understandably difficult. However, in recent years zoo-archaeological studies of animal remains from the region have made significant inroads into detecting the presence and impact of these groups. Examples from the Levant, Mesopotamia, and Iran are provided in which zoo-archaeological studies have shed light on the role of pastoralists in the emergence of complex society in the Near East.

ANNE PORTER and THOMAS L. MCCLELLAN

Funerary Practices and Pastoralism at Third Millennium Tell Banat

The Euphrates river valley in Syria during the third millennium is marked by an unprecedented collection of mortuary material that is notable for both its quantity and spatio-temporal variety. These include depositions on open ground, simple stone cist graves, shaft tombs, elaborate constructed tombs, above-ground mausoleums and funerary monuments. In addition to questions of status, mortuary practices signify the differing ways groups in antiquity had of understanding, depicting and organizing society and, in conjunction with other evidence, indicate that the social order of some groups derived from a different component of the ancient landscape than is commonly adduced—the steppe and its fringes, in which pastoralism was the primary subsistence pursuit. Multiple disarticulated burials interred in funerary mounds, contemporaneous with single articulated burial deposits on open ground or in cist graves, reflect two or more stages in the funerary process through which the social transformation of a deceased individual into an ancestor, symbolic of real or fictive descent structures, is accomplished. The particular nature of burial practices at Banat, and changes in them over time, are indicative of a corporate social ideology which cross-cultural and ethnographic surveys indicate is highly correlated with pastoral societies.

MICHAEL D. DANTI and RICHARD L. ZETTLER

Pastoralism and the Evolution of the Tell es-Sweyhat (Syria) Settlement System in the Third Millennium BC

Tell es-Sweyhat, ca. 65 km down river from the Syrian-Turkish border, is located on the east bank of the Euphrates in the middle of a broad, crescent-shaped embayment in the Euphrates-Balikh uplands. With a mean annual precipitation of 200–300 mm and high inter-annual variability, the Tell es-Sweyhat plain, covering ca. 4800 ha of arable land, lay in the semi-arid “transitional” zone between the steppe and the well-watered lands of northern and western Syria. During the third millennium B. C. Tell es-Sweyhat grew from a small settlement of no more than 5 ha to a “classic” northern Mesopotamian “city” with a fortified inner and outer town covering more than 40 ha. Tell es-Sweyhat’s growth was accompanied by a decrease in the number of settlements in its immediate vicinity and the intensification of dry farming, while preliminary surveys indicate that settlements emerged in the hilly uplands surrounding the plain. A major goal of the University of Pennsylvania Museum’s work in the Tell es-Sweyhat area, begun in 1989, has been to examine the onset of urbanization at the site and the accompanying economic development of the settlement system, within the larger sociopolitical and economic milieu of third millennium B. C. northern Mesopotamia. Preliminary results of recent excavations at Tell es-Sweyhat and archaeological survey and excavation in the surrounding region, including a Spring 1998 field season, will be reviewed with the goal of understanding how small tracts of low-rainfall arable plain and extensive hilly uplands surrounding Tell es-Sweyhat were harnessed to support its growth. This paper contends that Tell es-Sweyhat’s emergence as an urban center and the intensification of dry farming in the area were closely linked to the maximization of pastoral production.

CHRISTINE K. KIMBROUGH

Spinning a Yarn: Textile production in third millennium BCE northern Mesopotamia

The role of textile production and exchange in the rise of northern Mesopotamian states has been discussed from a historical basis for many years. However, the archaeological evidence and broader social consequences of this production have only recently become a focus of scholarly interest. Recent ethnoarchaeological research conducted by the author in Turkey and the complementary analysis of archaeological collections of spindle whorls from northern Mesopotamian sites provide an opportunity to address these issues. Cloth does not preserve well in archaeological contexts—which limits the available evidence of cloth and its production to primarily the spindle whorls used for producing yarn and thread. Anthropological, historical, and technical literature documents the immense labor and time costs of producing thread and yarn, indicating that this step in the production process of cloth is the most problematic in non-industrial societies. A more complete understanding of the impact and dynamics of cloth production in northern Mesopotamian states requires the examination of the steps of the production process, rather than the end product, and an analysis of the tools used to process fiber into yarn and thread. Research in New World contexts attests to the validity of such studies and the potential for anthropological archaeological research to address this topic. This paper combines archaeological and ethnoarchaeological evidence with the available historical data from the region to discuss the influence of state-related textile production on household economies in northern Mesopotamia and conversely the role that households played in the rise and maintenance of state-level economies in the region.

PAUL W. KROLL

Forgotten Poets of the T’ang Dynasty, III: Liu Shen-hsü

In Yin Fan’s *Ho-yüeh ying-ling chi*, the most important contemporary anthology of T’ang verse, Liu Shen-hsü (fl. 720–50) is one of the best represented and most highly praised poets. However,

his works and even his name are hardly known today. This paper seeks to put Liu briefly on center stage and to examine what Yin Fan valued in his poetry.

MICHAEL R. DROMPP

The T'ang Debate on the Settlement of the Türks

T'ang China's defeat of the Eastern Türks (T'u-chüeh) in 630 C.E. was a major political and military victory that quickly gave rise to the vexing question of what to do with nearly 100,000 submitted "barbarians." The Emperor T'ai-tsung ordered his court officials to consider the question, and the ensuing debate resulted in widely divergent opinions, from those who wished to transform the Türks into farmers by settling them deep within China to those who urged the complete rejection of the Türks. The viewpoints of the debaters and the emperor's decision to settle the Türks within Chinese territory have been studied by several scholars. The present paper seeks to examine the rhetoric of the debaters, particularly their political and philosophical arguments as well as the historical precedents used to justify them. This exercise is revealing not only of early T'ang court attitudes towards foreign peoples (particularly pastoral nomads of the northern steppe), but also of the rhetorical use of history to justify proposed actions. Of particular interest is the generally unspoken tension between those who favored a more realistic "natural division" theory of empire and those who took a more universalist approach.

JONATHAN PEASE

Why Couldn't Prime Minister Wang Ride through the Palace Gate?

In the New Year of 1073, the reformist prime minister Wang An-shih (1021–1086) accompanied his young Emperor (Shen-tsung) on a tour of Kaifeng's lantern festival. On the way into the palace to see the variety acts, sentries blocked Wang's carriage, hit one of his horses in the eye and grabbed at the driver. Wang complained at least three times to the emperor and asked to resign, a request that the emperor refused—this time, but not a year later. Was the gate incident the work of a conservative conspiracy against Wang, fronted by palace eunuchs? Was the Empress Dowager involved? Did the Emperor demean himself by mollifying Wang, chief architect of his administration, and subsequently suffer punishment from others in the imperial household? Or was it simply a case of unruly sentries acting on their own? What was the policy about riding through the gate, anyway? Was Kaifeng a more relaxed capital than Ch'ang-an had been, and did that eventually contribute to the Sung's downfall? Official records tell a colorful story, complete with dialogue. They may well contain truth. But even in this sober account, one must be alert to the gossipy sources and subtle editing that can tempt us to misread what lies between the lines.

JOSEPH E. LOWRY

Ijmā in Shāfi'i's *Risāla*

Nearly all students in Shāfi'i's *Risāla* have accepted Schacht's claim that, for Shāfi'i, *ijmā* originally signified the agreement of scholars, but gradually came to signify instead the agreement of the Muslim community at large. Schacht interpreted Shāfi'i's use of *ijmā* in the *Risāla* to reflect this transition, arguing that sometimes Shāfi'i uses the term in one sense and sometimes in the other. Schacht, however, mistook Shāfi'i's use of two different terms for those who form *ijmā*—*al-āmma* and *ahl al-ilm*—to mean that Shāfi'i had two different groups in mind. In fact, Shāfi'i means the same thing by both terms, namely scholars.

The place of *ijmā* in Shāfi'i's legal epistemology in the *Risāla* shows that problems which require recourse to *ijmā* are, by definition, difficult and meet the attention of specialists rather than the community at large. Moreover, the example-problems in the *Risāla* in which Shāfi'i appeals to *ijmā* show that there is no principled difference between the *ijmā* of the *āmma* and that of the *ahl al-ilm* and, most significantly, that the two terms are even used synonymously.

Given the logic of the legal-theoretical content of the *Risāla*, found primarily in Shāfi‘ī’s concept of the *bayān*, it is surprising that Shāfi‘ī did not do away with *ijmā‘* altogether. There are, however, hints in the *Risāla* that he was moving in that direction and in a later work, the *Jimā‘ al-‘ilm*, he argues that one can dispense with *ijmā‘* entirely.

DEVIN STEWART

Notes on the Early History of the *Uṣūl al-Fiqh* Genre

In a recent article entitled “Was Shafi‘i the Master Architect of Islamic Jurisprudence?”, Hallaq has challenged a widespread view that al-Shafi‘i’s *Risalah* inaugurated the genre of *usul al-fiqh*—“jurisprudence” or “legal theory and methodology”—in the early ninth century. The paucity of extant *usul al-fiqh* works between then and the eleventh century raises questions concerning the genre’s early development. This study uses bibliographical works, biographical dictionaries, and legal works from both the Sunni and Shiite traditions to investigate the history of *usul al-fiqh* in the intervening period, the ninth and tenth centuries. By compiling a list of lost *usul al-fiqh* works mentioned in the sources—more complete than lists presented by Makdisi and Hallaq—I am able to criticize Hallaq’s claim that no commentary or refutation of al-Shafi‘i’s *Risalah* and no *usul al-fiqh* work appeared before the tenth century. Also questionable is the suggestion of Hallaq and Reinhart that Ibn Surayj was the pivotal figure in the establishment of the genre. The important role of Mu‘tazili thinkers in the development of the genre, which the presentations of Hallaq and Reinhart overlook, becomes apparent, and I call particular attention to Abu Ali and Abu Hashim al-Jubba‘i. While we can agree with Hallaq that the *Risalah* of al-Shafi‘i is quite different in form and content from the extant works in the *usul al-fiqh* genre, it is nevertheless likely that the genre existed before the tenth century, and commentary on and refutation of al-Shafi‘i’s work probably played some role in its elaboration.

M. G. CARTER

Legal Reasoning in Tenth-Century Grammar—A Missing Link

The recently published *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* of Ibn Wallād (d. 332/943) reveals a number of interesting features of 10th century grammar, not least of which is a clear account of the real origins of the famous division between the “Baṣrans” and “Kūfans”. A striking feature of Ibn Wallād’s work is the abundance of purely legal terminology at an unusually early time, and this paper will argue that Ibn Wallād represents a kind of missing link between the pre-scholastic grammarians of the era of Sībawayhi and al-Mubarrad and the systematic grammarians of the 11th century, by which time both grammar and law had evolved into parallel scholastic disciplines drawing on a common methodological tradition. It will also emerge that the origins of the “Baṣran” and “Kūfan” schism are closely related to the corresponding issues in legal theory.

NORMAN ZIDE

The Tense/aspect Systems in the Gta? (South Munda) Language

The Gta? (Didayi) language is a phonologically and morphologically a divergent i branch of the Gutob-Remo-Gta? (GRG) branch of South Munda. (The data reported on here are from Plains Gta?; the more inaccessible Hill/Riverside dialect chain is clearly more conservative phonologically; we know practically nothing about morphosyntax.) The Gta? are located in the Govindapalli area of the Koraput District of Orissa, and in Andhra on the other side of the Machkund River. There are probably no more than 5000 Gta? speakers in all. A number of the seemingly conservative—archaic features of Gta?, most notably the reduction of ‘automatic’ vowels in the initial syllables of dissyllabic morphemes—these result in Mon-Khmer-like morpheme shapes—turn out, when we look at the Gutob and Remo data—not to be old at all, although they can be said to revert to an old ‘baseline’.

The two ‘past’ tenses, the ‘-ge past’, and the ‘-ke past’ (-tI in Hill/Riverside Gta?) are distinguished—usually contrasted, but in a few cases (e.g. interrogation) only one of the form occurs—in a largeish—and confusing—number of dimensions—tense, aspect, direction, negation, focus, interrogation (see Kh. Mahapatra , and Zide and Mahapatra’s unpublished papers). It is only recently that N. Zide found that some clarification in the understanding of these ‘pasts’ can be made if we set up two different systems, one operating in the traditional tales collected in Mahapatra and Zide (Gta? Texts) and the other elsewhere, i.e. in the spoken language materials collected. It turns out that -ge/-ke usage in the tales—exclusive of certain limited ‘everywhere’ functions (negation, interrogation, tense/aspect marking in a few auxiliaries—is largely discourse-driven. The choice of -ge or -ke doesn’t indicate the tense/aspect, etc. meanings it does elsewhere, but does mark discourse structure segments. So far as I have observed—not that there is much data or analysis on the subject—nothing like this has been observed elsewhere in South Munda. (On North Munda I reserve judgment pending further examination of the - extensive - data.)

