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ABSTRACTS

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A. Ancient Near East I: Language & Linguistics. REBECCA HASSELBACH-ANDEE University of Chicago, Chair (1:30 p.m.–3:15 p.m.) *Bunker Hill Room*
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1. PIOTR MICHALOWSKI, University of Michigan

Valency Antics in the Sumerian Language

Since the Sumerian language was deciphered more than a century ago, the exploration of its vast written remains has resulted in much knowledge about the literatures, histories and economies of ancient Mesopotamia. And yet, to this day, there is little agreement on the morphological structure of the Sumerian verb, a matter of significant relevance for the interpretation of narrative. In this paper, I would like to address the matter of valency alterations in the language.

Sumerian had a limited repertoire of valency/diathesis alterations that increased or decreased the number of core arguments. There is some disagreement concerning the range of such operations, due partly to inconsistent use of modern terminology and sometime reliance on analogies with European languages, but also because the language did not mark valency operations with dedicated morphemes, although this is disputed.

Among possible valency increasing mechanisms Sumerian utilized only passives and anticausatives; valency-increasing derivations included causatives and applicatives. Although some would disagree, I will argue that Sumerian was a language without antipassives.

2. ØYVIND BJØRU, University of Texas at Austin

The Subgrouping of Early Akkadian Dialects: A Syntactic View

A range of scenarios accounting for the internal relationships of the 3rd and early 2nd millennium dialects of Akkadian (Mari, Pre-Sargonic, Sargonic, Ur III, Old Babylonian, and Old Assyrian) have been put forward. The proposed schemas of subgrouping range from Old Akkadian/(Pre-)Sargonic being a direct precursor of Old Assyrian (Kienast), Old Babylonian (Parpola), or neither (Sommerfeld, George). In this paper, I argue that syntactic and pragmatic features of letters from the various periods, that have not previously been taken into account, best support the proposal laid out by Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee and argued by her in terms of phonology and morphology, i.e., that Old Babylonian patterns with Old Akkadian in terms of some innovative features, and the dialect from Diyala might be its direct ancestor, while isoglosses shared between Old Akkadian and Old Assyrian to the exclusion of Old Babylonian are shared retentions, and therefore not relevant for subgrouping.

3. PHILIP ZHAKOVICH, Princeton University

Ancient Hebrew Terms Designating Scribal Tools and Egypt's Influence on Israel's Scribal Culture

This paper is a study of Biblical Hebrew terms that designated scribal writing instruments and accessories of the scribal kit. The lexemes examined are: *ʿēṭ barzel*, *ʿēṭ sōpēr/sōpərîm*, *šippōren šāmîr*, *ḥeret* and *ḥeret ʿēnôš*, *šered*, *dəyô*, *qeset has-sōpēr*, and *tāʿar has-sōpēr*. While previous works have considered these lexemes,

these works have seldom synthesized the semantic data of the Bible for these terms with the archaeological and art-historical evidence for writing in Israel. This paper seeks to present a fresh reexamination of these writing-related lexemes in order to offer additional evidence as regards the meaning and etymology of these words while connecting them to actual realia from the ancient Near East.

By examining the etymology of these words and their use in ancient Hebrew—and by considering the finds relevant for these terms from the ancient world in general and ancient Israel in specific—I attempt to show what these lexical items reveal about the origin of ancient Israel’s writing technology, namely, that this technology derives from Egypt’s practices of writing. That Israel adopted its writing technology from ancient Egypt has been recognized in scholarship, and this paper seeks to add more support for this claim.

4. NA’AMA PAT-EL, University of Texas at Austin and AREN WILSON WRIGHT, Universität Zürich

Features of Aramao-Canaanite

One of the sub-branches of Central Semitic, Northwest Semitic, contains a number of languages with no established hierarchical relation among them: Ugaritic, Aramaic, Canaanite, Deir Alla and Samalian. Over the years, scholars have attempted to establish a more accurate sub-branching for Northwest Semitic or to suggest a different genetic affiliation for some languages, usually Ugaritic. In this paper, we will argue, on the basis of a number of morphosyntactic features, that Aramaic and Canaanite share a direct ancestor. This proposal not only outlines a more coherent family tree for Northwest Semitic, but also accounts for numerous “Aramaic”-like features in biblical Hebrew, which have thus far been treated as the result of language contact in the early Iron Age.

References:

- Huehnergard, John (1991). “Remarks on the Classification of the Northwest Semitic Languages.” In: J. Hoftijzer and G. van der Kooij (eds.), *The Balaam Text from Deir ‘Alla Re-Evaluated*, 282–293. Brill: Leiden.
- Kogan, Leonid (2015). *Genealogical Classification of Semitic: the lexical isoglosses*. Berlin; De Gruyter.
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5. PETRA M. GOEDEGEBUURE, University of Chicago

Left Dislocation in Old Hittite

Left-dislocation in Hittite, though extremely rare, is well known (e.g., Garrett 1994:38–9; Hoffner and Melchert 2008: 408). The left-dislocated constituent, typically only a noun, occurs to the left of the clause-initial conjunction or clause-initial phrase and is co-referential with a clitic pronoun in the main clause:

5 ŠEŠ.MEŠŠU_i # *nušmaš_i* É.MEŠ *taggašta*

“(As for) his five brothers_i, for them_i he fashioned houses” (Hoffner and Melchert, l.c.).

There is, however, another type of left-dislocation, equally rare, that has been overlooked. In Old Hittite left-dislocated noun phrases may also be introduced by *kuidza* “but as for”. (I have currently identified five, perhaps seven, instances.) The case of the left-dislocated noun phrase matches with the case of the resumptive pronoun in the main clause, as in for example:

kuidza ^{LÚ.MEŠ}KUŠ₇ *āmmiāntuššmuš* (acc.pl.)_i # *nzuš* (acc.pl.)_i ^m*Išputašinaraš*
manīahheškizzi

“But as for their young charioteers, Ispudas-Inar is in charge of them.” (OH/NS, KBo 3.34 ii 27–28)

Whereas bare left-dislocated NPs seem to merely (re-)introduce topics for further discussion, the function of the *kuidza* left-dislocation is to introduce contrastive topics. The construction did not survive: already in Old Hittite contrastive topics could also simply occur as the first word of the clause, marked by means of *-a* or its allomorph *-ma*. Beginning in Middle Hittite this became the only productive means to express contrastive topics.

Garrett, Andrew (1994). “Relative Clause Syntax in Lycian and Hittite”. *Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 36/1, 29–69.

Hoffner Jr., H. A. and Melchert, H. Craig (2008). *A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part I: Reference Grammar* (Languages of the Ancient Near East 1). Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.

B. Ancient Near East II: Text as Data: Digital Humanities for Text Analysis I. (Organized by Émilie Pagé-Perron, University of Toronto, and Timothy Bellefleur University of British Columbia). ADHEESH SATHAYE, University of British Columbia, Chair **(3:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m.)** *Bunker Hill Room* *

Digital humanities provide us with new research pathways that enable us to answer questions that are difficult or impossible to resolve using traditional approaches, this often because the data explored are larger or more complex than what is casually apprehensible by researchers. This panel assembles interventions discussing research endeavors that approach text as data by means of computational methods. The presentations span over five oriental regions and cover a varied array of research topics that requires of us to think about encoding, processing, interpreting and disseminating textual data and associated research results.

6. SARAH L. KETCHLEY ,University of Washington

Text, Code and Data Visualization: Analyzing a Travel Journal from the ‘Golden Age’ of Egyptian Archaeology

For over two decades between 1889 and 1914, Mrs. Emma B. Andrews traveled the Nile with millionaire lawyer turned archaeologist, Theodore M. Davis, and was present when he discovered 18 of the 42 tombs now known in the Valley of the Kings. Her as yet unpublished diaries are significant resource for the history of archaeology and Egyptology during this so-called “Golden Age”, as well as a detailed yet under-explored commentary on the social and political history of Egypt at the time.

Computational investigation has focused on identifying and investigating broad historical themes running through the diaries. These include the effect mass tourism

and archæology had on the Egyptian landscape, particularly ancient monuments, over two decades of travel. The results of this research will be presented in a non-traditional way, in the form of a layered and interactive digital map. This paper will discuss the methods used to create the encoded texts and thematic visualizations.

The diary text was encoded in XML/TEI, based on a schema to capture basic text structure, people's names, geographic and archæological locations. An XSLT script was then used to mine each volume for people's names and places, returning an alphabetized index including spelling variants. The index of people has formed the basis of the "Emmapedia", a biographical database currently listing over 600 individuals and forming the basis of an analysis of fin-de-siècle Egyptian social networks.

The geographical database has been compiled by geoparsing the text to extract place names. NYPL's Mapwarper was used to georectify historic maps which are used as base layers in the Neatline mapping tool. Individual diary entries are plotted on contemporary open source maps, and associated with images and other travelers' accounts and correspondence to present a multi-layered eye-witness synopsis of Egyptology and archæology at the time.

Ultimately, the geographical and biographical versions will be merged into a digital edition of the diary, offering readers the opportunity to interact with this historical text both textually and visually.

7. TIMOTHY BELLEFLEUR, University of British Columbia

Textual Intranets: Using Linked Data to Comprehend Manuscript Traditions

"Linked Data" is often described in terms of connecting various separate resources together into a network that can be traversed, queried, and interacted with by the public (see: the Semantic Web, Linked Open Data). As robust standards emerge, compelling as their potential may be, they have not yet addressed how the effort involved in employing them might yield not only unique but also direct benefits to a scholar's own work in-progress. In the field of textual scholarship, how can these ideas enhance scholars' ability to interface with their own work? Furthermore, is it possible to employ them with minimal friction to existing formats, methods, and data already in use by scholars in their projects?

Using Linked Data and a few associated standards, I will present my answer to these questions using a portion of my work on Sathaye's *Vetālapañcaviṃśatī* digital edition project, which consists of some 90+ manuscripts of images and TEI-encoded text, as well as a variety of secondary sources and critical edition-specific data (stemmata, corrections, etc). I will demonstrate how Linked Data can be employed on top of the existing material to aggregate information about the text-collection and to connect primary and secondary materials, media, and information in such a way that they may be easily cross-referenced and retrieved. One concrete example here is the comparison and sourcing of some 675+ proverbial verses spread across 25 stories and an opening/closing frame, a process which has up to this point only been undertaken in part and manually by Ludwik Sternbach in 1971 using an 1881 critical edition by Heinrich Uhle. All this is accomplished without sacrificing the desired terseness of mark-up in the existing data and remaining flexible to future change. Furthermore, this Linked Data layer provides access to the complex network of interrelated data in such a way as to permit otherwisedifficult analysis of a corpus of this size.

8. EDUARDO A. ESCOBAR, University of California, Berkeley

Cuneiform Technical Recipes as Semantic Networks

Assyrian technical recipe texts that provide step-by-step instructions for making colored glasses that imitate precious stones (7th century BCE) and processing perfumed oils (13th century BCE) preserve a challenging technical lexicon of ingredients and technological processes. Cuneiform technical recipes frequently employ rare nouns, qualifiers, and common verbs employed in uncommon ways. Early Akkadian dictionaries used etymology and modern chemical equivalencies to decipher these terms, as in, for example, R. Thompson's (1936) *Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry*. This study proposes new methods for understanding difficult technical terms using social network analysis tools for calculating metrics (principally, Cytoscape and Gephi), and producing visualizations. These visual maps, which I call "semantic ingredient networks," plot unknown ingredients within their full semantic contexts. I argue that we can use semantic ingredient networks to development new research questions, and to narrow in on the semantic range of technical terms, even when an exact translation cannot be achieved. Moreover, I propose that semantic networks can also function as pedagogical tools, providing students with a visual resource for understanding words in context, as well as supplement traditional philological text commentaries and dictionaries.

9. CHRISTIAN CASEY, Brown University

Digital Demotic: Opportunities and Challenges

One of the biggest hurdles to the future of language studies in Egyptology is the difficulty of encoding Egyptian texts. However, ongoing work on Unicode support for Egyptian hieroglyphs promises to eliminate that format's shortcomings and offer a quasi-universal standard for Egyptian.

The study of Demotic texts faces an even bigger problem: no encoding exists whatsoever. It may seem obvious to suggest a Unicode encoding for Demotic to compliment the latest developments in the encoding of Egyptian, but this is easier said than done. Despite its similarity and deep relationship to the Hieroglyphic and Hieratic scripts, Demotic presents many unique challenges to anyone attempting to codify it. As a result, an encoding of Demotic must gracefully navigate many serious pitfalls, such as the need to be useful to those who specialize in the study of palæography and the evolution of writing, while serving primarily to represent the script in standardized manner so that data can be organized and searched.

The best way to design an encoding for Demotic is to determine an ideal use case for such an encoding. Seeing that project through to completion serves two complementary purposes at once: it creates an opportunity to develop an encoding and offers a valuable tool for researchers, which could not exist without that encoding. A database of Demotic prosopography, which would enable non-specialists to search for Egyptian names to learn about their lives and familial connections, would be one such ideal use case. Not only would this project close a major gap in the available research tools, it would also push the demands of script encoding to their limit by drawing from the entire history and repertoire of the Demotic script. This project will strive to provide value to researchers in a variety of specializations within Egyptology, so feedback from the academic community is essential to its success at all stages of the development process.