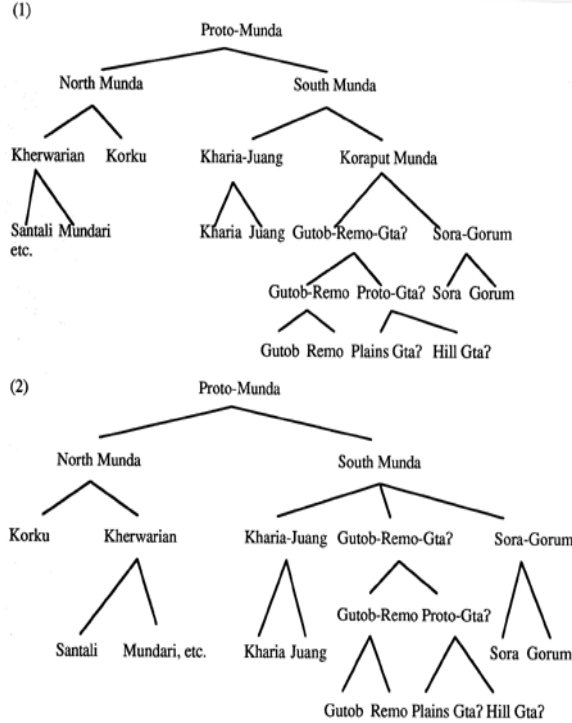
GREGORY D. S. ANDERSON

A New Classification of the Munda Languages: Evidence from the verb

Recent classifications of the Munda languages of central and eastern India include Zide & Stampe (1964) and Bhattacharya (1975); see (1). In this paper we offer a new classification of the Munda language family (2), based on our improved understanding of comparative verb morphology. South Munda does not consist of two sister branches-Kharia-Juang and Koraput Munda—but rather split immediately into three sister groups: Kharia-Juang, Sora-Gorum, and Gutob-Remo-Gta?. Evidence justifying this reanalysis comes from developments in tense-aspect marking, referent indexing, etc.

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KENGO HARIMOTO

On the Manuscripts of the Pātañjalayogaśātravivarāṇa

The paper will report on the available manuscripts of a Sanskrit text called Pātañjalayogaśātravivarāṇa, a sub-commentary on the Yogabhāṣya, which in turn is a commentary on the Yogasūtra. The text is ascribed to Śaṅkara.

Availability of five manuscripts will be reported. The discussion will include characteristics of each manuscript and the relationship among them. Also reported will be to what extent the original text can be restored utilizing the manuscript materials.

The text was first published in 1952 by the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras. In 1968, Paul Hacker published an article, “Śaṅkara der Yogin und Śaṅkara der Advaitin,” and suggested that it is an earlier work of the famous Hindu philosopher. Since the publication of Hacker’s article, authenticity problem has been one of the most interesting questions among the students of Indian philosophy. Interest in the text is so high that already more than one translation, including that of the entire text has been published. However, the text critical problems in the printed edition is easily noticeable and pointed by scholars, such as Albrecht Wezler. He, not only attracted interests of scholars to the text as a resourceful material in studying Indian philosophy, but also pointed out text critical problems of the printed edition, and reported the existence of two Malayalam manuscripts. The text is even considered not suitable for serious studies due to the lack of confidence into the printed edition. A new improved edition based on available manuscript materials is of urgent necessity.

The paper will conclude that all the five available manuscripts can be traced to a single archetype, and that despite the fact that the archetype already contained errors, it is possible to prepare much improved and philologically useful edition utilizing the materials.

MASATO KOBAYASHI

Deocclusion of Sanskrit *dh* after Front Vowels

/d^h/ sporadically becomes *h* in Sanskrit by deocclusion, both as a diachronic change PIE/PIIr. *d^h > Skt. *h* and as a synchronic variation *dh* ~ *h*. For example,

i) ending: the 1st pl. and du. middle endings *-mahe*, *-vahe* etc., the 2sg. ipv. ending of athematic stems *-dhí/-hí*

ii) suffix: locative *-dha/-ha*, *-hi*

iii) noun: *grhá-* ‘house’ < PIE *g^hrd^hó-, *rohít-* ‘reddish (mare)’

iv) verb *dhā: hitá-* :: *-dhiti-*, *ah: áha*, *spr̥dh* ~ *spr̥h*

It becomes commoner, but still not regular in early MIA languages such as Aśokan or Pāli; and puzzlingly, *dh* reflecting PIIr. *d^h is sometimes preserved or restituted while the corresponding Skt. form has *h*: PIIr. *id^ha > Vedic *ihá* :: Pāli *idha* ‘here’ besides less frequent *iha*, Aśokan (Gi. and Dh., whereas Sh. *iha*), Ś., Mg. and Āv. *idha*. Here I try to find conditions triggering the deocclusion of *dh* in Sanskrit and propose phonological or phonetic motivation for it.

In most cases the deocclusion seems to be an idiosyncratic property of the morpheme in question: For example, while the PIE ending *-med^hoy always shows up as *-mahe* in Skt. and PIE *-d^hí in Skt. *-hí* in most postvocalic contexts, infinitive *-dhyai* (see Rix [1976] for its PIE origin) never has a form with *h*, nor does the adverbial suffix *-dhā* ‘-fold’, and the PIIr. locative suffix *-d^ha is *-dha* in some words and *-ha* in others. Due to such apparent irregularity and lexical idiosyncrasy, it has traditionally been understood as prākṛtism or dialectal (e.g. Meillet (1912/3) p. 123 “les parlers du Nord-Ouest sur lesquels repose en principe la langue du R̥gveda ouvraient plus ou moins régulièrement *dh* et *bh* intervocaliques en *h*”). Wackernagel (1896) §218 proposes conditions such as the context wd[V or the position after an unaccented vowel, but the paucity of the examples and insufficient regularity make it hard to call them laws. In the case of the 2sg. imperative suffix *-dhí*

~ *hí* in forms such as *kṛdhi*, *vr̥dhi*, *śrudhí* and *spr̥dhi*, minimal word size of two moras might be related to the unexpected preservation of *dh*, but *ihí* does not follow this pattern.

It should be noted that there is no case of *d^h retained after *i* in the examples of the *-dhí/-hí* imperatives, while *-dhí* is preserved in some bimoraic imperative forms after the stem-final vowels *u*, *ṛ* and *a*: *i* ‘go’: *ihí* :: *kṛdhí*, *śrudhí* etc. It can be just a coincidence that there is no †*idhí* attested besides *ihí*, unlike the case of *gam*: *gahí* ~ *gadhi* where *gadhi* appears only once in the RV while there are a good many occurrences of *gahí*. However, if *-dhí* of *juhudhí* is to avoid sequence of *h* in adjacent syllables as Whitney says, then why don’t we have †*jahidhí*? The total absence of †*idhí* in Vedic should also be recalled. I would like to propose a rule of deocclusion of *d^h by a preceding front vowel, which are *i* and its diphthongs (*e* and *ai*) in the vowel system of OIA. This can either be formulated as a palatalization rule *d^h > [+distributed] / [-back]_V (fed to the output filter *j^h > *h*) or a direct deocclusion rule *d^h > *h* / [-back]_V. Apparent counterexamples like *edhí* are ruled out by ordering **az* > *e* after this rule.

Acoustic measurements of Hindi nonsense sequences show that /d^h/ tends to be short after /i/ and /u/ than after /a/, while /i/ after voiced aspirates does not show any consistent tendency of shortening or lengthening them.

MADHAV M. DESHPANDE

Fluidity of Early Grammatical Categories in Sanskrit

Our reliance on the grammatical traditions such as the one formulated in Pāṇini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī often leads us to assume that grammatical categories are fully defined and are beyond confusion. However, a study of the Vedic Padapāṭha and the Prātiśākhya, in addition to Pāṇini, convinces us of the fluidity of the early grammatical categories. In this paper, I shall discuss the category of *samāsa* in relation to the works mentioned above. I shall discuss the fluid scope of this term, its application to diverse phenomena in Vedic texts, and the gray areas indicated by the divisions or lack of divisions seen in the Padapāṭha. This gives us some understanding of the formative phase of grammatical concepts in ancient India. A good example of this fluidity is the so-called *iva-samāsa*. I shall discuss the treatment of this phenomenon in the Padapāṭhas and grammatical traditions.

JOSHUA T. KATZ

How the Mole Got His Name

The etymology of the Sanskrit word *ākhú* (RV+), conventionally translated as ‘mole,’ is obscure. This paper defends J. Puhvel’s suggestion that *ākhú* is somehow the same as the Hittite and Greek words for ‘mole,’ respectively *āšku-* and (ἄ)σπάλαιξ (etc.). The principal line of argument rests on the linguistic, cultural, and even biological connections between moles and badger-like animals (on the latter, see *Historische Sprachforschung* 111 [1998] 61–82, an expansion of my talk at the AOS last year, “The Curious Case of the Hittite Mustelid”), and I attempt to show that the morpho-phonologically obviously very similar words in Indo-European for ‘badger,’ **tasku-* and ‘mole,’ **āsku-*, make their way into India along one and the same path. I also address the problem, apparently hitherto unnoticed, that the geographical distribution of talpids precludes interpreting *ākhú* as ‘mole.’

RICHARD SALOMON

A Fragment of a Sanskrit Manuscript in Kharoṣṭhī Script Found in Xinjiang

The subject of this presentation is a small fragment of a palm-leaf manuscript in the Pelliot collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The exact findspot is not clearly reported, but the fragment apparently come from one of the sites near Kucha on the northern rim of the Tarim Basin in the Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region of China. It contains parts of four lines on each side

of an unidentified text written in Sanskrit in Kharoṣṭhī script. The text seems to be narrative in character, concerning a messenger (*dūta*) and a mysterious character called *sparśaśatru* (“enemy of/by touch”?). Most likely the text belongs to an avadāna or similar genre, but I have been unable to find any parallel for it. Other than the absence of notation of long vowels and a few cases of what seem to be hybridisms, the language of the manuscript is standard Sanskrit.

The main point of interest in this fragment is its value as a rare specimen of a Sanskrit text in Kharoṣṭhī script. A few other specimens of Sanskrit or hybrid Sanskrit written in Kharoṣṭhī have been found among inscriptions from the Gandhāra region of South Asia and the wooden Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya on the southern rim of the Tarim Basin, but this is the first known specimen of a Kharoṣṭhī manuscript in Sanskrit. But it is hardly likely to have been unique, and suggests that Kharoṣṭhī was at some point adapted in Buddhist circles in central Asia, and possibly also in South Asia, for writing Sanskrit texts. The recent discovery of several Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts in a Sanskritized form of Gāndhārī from Bamiyan, Afghanistan, presents us with what seems to be a forerunner of such a development.

JUDY BJORKMAN

Writing and the Crafts: The ‘Great Smith’ (SIMUG.GAL)

The Sumerogram, SIMUG (*nappāḫū*), generally meaning “metalsmith,” occurs throughout the history of cuneiform writing. GAL, generally translated as “great,” is one of several adjectives used to qualify the SIMUG. Over the past decades, various interpretations of the phrase, “great smith,” have been suggested: “Schmiedemeister” (Deimel; Alster), a kind of “dean of the profession” (Limet), old or ex-smith (Hallo), part of a team of workers (Golgher), suggestive of a guild of smiths (A. Westenholz), etc.

As sensible as these suggestions are, I propose that another hypothesis may have greater merit, based in part on a phrase from the Sumerian Sargon Legend (Cooper and Heimpel, JAOS 103). In line 30, Lugalzagesi describes his SIMUG.GAL as a man who can write. This suggests that an ability to read and write, at least in some basic sense, may have been what distinguished the “great smith” from others of the same profession.

It is not clear that the term, “great smith,” retained the same meaning over the entire temporal and geographical spans of its use, nor that GAL, when used to qualify other professions, always indicated basic literacy. Some of these additional uses of GAL, as well as some aspects of the nature of the interface between literacy and the crafts, will be reviewed.

GLENN R. MAGID

Quantitative Reflections on the ‘Temple-State’

The largest and most comprehensive archive dating to the Presargonic period in Southern Mesopotamia comes from Telloh, ancient Girsu. This archive has featured prominently in reconstructions of the Sumerian state system. Anton Deimel, the first scholar to study its tablets, set forth the notion of the Sumerian temple economy. Several influential studies, notably those of Schneider and Falkenstein, lent further support to the model of the temple city. According to this model, temple households of descending size controlled all resources in the state, both material and human.

An opposing model of the Girsu data took shape in the former Soviet Union. There, scholars like Struve, Tyumenev, and Diakonoff, sought to place contradictory evidence, e.g., the data deriving from land-sale documents, the so-called “ancient *kudurrus*,” within an evolutionary model, grounded in the historical-materialist paradigm. The model which developed out of their researches emphasized the limitations of the extant data-base, and situated the phenomenon of temple-households strictly within the urban sphere. Outside the cities, it was alleged, settlement, land tenure, and governance, were based on ancient kinship patterns.

In recent years the temple-state controversy has been revisited in the work of a number of scholars, Foster, Renger, and Steinkeller prominently among them. At present, a consensus has not been reached in the Assyriological literature.

My paper will examine the quantitative basis for both models. I will focus on sources pertaining to temple land-holdings, in an effort to define, more rigorously than has been done in the past, both the physical extent of the household as well as the social and economic relations adhering in its system of land-tenure. In light of my observations, I will conclude with a critique of the dominant models.

ATSUKO HATTORI

A Textile Archive from Ur III Nippur

Administrative texts from the Third Dynasty of Ur are a rich source of information about the society and the economy of southern Mesopotamia in the late third millennium B.C. However, the accidents of discovery mean that they do not always give us a balanced picture of the period.

Thus, for example, the textile industry has been extensively studied by Jacobsen, Waetzoldt and Maekawa, with the focus on the rich administrative archives from Ur and Lagaš. However, the much smaller textile archive from Nippur of about 200 texts spanning the later years of Šulgi to the early years of Ibbi-Sîn, has been relatively overlooked. This paper, therefore, will firstly identify about 40 of these texts as belonging to a coherent archive of a female official named Ummi-ṭabat, and concentrated in Amar-Sîn years 8, 9, and Šu-Sîn year 1. Ummi-ṭabat worked for Šat-Sîn, the daughter of Šulgi as a supervisor (*ugula*) of weavers. The archive consists largely of receipts of raw wool and the delivery-records of the finished garments registered in her name and marked with impressions of her seal. The paper will then examine both the ramifications of the archive for our understanding of the socio-economic structure of the Ur III period and the implications of its probable archaeological context, Mound X in western Nippur.

TONIA SHARLACH

The Bala of the Province of Lagash in Ur III Times

In Mesopotamia during the Ur III period (2112–2004 B.C.), the crown exerted tight control over the heartland of provinces. One manifestation of this control was a system of payments called “bala,” or “rotation.” Each province was assigned a period of time, usually one month, in which to make its payment to the crown.

An outline of the bala system was provided by W.W. Hallo, in his 1960 article, “A Sumerian Amphictyony.” While other scholars, such as Steinkeller (in an article called “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State: The Core and the Periphery”) have investigated the problem, a detailed study using evidence from all of the three major Ur III archives has been lacking. In this paper, I will summarize data from my dissertation, showing that each year approximately one half of a province’s total economic output was sent to the central government, which then redistributed the goods as needed.

The province of Lagash, probably the largest in the Ur III state, had the longest bala obligations. In this paper, I will examine the evidence for the bala of Lagash, including the form of their bala payments, the locations to which the payments were sent and the timing of the payments

WILLIAM W. HALLO

Carcasses for the Capital

The collection of cuneiform tablets belonging to the Princeton University Library includes one of more than passing interest which appears to involve the shipment of carcasses and other remains of oxen from Umma to Ur. A brief survey of the collection will be appended.

JOHN M. RUSSELL

A Remarkable House at Til Barsip

Salvage excavations from 1991–1998 by the joint University of Melbourne–Massachusetts College of Art team at Tell Ahmar (ancient Til Barsip) have uncovered part of a large seventh-century house. The plan is evidently Neo-Assyrian, with a pebble checkerboard mosaic courtyard opening onto a large reception room furnished with stone threshold and ablution slabs. In the 1998 season we finished clearing the reception room and discovered some unusual features. The plan of the room had been modified after the foundations had been laid, but before the walls were built, blocking up a large doorway opposite the main outer door.

The wall in this area was painted with a half life-size image of Ishtar standing on a lion. She faces towards a niche paved with an ablution slab, upon which was a peculiar mudbrick platform, riddled with concealed cavities that were evidently designed to contain liquids. The ensemble, which seems to be unique in Assyrian archaeology, is apparently a libation installation in front of a divine image. I will venture some preliminary speculations about the chronology and function of this room. Additional thoughts and comparanda from the audience will be most welcome.

CLEMENS DANIEL REICHEL

The ‘Seal of the Ruler’ at Eshnunna (Tell Asmar)

The relationship between a seals iconography, inscription and function has occupied both archaeologists and art historians for a long time; in recent years several case studies have suggested a close link between these traits. This paper will put some of these ideas to the test on a well-defined corpus of material, consisting of the seals of the rulers of the state of Eshnunna between 2,020–1850 B.C. These seals were impressed on a significant number of the clay sealings found during the excavations of the Ur III–Old Babylonian Palace at Tell Asmar (Diyala Region); most of them have remained unpublished so far. Coming from controlled excavations, it was possible to reconstruct an exceptionally complete sequence of ruler seals which covers almost 200 years. A comprehensive study of iconographic elements, seal legends, ruler titles, archaeological provenience and functional types of sealings revealed several common traits of these seals which are unique to them while clearly setting them apart from contemporary non-ruler seals from Eshnunna. Changes in certain elements over time, on the other hand, seem to reflect changes in the political fortunes of Eshnunna and its rulers.

This analysis, therefore, supports the idea of a connection between image, ideology and function of a seal and offers some new and unsuspected insights into this relationship.

SAMUEL M. PALEY

The Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nimrud. A Multimedia interactive publication project.

<http://www.learningsites.com/NWPalace/NWPalhome.html>

Since the publication of the volumes that document the theoretical reconstruction of the Northwest Palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud, *Baghdader Forschungen* 2, 10, and 14, (and the publication of several previously-unknown examples), is now complete, it has become possible to consider other ways of bringing this palace to the notice of the public and scholarly community. This paper will introduce a new project which will bring together, for the first time, all the new extant materials and research, using leading-edge computer-graphics technologies, to create a multimedia, interactive research tool.

The purpose of this paper is to explain how this process has begun to enhance our understanding of the palace in new ways, as the creation of a single database and unique computer environments proceeds. In these environments one can consider anew and in an interactive way how bas-reliefs might have looked in-situ and how the palace was utilized by its inhabitants. The creation of new

drawings and the use of in situ and museum-quality photographs has already caused us to re-consider, in more detail, archaeological evidence, Assyrian architectural theory, construction methods, the interplay of natural and man-made light, iconography, ancient representational conventions, and palace decoration. Issues also being reconsidered are the integration of archaeology with architecture, history, and text transmission—linking this palace with other Assyrian monuments; the meaning of place (siting of the palace); Assyria’s view of world domination as reflected in palace art; the economics that produced the resources to build palaces; religion, iconography and their relationships to the resulting built forms; the place of “Assyrian Style” in the development of ancient art; and the place of the palace in Assyrian society.

The project will publish on DVD and the Internet (see our WEB prototype at the above address).
Samuel M. Paley, Richard P. Sobolewski, Donald H. Sanders, Alison B. Snyder (Paley delivering)

GRANT FRAME

The Rock Relief at Tang-i Var

In 1968, the Archaeological Service of Iran located a relief with accompanying cuneiform inscription carved into a niche on the flanks of the Kūh-i Zīnāneh in the Tangi Var pass in Iranian Kurdistan. Up until the present time, the only substantive study of the rock relief and inscription has been that of ‘Al Akbar Sarfarāz (“Sangnibištah-i mīh-i Ūrāmānāt” [A cuneiform inscription on stone from Ūrāmānāt], *Majallah-i Barrasīhā-i Tārīkhī* 3/V [1968–69]: 13–20 and 14 plates [in Farsi]). Sarfarāz dated the relief to the late second millennium or early first millennium and did not attempt to edit the inscription. The figure on the relief assumes a standard Assyrian pose and J.E. Reade has tentatively suggested that the relief might be attributed to Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II (*Iranica Antiqua* 12 [1977]: 44). Based upon an examination of slides of the relief and inscription taken by François Vallat in the early 1970s, the paper will discuss the date of the relief and inscription and their historical importance.

K. R. VEENHOF

The Archive of the Old Assyrian Trader Elamma

As long as the archives excavated annually (since 1948) in *kārum* Kanish by the Turkish archaeologists remained unpublished, the study of Old Assyrian trade had to be based on the scattered and hence incomplete remains of archives sold on the antiques market. Since 1995 this is changing and in 1997 the first more or less complete archive was published by C. Michel and P. Garelli (*TPK* 1). In my paper I will give a survey of the much larger (ca. 430 texts) archive of Elamma, excavated in 1991/2, on which I have been working in Ankara since 1993. The paper will deal with some general questions relating to such archives (size, duration, completeness, storage, types of documents) and try to draw a first picture of Elamma’s family and business. Special features are the documentation on women and family matters, also in Assur, and the presence of two lists of year-eponyms, which (apart from their general interest for historians) allow a better chronological approach to Elamma’s archive and trading activities.

GARY BECKMAN

Matriarchy in Hatti?

Many writers have maintained that women exercised an unusual degree of influence among the Hittites, although no scholar has claimed that Hittite society was literally matriarchal. Current definitions of “matriarchy,” however, frequently call for less than actual rule by females over males. For example, Classicist C. G. Thomas writes that “a matriarchal society can be defined as one in which women enjoy recognizable economic, social and religious privileges which, in sum, give them greater authority than men.” I will explore the extent to which Hatti may properly be called

“matriarchal” in this sense. In particular, I will demonstrate that the prominent role played by goddesses in the Hittite pantheon is not a reflection of the privileged station of mortal Hittite women.

DANIEL A. NEVEZ

Seal Ownership and Use in the Kassite Period

During the late Kassite period, seals were used with notations naming their users on a vast number of legal and administrative texts from the provincial capital of Nippur. The seal most frequently employed was impressed by an untitled official on tablets dealing with a variety of grain products, but the seal itself had been cut for a prominent provincial governor with a different name. Although there are numerous examples of this sealing used to represent the untitled official, there is not a single extant example for its use by the original owner. How did the later official acquire the right to use an earlier governor’s seal? Why did this official use a seal of an unrelated governor rather than an attested seal used by his own father and grandfather? A closer examination of legal and prosopographical material from Nippur has yielded evidence which may help answer these questions and shed light on comparable problems of seal use in other periods.

DANIEL E. FLEMING

On the Yaminites and the Sim’alites at Mari

The tribal peoples of the Mari archives have been the subject of abiding interest through the decades since the first texts appeared, but even the most recent systematic treatment by M. Anbar was completed without the crucial new conclusions of the current French publication team. J.-M. Durand now has a chapter on nomads in his new translations of Mari letters (LAPO 17), and he will present his own full analysis in the forthcoming Amurru II volume. Together with other recent work by Durand and his colleagues, this material and analysis change entirely the ground for discussion of the social and political structures reflected in the Mari texts.

Durand offers persuasive evidence that the word Hana is first of all a word for “bedouin”, and not an individual tribe. Nevertheless, among the Yaminite and Sim’alite divisions of the Amorrite tribal peoples, the word most often means “(our) bedouin”, not the general category. Because king Zimri-Lim was a Sim’alite, and his administration was dominated by this people, a large proportion of “Hana” occurrences refer only to Sim’alites. With this information, it is then possible to pursue the distinct organizations of Yaminite and Sim’alite tribal populations in both their mobile and their sedentary modes of existence.

In fact, while these peoples lived in very much the same way, the two divisions developed different structures, marked above all by the role of the *sugāgum* or local chief. Among the Yaminites, the population led by a *sugāgum* was defined by the settlement with which the tribal group was identified. The Sim’alites, in contrast, regarded their *sugāgums* as heads of the lowest identifying group above the household level in a kinship hierarchy that ignores sedentary affiliations.

PETER FEINMAN

The Kings of the East in Genesis 14: Chedorlaomer of Elam as Attila the Hun

Almost from the onset of modern archaeology in general and biblical archaeology in particular, the identity of the kings of the east in Genesis 14 has been a tantalizing and vexing question. To locate a biblical name in the archaeological record of Mesopotamia was considered to be of grave importance in the quest to demonstrate the historicity of the biblical record and to anchor it firmly within the chronology of the ancient Near East.

This paper will not review the longstanding efforts to achieve such an identification except to note that such efforts have not been successful despite over one century of trying. Instead, this paper will

address the question of why the biblical author chose to make an Elamite king the lead figure in the forces of chaos which disrupted the land and what impact such a figure would have on the intended audience.

At the recent Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, there were two papers presented which serve as reminders of the place of Elam in Mesopotamian lore. Frances Reynolds focused on the impact on Babylonian tradition of the Elamite invasion of 155 BCE and noted the image of the Elamites “as the most noxious of all foreign enemies.” Kathryn Slanski spoke on the Babylonian entitlement *narus* and historiography using Nebuchadnezzar I, the hero over the Elamites, as the example for the case study.

This paper will suggest that the image of the Elamites as the “bad guys” in Babylonia tradition was the reason why the biblical author chose to make the “bad guy” of the story of Genesis 14 and Elamite. The audience was already familiar with that designation and would have understood immediately who in the story was wearing the black hat and who in the story was wearing the white in the ancient showdown at high noon.

PAUL E. WALKER

The Relationship between Chief Judge (*Qāḍī al-Qudāt*) and Chief Religious Propagandist (*Dāʿī al-Duʿāt*) under the Fatimids

Upon assuming power, the Fatimids appointed as the *qāḍī* of Qayrawan the leading jurist among the local, non-Ismaili Shīʿīs. A judge who followed him had been Ḥanafī until he joined the Fatimid cause. Still later, the Fatimids put into the same office a Malikī who never converted. Thus on the whole there was no explicit connection between purely Ismaili religious propaganda and the administration of justice.