10. ADAM ANDERSON, University of California, Berkeley
Network Analysis for Social Disambiguation

Already in the early 1960s, the French anthropologist Jean-Claude Gardin had been working on building graphical models to help address specific issues in anthropology (Hymes, Dell ed. 1965. *The Use of Computers in Anthropology*.). After teaming up with the Assyriologist, Paul Garelli, Gardin designed a computational model which they believed would help bridge a major disciplinary divide in the field of Old Assyrian studies concerning the groups of merchants transporting goods between Assur and the Anatolian region in the Bronze Age (c. 1950–1750 B.C.). However, due to the limitations of computational and textual analysis of their day, their results were unable to go beyond a static structural map of these individuals in place and time, and the project was subsequently abandoned. Thanks to the advancements made in recent years, we have been able to return to the same research question of Gardin and Garelli to propose a dynamic solution to their static map.

The research question pursued here, is whether an aggregated approach, combining modern technical analysis (NLP, LDA, and SNA), will allow for an accurate 'distant reading' of ancient documents. The initial text case was 2,000 letters and 3,000 economic, and legal documents from an Anatolian-Assyrian trade colony in central Turkey known as Kanesh (Kültepe). The results of our analysis are used to propose a method for accurately measuring the scale of the society represented in the documentation. In the case of the Old Assyrian society, this method is used for disambiguation, which requires scalable data from the most microscopic (actors on a tablet) to the macroscopic cliques and groups across the network. Scalable data is where Gardin and Garelli's research fell short, and it is here where network analysis, in particular, has proven to be most helpful in managing the intricate details from each text coupled with the large scale of the network (ca. 20,000 nodes). Therefore, our method combines computational tools for textual analysis and a network analysis with graphical interface to inform supervised disambiguation.

C. East Asia I: Linguistics. MATTHIAS L. RICHTER, University of Colorado, Boulder, Chair (2:00 p.m.–4:00 p.m.) *Museum A Room* *

11. RICHARD VANNESS SIMMONS, Rutgers University

Regional Rhyming and the *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* Standard: Influences across Time and Space

This presentation is part of an ongoing examination of the *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* 中原音韵 as a record of Guānhuà phonology and a guidebook for literary pronunciation in the 14th century. Compiled by Zhōu Déqīng 周德清 (1277–1365), the *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* (completed in 1324; published 1341), is the earliest rime dictionary to realistically depict the phonology of northern Mandarin. Intended to serve as a key to the rimes of Yuán qǔ 元曲, it is generally considered to be based on the dialect of the Yuán (1271–1368) capital Dàdū 大都 and thus to represent the ancestor of the Běijīng dialect. The *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* is innovative but also somewhat idiosyncratic. It lists traditional rù 入 tone syllables under the other three tones (*píng* 平, *shǎng*

上, and *qù* 去), reflecting a contemporary trend in northern dialects, for example; yet it still keeps the *rù* syllables segregated within those categories. At the same time, *rù* tone syllables often have multiple readings in the book, a situation that provides evidence that the *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* followed more than one Mandarin standard and incorporated elements from dialects of the Central Plains (*zhōngyuán*) as well as those further toward the northeast. In our previous examination of the book we considered the *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* as a representative of a common northern phonology. The present report examines rhyming and other contemporary evidence to consider how successfully the book’s pan-dialectal phonology reflects actual Yuán *qǔ* rhyming practices. The results of our investigation provide further confirmation that the *Zhōngyuán yīnyùn* is not a simple reflection of a dialect of a single time and place.

12. STEPHEN WADLEY, Portland State University

The Bilingual Version of the *Yargiyan kooli*

The *Manju i Yargiyan kooli* (Chinese: 滿洲實錄 *Mǎnzhōu shílu*) that we know of today appeared in 1781, purported to be a recopying of a earlier text produced early in the Seventeenth Century. The text is in three languages, Manchu, Mongolian and Chinese and has a number of illustrations scattered throughout. It appears there were three manuscript copies of the work made, one to be kept at Mukden (modern Shenyang), one to be put in the imperial palace in Beijing and a later manuscript that was produced for the exclusive use of the Qian Long emperor and placed at his summer palace in Rehe. Interestingly, a fourth manuscript copy has been found in Liaoyang. This manuscript has no illustrations and is only written in two languages, Manchu and Chinese. At first glance it appears it is an exact copy of the other manuscripts but upon closer examination there are differences here and there, some seemingly quite significant. This paper looks at the differences between the manuscripts with the aim of determining the relationship they may have had with each other.

13. CHRIS WEN-CHAO LI, San Francisco State University

Successive Stages in the Development of Diminutive *er*-Suffixation: A Feature-Based Account and Implications for Mandarin Segmental Phonology

With few productive morphophonemic processes to draw upon, the study of synchronic Mandarin phonology has often had to rely solely on the distribution of segments (Shi 1957; Cheng 1973; Hashimoto 1970; You *et al* 1980; Li 1984; Pulleyblank 1984; Hsueh 1986; Lin 1989; Wiese 1997; Duanmu 2000), or in rare instances (Fu 1981; Wang 1993), look to its one true morphophonemic process—diminutive *er*-suffixation—for supporting evidence. In this paper we look not at a static account of diminutive *er*-suffixation, but instead rely on data from successive stages of the development of diminutive *er*-suffixation that has recently come to light through the examination of dialects in and around Beijing to shed light on the nature of this morphophonemic process on the one hand, and the structure of the Mandarin syllable and the distinctive features of its vowels and consonants on the other. Using a ‘virus infection model’ of diminutive attachment, it will be shown that diminutive *er*-suffixation in Beijing is of two types: (1) rime replacement, and (2) rhotic feature attachment. It will be shown that priority is given to full scale replacement of the rime in syllables with compatible features, following which, in syllables without compatible environments, a rhotic feature is appended to existing segments. This new account will explain the

auditory differences between syllables with rhotic codas and those with rhotacized vowels, and why, with few exceptions, in the dialects of Beijing and environs, diminutive *er*-suffixation always develops in the order of (1) front codas, (2) zero coda, non-back vowel; (3) zero coda, other vowels, (4) back codas.

D. East Asia II: Music and Drama/Play. ANTJE RICHTER, University of Colorado, Boulder, Chair (4:15 p.m.–5:45 p.m.) *Museum A Room* *

14. MEIMEI ZHANG, University of California, Los Angeles

The One Who Understands My Music: Xi Kang and His Literary Representations of the *Qin*

Xi Kang (224–263) was one of the most famous cultural figures during the Wei-Jin period (220–589). Known not only for his philosophical and literary writings, he was also famous for his writings on music and art. In addition, Xi Kang was an accomplished *qin* music composer and player in practice. In this paper, I would like to argue that Xi Kang was one of the most important literary figures in thematizing the *qin* in literary works, transforming and classicizing it from an auxiliary instrument that often appeared with other instruments in musical ensembles, into an indispensable part of literati life, which was always related with private space and individual emotions. From Xi Kang and on, under the pens of different Chinese authors, the *qin* not only serves as the tool to entrust and express one's intent and sentiment, but also a metaphor that epitomizes the self-representation of traditional Chinese literati. Through the literary construction of the *qin*, Xi Kang at the same time managed to construct his own self-image as one who was both solitude and superior, awaiting recognition and appreciation, but was not understood by his contemporaries. The descriptions of the *qin* as an instrument whose music was hardly appreciated by the crowd also shows the anxiety of Xi Kang that true friendship was unattainable in a time of disorder and moral decline. Although there have been several academic works on the *qin*, most researches focus on the musical aspects of it, and few are devoting to its relationship with literature. My project aims to reorient the perspective on the *qin* by studying its close relationship and interaction with Xi Kang from historical and literary perspectives.

15. PENG XU, University of California at Berkeley/Swarthmore College

What Was a Late Ming Drama Editor?: The Case of the Singing Hermit (*Panke shuoren*)

A late Ming drama editor is notorious for touting his music/theater expertise and his use of that connoisseurship to justify his heavy revision. Every page of the book presented marginal spaces for him to tell the reader what had gone into it and why so. One of his purposes, for instance, is to translate the musically imperfect verse into something easy for the actors to realize. Earlier scholarship that centers on Zang Maoxun (1550–1620) and Feng Menglong (1574–1646), however, has found their announced concerns bogus, and reveals instead their hidden Confucian ideological motivation. What has been neglected in this line of scholarship, nevertheless, is the historical value of the editorial notes for our understanding of these editors' self-fashioning as well as the historical conditions that shaped it. This paper relies partly on these

marginal notes as evidence for the way the drama editor (and society) defines himself. What was a late Ming drama editor supposed to know and do? This historical question, rather than the question of motivation, is my subject. I answer this question through 1) a close reading of the editorial notes and actual work (a great many cuts, expansions, and revisions) by a late Ming editor, who assumed the style name of the Singing Hermit (or *Panke shuoren*), in his two “definitive editions” (*dingben*) of dramatic masterpieces, *The Lute* (*Pipa ji*) and *The Story of the Western Wing* (*Xixiang ji*); and 2) collecting supportive evidence that identifies an obscure literary figure Lu Mingfu (1544–1590) as the Singing Hermit, disputing the commonly believed candidate, Xu Fepeng (ca. 1560–1642). I contend that the revision work had taken place at the manuscript stage in Lu’s late years, whereas the course of printing and sale was finished by Xu Fepeng, who artfully stole the pseudonym of the deceased editor.

16. WENBO CHANG, Arizona State University

Performers and Northern Play in Early Yuan Period

Through a close analysis of writings on performers of northern play (*zaju*) by Hu Zhiyu (1127–1295), a renowned literati statesmen in early Yuan, this paper explores how northern play, with its unique mechanism of role types (*jiaose*) and role play (*zhuangban*) and through its performer’s excellent skills, challenges and manipulates the audience’s perception of identity and reality. In Hu’s view, the disruptive impact of northern play to blur and relativize the line between the real and the imagined is of great necessity for the individual human being to ease his existential pressure as a social being. He tactfully justifies the value of northern play by placing it under the Confucian discourse of the tensioned harmony between ritual (*li*) and music (*yue*). Moreover, Hu’s adoption of standards conventionally only applicable to elite members of society to assess the quality of female performers not only creates a sense of ironical misplacement and unsettling confusion that points to the disheartening gap between talent and status, but also opens up alternative potentials of human talent, possessed by people who were marginalized and denied in mainstream society, in the creation of aesthetic and affective values that are no less essential or universal than social and ethical ones. This paper aims to reach a better understanding of northern play as a performance art and how performers contributed to its prosperity in early Yuan period.

E. Inner Asia. JASON NEELIS, Wilfrid Laurier University, Chair (2:00–5:00 p.m.)
Museum B Room *

17. KHODADAD REZAKHANI, Princeton University

Governors or Emperors? The Kushanshahs on the Edge and the Centre

The dynasty that succeeded the Great Kushans in Bactria/Tokharistan in the third and fourth centuries AD is known to scholars as the Kushano-Sasanian or the Kushanshah Dynasty. As a recognized cadet branch of the Imperial Sasanian Dynasty, confirmed by their Sasanian inspired onomastics and their silver coinage, they are commonly treated as mere Sasanian governors of the conquered Kushan territories. However, as their titlature and gold coins show, in Bactria itself, the Kushanshahs presented themselves as legitimate successors of the Great Kushans. In fact, as their rule

in the region became more established, the Kushanshahs showed less and less submission to the Imperial Sasanian Dynasty and appear to have enjoyed considerable local independence and influence. This presentation would use numismatic, archaeological, and textual sources to argue for a shift in our view of the Kushanshah Dynasty not simply as Sasanian governors of Bactria, but as an independent Sasanian dynasty in the region. Unlike the rulers of Sakistan or Mesene, the Kushanshahs were not mentioned as dependents of the Sasanians in any of the early Sasanian inscriptions, and in fact on one occasion, Narseh's Paikuli Inscription, they were put on the same level as the Roman Emperor. The progression of their titles on their coins also shows their growing confidence as rulers, up to the point of claiming the title of *the King of Kings*, not only following the Great Kushans, but also challenging the Imperial Sasanian claims to the title. The talk will posit that the Kushanshah dynasty was ruling with considerable local prestige which eventually even allowed it to influence the politics of their Imperial Sasanian brethren further west. This is the sense in which we can explain Ammianus Marcellinus' famous description of the Siege of Amida and his sighting of the "Sasanian Emperor" and his troops, storming the city and conquering it in AD 360, as well as the matter of succession to Shapur II.

18. ARNOLD ALAHVERDIAN, University of California, Irvine

Huns in the East and Revolt in the West: The Impact of Fifth-Century Hunnic Invasions on the Sasanian Religio-Political Arena

This essay examines how various waves of nomadic intrusions to the Sasanian Empire's northeast in the fifth century heightened tensions between the Sasanian ruling elite and the empire's non-Zoroastrian communities. As the fifth century progressed, Sasanian monarchs suffered increasingly devastating setbacks from their encounters with invading Hunnic tribes. It was during this period that a more Avestan-oriented Sasanian cult of kingship gradually took shape. By reflecting on recent scholarship regarding the potential impact of the Hunnic encounters on Sasanian imperial ideology, this paper illustrates how a series of eastern campaigns contributed to a new wave of religious persecution and a violent revolt in the Caucasus in the mid-fifth century. This essay produces links between various bodies of literature concerning the fifth-century Sasanian world and highlights patterns of homologous ideological and socio-political developments within the larger world of Late Antiquity.