Moreover, in North Africa, the Fatimids appointed separate *qāḍīs* for the various cities of their empire with no hierarchy among them. During the reign of al-Muʿizz, the leading Ismaili authority on law was the famous Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān who is often said to have held the rank of chief judge (*qāḍī al-quḍāt*). That, however, appears unlikely. Not until Egypt did the Fatimid institute such a position in which the meaning of “judge of judges” truly indicates the power to appoint subordinate judges.

Coincidentally, the first four men to hold this post were also chief *dāʿīs* (the *dāʿī al-duʿāt*), although the connection between the two functions was poorly defined. Nevertheless, al-Maqrīzī made a point of relating them in the case of the Fatimids. Starting in 406, however, these two offices were again split with the *dāʿī*ship naturally remaining in the control of the Ismailis and the basic governance of the judiciary falling to a judge who happened to be Ḥanbalī. Later efforts to recombine these positions most often failed.

In the era of the all-powerful wazirs beginning with Badr al-Jamālī, the wazir always assumed titular control of both offices. The relationship of chief *qāḍī* to chief *dāʿī* is thus even more difficult to investigate. Few of the later head judges were Ismaili even though there were also chief *dāʿīs* until the end of the dynasty. A detailed list of the holders of both offices in these years is essential for understanding the connection between them.

MAYA SHATZMILLER

Society at War: Women and property in fifteenth-century Granada before and after the Conquest

The collection of 95 Arabic notarial documents, (*wathāʿiq*), from Granada which is kept today partly at the University Library of this city, partly at the Convent Madre de Dios, is of great importance for the history of Muslim women, in particular for the question of their property rights. 91 of the 95 contracts involve women, who in different capacity undertake transactions such as selling, buying, renting, donating, gifting, endowing, fostering young children, giving and receiving earlier and later doweries and several other tasks which involve monetary aspects. Most of the transactions

deal with transfer of property, intergenerational, as well as horizontal. The women who appear in the documents, act as mothers, sisters, daughters, grandmothers, mothers-in-law, sisters-in-law and especially, wives. Within the parameters of the Islamic law they transmit and receive property from and to family members, sell and buy from non-family members. The property items registered in the documents include among other, houses, stores, workshops, land, orchards, mills, jewelry and cash. All transactions take place between the years 1421 and 1496, after 1482 women also sell property to Christian Spaniards.

The paper will study the legal aspects of the transaction, the notarial act itself and the legal conditions affecting women's property rights in Islamic Maliki law. I will use the results of my previous research on Muslim women's property rights in Islamic law and society, to implement the information provided by the documents. Finally I will address the question how did the continuous pressure of the Reconquista, contributed to the large amount of property held by Granadan women and how did the Granada situation influence women's economic and social status in a society at war.

ALAN M. GUENTHER

Dār al-Ḥarb or *Dār al-Islām*: The Controversy regarding the British presence in India, 1870–72

An examination of the opinions of Indian Muslims and British Orientalists concerning the status of British India as either *dar al-harb* or *dar al-islam* reveals variety of perspectives of Muslim law. These opinions comprise a significant debate in the Indian and British press during 1870 to 1872, shortly after the so-called "Wahhabi Trials" which had raised British fears of Muslim insurrection in India. When examined in the light of the principles of classical *fiqh*, these opinions further demonstrate the changes occurring in Islamic jurisprudence in India in the latter half of the nineteenth century. While previous studies isolated the writings of the more prominent participants such as Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan on the subject of this controversy, and examined them in the context of his other writings, this study brings together a much broader range of responses and situates them in the context of their interaction with one another. Furthermore, while other studies emphasized the social and political contexts of this debate, this study has a more juristic focus. Traditional *ulama* such as Mawlana Karamat Ali of Jawnpur adhere strictly to classical sources such as the standard Hanafi works of *fiqh* in preparing their judgments, though consider it beneficial to buttress their opinions with *fatwas* given by leading *muftis* of other schools. Those Muslims advocating the exercise of individual *ijtihad* were more eclectic in their methods of reasoning and use of sources to argue their case. The responses of British participants ranged from the contemptuous and dismissive to ones recognizing the authority of Islamic law. As one of the latter group, W. W. Hunter interpreted the traditional sources in the light of Western standards of textual criticism, while others such as W. Nassau Lees were more reluctant to interpret Islamic law for the Muslims.

WILLIAM M. BRINNER

Remarks and Reminiscences on David Ayalon

This session is dedicated to the life and work of the outstanding scholar of Islamic history David Ayalon (1914–98). A native of the land of Israel and recipient of an early doctorate from the Hebrew University, Ayalon began his career not in the academic realm but in the political department of the Jewish Agency in Mandatory Palestine, later in the newly-formed Israeli Foreign Ministry. In 1947, together with Pesach Shinar, he published the "Arabic-Hebrew Dictionary of Modern Arabic" which went through 22 printings and was recently revised and re-published. In 1950, he moved to the faculty of the Hebrew University, where he taught, established a department of Modern Middle East Studies and headed the Institute of Asian and African Studies. Honored by the award of the Israel Prize for Humanities in 1972, he was recently made an honorary member of the American Historical Association.

Ayalon is best known for his books and articles on aspects of the history, organization, and culture of the Mamluks in Egypt (1250–1517) that were influential in creating the modern study of the Mamluk institution. His long-awaited final work, “Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans”, completed shortly before his death, is to appear in the coming months.

This paper consists of personal reminiscences of thirty years about Ayalon, remarks about his important scholarly work and its impact on Mamluk scholarship, as well as about his contribution to the advancement of understanding between Israel and the Arabs.

JACOB LASSNER

More Reflections on the Reign of al-Mutawakkil

The ninth century C. E., particularly the Samarra interlude, remains for the most part an unexplored area of concern for historians of Islam. Conventional wisdom, albeit without substantial research, portrays the reign of al-Mutawakkil as a turning point in which the Abbasid caliph wished to free himself of the yoke of his Turkish officers and their troops thus setting into motion a series of policies vis-a-vis the Turks that led to their plotting against the caliph and ultimately in their assassinating him. This, the first of several papers, will suggest that the process leading up to the death of the caliph [if indeed, one can call his murder part of an historical process] was exceedingly complex. The current presentation, based on the available Arabic texts dealing with the period, will focus primarily on the beginnings of the caliph’s reign, particularly on the execution of the leading Turkish general Itakh. The murder will be described as an isolated event and not part of a grand and sustained strategy to reduce, let alone eliminate, the power of the Turkish military which had been the props upon which the reign of his father had rested.

REUVEN AMITAI

The Conversion of the Ilkhan Tegüder to Islam

The short reign of the Ilkhan Tegüder (1282–4) was notable for several reasons: he was the first Mongol ruler in Iran to convert to Islam, adopting the name Aḥmad; he attempted—so it would seem—to achieve a rapprochement with the Mamluks; and, he was the first Ilkanid to be deposed by force. This paper will deal with three topics. The first is Tegüder’s actual conversion to Islam, which seemingly took place before he became ruler, and in which the role of extreme sufis was prominent. The second part investigates how Tegüder’s being a Muslim affected his policies as Ilkhan, including his so-called peace initiative towards the Mamluks. Finally, it will be suggested that Tegüder’s Islam was a factor of some consequence in his deposition by the Mongol grandees led by prince Arghun. This last conclusion is at some variance with most recent writing on the subject.

Much of the material for this paper is derived from Arabic works written in the Mamluk Sultanate, sources which have not been fully used for the history of the period. This is one reason why it thought appropriate to deliver this paper in a session devoted to the memory of Professor David Ayalon.

JAMES L. FITZGERALD

pīta and *śaikya*: Two terms of iron and steel technology in the Mahābhārata

Two weapons-terms that occur in Mahābhārata battle accounts are only slightly understood: The words *pīta* and *śaikya*. Ganguli, in the P. C. Roy translation, regularly gives “tempered” for *pīta*, when it modifies a metal blade, but van Buitenen takes it as the color term “yellow,” seeing in this an indication that the underlying metal was copper. Both translators follow Nīlakaṇṭha and the standard dictionaries in rendering *śaikya* sometimes as “(damask) steel,” sometimes as “shoulder-sling.” In the case of *pīta* Nīlakaṇṭha correctly points the way to understand the word as referring to the treatment of “iron” (actually low-carbon steels created at the forge from wrought iron) with liquid (he takes *pīta* to be the past participle of the verb $\sqrt{pā}$, “drink”). Investigation of the literary

contexts suggests that the liquid-treatment the text probably intended was the “quenching” of “iron” blades by a smith in the process of putting a fine edge on the blade in preparation for battle (as opposed to pickling the weapons in a brine to clean them or etching the blades with a mild acid to raise the grain of the metal). With *śaikya*, however, Nīlakaṇṭha is inconsistent and misleading. Careful examination of the apparatus of the Poona text reveals that *śaikya* is probably an allomorph of *saikya*, which is probably an adjective meaning “metal that has been fused, metal ready for casting, (previously) molten metal,” an adjective deriving ultimately from the root \sqrt{sic} , “pour, cast (molten metal).” The word *saikya/śaikya* and its cognate *sikta* are used with reference to castings of gold twice; but with reference to iron, *saikya/śaikya* must refer to India’s ancient famous steel, which is probably similar to the famous modern ‘wootz’ (‘steel’ or ‘superior iron,’ from Kannada *uddu*, or *ucha kabbina*)) from South India. Wootz was steel produced by re-heating wrought iron in crucibles where it fuses with carbanaceous additives. Wootz, long the basic steel for ‘damascene’ blades, is normally worked after cooling and solidification.

STELLA SANDAHL

The *Mānasollāsa* by Someśvara III: An Encyclopedia of social history

The rather extraordinary Sanskrit text called *Mānasollāsa* is surprisingly little known among Western Sanskritists, probably because of its lack of literary merit. Written around 1129–31 A.D. by the Western Chalukya king Someśvara III (r. 1126–1138), the whole text was published in three volumes in Gaekwad Oriental Series (1925, 1939, and 1961). The first three *viṃśatis* were also published by the University of Mysore in 1926 under the name *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*. It has never been properly translated, but there is a summary of the content in *Royal Life in Mānasollāsa* by P. Arundhati (Delhi 1994).

The *Mānasollāsa* is a long text, some 8000 *granthas*, divided into five *viṃśatis*., each containing 20 chapters of very unequal length. The total consists of 100 chapters treating 100 different topics. The first *viṃśati* deals with the duties of a king, one of the more interesting is found in chapter 19 stressing the “necessity of appointing excellent physicians and free distribution of medicines” to the subjects—an early example of state administered social welfare. The second *viṃśati* deals with administration, policy and appointment of officials, and how to catch and train elephants. The third *viṃśati* deals with twenty kinds of *bhogas* or *upabhogas*, the fourth devotes its longest chapter to music, and the fifth describes the sports and games the king enjoyed, including erotic dalliances.

I wish to give a brief overview of the *Mānasollāsa* to stress its importance for various fields of Indology and discuss in detail two very short chapters of which I shall provide translations, the *pānīyabhoga* and the *vilepanabhoga*. The first describes the different sources of water supplies and the second describes ointments and pomades.

DAVID PINGREE

The Amṛtalaharī of Nityānanda

A manuscript in the library of Tokyo University, number 19 in their Sanskrit collection, contains the apparently unique copy of a set of astronomical tables, the Amṛtalaharī, which can be shown to have been written by Nityānanda of Delhi in about 1660. Nityānanda is already known as the principal Hindu advocate of using Muslim astronomy in the seventeenth century; he was selected by Aṣaf Khān, Shāh Jahān’s vazīr, to translate Farīd al-Dīn’s Persian Zīj-i Shāh Jahānī into Sanskrit in the mid 1630’s; he published this enormous work under the title Siddhāntasindhu. In 1639 he finished an elaborate Sanskrit exposition and defense of Muslim astronomy, the Sarvasiddhāntarāja. The Amṛtalaharī is his attempt to make the calculations of pañcāṅgas and of horoscopes according to Muslim models possible for Sanskrit pandits. This paper will describe his strategy for making this palatable.

CHRISTOPHER MINKOWSKI

The Uses of Inconsistency

Addendum: Report on some unknown Johns Hopkins University Sanskrit manuscripts

The cosmological model of the Purāṇas posits a flat earth, while that of the astronomical Siddhāntas posits a spherical earth. This inconsistency was first insisted on by the astronomer Lalla in the mid-9th century, and Lalla's criticisms of the paurāṇika cosmology were continued by later astronomers such as Śrīpati and Bhāskara. In the late 17th century, however, a genre of texts began to appear which asserted the "avirodha," or lack of inconsistency, of the siddhāntika and paurāṇika cosmologies.

This paper is about an episode in the 19th century when the argument about avirodha was resumed "in the shadow of empire." The British political agent at Bhopal, Lancelot Wilkinson promoted the publication of texts by Śāstrīs in Sanskrit, Marāṭhī and Hindī which pointed out that while the paurāṇika cosmology was basically in error, the siddhāntas assumed a cosmological model that could serve as the basis for learning modern, European astronomy. A controversy ensued, in which "modernizing" and "traditional" pandits took part, and in which the theory of "avirodha" was paradoxically reasserted. I will discuss in particular the literary exchange between Subbāji Rāmacandra, a śāstrī in the employ of Wilkinson, and Yajñeśvara Rode, a śāstrī based in Poona, which took the form of pamphlets and counterpamphlets, especially the Avirodha-prakāśa of Yajñeśvara and the Avirodha-prakāśa-viveka of Rāmacandra.

DONALD R. DAVIS, JR.

The Formation and Reformation of Law in Early British Malabar: Remarks on words for "law" in the Tellicherry records

This paper analyzes the semantic and syntactic usage of three important terms, which overlap with various dimensions of the English word law, as they appear in a collection of Malayalam documents entitled *Talaśśēri Rēkhakaḷ*, collected by Hermam Gundert and dated 1796–1800. The Malayalam words *kalpana*, *maryāda*, and *nyāyam* are discussed in this analysis in terms of what they can tell us about the indigenous perception of law at the time of the earliest British administration of Malabar.

The premise of the paper is that by analyzing the legal vocabulary of these official documents, we can glean new insight into pre-colonial legal traditions in Malabar, or even in India itself. The paper primarily interprets the legal vocabulary of this important set of historical documents but also suggests broader implications for studies of legal history in India.

The concluding argument is that while *kalpana*, *maryāda*, and *nyāyam* refer broadly to royal edicts, community standards, and justice or propriety, respectively, they are united by the idea that the object of their injunctive force is not to establish 'law,' but rather to realign society. In other words, no attempt is made to establish permanently an incontrovertible law. Instead, law is found in human interpretations of and realizations of the proper functioning of society, i.e., a sociological approach to law and an idea which not coincidentally corresponds to the concept of *dharma* in Indian history.

Besides Zachari's interesting introduction to the collection, no other examination of these records has apparently been published. In general, the paper is part of the scholarly efforts of Derrett, Sontheimer, Rocher, Lariviere, Leslie, Wezler, and others to historicize studies of law in pre-colonial India.

BRUCE C. ROBERTSON

Comparison of a Brahma Bengali and a Christian Hindi Translation of the Luke and Matthew Versions of “The Beatitudes”

The controversy stirred up by Rāmmohan Rāy’s publication in 1820 of the English language *The Precepts of Jesus Guide to Peace and Happiness* not only brought him to international attention but put the world spotlight upon Christian reformers in Bengal especially their relationship with the British East India Company. What began as a serious missionary study of the Greek text of the Four Gospels with a Hindu scholar to produce an idiomatically and culturally correct translation of the Christian Bible turned into a rancorous theological, political and cultural confrontation between the Serampore Baptist missionaries and Rāmmohan Rāy that set for many Bengalis the tone of an evolving relationship with the foreign defacto sarkar.

Though Rāmmohan mentions translating the Precepts into Sanskrit and Bengali no record of these has survived. His criticism of the earliest Baptist missionary translations as full of inappropriate language and therefore fundamentally unreadable had been taken seriously by the missionaries. They invited him to join the translation team as a native speaking consultant. However, disputes with him over Christian doctrine brought the partnership to an hasty and dramatic end when William Adam, one of the members, left the Serampore Mission. The Precepts controversy was an early defining episode in the formation of British rule in Bengal because it put into public discussion the question of moral authority to govern.

A little known Bengali translation entitled *Sukhaśāntir upāy svarup yīśu-praṇīt hitopadés*, claimed by Rakhal Das Haldar, was published in Calcutta in 1859. Comparison of the Luke 6 and Matthew 5 versions of the Beatitudes reveals some noteworthy differences between this Bengali version and that of *Dharmaśāstra*, published by The Bible Society of India and Ceylon (Bangalore, 1962). The Brahma translation conveys nuances that capture, one might argue, a sense of the Greek text perhaps not as clearly present in the Christian version. This paper will examine Luke 6:20–24 and Matthew 5:3–11 in both versions in the light of The Greek New Testament published by the American Bible Society (1966). Preliminary conclusions might suggest a need to review present Indian vernacular translations of the Bible.

CARL F. PETRY

Crime and Punishment? The Propensity to prosecute or neglect Criminal Acts in the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt

An analysis of criminal acts (as depicted in the narrative chronicles of the late Mamluk Sultanate) committed by both civilians and militarists according to sanctions meted out by authorities bound to uphold the Law (religious and governmental) and to guarantee public security. These sources were biased toward crimes that had become sufficiently notorious to attract widespread attention. They were, in effect, “hot news,” and appealed to impulses toward sensationalism. Yet since they also were likely to have been tried in public court hearings, their circumstantial details were available to chroniclers. The study will compare kinds and intensity of punishments with categories of crimes committed. Homicides are quite interesting because of the wide range of punishments meted out: from gruesome executions to full pardons. Incidents of thievery also incurred a variety of punishments, the most severe reserved for theft of property held by the ruling elite. The analysis will note widespread indifference to many violent crimes on the regime’s part (which the chronicles nonetheless described fulsomely) that neither a) threatened the regime’s own prerogatives nor b) unduly embarrassed it. But crimes linked to doctrinal deviance with a potential for sparking popular unrest were frequently punished in vivid, almost ritual ways.

MARIAN FELDMAN

Transcending Regionalism: The Iconography of kingship in Egypt and the Near East during the Late Bronze Age

International contacts among the various states of the Near East, Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean characterize the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600–1200 BCE). These relations found visual expression through an artistic internationalism seen in a group of objects made of luxury materials such as gold and ivory, and distributed at sites around the eastern Mediterranean. Previous scholarship has acknowledged the existence of such an international tradition; however, its precise socio-political context and concomitant meaning have been neglected. This paper argues that an intimate relationship between the international luxury goods and a small community of rulers from disparate cultural backgrounds helps explain their specific form. The themes and motival elements depicted on the objects are drawn primarily from the older and more established traditions of royal iconography from Egypt and Mesopotamia. Hunts, animal attack scenes, and heraldic arrangements of herbivores flanking stylized vegetation address rulership in terms of beneficence and valor. In the recombination and reorientation of the individual elements, the luxury goods suppress explicit reference to any one region, instead creating a hybrid iconography of international kingship. A concept of international kingship is clearly evident in correspondence among the rulers, best represented in the letters found at Amarna in Egypt and Hattusas in Anatolia. These describe a “supra-regional” sphere of royal interaction that bound the rulers together through a metaphor of brotherhood. The luxury goods executed with themes of a universalized nature perfectly expressed a community of royal elites who formed themselves into an exclusive extended family. The apparent lack of regional affiliation for the iconography, then, was motivated by its conceptual origin from within the international community itself, while its close connection with the royal elite was due to its derivation from the royal traditions of Egypt and Mesopotamia.

LEO DEPUYDT

Tales from the Cusp of Relative and Absolute Egyptian Chronology: Did Taharqa kill Shabataka?

At our 1998 meeting in New Orleans, this writer submitted that, because of the specific method required by the evidence, the principal divisions of chronology differ from those of the closely related field of history. For example, it is now generally accepted, on the basis of a single document, that absolute chronology begins in Egypt on 12 February 690 B.C.E., which coincided with the Egyptian New Year’s Day, 1 Thoth, although 12 February 691 B.C.E. cannot be entirely excluded it seems. This pivotal day in Egyptian chronology had no more significance than most other days in Egyptian history. We do not even know what happened on it, other than, one would assume, the customary new year celebrations. What we do know with high probability is that, at some point in the 365-day Egyptian year lasting from 12 February 690 B.C.E. to 11 February 689 B.C.E., the Nubian Taharqa became king of Nubia and Egypt. Taharqa’s predecessor was Shabataka.

Shabataka’s reign and the transition to Taharqa’s are located at the very cusp of the divide between relative chronology and absolute chronology. The unique chronological significance of this episode is not matched, however, by an equal degree of historical significance. The sources pertaining to the episode originate, not only from Egypt, but also from Nubia and the Classical and Near Eastern worlds. This perhaps justifies this paper’s inclusion in a panel on ancient Egypt and its international context. One crucial source, for example, is Eusebius of Caesarea. The present paper reexamines all the relevant sources, focusing especially on Shabataka’s death, regarding which the sources are in contradiction.

RICHARD JASNOW

Egyptological Remarks on P. Amherst 63

The Aramaic-Demotic P. Amherst 63 is certainly one of the most remarkable texts preserved from antiquity. After a few Egyptological comments on the still only partially published composition and script, I will discuss P. Amherst 63 within the larger context of Egyptian-Aramaic interaction, especially as reflected in the Demotic material.

CHRISTINE LILYQUIST

Egypt's Material Culture Abroad

Traces of Egypt's material culture outside the Nile Valley are, on the one hand, widely recognized in the ancient world, and on the other, difficult to define. This is due to many factors: lack of absolute and relative chronology in the Aegean and east Mediterranean; lack of local texts there; predilection for ancient Egyptians to exaggerate their power, influence, and creativity in generalized rather than specific texts; and difficulty of distinguishing osteological remains in the different localities. In an attempt to shed light on these problems, I have tried to better define typological dating in Egypt (most recently, Lilyquist 1995) and the Near East (1994), sometimes comparing the cultural material of both areas, as well as to that of the Aegean where similar problems occur (Lilyquist 1996; 1997). Such studies have been based on excavated objects, but technological aspects—including chemical analyses—have been introduced (Lilyquist and Brill 1993), hopefully to add a more “scientific” dimension to the archaeological evidence. The suggestion that much of the “Egyptian” material found outside the Nile Valley proper is actually “Egyptianizing” has not been universally accepted (Warren 1997; Lacovara 1998; Mumford 1998; Eliezer Oren, personal communication, 4 Nov 1998) but other scholars from Egypt and beyond have begun to look at the interpenetration of cultures, beginning at the earliest periods (asor-1 1998: Eric Kansa, Naomi Porat and Yuval Goren, Toby Wilkinson, Yuval Yekutieli abstracts)—the connections waxing and waning according to various conditions. The definition of “Egypt's influence on the east Mediterranean's material culture” might not be as pertinent a goal as a study of how technologies were transferred and what motifs meant. This paper will illustrate Middle to Late Bronze Age objects from Egypt and the east Mediterranean that demonstrate the problems involved, and will describe current technological projects that hope to define cultural creativity.

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MU-CHOU POO

The Demonization of Foreigners: A Comparative view

This paper seeks to compare one aspect of the attitude toward foreigners amongst the ancient Civilizations of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and China—the demonization of the foreigners. Former scholars have discussed the subject of demonization of foreigners (V. Haas), or the fate of foreigners in various civilizations (W. Helck, Dandamaev), yet none have attempted a comparative perspective and try to discern the similarities and differences that these topics may reveal concerning the nature of these different civilizations. My work in this area is intended to call the attention of scholars of ancient civilizations the importance of this subject. In this paper, I shall first explain the significance of comparative studies of ancient civilizations, then introduce my project on the study of the attitudes toward foreigners. Thirdly, I shall discuss the phenomenon of the demonization of foreigners in these civilizations. Foreigners are often considered as hostile in ancient as well as modern civilizations. In some extreme cases, they were seen as the culmination of evil forces, or as manifestations of demons themselves. I shall explore the literary and iconographic evidence on this subject, and try to assess their significance for our understanding of their attitudes toward foreigners in general. My tentative conclusion is that, when describing foreigners, the ancients have in general two points to make: physical features and cultural behavior. Thus the basis of demonization of foreigners was not entirely cultural difference such as living styles and languages, but also including considerations of physical features. This consideration of physical features may differ in different civilizations, some explicit, some implicit.

CAROLYN R. HIGGINBOTHAM

Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine

This paper examines the emulation of Egyptian culture by the local elite of the southern Levant during the Ramesside period. Beginning with the Late Bronze IIB period, which corresponds to dynasty 19, the material culture of the Palestinian lowlands underwent a conspicuous Egyptianization. The prevailing interpretation of the archaeological data has been to attribute this change to external factors, especially the presumed presence of large numbers of Egyptian soldiers and administrators, rather than to internal developments within the local culture. However, there is little evidence, other than the increase in Egyptian and Egyptian-style objects in the archaeological record, for a change in pharaonic policy to military occupation and direct imperial administration of Egypt’s Asian holdings. Starting from the position argued in the author’s dissertation that the archaeological evidence reflects elite emulation rather than direct rule, this paper details the aspects of Egyptian culture selected for emulation by the local Levantine elite and the ways in which these cultural artefacts were modified to fit a new, Levantine context.

OGDEN GOELET, JR.