19. ADAM BENKATO, Freie Universität, Berlin

Another Arabic Notice on the Khwarezmian Language

Khwarezmian, the least well-known of the Middle Iranian languages, is also the only one attested chiefly through Arabic sources. The largest repository of lexical material is the extensive Khwarezmian glosses in multiple manuscripts of al-Zamakhshari's *Muqaddimat al-adab*, while numerous Khwarezmian phrases are preserved with both Persian and Arabic translation in manuscripts of the *Qunyat al-munya*, a 13th-century compilation of legal transcripts.

Other notices about the language can be found in works such as those of the famed polymath al-Birūnī (d. 1010), whose mother tongue was Khwarezmian. Given that numerous Islamicate scholars of the 10th and 11th centuries originated from regions of Central Asia where (eastern) Middle Iranian languages would still have been spoken, the discovery of further references to, or notices on, the Khwarezmian language should

come as no surprise. Indeed, it turns out that another polymath of renown, Ibn Sina (d. 1037), also discusses Khwarezmian in his phonological treatise *Asbāb ḥudūt al-ḥurūf*, and with detail that could only stem from firsthand knowledge thereof. This presentation will discuss Ibn Sina’s comments about Khwarezmian and their relevance for our understanding of the language.

20. KEVIN VAN BLADEL, Ohio State University

Arabic Notices on the Earliest New Persian Poetry

Poetry is widely regarded as a special hallmark of early New Persian literature. The earliest literary records of New Persian are verses of poetry supposed to have been composed in the ninth century in what is today northern Afghanistan and in Transoxania. The origins of New Persian poetry, however, are disputed. The issue that has divided modern scholars is the question of the dependence of New Persian poetry on Arabic poetic tradition. Early New Persian literary tradition itself places the origins of New Persian poetry in the ninth century in the Ṣaffārid court and treats New Persian poetry as a refashioning of Arabic poetry accompanying the transfer of its rules and characteristics to the new language. A few scholars, such as F. de Blois, essentially uphold this view on the grounds of the study of early New Persian prosody and other salient considerations. By contrast, most specialists in Persian, as reflected in recent standard reference works, regard New Persian poetry as being an outgrowth of an essentially uninterrupted tradition of versification dating to pre-Islamic times and deriving from Middle Persian antecedents.

This presentation uses Arabic sources contemporary with the first appearance of New Persian poetry to support the traditional and present minority view that New Persian poetry of the kind that became normal was in fact based on prosodic and traditional standards appropriated from Arabic.

21. DIEGO LOUKOTA, University of California, Los Angeles

Was the Khotanese *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhasūtra*
Translated from Chinese?

This paper addresses the textual affiliation of the Khotanese versions of the prominent Buddhist text *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhasūtra*. The *sūtra* survives in several Sanskrit recensions and also in versions in various Central and East Asian languages: among these, the Khotanese versions are especially problematic in that they sharply diverge from the Sanskrit textual family, whose role as the source of all the other versions considered so far by scholars is transparent. I claim that the Khotanese *Bhaiṣajyaguru* corpus, which comprises fragments of Old Khotanese and Middle Khotanese redactions, does not derive from one of the Sanskrit recensions but can instead be traced back to a Chinese text, the *Guāndīng jīng* 灌頂經 (= *GDJ*) datable to the mid-5th Century. Although the relationship between the *GDJ* and the Sanskrit *Bhaiṣajyaguru* is complicated—so far the latter has been understood as a reworking of the former—the affinity between the *GDJ* and the Khotanese corpus is systematic and, I believe, certain. It seems certain too that the *GDJ* is the source of the Khotanese tradition and not vice versa, and this directly contradicts a current pre-supposition in the field of Khotanese studies, namely that the Khotanese, during the formative period of their literary culture (5th–6th Centuries CE), drew their religious texts exclusively from India. I also raise the possibility that the Sanskrit tradition

might derive ultimately from the *GDJ* via the Khotanese version, thus challenging the previous model of textual transmission. The identification of the *GDJ* as the source of the Khotanese versions provides more evidence to back the notion, already put forward by some, that from the 5th Century onwards China is no longer a mere receptor of Buddhism from the Indian world, but instead an active disseminator of its own version of the religion in Central Asia, and perhaps even India itself.

22. EDITH CHEN, Princeton University

Justice of the Khan: Writing the Lives of the Jarqučis in the *Yuan Shi*

Prior scholarship on Mongol legal history debated the nature of traditional Mongol law, which consist of the decrees of Chinggis Khan (*jasag*), and traditional Mongolian customs (*yosun*). My interests are in the personnel and procedures of officials involved in the justice system. I will use the official biographies of the judges (*jarquči* and *yeke jarquči*) in the *Yuan Shi* and trace the institutional history and importance of the position from Chinggis Khan until the last Yuan emperor, Shun-di. The biographical section of the work enables us to take a sustained look at the origins and careers of the judges, offering a chance for comparison across historiographical traditions.

The Yuan Shi biographies of individuals who had served as *jarqučis* in the Mongol empire confirm some of the existing scholarship on such figures. They often came to the court early and began their career in the imperial bodyguards (*keshig*), and would continue to serve in military as well as civil capacities. They were often literate and knowledgeable of multiple languages, which would have facilitated in governing a linguistically diverse empire. The post was powerful at the outset of the empire but its jurisdiction appears to have shrunk with time to settling matters within the imperial clan, especially after Qubilai's reign. The didactic impulse behind the *liezhuan* official biographical tradition made the judges appear, at first glance, to be the bastions of justice. However, by choosing to emphasize commendable acts of leniency and compassionate figures, the biographies suggest that these illustrative characters and episodes were not typical for such officials of the time. The resulting picture of the era echoes what contemporary Arabic and Persian sources gave about the justice system in the Mongol empire.

F. Islamic Near East I: Holy Men and Martyrs. DANIEL SHEFFIELD, Princeton University, Chair (12:30 p.m.–2:00 p.m.) *Hershey/Crocker Room* *

23. DINA BOERO, Princeton University

The Letters of Symeon the Stylite

This presentation addresses the self-representation of a holy man in the late antique Near East. In his 1971 article, Brown presents the holy man as a patron whose liminal status between mundane and sacred allowed him to wield power in the changing socio-religious landscape of late antiquity. Brown's main case study is Symeon the Stylite the Elder (d. 459), whom his hagiographers praised for healing the sick, defending the poor, and advocating on behalf of northern Syria's villagers. Later scholars, and Brown himself, contend that Brown's article does not take into account that our sources on the holy man, most often hagiographies, are literary representations (Elm 1998, Brown 1995 and 1998, Cameron 1999). Accordingly, subsequent scholarship on Symeon focuses on the ways in which his hagiographers made sense of Symeon and his

ascetic practice of column-standing (Harvey 1988 and 1998, Stang 2010). This shift productively addresses the boundaries of sanctity between religious communities, but it also runs the risk of obscuring the historical figure of the holy man.

This presentation aims to bridge historical reconstruction and literary analysis by examining how Symeon represented himself in his letters, with a focus on a previously overlooked Syriac letter. I show that Symeon presented himself as a local patron, much in line with Brown’s findings from his analysis of the hagiographic material. Thus, all three sets of sources (the letters, Theodoret’s *History of the Monks of Syria*, and the *Syriac Life of Symeon*) participate in a shared discourse about the holy man. These sources also highlight Symeon’s collaborative relationship with the ecclesiastical community, a relationship which contributed to his effectiveness as a patron and holy man. By comparing Symeon’s own words with those who crafted biographies about him, we gain insight into how Symeon cultivated his position of public prominence.

24. ANI HONARCHIANSAKY, University of California, Los Angeles

The Maccabean Revolt: A Framework to Understand Taxation and Empire in Armenian and Syriac Texts

Narratives of the Maccabean revolt shaped Syriac and Armenian historiographical and hagiographical traditions. The element of resistance manifested in 1 and 2 Maccabees together with the messianic dimension of the accounts offers Syriac and Armenian authors a model to validate religious movements in the fourth and fifth centuries. In this paper, I explain how the Maccabean wars framed concerns about the loyalties of Armenian and Syriac ecclesiastical and secular leaders in dealing with oppressing state power.

In both traditions, the revolt of the subjects of the empire is presented as an archetypal holy war. Elishe’s *History of Vardan and the Armenian War* describes events that led to the wars between Armenian nobles and Yazdgerd II (r. 439–57 CE). The first obvious dissatisfaction occurred when the Armenians nobles did not comply with the new census and, as the result, taxes were increased. Elishe championed the resistance of Armenians against imperial demands in battle with Persia by turning to the Maccabean revolt as a precedent. Similarly, in the Syriac tradition, the anonymous author of the *Martyrdom* of Simeon bar Šabba’e, bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, recounts political opposition by employing the Maccabean revolt as an exemplar. The refusal to collect taxes on behalf of his community initiated the conflict.

The historic norm has been that government has the authority and right to collect taxes, but when the burden of taxation is on certain segments of a society, a resistance is inevitable. This paper contributes to current debates on the role of non-Zoroastrian elites in the administration of the Sasanian Empire. Diverging from current scholarly trends, which de-emphasize local opposition to Persian rule, this paper takes seriously political tensions over taxation and the models which ecclesiastical leaders employed to justify their resistance.

25. KAYLA DANG, Ohio State University

A Zoroastrian ‘Martyr’? Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān and his Legacy in the Middle Persian Books

The fourth-century figure Ādurbād ī Mahraspandān frequently appears in the Zoroastrian Middle Persian literature. His heroic witness to the Zoroastrian faith—by

pouring molten copper on his breast and surviving the ordeal—is something remembered even in later Arabic Muslim sources, namely Ḥamza al-Isfahānī’s (d. 360/971) *Tārīkh sinī mulūk al-arḍ wa-l-anbiyā* and in Bīrūnī’s (d. 440/1048) *Kitāb al-āthār al-bāqiyā*. In addition, there are several collections of wisdom sayings attributed to this Ādurbād which survive both in Middle Persian and in Arabic translation. Although the Middle Persian texts cite a number of religious authorities, none are so immortalized as Ādurbād and his ordeal; there are no comparable figures within the Zoroastrian tradition. If Zoroastrians had a patron saint, it would surely be Ādurbād. Why did this priest in particular come to mean so much to his ninth-century counterparts? The ninth- and tenth-century redactors of the Zoroastrian books view Ādurbād as the champion of the religion against all heresies, and as the earthly centerpoint in a series of savior-figures stretching from Zarathuṣtra himself all the way to the final judgment. Furthermore, in the Middle Persian texts of the *Dēnkard* and the *Bundahišn*, Ādurbād is regarded as the ancestor of the ninth-century priestly line, as well as a compiler of canonical religious texts. As part of a larger project to study the character of the Zoroastrian priesthood in the Sasanian period (3rd–7th century CE) and its survival after the Arab conquest, this paper investigates one particular Zoroastrian priest and his role in the surviving Zoroastrian priestly tradition.

26. ADAM BURSI, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Holy or Heretical Bodies: Companions’ Corpses in Early Islamic Historiography

Beginning with the Qur’ān, early Islamic tradition endowed martyrs with special attributes. As A.J. Wensinck wrote, “The admiration of the martyrs expressed in Allāh’s book is developed into a doctrine by tradition and dogmatics” that included immediate entry into heaven after their virtuous deaths, as well as the power of intercession before God. The excellence of martyrs was also understood to manifest physically in their bodies’ failing to decay. Islamic texts describe both Christian and Muslim martyrs’ corpses, discovered decades or centuries after their deaths, with supple limbs, fresh faces, and looking as though they were simply sleeping.

Among these martyrs were Companions of the Prophet Muḥammad. Lawrence Conrad, Etan Kohlberg, and Michael Lecker have collected early stories in which the corpses of Companions such as the Prophet’s uncle Ḥamza testify to these individuals’ statuses as martyrs when they are uncovered, miraculously preserved, decades after being buried. However, the lives and deaths of some Companions were not as universally admired: figures from the two civil wars of the first/seventh century, such as Ṭalḥa b. ‘Ubayd Allāh and ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, were vilified by some Muslims, who saw their deaths as the executions of rebels rather than martyrdoms. As a result, differing representations of these figures’ corpses appear in our sources, with their decayed or undecayed bodies reflecting divergent understandings of these figures’ holy or heretical natures.

This paper examines these stories as reflections of competing claims about Islamic history mapped onto Companions’ alternatively decayed or fresh corpses. Drawing upon the work of Asma Afsaruddin, Michael Cooperson, and Nancy Khalek, I argue that these variant representations exemplify the manipulation of the “hagiographical dimensions” of Companion biographies by different social groups. Conceptions of legitimate authority and the contours of the Muslim community shape these stories of Companions’ miraculous or mundane bodies.