Elmar Edel's *Vertrag*: More on the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattušili III: The Egyptian language version

BARUCH A. LEVINE

Elmar Edel's *Vertrag*: More on the treaty between Ramesses II and Hattušili III: The Akkadian language version

The recent, posthumous appearance of Elmar Edel's, *Der Vertrag zwischen Rameses II. von Ägypten und Hattušili III. von Hatti* (1997) offers added insights into both language versions of the Treaty, the Egyptian and the Akkadian, by the eminent author of the monumental work, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache* (1994). Aspects of these versions were discussed in a recent study "Making Peace in Heaven and on Earth: Religious and Legal Aspects of the Treaty between Ramesses II and Hattušili III", in Meir Lubetski, et al., eds., *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World* (Sheffield 1998) 252–299, by Ogden Goelet and Baruch A. Levine. In turn, that study was based on earlier, in-tandem addresses by the two authors before the American Oriental Society at its 1992 meeting.

Edel provides definitive editions of both language versions of the treaty. His careful translations and informative commentaries afford a greater degree of certainty regarding several critical readings in the text, and add to the precise interpretation of unusual terms of reference and legal formulas appearing in both versions. The present papers will focus, in a coordinated manner, on parallel terms, formulas, and concepts in the two versions in an attempt to draw certain comprehensive conclusions as to the overall impact of the treaty. Ogden Goelet will explore Egyptian usage and legal style, particularly the Treaty's position within the development of the Late Egyptian dialect, plus the implications of the Treaty for the Egyptian religious phenomenon known as "Personal Piety"; Baruch Levine will address questions having to do with the composite character of the extant Akkadian versions, written in the *lingua franca* of imperial correspondence between Egypt and Hatti.

IRFAN A. SHAHID

Al-Naṣrāniyyāt

While the Muslim Tradition has known *al-Isrā'īliyyāt* in Koranic exegesis for Judaism and coined the term, it has not done the same for Christianity. Works on Christianity and Christians did develop and in various directions but without the counterpart term, *al-Naṣrāniyyāt*.

The paper will explain the reasons for this omission and will explore the various directions that Koranic studies took in treating Christianity. Then it will concentrate on one form of these directions, related to Christian monasteries, which exercised a fascination on Muslim writers, reflected in the number of works that were written on them. Noteworthy is the fact that these works moved out of the orbit of Koranic exegesis and became part of Islamic historiography. Dahabi as quoted by Sakhāwī considers *Akhbār al-ruhbān wa ūlī al-ṣawāmī* as one of *funūn al-tārīkh*.

SIDNEY H. GRIFFITH

Greek Theology, Arabic Culture: The 'Other' Translation Movement in the Early 'Abbasid Period

Beginning in pre-Islamic times, the monks of the monasteries in the Judean desert undertook the project of translating important Byzantine religious texts from Greek into the language of the indigenous Christians of Syria/Palestine. At first they produced versions of the scriptures and of important hagiographical texts in Christian Palestinian Aramaic. By the second half of the eighth century, after 755 A.D., the monks were producing Arabic translations of the Bible, and of other

ecclesiastical books, as well as writing original compositions in Arabic. Most of their work consisted of producing Arabic translations of Greek monastic texts. At least one of them translated philosophical texts. The period of this initial effort to translate Byzantine Christian texts into Arabic, in the monasteries of Palestine, extended from the late eighth century, until well into the eleventh century.

The contribution of this communication to the study of this ‘other’ translation movement in the early Abbasid period is to highlight the role of three individuals: Theodore Abū Qurrah, Anthony David of Baghdad, and Stephen of ar-Ramlah. Theodore translated works attributed to Aristotle; Anthony David copied Arabic translations of Cyril of Scythopolis’ *Lives of the Monks of Palestine*; Stephen was responsible for manuscripts containing an Arabic Gospel lectionary, and one of the most interesting original, Arabic compositions in Christian theology. Together they made major contributions to the consolidation in the ninth century of a new denominational identity among Arab Christians, that of the ‘Melkites’.

There is little previous scholarship on these matters, but the review of the evidence offered here leads to the conclusion that the monastic translation movement played a crucial role in the socio-historical development of one of the most visible *dhimmī* communities in early Abbasid times.

BRIAN M. HAUGLID

A Study of the Creation Narrative in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* of al-Thaʿlabī

The creation account found in the *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā* of al-Thaʿlabī can be viewed as a representative example of Thaʿlabī’s reliance (or non-reliance) on Ṭabarī, his usage of pre-Islamic materials from the Jewish, Christian, and even ancient Mesopotamian and Egyptian traditions, his reorienting these materials to fortify the Islamic message, and his usage of certain themes, peoples, or objects that typify the life of Muḥammad and/or other aspects of Islam. It is, of course, not known if Thaʿlabī consciously developed his material in this direction, but his text seems clearly to be part of a creative process that produces a bonafide Islamic mythology. In the example of the creation story, it will be seen that Thaʿlabī uses several traditions to build his Islamic version, including Jewish and Christian and also elements from ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. Thaʿlabī’s scheme of Islamization and typological prefigurement emphasizes that Islam began with the creation of the world and culminated in the life of the Prophet Muḥammad and the final revelation. This paper will examine certain aspects of the creation account within the qisas tradition, as well as other Muslim traditions such as *Tafsīr* and *Tārīkh*. In some cases the Arabic term will be used to illustrate a point, clarify a discussion, or give example. In other cases certain key words will be defined to give more focus on the message of the narrative.

JON MCGINNIS

Ibn Sīnā and the Paradox of the Changing Now

In Aristotle’s discussion of time, he poses a dilemma for anyone who argues that time is the flow of a changing now. Ibn Sīnā, although couching his discussion of time in Aristotelian vocabulary, ultimately maintains that indeed time is the flow (*sayalān*) of a now and thus he is compelled to address Aristotle’s paradox. Ibn Sīnā’s solution to this puzzle most explicitly manifests his originality and creativity.

Aristotle’s puzzle begins with a question. If the now changes, when does it cease to be one now and become another? It cannot cease to be when it is. for it is. Nor can it cease to be in some later now, since the now would either (1) cease to be in an immediately adjacent now or (2) perish through several later nows before ceasing to be. The present now clearly does not exist simultaneous with several nows before it ceases to be, but neither can it cease in the immediately adjacent now, since dimensionless nows, like points, are not immediately adjacent to one another. Hence the now does not change.

The dilemma rest on a dichotomy, argues Ibn Sīnā. The now must either change all at once, i.e., in a single now, or it must change gradually, i.e., during a series of nows. Ibn Sīnā observes that to change all at once or gradually is a false dichotomy and in fact there is a logical third option which avoids the dilemma. The paper will present Aristotle's paradox and Ibn Sīnā's resolution of it and then focus on Ibn Sīnā's conception of the now and how the now can change and yet neither change all at once or gradually.

JAWID A. MOJADDEDI

Legitimizing Authority in Sufism: The Biographies in al-Qushayrī's *Risāla*

Abu 'l-Qasim 'Abd al-Karim b. Hawazin al-Qushayrī's *Risāla* has proved to be one of the most popular Sufi manuals since it was written in 438/1046. It is also one of the first Sufi works to have attracted the attention of European scholars. Whilst it has already been observed that al-Qushayrī wrote his *Risāla* in order to demonstrate that Sufism is compatible with Sunnism, the methods, by means of which he fulfilled this aim, have not yet been considered in detail. The *Risāla* contains two main sections: a collection of biographies of Sufis, and a systematic description of Sufism's 'stations' and 'states'. Both of these sections are made up of the same basic unit of material, namely 'the discrete segment'.

In this paper I wish to demonstrate that al-Qushayrī fulfilled his overall aim by the careful selection and juxtaposition of material, and that the biographical section of the work plays a crucial role in his method. In order to demonstrate this, at first the organisational framework of the biographical section will be compared with those of works of the Sufi *tabaqat* genre. Then the form and content of the biographies of Abu Yazid al-Bastami and Abu 'l-Qasim al-Junayd will be compared with those of the corresponding biographies in earlier works. Finally, the discrete segments of material in these biographies will be compared with those about the same individuals that are found in the systematic section of the same work. The criteria used by the author for selecting and juxtaposing material to create the *Risāla* will thus become apparent, and will highlight the role of the biographical section in re-orientating the definition of Sufism, as part of the overall aim of al-Qushayrī's work.

TIMOTHY J. GIANOTTI

Making Sense of the Heretic and the Saint in al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'*

This paper explores a seemingly blatant contradiction surrounding the character of Maṣū' al-Ḥallāj in al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* (*Reviving the Religious Sciences*). In the opening book, *Kitāb al-'ilm* (*Book of Knowledge*), al-Ghazālī writes that to kill such a person "is, according to the religion of God, preferable to bringing ten back to life"; however, further into the *Iḥyā'*, he assumes an apologetic—even laudatory—tone in the case of al-Ḥallāj. What are we to make of this? Are we to follow Ibn Rushd in thinking that al-Ghazālī was just trying to be everything to everyone, i.e., "an Ash'arite with the Ash'arites, a Sufi with the Sufis, and a philosopher with the philosophers"? This would mean that parts of the *Iḥyā'* were written for the theologians and jurists while others were composed for the mystics and philosophers. Or are we to write him off as an author who changed his mind often with little concern for systematic cohesion, even within the same work? Or should we suggest a change of heart somewhere in the course of his composition of the *Iḥyā'*? While this paper allows for such questions, it asserts that the most satisfying answer lies in reviewing his doctrine of discourse and identifying the particular character of the texts in which these conflicting statements occur. Once the types of discourse are identified and the passages in question are seen in the context of their respective text-types, then a clearer understanding of what is really being said in the various contexts can be won.

So what is really being said of al-Ḥallāj in the *Iḥyā'*? Does al-Ghazālī paint conflicting pictures? This paper marks an attempt to resolve these questions.

JOHN A. C. GREPPIN

Two Armenian Pharmaceutical Dictionaries

This paper will survey Hippocratic and Galenic medicine, focusing primarily on its pharmaceutical tradition. This tradition was passed on to the Arabs, and developed by such well known scholars and physicians as Rhazes and Avicenna. I will briefly discuss how the pharmaceutical system worked, within its parameters of degrees of heat and cold, and degrees of wetness and dryness. This system was adopted by the Classical and Medieval Armenians who wrote pharmaceutical handbooks in which the Greek and Arabic pharmaceutical terms were translated into Armenian. Two principal manuals exist, which I have edited from manuscript: *The Galen Dictionary*, published in 1985, and *The Arabic-Armenian Pharmaceutical Dictionary*, which appeared in 1997. I will show how these two Armenian handbooks developed out of the Classical Greek tradition, and the Arabic tradition of the Golden Age.

JOHN TABER

Kumārila and Dharmakīrti, Once again

The jury is still out on the historical relation between Kumārila and Dharmakīrti. There is no passage of either philosopher that unambiguously refers to a passage of the other. Therefore, the arguments for their positions on specific issues must be carefully compared. What is found in regard to the controversy over “conceptualized perception” (*savikalpaka pratyakṣa*), for example, is that, while each refers critically to ideas that are presented by the other, each ignores some of the more telling points the other makes and also attacks ideas that the other does not develop. This constitutes evidence that neither was in fact specifically cognizant of the other’s works but rather only of doctrines that were current in their respective schools.

JESON WOO

Oneness and Manyness: Ratnakīrti and Vācaspatimiśra on an aspect of causality

In his *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*, Ratnakīrti, an eminent 11th century Buddhist logician, presents an elaborate argument on causality against his Nyāya counterpart, Vācaspatimiśra. An important subject in the argument is whether a cause produces one or many effects. The debate of the two philosophers on this topic draws upon their analysis of causation in the example of a seed. Vācaspatimiśra depends on the Naiyāyikas’ position of nonmomentariness whereas Ratnakīrti relies on the Kṣaṇabhaṅgavādins’ position of momentariness. The former refutes the Kṣaṇabhaṅgavādins’ idea that a seed is a producer of both a sprout and soil, etc. On the other hand, the latter defends the idea, explaining that a seed is a producer of a sprout as the main cause while it is a producer of soil, etc., as a cooperating cause. Little mention has been made of this aspect of causality in modern scholarship. In the paper, I discuss how Vācaspatimiśra and Ratnakīrti develop their divergent views on this subject, and demonstrate how the views are related to their understandings of the nature of existence.

FREDERICK M. SMITH

The Hierarchy of Philosophical Systems according to Vallabhācārya

Vallabhācārya (1479–1531?), the founder of the system of advaita known as śuddhādvaita and the school of Kṛṣṇa devotion called the Puṣṭimārga, ranked “orthodox” philosophical systems in his little-known brief work titled Bālabodha. This ordering, surely based on the strategies employed by the Sarvadarśanasamgraha and other popular doxographies, was augmented in another brief (but better known) work, the Siddhāntamuktāvalī, and the compendious Sarvanirṇayaprakaraṇa, a long section of one of Vallabhācārya’s major works, the Tattvārthadīpanibandha. This paper will provide an overview of this order of precedence and explain the principles of “orthodox”, and (even

more precisely) Vedic, interpretation employed by Vallabhācārya and his equally illustrious son and successor, Viṭṭhalanāthajī, as demonstrated in Vallabhācārya's texts and Viṭṭhalanāthajī's Sanskrit commentaries.

PRIYAWAT KUANPOONPOL

Utpaladeva on Memory: An Argument for the validity of memory from private experiences and public rationality

Little has been said of Utpaladeva, the first systemizer of Kashmir's "Recognition" philosophy, whose formal arguments brought Somānanda's doctrinal verses into the mainstream of Indian thought, or, at least, one of its major tributaries. In this paper, I will show how the author structured his argument in order to counter the opponent's view that memory is an error, which is, that it is an invalid cognition of the past. The thrust of Utpala's argument, based on the fact that ordinary public discourse depends on memory, actually goes to support his central idea that one's self exists by acts of willful creation. Without this sense of the self that affirms existence, not through right knowledge but by all its errant imaginings, Abhinavagupta could not have formulated his theory of aesthetic savoring.

PATRICK OLIVELLE

Sanskrit Commentators and the Transmission of Texts: The Example of Haradatta

Since the nineteenth century there has been among western scholars a pervasive mistrust of ancient Indian interpreters and commentators as reliable guides to the original meaning of ancient Indian texts. The mistrust of the commentators' interpretations, however, spilled over into the reliability of the textual transmission mediated by these commentators and more broadly into the scribal tradition itself. Were the Indian tradition of textual transmission as unreliable as it is made out to be? That is the focus of my paper.

I take as an example the prolific commentator Haradatta, who wrote commentaries on the Gṛhayasūtra, the Dharmasūtra, and the Mantrapāṭha of Āpastamba, as well as on the Āśvalāyana Gṛhayasūtra, and on the Gautama Dharmasūtra. His date is uncertain, Kane placing him 1100–1300 C.E. The paper focuses on Haradatta's commentary on the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, closely examining his comments on difficult and unusual word forms, on recensional differences, and on difficult readings. This study shows Haradatta to a faithful transmitter of the variant and non-standard readings he found in his sources, even when he occasionally happened to disagree with them. It also opens a discussion about the role of commentaries in establishing critical editions of texts, especially of a text such as the Manusmṛti with no less than nine commentaries.

ALEX WAYMAN

An Evaluation of the Translation Emptiness for the Sanskrit Term *śūnyatā*

At the Tibetan studies meeting at Indiana University in July 98, a lady's talk frequently mentioned 'emptiness' (or 'empty'), In the question period, I spoke, "While not denying your right to use the rendition 'emptiness' not agreeing with the English language dictionary, I want to know, 'How are you using the term?'" The baffled speaker replied that she was following the general translation style. At the first chance, another lady approached me and asked for my explanation of the question. I told her that in India the different sects frequently use certain terms in different ways from other sects, and I gave her some examples. In India these sects are glad to explain how they are using the terms because they are basic to their teaching. If they (or others) use a term in a special way and do not explain it, there could be no teaching thereby.

While there have been various books on Buddhism come out with the term 'emptiness' in the title, I shall first deal with the books *Emptiness: A Study in Religious Meaning*, by Frederick J. Streng

(1967); and *Reason and Emptiness*, by Shotaro Iida (1980). If space permits I would also refer to some other such books.

AKIRA YUYAMA

Some Philological Problems of the Mahāvastu-Avadāna

The Mahāvastu-Avadāna is no doubt the most important text of all belonging to the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda-School in Indian Buddhism.

Some scholars have declared to write a descriptive grammar of this peculiar Indic text. Some are said to be reading this very text with students on the basis of the *editio princeps* alone. Some others are interested in it from the viewpoints of the history of Indian Buddhist ideas.

Such investigations can only be made on the appearance of the best reliable critical edition. But, at the same time, a number of Mss must be examined once again. And there have appeared before us certain important but hitherto unknown Mss. Therefore, the prime necessity at the present is to bring out a more carefully and critically edited text on the basis of better manuscripts.

This paper intends to look into such philological problems with bibliographical analyses. A critical survey of this literature is badly needed. In fact, some Mss offer different contents missing in the others. Not only “better” Mss but also modern Mss (often considered simply as “bad” Mss) may offer some hints to various aspects of the textcritical and philological problems.

CHRISTIAN K. WEDEMEYER

Āryadeva’s *Lamp of Integrated Practice (Caryāmelāpakapradīpa)*: A Missing link in studies of Indian Guhyasamāja literature

Despite one brief mention in 1977 as “the greatest work on important phases of Tantric praxis [of the Guhyasamāja Tradition],” the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* of Āryadeva has received little notice in scholarship on Indian Tantric Buddhism. In this paper, I will discuss the nature of this text, its basic contribution to the literature of the Guhyasamāja traditions, and its importance for studies of Indian Tantrism. Attention will also be paid to addressing questions concerning the Indic origins of the text and of the extent of the Āryadevian *œuvre*.

One notable feature of this text is that it is intended as a companion volume in prose to Nāgārjuna’s famous *Pañcakrama*. The work quotes extensively from canonical sources in substantiation and authorization of the doctrines and practices of the Nāgārjunian Guhyasamāja Tradition. This makes it an invaluable source of data for constructing the basic relative chronology of Tantric texts which is such a crucial desideratum if the historiography of Indian Tantra is to make any substantial progress. Also of interest is the CMP’s affinity with the *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, which is much more far-reaching than has previously been noted.

Study of this text should begin to pick up in Indological circles, as a partial Sanskrit MS has recently been identified in Nepal after languishing for decades under the generic moniker “*Samśaya-paricchedah*.” This MS and its Indological potential will also be discussed.

MARY R. BACHVAROVA

Successful Birth, Unsuccessful Marriage: Applying Near Eastern birth texts to Aeschylus *Suppliants*

Because Greek tragedy comments on and plays with myths and ritual forms that were well known to its audience, we must find out what we can of rituals and myths in common use at that time, by whatever means necessary, in order to improve our understanding of the context of tragedy. In this paper I propose to do this for one specific play by resorting to Sumerian, Akkadian and Hittite materials. I will examine the themes of Near Eastern rituals and poems that deal with birth,

especially the story of the Cow-Maiden of Sin, and apply them to the theme of Io in Aeschylus' play, the *Suppliants*.

In the opening ode of this play the chorus of fifty Danaids, fleeing from their bridegroom cousins, refer to their ancestor Io, an Argive princess and the progenitrix of many Greek heroes connected with the Near East, to prove their claim to asylum in Argos, and the motif continues to add depth to the action of the rest of the play (Murray 1958). J. Duchemin (1978; 1980) noticed the connection between the myth of Io and the Near Eastern myth of the pregnant Cow-Maiden ravished by Sin/Baal in bull form. She focused on how the theme of 'healing touch' was continued into Aeschylus's time, but other themes associated with Io that are important in the play show up in the Near Eastern materials dealing with birth: seizure, the heroine's difficult passage and the god's response to her suffering, gentle healing breath vs. the gale of a storm which overwhelms a boat at sea.

I plan to assess the significance of these correspondences by putting these metaphors for labor into cross-cultural perspective, in order to discuss how the Near Eastern texts and myths can influence our interpretation of the *Suppliants*.

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WALTER BODINE

YBC 11736: A Literary legal text?

Alongside the model contracts in the Yale Babylonian Collection, there is a tablet containing what appears to be a school text, but one which is difficult to classify. YBC 11736 is an Ur III document from Umma. It concerns a slave who is settled in someone's house. It may be that this slave is being distrained as security for a loan, but this is not clear. The possibility of a challenge being brought to the arrangement is raised, and a decision is recorded against this possibility. In the course of the text at least six different people are referred to, and possibly as many as ten, with their relationships being unspecified. Subjects and direct and indirect objects of several verbs are left unidentified. This paper will attempt to classify the text and to discern whether it purports to reflect an actual legal decision, or whether it is a parody.

JANICE POLONSKY

Fate Determining Ceremonies in the Cylinders of Gudea

The cylinders of the Lagashite ruler, Gudea, record the construction and inauguration of the Eninnu temple of the god Ningirsu. These cylinders contain explicit descriptions of the operative and ritual process of the building of the temple, and demonstrate the ruler's role in all aspects of temple construction and installation of its deities. While the ritual ceremonies described in these cylinders have been analyzed and interpreted in previous scholarship, an important element in their enactment and underlying symbolism has not been recognized. Therefore, the intrinsic function and symbolic nature of these ritual passages in the cylinders remains elusive.

This paper brings to the forefront the role of *nam-tar*, the decreeing of destiny, in the process of construction and inauguration of the Eninnu temple. The function of the ruler in individual ceremonies described in the cylinders of Gudea is discussed, and interpretation of prescribed rituals within the text is given. The analysis of the fate determining ceremonies found in the cylinders of

Gudea demonstrates the process which insures the continued good fortune of the temple, its gods, and the ruler and realm of Lagash. The conclusions reached in this paper offer a new perspective on individual episodes within the cylinders, as well as a more comprehensive understanding of the cylinders of Gudea as a whole.

GONZALO RUBIO

Ur III Literary Texts Within the History of Sumerian Literature

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the role played by the Ur III Sumerian literary texts from Nippur in the history of Sumerian literature. The Ur III period was a crucial moment in the development of Sumerian literature. Some compositions known in Old Babylonian copies show orthographic and grammatical features that can be dated to Ur III (for instance, several Shulgi hymns). Moreover, the few literary texts from this period reflect different stages in the recensional history of Sumerian literature. Among those Ur III compositions with OB parallels (especially *Lugalbanda I*, the *Temple Hymns*, and the *Curse of Akkade*), some were still in a phase of textual fluidity, while others exhibit a basically standardized text. Even in the latter case, there are strong differences in spelling and grammar.

An evaluation of these discrepancies will address important linguistic and literary issues. In the realm of language, I will distinguish between true grammatical features and mere orthographic phenomena. Furthermore, these variants will be placed in the context of the recensional process of these literary compositions. The peculiarities of the Ur III literary texts will be studied as scribal conventions different from those of most Old Babylonian copies and will be carefully distinguished from mere scribal errors. Thus, orthography and grammar will shed light on the history of Sumerian literature.

NIEK VELDHUIS

Sumerian Proverbs in their Curricular Context

At present 28 collections of Sumerian proverbs are known. They have all been edited by Bendt Alster in his monumental ‘Proverbs of Ancient Sumer’ (Bethesda 1997). Many—perhaps all—tablets inscribed with proverbs are exercises. This paper will investigate the relevance of this observation for our understanding of the function of the Proverb Collections, and for the reconstruction of the Sumerian school system. It will be argued that the corpus of Sumerian Proverb Collections may be divided into several groups, based upon provenance, number of copies, and tablet typology. Some of the collections appear to belong to a relatively early stage of scribal education. They form the transition between single-word exercises (lexical lists) and literary texts. The paper will explore the implications of this curricular background for our understanding of the proverbs and the collections in which they were assembled.

PHILIP JONES

Kingship and the Anunna-Gods in the Old Babylonian Scribal Curriculum

In the Old Babylonian royal hymns, the granting of a good fate to the king by An or Enlil constitutes an image central to the conceptualization of kingship in the Old Babylonian scribal curriculum. The scene is often accompanied by the assent of an enigmatic group of gods known as the Anunna. Scholarly investigation of this term has ranged across the whole of cuneiform literature and has concentrated on the relationship of the Anunna, and their Akkadian equivalent, the Anunnaku, to another Akkadian term for a divine grouping, the Igiu. Do the two terms denote contrasting groups of gods, or are they merely synonyms?

In contrast, this paper will focus on the Anunna in the synchronic and exclusively Sumerian context of the Old Babylonian scribal curriculum, and examine the significance of their assent to

the king's ordained fate. Therefore, instead of comparing the Anunna with other terms for divine groups found elsewhere in cuneiform literature, it will focus on contrasting images of the Anunna both in relation to various gods and in differing generic contexts. Taken in isolation, the scene of the Anunna's assent to the king's good fate seems little more than a conventional image of cosmic harmony. Read, however, against alternative conceptions of the Anunna in other, less celebratory, contexts, their presence serves to imbue the scene with premonitions of cosmic fragility and to define subtly the restrictions on the king's actions inherent in the divine grant of power.

JORGE SILVA CASTILLO

The Term *išdī* in the New Fragment of the Gilgamesh Epic

The fragment Rm 956, recently identified as the opening 8 lines of the Gilgamesh epic, provides only one word up to now completely unknown: *išdī* in the second hemistich of the first verse. This fact, however, does not reduce its relevance, since this term, taken as an appositive noun referring to 'nagba' In the first hemistich, understood in its sense of the 'abyss', gives to the prolog of the poem a broader mythical resonance.

JOAN GOODNICK WESTENHOLZ

Heroes of Sumer and Akkad

This talk will examine the ancient Mesopotamian conception of the "hero" and its meaning and function in Sumerian and Akkadian literature. Is our discussion of heroic literature a chimera? Should it be discarded? There are three problematic aspects of the terms "hero" and "heroic literature"—first, what do the terms mean to us as heirs of western civilization and what is their generic application in world literature; second, what do the terms mean in Assyriological literature and how are they used by Assyriologists; third, which terms appear in the Sumerian and Akkadian compositions themselves and how did the ancients understand these concepts?