G. Islamic Near East II: Manuscripts and Book Culture. AHMED EL SHAMSY,
University of Chicago, Chair (2:15 p.m.–4:00 p.m.) *Hershey/Crocker Room* *

27. JULIA DE MOWBRAY, Cengage Learning

Early Arabic Printed Books from the British Library: a Presentation of this New
Text-Searchable Online Archive of Arabic and European Languages

The new online archive not only makes available one of the world's most important collections of early Arabic printed books, that of the British Library, but it offers researchers these works in text-searchable form. Based on A.G. Ellis's 1894–1902 catalogue and covering subjects from Islamic literature and law, Christian literature, science, philosophy, history, geography, travel, literature, language and periodicals, this online archive offers material for a wide range of research projects. A major advance for scholars is the recently-developed OCR for pre-1900 Arabic printed script as well as an integrated Arabic script keyboard, subject indexing, detailed metadata and a selectable user interface in Arabic. I will be able to present the content to you as well as the product's searchability, functionality and tools.

28. GARRETT DAVIDSON, The College of Charleston

Notes on the Origins and Acquisition of the Princeton Collection of Islamic
Manuscripts

Princeton University's collection of Islamic manuscripts, as is well known, is by far the largest collection of Arabic manuscripts in the Western hemisphere and one of the most valuable collections in the world. Consisting of some 13,500 manuscripts and approximately 20,000 individual texts, the collection has diverse origins in public and private collections in Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Morocco, Dagestan and other locations ranging from the Western to the Eastern Islamic lands. The collection is not only notable for its size and diversity, but also for its quality, containing a large number of autograph and otherwise unique manuscripts. In spite of its importance, the collection remains under-studied, the provenance of the manuscripts of the collection is one aspect of this. Until now there has yet to be a detailed account of the origins of the collections' manuscripts and how they came to Princeton. This paper begins to fill this gap, tracing the nineteenth and twentieth century origins of the collection and its acquisition by Princeton. The Princeton collection is made up of a number of sub-collections and in many cases these sub-collections contain entire or large portion of earlier manuscript libraries. Based on both archival sources at Princeton and various primary and secondary sources, this paper tells the stories of these sub-collections and libraries, and the scholars and collectors who built them, including, among others, Robert Garrett (d. 1961), Abraham Shalom Yahuda (d. 1951), Amīn b. Ḥasan al-Ḥulwānī (d. 1898), and Imam Shāmil (d. 1871) of Dagestan as well as explains how their collections came to Princeton.

29. PAUL WALKER, University of Chicago

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

The immense value of Maqrizi's contributions to the preservation and reconstruction of Fatimid history makes what survives from his hand often exceptionally important. In this case, as with other examples of his writings, we possess, in a Gotha manuscript,

the autograph copy of a portion of his original. To date four separate editions have appeared, either of that exact section or of the same material as part of an edition of the whole work. Although the modern editors professed reliance on it, a close examination raises questions. Did they all actually honor Maqrizi's apparent intention in his choice of words? Or are they and we entitled to second-guess him? If so when and under what circumstances?

30. ROBERTA L. DOUGHERTY, Yale University

An American Orientalist: Edward Elbridge Salisbury and the AOS

This paper discusses the life and legacy of Edward Elbridge Salisbury (1814-1901), focusing on his role as a founding member of the American Oriental Society—in particular his editorial and material support of the JAOS, and how this raised the international profile of American scholarship in Oriental studies.

In August 1841 the Yale Corporation appointed Salisbury as professor of Arabic and Sanskrit languages and literature, the first such position in the Americas. A year later, on September 7, 1842, “a few gentlemen interested in Oriental literature” founded the American Oriental Society in Boston and—given the significance of his academic appointment—elected Salisbury to membership the following day.

Salisbury energetically supported both the organization and its journal from its earliest years and in the most minute of its affairs. Salisbury's money purchased the fonts in Oriental languages that enabled scholarly communication through the JAOS, and subsidized its publication for several decades. He also groomed his most famous student, William Dwight Whitney (eventually president of the AOS), to replace him as AOS librarian and on its publications committee.

Salisbury's brief autobiography was published in the JAOS in 1944. Since then, AOS member Benjamin Foster has written three articles/book chapters that prominently feature Salisbury in Foster's narrative of the development of the study of Near Eastern languages in the United States. In this 175th anniversary year of Salisbury's appointment to Yale, my paper examines Salisbury's specific contributions to the early life and eventual flourishing of the AOS in greater detail. I use materials found in Salisbury's papers (held in the Yale archives), the proceedings of the AOS as published in its journal, and letters and diaries of his contemporaries—published and unpublished—to paint a rich portrait of the life and contributions of this important American Orientalist.

31. JAWAD QURESHI,

Did Sulamī Plagiarize Sarraj? A.J. Arberry's Question Re-Visited

In the 1937 issue of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the renowned scholar of Islam, A.J. Arberry published a short article titled, “Did Sulamī Plagiarize Sarraj?” Arberry compares a manuscript work of Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021) with a passage from Abū al-Naṣr Sarraj al-Ṭūsī's (378/988) *Kitāb al-lumaʿ* and describes Sulamī's work as “wholesale plagiarism . . . committed without the slightest acknowledgement or excuse.” This paper re-visits Arberry's question in light of four additional manuscripts of Sulamī's work (*Kitāb al-aghālīt*). Arberry's inquiry gets more tangled in light of the oldest manuscripts of Sulamī's works that date a mere 60 years after his death, which presents the same material as part of another Sulamī text, *Kitāb miḥan mashāyikh al-ṣūfiyya*. This

text too is related to Sarrāj's *Lumaʿ*, further complicating Arberry's accusation of plagiarism. I argue that Sulamī was in fact using Sarrāj's *Lumaʿ* as source texts for his own unrealized works.

H. Islamic Near East III: Social History: War, Slaves, and Festivals. PAUL WALKER, University of Chicago, Chair (4:15 p.m.–5:45 p.m.) *Hershey/Crocker Room*

32. JACOB LASSNER, Northwestern University

Islamic Martyrdom and Rebellion: The Origins of Religious/Political Sacrifice and the Tribal Virtues of Manliness and Valor

Relying largely on medieval Islamic sources, this presentation will attempt to trace the origins of martyrdom as an act religious/political self-sacrifice in early Islam. Particular attention will be paid to the broad definitions of martyrdom and specific historical circumstances during the formative period of Islamic civilization. The question raised is whether the heroic acts of martyrdom celebrated by generations of Muslims mask the influence of tribal sensibilities while speaking of self-sacrifice for religious and/or narrowly defined political principles.

33. RANA MIKATI, College of Charleston

Fighting for the Faith: Early Muslim Women at War

War is a gendered concept. Construed as the masculine activity par excellence, women's participation in battle was and still is largely seen as anomalous. This gendered view of war is reflected in the classical understanding that one of the conditions for the performance of jihad is masculinity. This paper examines instances of early Muslim women's anomalous participation in warfare. This paper surveys the ways in which women were involved in military affairs, whether as "camp followers" and nurses or in combat. This survey shows that the participation of women in warfare during the early Islamic period was most common among the generation of the Companions of Muhammad. It is argued here that female Companions' participation in warfare is partially owed to the domestic character of military organization. The professionalization of the Muslim armies as the conquests unfolded and the Muslim empire was established led eventually to a quasi disappearance of women's participation in warfare. Apart from the portrayal of women's participation in battle found in chronicles, attention is given to the hadith and to legal literature on women's participation in war in the path of God.

34. DEBORAH TOR, University of Notre Dame

The Treatment of Elite Slaves in the Medieval Muslim Caliphate

It is often held that slavery in the pre-Mongol classical Islamic world was somehow less harsh and more humane than slavery in other historical contexts. This view is predicated largely on the power and status that a small cohort within the elite group of Islamic military slaves were able to attain. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to examine the treatment of slaves in the medieval Islamic world of the pre-Mongol period: not low-caste slaves such as the Zanj, or ordinary chattel household slaves, but the best-case types of elite and expensive slaves: the male *ghulām*, who was frequently inducted into the military or court elite, and valued for his abilities and prowess; the

high-class eunuch who dwelt in the mansions and palaces of the wealthy elite; and their female counterpart, the high-class slave girl.

To do so, it will utilize a broad array of literary sources across many different genres, ranging from chronicles and religious texts to biographical dictionaries and belletristic texts, in order to ascertain from the literary evidence just how secure or precarious the well-being of even the most privileged and high-status slaves actually was, using violence and peril to life, limb, and physical soundness as a standard of measurement.

Medieval Islamic slavery in general in the pre-Mongol period is a subject that has been quite under-researched, and the field has been dominated by the work of the late David Ayalon, which tended to glamorize anything to do with mamluks. This paper will adduce historical evidence to show that even the most elite slaves remained subject to the ills inherent in the institution of slavery itself, above all lack of control over one's life, body, destiny, sexuality, mobility, and agency.

35. TARA STEPHAN, New York University

Women's Attendance at Mamluk Festivals and Holidays: A Comparison of Sources

This talk examines women's involvement in Mamlūk (1250–1517) festivals and holidays. The most recent comprehensive discussions of Mamlūk festivals were in Langner's 1983 monograph on Egyptian folklore and Shoshan's 2002 analysis of popular culture in Cairo. Certain festivals, like Nawrūz and 'Ashūrā', have been the subject of study in recent years (for instance, Fierro's article on 'Ashūrā' and Shoshan's chapter on Nawrūz). Women's attendance at festivals and holidays appears sporadically in scholarship, primarily analyzing royal women going on the hājj (see Jomier's 1953 *Le Mahmal* and more recent articles by Behrens-Abouseif and Johnson) or sometimes in discussions of anti-innovation (*bidaʿ*) treatises (see Fierros' discussion of the genre). There has not yet been a thorough examination of women's attendance at such events, which range from state celebrations to Islamic holidays to shared religious rituals, or a comparison of how different genres of medieval thinking dealt with gender when discussing such events. For this talk, I will discuss two genres of writing—anti-innovation treatises and chronicles—and discuss how medieval writers conceptualized women's involvement in these varied festivals. I will utilize Ibn al-Hājj and Ibn Baydakīn for the anti-innovation treatises and Ibn Iyās and al-Maqrīzī for the chronicles. Tentatively, I can conclude that chroniclers have a more balanced discussion of women attending festivals. For instance, they seem to consider royal women going out in public as positive or neutral, and, while they do discuss occasional sultanic bans on women in public or problems arising when women were in large crowds, overall women in public space does not seem unusual. Anti-innovation writers, however, use gender as a rhetorical tool, along with religious differences, to emphasize problems of groups mixing, which for them leads to the degradation of the social order.

I. South & Southeast Asia I: Law, Society, and Kingship. PATRICK OLIVELLE,
University of Texas, Chair (1:00 p.m.–3:00 p.m.) Bradbury/Rose Room *

36. DONALD DAVIS, University of Texas at Austin

Jātiviveka in the *Mitākṣarā* of *Vijñāneśvara*

In this communication, I analyze the chapter on *jātiviveka*, the discrimination of caste, in the twelfth-century commentary by *Vijñāneśvara* on the *Yājñavalkyadharmasāstra*. I first take up earlier debates on the nature of *jāti* in *Mīmāṃsā* and *Nyāya* works, because these serve as the foil for *Vijñāneśvara*’s view that *jāti* in the sense of caste is *smṛtilakṣaṇā*, “defined by the legal treatises,” and not *pratyakṣagamyā*, “known through empirical observation.” I consider the implications of this distinction both through later subcommentaries on *Vijñāneśvara*’s work and through other works on *jātiviveka* produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.

37. DAVID BRICK, Yale University

A Widow’s Right to Inherit in Diachronic Perspective

Since the earliest days of Western Indology, when officials of the British East India Company first aspired to use the various rules prescribed in *Dharmaśāstra* texts as a personal law for Hindu residents of their territories, modern scholars have devoted considerable attention to the issue of inheritance within this legal tradition. One fundamental thing that the work of these scholars has revealed is that within *Dharmaśāstra*, a man’s direct male descendants—i.e., his sons, grandsons, etc.—invariably have the primary claim on his inheritance. Another is that while early on the widow of a man without such male descendants seems to have had a relatively weak claim on her husband’s property, being superseded in this regard by a number of male relatives, such as her husband’s brothers and father, this situation changes considerably over time to the point that the wife of a sonless man often comes to be regarded as his primary heir. Nevertheless, no scholar to date seems to have given a precise and detailed account of this historical development. It is, therefore, the purpose of this paper to do just this. Specifically, it will demonstrate three things. Firstly, it will show that the comparatively late *Dharmaśāstras* of *Yājñavalkya* and *Viṣṇu* are the earliest works to make the wife of a sonless man his primary heir and that they differ in this regard from preceding works. Secondly, this paper will show that the earliest commentators in the *Dharmaśāstra* tradition uniformly reduce the scope of *Yājñavalkya* and *Viṣṇu*’s statements to the point that a widow has effectively little right to inherit her husband’s property. And, finally, it will show that this situation changes radically in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with seemingly all *Dharmaśāstra* writers of the period granting widows a much stronger right to inherit.