STEVE TINNEY

A Set of Elementary Schoolbooks from Larsa?

In a path-breaking article written almost 20 years ago, Herman Vanstiphout demonstrated that Lipit-Eshtar hymn B was the first Sumerian literary text to be read in the Old Babylonian schools of Nippur and other cities. At that time, he suggested that criteria including tablet typology should allow the identification of other elementary schoolbooks, though no systematic application of his suggestions has hitherto been made.

This paper will attempt to demonstrate that, in fact, there is ample evidence to show that at least three other texts were part of the elementary literary curriculum, and that there exists a previously unrecognized set of these texts written by the same scribe in the same month, and probably originating from Old Babylonian Larsa.

ALFORD WELCH

The Cumulative Schematic Form of the Punishment-stories in Sūrat al-A'rāf (7) and Sūrat Hūd (11)

A wide variety of formulaic features appear prominently throughout the Qur'ān, consistent with its essentially oral nature. These features include introductory formulas, refrains, rhyme phrases, and many other formulas or formulaic statements (which often constitute entire verses), sometimes occurring verbatim in several accounts in a single series, and sometimes occurring as isolated formulas repeated in several different suras. All of these formulaic features come together in several major groups of accounts that are commonly called "punishment-stories", "Straflegenden", etc., in European languages. The vast majority of the Qur'ān's so-called punishment-stories are not stories at all,

nor even narratives. They virtually always occur in groups, usually featuring four or more peoples or towns that are destroyed after they reject a messenger sent by God from among themselves.

The schematic nature of some groups of punishment-stories—notably those in Sūrat al-Shu‘arā‘ (26)—is obvious and has often been mentioned by classical commentators and modern interpreters of the Qur‘ān. No attempt had previously been made, however, to analyze the punishment-stories as a whole and classify the major groups of accounts on the basis of their distinctive literary features. Such an analysis has now been undertaken and has yielded new insights into the extent to which the major groups of punishment-stories are dominated by repeated formulaic elements, giving the impression that rhetorical effect takes precedence over the distinctive components of the individual accounts.

This paper focuses on the groups of punishment-stories in two suras that illustrate one fully developed literary type that can be called “cumulative schematic form”, where two or more stages of schematic form are introduced one at a time and are then repeated verbatim in later accounts in the same series of accounts. The first stage usually occurs in the first account in the series and is repeated in the following account or accounts. A second stage is then introduced, usually in the second or third account, and is repeated in other accounts. A third stage occurs often, and a fourth stage occurs occasionally.

ANDREW RIPPIN

The Symbolism of Numbers in the Qur‘ān

The symbolic value of numbers in constructing the world around us is well recognized by scholars of world literature; the work of AnneMarie Schimmel, *The Mystery of Numbers* (1993, based on a 1984 German original), has demonstrated the point very well. While the work by Schimmel and books and articles by other scholars have drawn attention to the Islamic contribution to this feature (e.g., Ulrike Hartmann-Schmitz, *Die Zahl Sieben im sunnitischen Islam. Studien anhand von Koran und Hadit* [1989]), there does not appear to be a work which brings together the Quranic material specifically, isolating its contribution and its emphases. This paper will be an initial attempt to do that.

Some initial observations may be made: the Qur‘ān continues within the number symbolism of its near eastern context with an importance clearly attached to numbers such as 4, 6, 7, 10, 12 and 40. An emphasis in the Qur‘ān is to be noted in the plurality present in the number 3, clearly developing from an anti-Christian position. Notable, given the later Muslim stress on the number in ritual and law, is the relative infrequency of 5, except in its sense of symbolizing “a lot” of something when used in the thousands.

LEAH KINBERG

Qur‘ān and *Ḥadīth*—The Struggle for Supremacy (An Examination of Dreams)

The idea of using dreams as a means to decide debatable issues has already been elaborated and illustrated in some of my previous articles. Along the same line, the present study examines the role of dreams in what appears to be a struggle for pre-eminence and prestige between the *Qur‘ān* and the *Ḥadīth*.

Evaluation made through dreams is most often based on transcendental information regarding the compensation of the Dead in the Afterworld. The same technique is used in the contention between the *Qur‘ān* and the *Ḥadīth*. The Dead from the next world appear in dreams of the leaving, and tell how, either the *Qur‘ān* or the *Ḥadīth*, enabled them to reach an elevated station in Paradise. Although expressed in a simplistic and unsophisticated terms, these dreams convey a fundamental disagreement as to the supreme authority or the esteem of the *Qur‘ān* versus that of the *Ḥadīth*.

Only in a few cases are we able to trace a dream that mentions both the *Qurʾān* and the *Ḥadīth* and compares between them. More common are the dreams that focus on either one or the other, and consequently only an inclusive examination of each type enables the comparison. Dreams that deal with the *Qurʾān* touch upon issues such as the readings of the *Qurʾān* (*qirāʾāt*), the virtues of certain chapters or verses of the *Qurʾān* (*faḍāʾil*), as well as the creation of the *Qurʾān*. Dreams that deal with *Ḥadīth* naturally raise different topics, such as the effort to collect *Ḥadīth* (*ṭalab al-ʿilm*), and the accuracy of its transmission. The descriptions of rewards which are bestowed upon individuals in a direct proportion to their indulgence in the study of the *Qurʾān* or that of the *Ḥadīth*, enables us to put the two in hierarchy, and more significantly, to understand the nature of the struggle.

The present study will adduce a few dream narrations to illustrate the struggle, and will examine their distinction and implications.

JANE DAMMEN McAULIFFE

From Censure to Praise: The Transformation of Qurʾānic *Jadal*

The often argumentative or polemical tone of the Qurʾān strikes even its most casual readers and textual references to debate are routine. The Qurʾān employs a range of terms that suggest forensic activity: proving, explaining, making manifest, etc. Yet qurʾānic statements about disputation (*jadal*) are frequently negative and the activity itself is assessed unfavourably. But this overriding qurʾānic censure of *jadal* did not prevent its subsequent technical refinement and eventual emergence as a powerful tool in fields such as *fiqh* and *kalam*. In fact, the Qurʾān itself was soon used to prove both the efficacy and the necessity of disputation.

Eventually the developing disciplines of *ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* incorporated the genre of debate as one of the many taxonomic categories which emerged through the hermeneutical classification of the Qurʾān. This paired citation of commendable/reprehensible *jadal* can be tracked through several centuries of literature from the ninth-century work of Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm to the developed *ʿulūm al-Qurʾān* treatises of al-Zarkashī and al-Suyūfī. Over this six century span the evolving assessment achieves increasingly precise definition and delimitation.

MICHAEL COOK

What Do We Know about the Later History of the *Qirāʾa* Traditions?

There is a voluminous medieval scholarly literature on the textual variants enshrined in the better-known traditions of Koranic recitation. This literature gives us a simple and uniform account of where these traditions were located in the days of the founding figures who give them their names. But when we seek to follow the subsequent fortunes of even the best-known traditions, this literature is much less informative. Anyone attempting (as I have recently done) to write a page on the history of the traditions over the last millennium will have a hard time filling it. In this talk, I propose to summarize such information as I have in hand, and to appeal to my colleagues for more.

EDELTRAUD HARZER CLEAR

Reciprocal birth: The case of Aditi Uttānapad

This paper proposes a new translation of the word *uttānapad*, generally taken as describing Aditi in the Ṛgveda 10.72.

Since the beginning of the Western translations of the Ṛgveda, the same mistakes have been copied and perpetuated. Most often the compound *uttānapad* is translated as a description of Aditi. Aditi with feet turned up, Aditi crouching in labor.

Examples for the translation of *uttānapad* are: Hermann Grassmann: “Gebaererin,” Ralph Griffith: “productive power,” Karl Friedrich Geldner: “Kauernde,” Wendy Doniger O’Flaherty: “who

crouched with legs spread,” and so on. Sāyana, traditionally the most authoritative commentator on the Vedas, explains “*uttānapad*” as a tree with its foot turned up (having its roots in heaven), obviously referring to the *kalpataru*. As recently as 1994 such a thorough study of the Ṛgveda 10.72. as that of Harry Falk continues in the same fashion. Although Falk considered some other possible meanings, he did not employ them in his translation.

My paper will show that Harry Falk’s speculations in his recent study were on the right track. I substantiate his hypothesis, but I take the issue a step further, using sources from within the text itself, from the Avesta, and from Prakrit examples.

JOEL BRERETON

The Ṛbhus and the Sacrifice

In the *Ṛgveda*, the Ṛbhus appear as a group of three gods to whom *soma* is offered at the third pressing. Only ten hymns are dedicated to them, in addition to one other hymn which invokes Indra together with the Ṛbhus. Perhaps inevitably, therefore, the mythological fragments occurring in the hymns have been open to various constructions. This paper will attempt to explain the invocations and narratives in the Ṛbhu hymns by showing their connection to the deities, offerings, and unique purposes of the third *soma* pressing.

RAHUL PETER DAS

Indra and Śiva/Rudra

Though Śiva is, like most later South Asian deities, of composite nature, his core characteristics seem to go back to the Vedic Rudra. The origins of this god are, however, unclear, and there has also been speculation on his original non-Vedic character. Taking its cue from Hanns Peter Schmidt’s study of Bṛhaspati and Indra, this paper examines the relationship between the Vedic Indra and Rudra, also looking at non-Indic material in the process. The conclusion is that Indra and Rudra are more closely related than has hitherto been supposed.

ARLO GRIFFITH

The Study of the Paippalāda Branch of the Atharva Veda (in light of recent fieldwork in Orissa)

The paper discusses some of the features of the recently published edition of the first fifteen *kāṇḍas* of the Paippalāda Saṃhitā (DIPAK BHATTACHARYA, Calcutta 1997). Even though this edition is a major advance in the field of Paippalāda studies, a re-edition will have to be prepared.

The second part of the paper gives a report on the results of fieldwork recently carried out in Orissa. A brief account of the present state of the living Paippalāda tradition will be followed by a discussion of the manuscripts which it was possible to film.

These palmleaf manuscripts in Oriya characters partly contain sources on the basis of which a re-edition of AVP is to be undertaken. Some entirely new texts belonging to the Paippalāda branch of the Atharva Veda have however also been discovered.

Further fieldwork must be carried out in the very near future.

EDWIN D. FLOYD

Śravaṇin the Context of Ākṣ itam: Ṛig-Veda 9.100.5

Understanding of the Vedic phrases *śrávaṇ. . . ākṣ itam* and *akṣiti śrávaṇ* has sometimes been obscured by an unthinking equation with Greek *kléos áphthiton*, as used at Homer, Iliad 9.413. Building on Floyd 1980 (*Glotta* 58: 133–157), this paper introduces an important new set of comparanda, viz., *Ṛig-Veda* 9.110.5 and Theognis, 245–246.

According to Matasović, *A Theory of Textual Reconstruction in Indo-European Linguistics* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1996) p. 66, the Vedic rishis were “preoccupied” with earthly fame-conveying treasures. This is supposed to explain the divergence in usage between Vedic *śrávaḥ ákṣ itam* and Homeric *kléos áphthiton*. Actually, though, Vedic *śrávaḥ*, in the context of *ákṣ itam*, can indeed have a more or less other-worldly reference. Albeit with some oversimplification, it can be said that (1) when *ákṣ itam* / *ákṣ iti* modifies *śrávaḥ*, the combination consistently refers to festive celebration, possessions, etc., but (2) when the noun and adjective appear together but are grammatically more independent of one another, there can be an association with, e.g., Soma’s bestowing *amṛ ta* ‘immortality’.

The latter pattern appears at *Rig-Veda* 9.110.5, which contains the noun *śrávasā* (instrumental, ‘by fame’) and the accusative adjective *ákṣ itam* (‘unfailing’). A close Greek parallel is found at Theognis 245–246, where the Greek cognates *kléos* and *áphthiton* are both used, but the two words are not directly combined. The Vedic and Greek passages also resemble one another in their overall tenor (a transcendence of ordinary human limitations) and setting (Soma ritual / symposium), as well as associated vocabulary (such as *súryaḥ* / *ēēlios* ‘sun’).

STEPHANIE W. JAMISON

‘Let a Sleeping Boss Lie’: A Sanskrit maxim and its ritual and legal applications

Pāda b of Manava Dharma Śātra IV.57, in the section on the rules for *snātakas*, forbids “waking a sleeping superior” (*śreyāṃsam na prabodhayet*). This provision does not appear in just this form elsewhere in the dharma literature, as far as I am aware (though variants are found in YājñDŚ I.138 and ViSmṛ 71.56). However, closely parallel versions of this sentence are found in the Black Yajur Veda Saṃhitās (MS III.4.5, KS XXII.10, TS V.4.10), where it seems to be presented as an adage or piece of folk wisdom. This paper will examine this curious phrase in its several contexts, discuss how/why it was incorporated into the texts which have it, and explore the genre of adage in early Sanskrit literature.