38. CHRISTOPHER FLEMING, University of Oxford

The Definition of Property in the *Prābhākara* School of *Mīmāṃsā*

Sanskrit intellectual history boasts one of the earliest and most sophisticated theories of ownership (*svāmitva*) and property (*svatva*). Much has been written about medieval and early modern philosophical debates concerning three definitions of ownership: 1) *yatheṣṭaviniyojyatva* (the fact of using something as one desires); 2) *yatheṣṭaviniyogārhatā* (the capacity to use something as one desires); and 3)

yatheṣṭaviniyogayogyatva (the fact that something is suitable to be used as one desires).

Unfortunately, we know very little about the development of these definitions outside of Dharmaśāstra and Nyāya before the medieval period. The late classical and early medieval works of the Prābhākara-school of Mīmāṃsā offer invaluable and hitherto unrecorded early Indian definitions of ownership. This paper examines the development of the definition of property in terms of ‘use as desired’ (yatheṣṭaviniyoga) in Prābhākara-mīmāṃsā commentaries on Śabarasvāmī’s (4th Century) *Mīmāṃsābhāṣya*. In ŚāBhā 9.1.9, Śabara argues that deities cannot, properly speaking, own property because “anything can be said to be possessed by one only when he has the power to make such use of the thing as he desires (yo yadabhipretam viniyoktum arhati).” Śabara’s 8th–11th century sub-commentators, Śālikanātha (*Rjuvimalāpañcikā*) and Bhāvanātha (*Nayaviveka*), expand Śabara’s definition of property to yatheṣṭaviniyogārhatā and yatheṣṭaviniyogayogyatva and apply these definitions to legal conundrums such as ownership by birth and theft. Śabara, Śālikanātha and Bhāvanātha are thus the first śāstrins to define ownership in terms of use and are the first śāstrins to explore the ethico-legal dimensions of property. Consequently, this paper overturns two common misconceptions concerning the intellectual history of property in India: 1) that Mīmāṃsā held a ‘regressive’ view of ownership as possession; and 2) that the first substantive philosophical contributions to the study of svatva occurred in Nyāya literature.

39. MARK MCCLISH, Northwestern University

Sovereignty in the Classical Period: The Limited Influence of Dharmaśāstra on Depictions of Kingship in Royal Inscriptions

Royal inscriptions are our most important source for the study of kingship as it was practiced in the classical period. Too seldom, however, have these inscriptions been read independently from textual traditions dealing with kingship (RAY 2003). Perhaps because royal inscriptions between Aśoka and the Guptas are so few, the information they provide is often supplemented by conceptions of kingship drawn from textual traditions such as *dharmaśāstra* (CHAKRABORTI 1974; YAMAZAKI 1999). The result is a loss of what is distinctive about the inscriptions as sources on kingship and the overestimation of the influence of *dharmaśāstra*.

When read independently of textual traditions such as *dharmaśāstra*, royal inscriptions from after the time of Aśoka through the Guptas show a remarkably stable understanding of kingship in which the key political theologies of *dharmaśāstra*, such as *varṇadharma* and *rājadharma*, play little role. By focusing on the issue of royal sovereignty, understood generally as “supreme authority within a territory,” it is possible to show that kings after Aśoka do not appear to have subscribed to a view of sovereignty in which royal power was systematically superseded or inflected by a greater, positive moral law or overriding soteriological interests.

This paper will analyze the record of royal inscriptions from Aśoka through the Guptas in order to demonstrate that *dharmaśāstric* thought appears to have had little influence on their depiction of kingship and sovereign royal power. Given that it is very unlikely that the kings of the classical period (particularly the later half) and their partisans were not exposed to *dharmaśāstric* ideas, I will offer a few possible

ways of interpreting the variance between what we read in royal inscriptions and what we read in the *dharmaśāstras*.

40. MATTHEW MILLIGAN, Georgia College & State University

Royalty in the Material Culture of Bharhut

The *vedikā* railing at Bharhut is one of the earliest surviving examples of Indian Buddhist art and serves as a major chronological marker for the development of Indian art as a whole. Often ignored, the epigraphy at Bharhut is nearly equally important for the history of Buddhism as it contains records of donations to the Buddhist *saṃgha* as well as labeling inscriptions describing famous scenes known from Buddhist literature. One major characteristic of the art as well as the epigraphy is the presence of royalty, which is largely absent at many contemporary *stūpa* sites. In this paper, I examine the presence of royalty at Bharhut to compare and contrast it with the absence of royalty elsewhere, such as in the material culture of Sanchi. Such an analysis yields insight into the differences in patronage activity between the two sites. What was the relationship between the monastic *saṃgha* and the royalty at Bharhut? Was the relationship as it was in literature, with the kingly patrons deliberately kept at a distance from the *saṃgha* by the Buddha for the sake of keeping politics and governance out of monasticism? Or could the relationship have been more complicated, with some kings or courtly donors involved in daily affairs of the *saṃgha*? Such questions not only shed light on the early history of Buddhism in its expansive phase within India but also demonstrate the ongoing scholarly need to read literary and material cultural sources together.

J. South & Southeast Asia II: Grammars in History. ASHOK AKLUJKAR, University of British Columbia, Chair (3:15 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) *Bradbury/Rose Room*

41. JO BRILL, University of Chicago

dhātunirdeśa: Referring to Verbs in Sanskrit

This paper focuses on one aspect of the study of language and language conventions—the practice of referring to verbs. As Sanskrit etymologists searched for meaning associations for words and parts of words, and as the grammarians developed principles for the derivation of finite verbs, participles, and nouns, they naturally needed a way to talk about the bits and pieces of words, including from verbal roots—*dhātus*.

Is special language required to talk about language? What about talking about verbal roots in particular? Whether roots should be thought of as real—in the sense of having derivatives attested in the language—is not here considered. For our purposes, *dhātus* are real forms that are mentioned and manipulated by grammarians in the process of producing stem forms suitable for inflection. Two ways to refer to *dhātus*—using the affixes *iK* and *ŚtiP*—were explicitly theorized more than two thousand years ago by Kātyāyana, Pāṇini’s first commentator. The *iK* affix adds *-i* to the verbal root; the *ŚtiP* affix effects a form in *-ti* that resembles the third person singular inflection in the present indicative. In both these cases (as in straight quotation) the result is a declinable noun form.

In this paper, we first look at the place of such devices in so-called metalanguage, and examine them against quotation and other ways to refer to *dhātus*. We then turn to examples of verbal reference in Sanskrit works from various time periods. We next

go directly to some principles for the usage of these suffixes that can be inferred from examples drawn mostly from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Then we turn to the commentarial tradition, starting with the *Mahābhāṣya*; we try to understand the import of the explanations that the grammarians felt were needed. Last, we consider some directions for further research.

42. YIMING SHEN, University of Oxford

Śeṣādrisudhī's criticism of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa on the *paribhāṣā yadāgamās tadguṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena grhyante*

The *paribhāṣā* (pbh) *yadāgamās tadguṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena grhyante* (ypbh), tentatively translated as ‘Augments, being subordinate to that to which they are added [i.e. *āgamin*, which here I take to be the referent of *yad* and *tad*], are denoted by that which denotes the *āgamin*’, aims at removing such difficulties as encountered in the *prakriyā* of *lavitr*, where the augment (*āgama*) *i*, due to its intervening position, prevents the replacement of *ū* by *o* conditioned by the immediate following of the suffix *tr* (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 7.3.84). It is arguably an important pbh, as it is found in all the 18 pbh texts in Abhyankar's *Paribhāṣāsaṅgraha*. In Śeṣādrisudhī's (Śe) commentary *Paribhāṣābhāskara* on the ypbh, we find a sharp criticism of the arguments given in Nāgeśabhaṭṭa's (Nā) *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* on the same pbh. The current paper aims at presenting the arguments of Śe's criticism.

In his criticism, Śe first rejects Nā's thesis that ypbh may also apply in cases where the *āgamin* consists of one single sound (*varṇaviṣaya*). Not only does Śe present the many faults that would result following Nā's thesis, but he also rejects one by one the three purposes identified by Nā (relevant *sūtras* 6.1.186, 8.3.32, 1.1.51) for which the ypbh is supposed to apply in *varṇaviṣaya*. Second, Śe points out that Nā's argument for the non-universal-application (*anityatva*) of the ypbh is defective, for there Nā cites a wrong *sūtra* (6.1.101; instead, Nā should have cited 7.2.81). Thirdly and perhaps most importantly, against Nā, Śe argues that the ypbh is redundant since its purposes can be achieved through *sūtra* 1.1.56.

In the current paper, I present in detail Śe's arguments against Nā. As far as I am aware, this is the first time that Śeṣādrisudhī's commentary on the ypbh is discussed.

43. NATHAN W. HILL, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Schiefner's Conjecture: Origins of Proto-Burmish Pre-glottalized Consonants

In what appears to be the earliest observation on phonetic correspondences relating Tibetan and Burmese Anton Schiefner suggests that “Das Barmanische hat in manchen Fällen, wo das Tibetische das überständige *sa* gebraucht, einen aspirirten Consonanten im Anlaut” (Schiefner 1852: 340). Shafer repeats this suggestion (1940: 309). Both authors point to the comparison of Bur. *nhā* ‘nose’ to Tib. *sna* ‘nose’ as a clear example.

Burmese aspirate consonants have two origins in proto-Burmish, namely plain voiceless and pre-glottalized voiceless consonants (Burling 1967: 6, 31–40, Mann 1998: 67–70; Nishi 1999: 68, 94–96). Consulting Lashi, which maintains pre-glottalized consonants in the widest variety of phonetic contexts (Nishi 1999: 70), one can distinguish those Burmese words that descend from plain voiceless initials (e.g. WBur. *khre* < **kriy* ‘foot’, Lashi *khjei*) from those that descend from pre-glottalized voiceless initials (e.g. WBur. *-khre* < **ṛ kriy* ‘gall bladder’, Lashi *ṛ kjeiH*).

Reformulating Schiefner’s conjecture as a correspondence between Tibetan sC- clusters and proto-Burmish pre-glottalized consonants significantly reduces the number of apparent exceptions, but some still remain. In some cases Burmese fails to have the expected aspirated resonant anticipated from the *s-* in the Tibetan cognate (e.g. OBur. *mruy*, Atsi *-mui*³ ¹ ‘snake’, Tib. *sbrul* < **smrul* [Simon’s law]) and in other cases proto-Burmish has a pre-glottalized consonant although the Tibetan cognate has no *s-* initial cluster (e.g., Bur. *ñ hāḥ* < **ṽ ñ āḥ* ‘borrow’, Tib. *brña* < **brñ^j a* [Houghton’s law]).

In this talk I will examine the patterns, both regular and irregular, in order to evaluate the robustness of Schiefner’s conjecture. To reveal one of my findings—within the exceptions there are cases where the Burmese development is apparently irregular, but the correspondence with proto-Burmish still holds (e.g. WBur. *la* ‘moon’, Lashi *ṽ laX-*, Tib. *zla* < **sla*).

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44. DAVID BUCHTA, Brown University

Pedagogical Strategies in Jīva Gosvāmin’s *Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa*

In a 2008 study of Jīva Gosvāmin’s (1523–1608) grammar, the *Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa*, Rebecca Manring asks the paper’s eponymous question, “Does Kṛṣṇa Really Need His Own Grammar?” Manring argues that Jīva’s grammar is “cumbersome” even in comparison with Pāṇini’s, and suggests that this was an intentional feature aimed at keeping Sanskrit inaccessible and “perpetuating the Brāhmaṇical status quo, while pretending to espouse a philosophy open to all.” The current paper argues against this interpretation and suggests that facility of use appears to have been an important objective for Jīva. While Jīva’s grammar is less concise than Pāṇini’s, I show that this stems from two main features: First, Jīva repeats names of Kṛṣṇa used as grammatical terms when their implicit recurrence (*anuvṛtti*) would have sufficed. This is in keeping with Jīva’s stated intention to make his grammar appealing to a Vaiṣṇava audience. Second, Jīva makes choices regarding derivational procedures and their presentation that sacrifice concision for intuitiveness and clarity. I examine Jīva’s grammar against the background of not only Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, but also Śarvavarman’s *Kātantra* and Vopadeva’s *Mugdhabodha*, demonstrating that Jīva knew

¹ Burling and Mann reconstruct the three series as voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, and voiceless glottalized (Burling 1969: 31–35; Mann 1998: 71). Nishi in contrast regards the proto-forms as voiced, voiceless, and voiceless preglottalized (1999: 68). The Burmish tonal split in checked syllables ensures that Nishi’s proposal is correct.

these various grammatical traditions and followed their procedures alternately in presenting his own grammar. I argue that the choices that Jīva made between the different grammars can best be explained by assuming that he intended to make his grammar as easily accessible as possible. As a case study, I will examine how Jīva accounts for the derivation of the various declined forms of masculine nouns with *-a* stems, such as *kṛṣṇa*.

A. Special Session: Joint Ancient Near East-South & Southeast Asia Session. (Organized by Michael Weiss, Cornell University, and Na'ama Pat-El, The University of Texas at Austin). MICHAEL WEISS, Cornell University, Chair **(9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.)** *Bunker Hill Room* *

45. ELISABETH RIEKEN, University of Marburg

On the History of the Word for “lot, fate” in Hittite

The origin of the Hittite word for “lot, fate”, i.e. *pul-*, has not received much attention, thus far. Most studies content themselves with referring to Akk. *pūru* “lot, share” and putative Hurr. “lotcaster?” for the possibility of a cultural loanword, but these lexemes do not have an etymology either. In my paper, I discuss the philological facts, such as graphic and inflexional features, and the geographic distribution, all of which show oddities untypical for both a Hittite and a Semitic word. On the other hand, a new etymological suggestion can be made, which connects *pul-* straightforwardly with a Luwian word family. The phonological development of its root and its derivational history along with the reconstructable adaptation processes tell a story of “Wörter und Sachen” in the Ancient Near East. Thus, the etymology has interesting implications for the understanding of the cultural history of the Southern Anatolia/North Syria contact zone, which turns out to be much more than a one-way street from South to North.

46. IAN HOLLENBAUGH, University of California, Los Angeles

Preventing Inhibition: A Reassessment of the Prohibitive Construction in Early Vedic

In *Ṛgveda* a prohibition is regularly expressed with *mā́* plus the Injunctive form of a verb. These are built to Present or Aorist tense-aspect stems.

Hoffmann (1967) argues that these tense-aspect stems have a semantic distribution in Vedic. An Aorist Injunctive, he claims (45–72), expresses a *preventive* reading, meant to avoid some future event (e.g. *mā́ vocas* ‘don’t speak’). A Present Injunctive, by contrast, is supposed to express an *inhibitive* reading (74–92), meant to terminate an ongoing action (e.g. *mā́ riṣanyas* ‘stop damaging’). Hoffmann’s theory has gone essentially unchallenged since its proposal, adopted most recently by Dahl (2010).

Yet very few of the Present Injunctive examples are easily read as inhibitive. In addition, there are counterexamples in both directions—both preventive Present Injunctives and inhibitive Aorist Injunctives. So the semantic grounds for assuming an inhibitive/preventive distinction seem shaky at best.

Instead, there appears to be a *formal* distribution of the stems attested in the prohibitive construction, whereby Present Injunctives tend to be formed either to roots that lack Aorist stems altogether (e.g., *īśata*), or else to certain Present stems

for which there is no corresponding Aorist form (e.g., *irasyas* can only be Present, since Denominative Aorist stems do not exist).

The Present and Aorist Injunctive in the prohibitive construction co-occur to the same root only rarely. Of roots that do attest competing forms, almost all of them make sibilant-Aorists, which appear alongside thematic-Presents (e.g., *dhāk* ~ *dahas* ‘don’t burn’). Roots that build root-Aorist stems, however, virtually *never* attest a Present Injunctive with *mā*.

I conclude that the prohibitive construction in *R̥gveda* does not select for the Aorist stem, as is generally assumed, but rather for the *least marked stem* available to the root in question, which only *happens* to be the (root-)Aorist in most cases (~80%).

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47. ELIZABETH TUCKER, University of Oxford

Two Old Indo-Aryan Verb Inflections: the Variants *-mas* and *-masi* in the Rigveda and Atharvaveda

The standard grammars and reference books on Old Indo-Aryan present statistics for the use of variant inflections in the earliest Vedic texts, for instance for the relative frequency of thematic neuter plurals in *-ā* and *-āni*. However, some often repeated

figures are misleading as far as attempts to reconstruct Old Indo-Aryan linguistic history are concerned. A case in point is the pair of 1st plural primary active endings of the verb: *-mas* which is also the Classical Sanskrit ending and which has an Indo-European pedigree, and *-masi* which is peculiar to early Vedic and appears comparable to the one and only ending attested in Old Iranian, Avestan *-mahi* and Old Persian *-mahy*.

According to W.D. Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar* (1879) "The earliest form of the active ending is *masi*, which in the older language is more frequent than the briefer *mas* (in RV as five to one; in AV, however, only as three to four)." But this ratio for the Atharvaveda (also found in A.A. Macdonell's two Vedic grammars) is seriously skewed because every token of frequent forms such as *dviṣmās* 'we hate' and *bhājāmas* 'we share', which occur up to 20 times in identical repeated verse-lines of some Śaunaka Saṃhitā compositions, must have been included in the Atharvaveda total for *-mas*. Such statistics have been uncritically repeated because they fit with preconceived notions that the language of the Atharvaveda is less archaic than that of the Rigveda and is edging closer to Classical Sanskrit by eliminating variants.

According to my recount, which excludes all forms repeated in exactly the same context in the same poem, the ratio of *-masi* to *-mas* in the Śaunaka Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda does not differ much from that of the Rigveda; and in the 'Sorcery Books' of the Atharvaveda Paippalāda Saṃhitā (Books 1–15) *-masi* appears in a higher proportion of attested 1st plural forms with primary active endings than in some books of the Rigveda.

What does this distribution suggest about the history of the two variant endings? Clearly it does not provide any evidence that the language of the Atharvaveda is more 'modern' than that of the Rigveda, nor does it point to a difference in dialect or register. However, attention was drawn already by W. Neisser (1906) to the frequent employment of forms in *-āmāsi* and *-īmāsi* in the second part of Rigvedic octosyllabic verse-lines (or in the cadence of twelve syllable lines). It may be pointed out in addition that in the Yašts of the Younger Avesta, which are composed in basically octosyllabic verse-lines, 1st plural *-āmahi* is found in the same metrical slot. There is even an exact word equation between Avestan *zbaiiāmahi* (Yašt 15.1) and Old Indo-Aryan *hṡayāmāsi* (AV ŚS 6.90.2, 8.1.15, PS 9.4.7, 16.2.5, 19.18.1), both of which fill the latter part of octosyllabic lines. Thus it seems likely that in their use of *-masi* 1st plural forms both the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda continue an inherited feature of prehistoric Indo-Iranian versification.

48. DAVID GOLDSTEIN and ANTHONY YATES, University of California, Los Angeles

In Defense of the Scopal Account of Hittite $\neq(m)a$

The remarkable surface distribution of Hittite $\neq(m)a$ has incited a considerable amount of recent discussion (Meacham 2000, Rieken 2000, Melchert 2009, Samuels 2009, Goedegebuure 2011, Agbayani and Golston 2012, Goedegebuure 2014, Kloekhorst 2014, Sideltsev and Molina 2015). Whereas most clitics in Hittite line up after the first morphosyntactic word of the clause, Hittite $\neq(m)a$ can show up later:

- (1) mān \neq at \neq an parna \neq ma kuēlka peššiezzi. . .

'If he disposes of them in anyone's house. . .'

KBo 6.2 ii 35 (Laws §44b, OS)

The pronoun $\neq at$ and the local particle $\neq an$ are hosted by the first morphosyntactic word, whereas $\neq ma$ appears only after the first content word. Several scholars have argued that the surface position of $\neq(m)a$ is conditioned by its scopal properties (Güterbock and Hoffner 1989, Rieken 2000, Melchert 2009). On the basis of alleged examples of scope mismatch, Kloekhorst (2014: 612–617) and Sideltsev and Molina (2015: 11–13) have claimed that the scope-based analyses are either incorrect or in need of modification. Kloekhorst proposes a prosodic solution to the problem (cf. Agbayani and Golston 2012: 11), which Sideltsev and Molina (2015: 5) have now shown to be untenable. The latter in turn offer an account that combines the scopal approach with a more articulated phrase structure. We argue that both accounts rest on a misunderstanding of the information structural properties of a number of examples. We go on to defend the scope-based analysis by offering a new account of the meaning of $\neq(m)a$ that is rooted in the Question under Discussion model of Roberts (2011, [1996] 2012).

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49. BENJAMIN KANTOR, University of Texas at Austin

The Hebrew Vocalization of Origen’s Secunda in Light of Greek Pronunciation

The second column (Secunda) of the Hexapla of Origen (185–254 CE) is a Greek transcription of Biblical Hebrew. It constitutes the best direct evidence we have for ancient Hebrew pronunciation. While a number of scholars have worked on and devoted serious attention to the hexaplaric material (Speiser, Sperber, Brønno, Janssens, Yuditsky), relatively little attention has been given to the history of Greek pronunciation and its relationship to the transcription. In work on the Secunda, typically only a few sentences in an article or a few pages in a book are devoted to aspects of Greek phonology. This has resulted in a less-than-exact understanding of the Hebrew vocalization represented by the Greek transcription.

Moreover, the lack of attention given to the history of Greek phonology is all the more serious when we consider the fact that numerous scholars think that it is unlikely that Origen wrote the Secunda himself. It seems more likely that he made use of a text that was produced by Jewish scholars (Martin 2004, 9). It is conceivable, then, that the Secunda was originally composed centuries before Origen and he simply chose to include it in his text. Accordingly, a deeper understanding of the history of Greek pronunciation may help to narrow down the time and place of the original composition of the Secunda, depending on the type of Greek pronunciation reflected therein.

In this paper I will demonstrate how a more thorough grasp of the history of Greek pronunciation in Egypt and Palestine will lead to both a more exact understanding of the phonology of the Hebrew vocalization in the Secunda and a way of coordinating the time and place of its original composition.

50. LAURA GRESTENBERGER, Concordia University

Avestan *i*-stems: Form, Function, Problems

The Avestan nominal system and its Indo-European origins are somewhat understudied compared to their Vedic counterparts. The aim of this contribution is to clarify the function of the nominal athematic suffix *-i-* in Avestan in comparison with Vedic (on which cp. Grestenberger 2013, 2014). The occurrences and uses of this suffix in Avestan have not been studied in detail (except for the important, but not unproblematic discussion in Xavier Tremblay’s 1998 dissertation), and recent progress in digitizing and editing Avestan manuscripts has made it easier to access and evaluate the material (e.g., the work by Cantera and others in the Avestan Digital Archive).

In this paper, I address three specific topics concerning the Avestan *i*-stems: First, the nominal endings, especially with respect to remnants of “open” vs. closed “inflection” as reflecting different inherited accent/ablaut classes, including (internally derived?) second compound members, second, the functions of Avestan *i*-stems compared to proto-Indo-European **-i-*, and whether we find the same functional split into feminine adjectival abstract nouns (e.g., Ved. *°áśri-* f. ‘point, edge’, Av. *tižūn°* in *tižūnaršti-* ‘having sharp spears’, etc.) and masculine endocentric concrete nouns (e.g., Ved. *jṛí-* m. ‘running (water)’, Av. *darši-* ‘bold (one)’) discussed by Nussbaum 2014 and elsewhere, and third, the function of *i*-stems in second compound members and the status of variants such as YAv. *uz-daēzi-* m. ‘mound’ besides YAv. *(uz-)daēza-* and YAv. *aspō.stāni-* ‘horse shed’ besides YAv. *aspō.stāna-*.

The derivational basis of Avestan *i*-stems (nominal/adjectival vs. verbal) will also be discussed, given that both types become deverbal in Vedic (e.g., *rámhi*- f. ‘speed’ : *rámhati* ‘hurries’; *ā-yají*- m. ‘sacrificing (one)’ : *ā yájati* ‘sacrifices’, etc.). The deverbal use of this suffix is also attested in Avestan (e.g., *baoidi*- f. ‘fragrance’ : *baodaiti* ‘perceives’), but its productivity is yet to be determined.

51. TEIGO ONISHI, University of California, Los Angeles)

Causative Constructions in Tocharian B: Their Relation to Causation

In this paper I analyze causative constructions in Tocharian B and reveal the relationship between their formations and types of causation they encode. Tocharian B has several strategies to form ‘causative’ expression. We find lexical causatives, morphological causatives via affixation (class IXb, Xb present, class IX, X subjunctive and class IV preterite), ablaut (class II preterite), as well as syntactic causatives (periphrastic). Although recent studies such as Malzahn (2010) and Seržant (2014) analyzed these formations in detail both in terms of phonology and morphology, further research is still needed regarding the relationship between each causative construction and types of causation it encodes (such as indirect causation where two events are separated, or direct causation in which two events are identical).

I examine the following three types of causative constructions: 1) lexical causatives, 2) morphological causatives via affixation and 3) morphological causative via ablaut. My research shows that lexical causatives mainly encode the direct causation in which two events are identical as in (1) where [x C1.ATUHSTE3[0BbE3COME [separated(y)]]] is expressed without affixation:

<i>ceu</i>	<i>sklok</i>	<i>pkāte</i>	<i>śaiṣṣentse</i>
that.OBL.SG	doubt.OBL.SG	intend.PAST.3SG	people.GEN.SG
<i>karsta-tsi</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>ślok</i>	<i>akṣā=me</i>
cut_off.PFV-INF	this.OBL.SG	strophe.OBL.SG	say.PAST.3SG=them

‘He intended to cut off that doubt of people, he said this strophe to them.’

I also argue that when causatives are formed morphologically, two events which they encode are not necessarily the same but can be overlapping. Furthermore I will argue that when a transitive verb forms a causative morphologically it encodes causation which is more indirect compared to lexical causative. Nevertheless, when its lexical aspect is telic, it shows affinity to direct causation whose lexical aspect is prototypically telic.

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52. REBECCA HASSELBACH-ANDEE, University of Chicago

Archaisms versus innovation: the Hybrid Nature of Akkadian

In early literature on Semitic languages, it had usually been assumed that Proto Semitic looked very much like Classical Arabic. This picture, as is well-known, changed with the discovery of Akkadian and other classical Semitic languages such as Eblaite, and ongoing work on the reconstruction of the Semitic language family. Especially work on the verbal system of Semitic showed that it is more likely that the Proto Semitic verbal system looked more like that of Akkadian than that of Arabic. As a

result, ever since Arabic has been dethroned as reflecting the most archaic Semitic language, this status has been ascribed to Akkadian, both in terms of chronology and linguistic archaism.

Akkadian is, of course, the oldest Semitic language known so far, its earliest attestations going back to roughly 2600 BCE, when we start to have evidence for Akkadian personal names in Sumerian texts. The question remains, however, how archaic Akkadian is in linguistic terms. As just mentioned, research on the Semitic verbal system suggests that Akkadian in essence preserves the Proto Semitic system in both function and morphology and, therefore, that it represents the most archaic Semitic language from a morphological point of view. It is also well known, however, that Akkadian contains numerous innovative features not found in other Semitic languages, which clearly mark it as an innovative language.

In the proposed talk I would like to address two main issues: first, the status of Akkadian as “archaic” and, at the same time, innovative language, and, second, the question if the innovative features of Akkadian represent Proto Akkadian features or if they are later, post-Proto Akkadian innovations, and how this affects our evaluation of Akkadian as “archaic” or “innovative” language.

B. East Asia III: Poetry. ROBERT JOE CUTTER, Arizona State University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–11:45 a.m.) *Hershey/Crocker Room* *

53. JINGHUA WANGLING, Loyola University Maryland

The Evolution of Gender Disguise in the Legend of Mulan

The legendary figure Mulan has traditionally been associated with gender disguise and viewed as a Chinese example of exceptional women challenging social norms through cross-dressing. However, a close examination of Mulan’s transformation into a soldier, a distinctly male role, in the original “Ballad of Mulan” and the various subsequent literary and cinematic adaptations reveals a more complex narrative of gender transformation. This paper traces the development of gender disguise through the interplay between gender, family, and social roles and probes into the different ideologies behind these roles in different periods.

While “Ballad of Mulan” details Mulan’s recovery of her female identity as she reacquires her female dress and makeup at the end, her initial transformation into a soldier is only implied in her purchasing horse and gear. The paper argues that the transformation in the original Ballad is not between genders, but rather from Mulan’s domestic role of daughter to the male-dominated social role of soldier.

In many adaptations of the story, physical features associated with gender and corresponding clothing join soldier disguise in completing Mulan’s transformation. The emphasis on physical gender differences and the amplification of gender transformation represent the awareness of the limitation of male domination in public social roles, the suppression of female sexuality, or the claim of sharing public social roles between genders. With the improvement of gender equality and the development of social division of labor in modern China, the theme of gender disguise wanes in the 2009 film *Mulan: Rise of a Warrior*.

54. BAOLI YANG, University of California, Los Angeles

Frontier Re-poeticized: Frontier Poetry and Sovereign Consciousness from Liang to Early Tang

Frontier poetry in pre-modern Chinese literature is generally regarded as poems themed with border areas. This genre had its prototype in the *Shijing* and resonance in modern Chinese poetry. Recent scholarship has focused on the development of this genre in Southern Dynasties (Wang Wenjin, 2000; Tian Xiaofei, 2007) and the aesthetic features of certain works in Tang (Ren Wenjing, 2005; Daymon Joseph Macmillan, 2013; Timothy Wai Keung Chan, 2014). So we now had better understandings of the relationship between frontier poetry, *yufu* genre and the dynamic changes of Chinese aesthetics. Here I propose to further analyze an overlooked topic: how frontier poetry represented different sovereign consciousness in the dynastic transitions of Liang, Sui and Tang. First I compare the frontier poems by Xiao Gang (Emperor Jianwen of Liang), Yang Guang (Emperor Yang of Sui) and Li Shimin (Emperor Taizong of Tang). For Xiao Tong, frontier poetry offered him escape from his role in the center of the Liang court and enabled him to fantasy the afar with a feminine voice. Yang Guang, though overlapping Xiao Tong in terms of imagery choices, manifested a masculine grandiosity that meant to conquer all. As an admirer of Yang Guang's talents and a learner from Yang's tragedy, Li Shimin not only followed Yang's step to go on military expeditions to Korea but also shadowed his poetry with the anxiety of his power over the hard-won territory. Then I examine how the other poets, as the subjects of the three emperors, emulated their emperors' poetic styles and enriched the tradition of frontier poetry respectively during the transition from early Medieval to Medieval China. I argue from the top down the differed sovereign consciousness dominated the thematic concerns and aesthetic trends of frontier poetry.

55. DI SUN, University of Hawaii at Manoa

The Imagery of Wild Geese in Waka and Classical Chinese Poetry

Wild geese are an important motif in both *waka* and Classical Chinese poetry. The migratory nature and seasonal presence of wild geese elicit various poetic concepts in East Asian poetry. By analyzing these tropes whether shared by *waka* and Classical Chinese poetry or not, such as wild geese as travelers, messengers, lovers, soldiers, and seasonal indicator, this essay attempts to gain an insight into not only the Chinese influence on *waka* with regard to this particular imagery but also the peculiar features of *waka*'s constitution and development. The lack of variety in the image of wild geese in *waka*, I would suggest, partly results from the nature of *waka* as an independent genre from *kanshi* 漢詩 (Chinese poetry) to express sentiment and emotion rather than the articulation of one's intention. On the other hand, as Chinese poetry detaches from occasion since High Tang, *waka* remains highly occasional with the royal power playing a dominant role in its development. While the imagery of wild geese in Chinese poetry functions on its own in an individual poem, it synthetically works with other seasonal imageries within the narrative of seasonal poetry in Japanese *waka* anthologies. The imperial power shapes *waka* and establishes a cosmological system where the poets, poems, images including wild geese function interactively as organic parts in a whole.

56. WONG WAI HO, Fudan University/Macau University of Science and Technology
Congee as a Cultural Code: A Study on the Poetry of Southern Song Poet Lu You [withdrawn]

Since the assertion attributed to the Song literatus Wang Anshi (1021–1086) concerning all good and vernacular phrases have been thoroughly acquired by Du Fu (712–770) and Bai Juyi (772–846) respectively, all poetry works written since Song dynasty are then stereotyped as somehow with no value than those written by Tang poets. Moreover, the critics and scholars in both ancient China and modern Chinese academia tend not to use poetry as a clue to review the traditional Chinese culture. Suffice to say, the poems composed by Southern Song poet Lu You (1125–1210) can be regarded as significant illustration pertaining to the mentality of literati and the culture of food in traditional China. It has been observed that the older he got, the more he liked to evoke congee as a theme of poetic composition. For instance, in a poem titled “Having Congee” which was written in 1198 when he was 74 years old, he wrote that “Everyone strives for being immortal, but they are not aware that the way in fact is not far from us. I have learnt an easy and practical method from Zhang Lei (1054–1114) that we can achieve this goal by simply having congee”. Not merely does his poetry reveal his attitudes towards sustaining life span and being hermit in his old age, but also indicates how congee as a food to keep a human being healthier and recover from illness faster, in accordance with *God of Agriculture’s* Canon of *Materia Medica* and other classics of traditional Chinese medicine. What’s more, Lu’s poetry depicts the evolutionary process of wine from congee, in addition to the description in *Science and Civilization in China* by Needham Joseph (1990–1995). In other words, the writings regarding congee in Lu’s poetry provide a dimension of traditional Chinese culture in a broader sense.

57. ZUOTING WEN, Arizona State University
Sing for the Past: An Excursion in Southern Beijing on the Day after Mid-Autumn Festival in 1351

The abandoned capital city of the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) located in the southern part of modern Beijing became one of the capital literati’s excursion destinations in the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368). Nai Xian (1309–?), a member of a famous Qarluq family who grew up in south China, had attended one of the gatherings, and left us 16 poems that still can be seen in its original calligraphy format rediscovered in 1999. This paper will contextualize these poems into the period of cultural fusion of the southern and northern traditions, and argue that cultural activities like this are crucial in constructing a collective cultural identity for the different groups of people in the Yuan dynasty. By highlighting this Qarluq descendant’s appreciation towards relics of former dynasties, this paper also aims to explore how did the Central Asia immigrants in Yuan view history.

C. Islamic Near East IV: Sunnī-Shīʿī Interactions. RODRIGO ADEM, University of North Carolina, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) *Museum A Room* *

58. HAN HSIEN LIEW, Harvard University

Ibn al-Jawzī and the Cursing of Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya: A Debate on Rebellion and Rightful Leadership

In modern Western scholarship on Islam, Sunni Muslim political thinkers are often viewed as gradually bending and compromising the ideals of the *shaʿa* in order to justify the historical circumstances of the caliphate up to their time. My paper reassesses this view by examining the *Kitāb al-Radd ʿalā al-mutaʿassib al-ʿanīd al-mānī min dhamm Yazīd* by Ḥanbalī preacher and theologian Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201). This short treatise is the product of an internal debate in Ḥanbalī circles regarding the permissibility to curse the second Umayyad caliph Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya (d. 64/683) on three counts: his massacre of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (d. 61/680) at Karbalāʾ, looting of Medina, and siege of Mecca resulting in the bombardment of the Kaʿba with catapults. Inasmuch as the debate concerns Umayyad legitimacy at first glance, the root of the controversy touched upon the age-old question of the moral and political behavior of the caliph, as well as whether a caliph who ruled unjustly can be resisted and ultimately deposed. I argue that Ibn al-Jawzī addressed this issue by engaging with ideas and discourses on the caliphate by Sunni thinkers before and during his time. Ibn al-Jawzī’s eclectic approach to the “Yazīd problem” also involved adopting political ideas outside the confines of the Ḥanbalī school of law as he grappled with his Ḥanbalī peers and the legacy of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) on the issue of rebellion against an unjust ruler. Far from legitimizing historical circumstances, Ibn al-Jawzī even deemed Ḥusayn more fit for the caliphate than Yazīd and other prominent Companions of the Prophet during that period. Through the lens of Ibn al-Jawzī’s *Kitāb al-Radd*, this paper sheds light on the significance of the hitherto understudied late sixth/twelfth century for the history of Islamic political thought.

59. MOHAMMED SAGHA, University of Chicago

Early Shīʿī Discourse on Religious Leadership: Penitence, Revolution and Eschatology after Imam Ḥusayn

This study engages in a comparative socio-political, ideological, and discursive analysis of two Shīʿī movements centered in Kūfa in the 1st/7th centuries: the followers of al-Mukhtār, known as the Mukhtāriya, and the Tawwābūn under the leadership of Sulaymān b. Ṣurad. These movements played a paramount role in the formation and historical trajectory of Shīʿī thought, identity, and political organization and memory. I argue that these two movements emerge following the killing of the third Shīʿī Imam, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, in answering the question of: what are the legitimate bounds of political action that the followers (Shīʿa) of ʿAlī and his offspring can take? The respective answer of these groups is centered on a fundamental divide over the issue of representing the Imam and family of the Prophet Muḥammad (*ahl al-bayt*) and is directly reflected in their religious and political speech. While Sulaymān’s discourse focused on the legacy of ʿAlī, the family of the Prophet, and personal redemption, Mukhtār’s focused on political eschatology and representation of an ʿAlid *Mahdī*, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīya. Linguistically, I argue that the forms of speech utilized by Sulaymān and Mukhtār reflect their political dispositions. Sulaymān relied on appeals through

the *khutba* while Mukhtār was renowned for his utilization of *sajʿ* poetry which predicted future occurrences and was thus accused of being a false *kuhhān* (soothsayer). The discursive competition between Mukhtār and Sulaymān contributed not only to the development of Shīʿī eschatological belief, but also shaped future Shīʿa political organizational structures and strategies in very tangible ways. More specifically, the underground organization of the Tawwābūn and the messianic-eschatological thought of the Kaysānīya (an offshoot of the Mukhtārīya) which simultaneously pushed forward a politicized notion of the *mahdī* and occultation, foreshadowed subsequent waves of revolutionary Shīʿism (including the Abbāsīd revolution) and contributed to the development of key beliefs which now form fundamental Shīʿī doctrine including the idea of the *mahdī*, *ghayba*, *rajaʿa*, and *badʿa*.

While previous scholarship on Mukhtār and the Tawwābūn has primarily engaged in philological-historical reconstruction and source-critical methods, I contribute to the existing field by engaging in a socio-political and discursive-ideological re-positioning of these early Shīʿī mass-political movements. Ideas and beliefs, in other words, are embedded in multi-layered contexts for the early Shīʿa, and their trajectories are in significant part affected by the structures, constraints, and space they are situated within. Form as well as content of discourse seen in the *khutba* and “*sajʿ al-kuhhān*” can equally reveal to us how Shīʿī thinkers and political figures projected and framed their ideas on what has defined so much of Shīʿī political thought since their time: what does it mean to represent the family of the Prophet and the Imams? Primary source materials utilized in this study include Abū Mikhnaḥ, al-Balādhurī, al-Masʿūdī, and al-Dīnawarī.

60. SCOTT C. LUCAS, University of Arizona

Did Shāh Walī Allāh Transmit a Zaydī Ḥadīth Collection?

The inaugural publication of Turath Publishing’s Forty Ḥadīths Series was *al-Arbaʿīn* of Shāh Walī Allāh (d. 1762), the entirety of which he narrated from his Meccan teacher, Abū Ṭāhir al-Madanī (d. 1733). This collection is identical in content, and nearly identical in arrangement, to a popular Zaydī forty-ḥadīth collection called *Silsilat al-ibriz bi’l-sanad al-ʿazīz*, ascribed to Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Balkhī (d. 532/1137–8). Al-Balkhī appears as “Abū Muḥammad” in Shāh Walī Allāh’s *isnād* for his *al-Arbaʿīn*, although the *isnāds* for the two books diverge in several places. In an interesting twist, most of these forty ḥadīths are found also in al-Masʿūdī’s (d. 345/956) much earlier *Murūj al-dhahab*, where he credits Ibn Durayd’s (d. 321/933) *al-Mujtanā* as one of his sources for them.

This paper will explore the relationship between the 4th/10th century books by Ibn Durayd and al-Masʿūdī, the Zaydī *Silsilat al-ibriz*, and Shāh Walī Allāh’s *al-Arbaʿīn*. It will analyze the *isnād* of *Silsilat al-ibriz*, and the sources for its ḥadīths that the Yemeni Sunnī-turned-Zaydī scholar, Ṣāliḥ b. al-Ṣiddīq al-Namāzī (d. 975/1567–8), identified in his commentary, *al-Qawl al-wajīz*. (I have collected copies of several manuscripts of *al-Qawl al-wajīz* held by the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, and it has been published in Iran). Ultimately, the answer to the question posed in the title of this paper depends upon how one defines a Zaydī ḥadīth collection, especially when it consists of ḥadīths that are found in famous Sunnī books. In this particular case, it may be more accurate to claim that the Zaydīs have transmitted a short Sunnī ḥadīth collection, rather than crediting Shāh Walī Allāh with transmitting a Zaydī one.

61. MICHAEL DANN, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Sunnizing Zaydism or Shī'izing Sunnism? Debating Sectarian Boundaries in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Yemen

This paper examines the efforts of three “Sunnizing” Zaydī scholars in seventeenth and eighteenth century Yemen to adopt aspects of Sunnī intellectual heritage while remaining firmly rooted in some sort of Shī'ī identity. I argue that their works reveal the “Sunnizing” trend among Zaydīs of this era to be a more complicated and uneven process than is often assumed on the basis of the works of its two most prominent representatives, Ibn al-Wazīr and Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shawkānī. The three figures studied in this paper, Ṣāliḥ b. Maḥdī al-Maqbalī, al-Ḥasan b. Iṣḥāq and Ibn al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī, are situated chronologically between Ibn al-Wazīr and al-Shawkānī. Both Ibn al-Wazīr and al-Shawkānī expressed great admiration for traditionalist Sunnī methodologies in hadith and law, and while they retained unambiguous links to Zaydī tradition, they did not, in general, make any attempt to argue for its superiority over Sunnism. In this paper, I demonstrate that the figures situated in between Ibn al-Wazīr and al-Shawkānī (with the partial exception of al-Ṣan'ānī) were often as intent on “Shī'izing” Sunnism as they were on “Sunnizing” Zaydism. Through a robust engagement with leading Sunnī traditionalist scholars, all of these figures criticized Sunnī biases against Shī'ites and sought to establish a positive valence for Shī'ism from within Sunnī tradition. Their strategy in doing so consisted largely in accusing Sunnīs of inconsistency in their marginalization of early Shī'ites, and in mining the biographical works of Mamlūk-era authors for definitions of Shī'ism that were either acceptable on Sunnī terms or easily preyed upon due to their biases and contradictions. In light of this investigation, a more complex and finely grained picture emerges of what Bernard Haykel has termed “the great intellectual ferment” that occurred as Zaydīs under the Qāsimī dynasty adopted and critically engaged Sunnī traditionalist methodologies.

62. ALI RIDA KHALIL RIZEK, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

Working for the Unjust Ruler in Early Imāmī Thought

Imāmī Shī'ism is known for its denial of the legitimacy of the caliphs and rulers who succeeded Prophet Muhammad (d. 11/632), except for the fourth caliph 'Alī (d. 40/661). This position is reflected in the numerous questions and requests (*mas'āl*) that the Imāms received from their followers asking, for example, about the permissibility to serve in government institutions. Generally, the response was to avoid any collaboration with the government unless there was an extreme necessity or coercion.

Yet, this was not always the case. In many other situations, the Imāmī tradition shows that the Imāms, their companions, and their followers did actually collaborate with this authority despite their unchanged general position on its illegitimacy. Even more, in some reports, the Imāms asked some of their companions to join the highest offices in the state and at times to serve the caliph directly. The famous example of 'Alī b. Yaqtīn (d. 182/798), a companion of the sixth Imām al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/766) and the seventh Imām al-Kāzīm (d. 183/799) and a trustworthy *ḥadīth* transmitter, stands for this statement.

After the beginning of the greater Occultation (329/940–941), the question remained significant, and since the Imām is no longer sanctioning in person the collaboration with the established government, Imāmī Scholars had to address the dilemma

themselves, and to set the conditions under which working for the illegitimate government is allowed.

It is the aim of this study to follow the emergence and the development of this question in Imāmī thought and literature throughout its formative period (2nd–3rd / 8th–9th centuries), with a special attention to the earliest Imāmī *ḥadīth* collection: *al-Kāfī*. The research that the Imāmī position was subject to significant adjustments due to socio-political circumstances that surrounded the nascent group.

63. ABBAS ZAREI MEHRVARZ, Bu-Ali Sina University, Hamadan

A New Historical Study on Khurrami Religion and Its Roots

Several political and social movements have occurred In Iran in the first centuries AH/ eighth to tenth AD, that in the main historical sources are known as carrier of a religious message. Khurrami religion is one of the most famous beliefs that various and contradictory narratives have been mentioned about it in this period.

In the review of resources, it is necessary to know the remaining sources about Khurrami religion, that in fact, are the second hand and the original sources have been lost in the first Islamic centuries. On the other hand, a few resources and narratives on Khurrami religion and its sects have been lost; and the remaining writings are only a section of those which have been come down to us in a confusing and turbulent way. The Islamic historians, that their works known as the original sources, have considered some totally conflicting opinions and linked those to the Khurrami beliefs. Anyway, these narratives are the route of data and, in no way, cannot be ignored on Khurrami religion, although are mostly hostile; but we can judge them and achieved the historical results. Of course, the hostile narratives do not mean that they have made in their writer's mind; they have narrated narrations only based on the available sources, which were known as the governmental sources and archives and hence, had a hostile nature. To follow them, the historians and modern scholars have made the same way, but were not able to express a firm opinion. Perhaps classification of the principal Beliefs of Khurrami religion based on these turbulent remained sources provide the best way to explain it. Therefore, the author classified the related contents in the article and has reviewed each one by the historical analysis.

The contents about Khurrami religion have been remained in the four historical, heresiographical (Milal va Nihal), travelogues and a resource on bibliography species of books. This number of narratives in the Islamic sources indicates the significance of this religion and its flows. The religious aspect of the Iranian movements is one of the most subjects in the history of early Islamic centuries of Iran. But, in the author's opinion, this aspect was not reviewed correctly in the historical researches. Of course, this religion is mostly known by the name of Babak; but because of hostile relations between the Abbasid Caliphate and Babak, Islamic sources which were written under the Caliphate sovereignty, have an adversarial comment to Khurramiyya.

The author tries to answer to the following questions:

1. What is khurrami religion and there is what kind of relationship with Islam and other religions.
2. What was the Abbasid Caliphate policy about khurrami religion?
3. Why khurrami religion suddenly almost disappeared in the early 9th AD Century?

4. Which relationship there was between Khurrami religion and Babak, the leader of the longest Iranian movement in the early 9th century?

Many studies have been written about the Khurrami belief; however, but there are major issues related it that still have not been resolved.

The author's way in this study is content analysis method, based on the natural spirit of events and matching narratives to each other. Therefore, has been achieved the new conclusions which could greatly contributed to understanding history of Iran in the first AH Centuries/ eighth to tenth centuries AD. Therefore, in this method maybe the historian achieves to some historical relative realities which have not mentioned in the resources and still were be hidden for the researchers. However, this method requires much courage reviews and preparation for the reviews; but the important result that is achieved, becomes predominant on its risk. In brief, the author has taken advantage this method in the article.

The nature of Khurrami religion

"Khurrami" was a generic name for the Iranian various religious sects opposed on the Sunni Islam, the formal religion in the early era of the Abbasid Caliphate. According to confusion and contradiction of narratives about Khurrami religion, we cannot be sure of their authenticity. This name has come mostly after Babak's name in the historical books. According to and confusing and contradiction narratives of the heresiographical books, be concluded that it was an eclectic religious beliefs from Mazdakite, Shi'a Imami, Ismaili and other Shiite sects. The meaning of Khurrami is a compilation of heterodoxy, apostasy and leaving Islam, promiscuity, joy and fornication. Its beginning is unknown. Its followers settled in many parts of Iran. In revenge for Abu Muslim Khorasani were industrious, and believed to the prophet/king under name Sharwin, which most probably a title of Sharwan rulers in Aran or Transcaucasia and the result of the local myths and have no relations with a religious belief.

Conclusion In the author's opinion, the Khurrami religion was an artificial religion based on the Abbasid extensive and quite calculated propaganda against Babak and other Iranian enemies. It is interesting that these propagandas with the theme of the Khurrami religion were finished immediately after crushing the Babak movement. It was the secret of sudden removal of the Khurrami religion in the ninth century. It is unacceptable that after more than 150 years of the entrance and spread of Islam in Iran and its widespread religious conversion, many Iranians have remained committed to the principles of libertarianism and reincarnation; beliefs that have not been common in the religious and moral pre-Islamic Iranian society.

D. Islamic Near East V: Literature. LARA HARB, Princeton University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) *Museum B Room* *

64. COLEMAN CONNELLY, The Ohio State University

Al-Jāḥiẓ's Views on Translation in Context

Scattered across the *Book of the Animals* (*Kitāb al-ḥayawān*) of the ninth-century littérateur al-Jāḥiẓ are several digressions on the nature of translation. While not a translator himself, al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869) nevertheless lived through some of the most productive decades of the great Græco-Arabic translation movement then taking place

in Baghdad under the ‘Abbāsids. The *littérateur* is deeply critical of contemporary translators, mostly Christians, working to render the likes of Aristotle into Arabic. Faithful translation is all but impossible, he claims, due to the criminal incompetence of these translators, who fall short of the incomparable Greek authors they translate and wittingly or unwittingly distort the texts entrusted to them.

Al-Jāḥiẓ’s discussions of translation must be understood in the wider context of the author’s œuvre and that of other ‘Abbāsīd-era authors. I argue that previous scholars commenting on these passages have missed their subtext, namely the Islamic narrative of *tahrīf* (‘distortion’) according to which Christians corrupted the text of the Bible such that its version of the prophetic past disagrees with that of God’s ultimate revelation, the Qur’ān. First, I survey discussions of scripture and language, of *tahrīf*, and of Greek books in al-Jāḥiẓ’s other works and in a work by his reader and fellow Mu’tazilī ‘Abd al-Jabbār (d. 1025). Next, I demonstrate how the *littérateur* harnesses the narrative of Christian scriptural *tahrīf* to suggest that Christian Græco-Arabic translators are distorting the Greek past, whose literary monuments bear a distinct resemblance to scripture in their infallibility and wondrous inimitability. Finally, I conclude by suggesting that the work of the East Syrian Christian translator Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (d. 873) displays an awareness of and anxiety concerning this Muslim critique of translation preserved in al-Jāḥiẓ.

65. HANS-PETER POEKEL, Orient-Institut Beirut

Negotiating Language, Understanding Scripture: Ninth Century Writers on the Hermeneutics of Holy Scriptures

‘Abbāsīd scholars, writers and translators have been much aware about the hermeneutics of Holy Scriptures and their importance for a faith community. They recognized the ambiguities of Scripture and their different interpretations as a part of vivid debates which show a deep consciousness for the complex challenges of the attempt to understand God’s speech.

The interpretation of Holy Scriptures, especially the Qur’ān, but also its relationship to earlier Scriptures was as well in a context of an *inner-* as well as in *inter-communal faith communication* an important topic. Literary scholars like al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/869) or Ibn Qutayba (d. 276/889) among others regarded this field very carefully by paying much attention to the sensitivity of the topic and by seeing the plurality of interpretation as the basis of an ongoing debate without the promise of satisfying solutions.

The paper will consider several sources with regard to their intellectual context and their position between theology and philology. As shall be argued, the understanding of a holy text in its original language according to philological methods which has been specifically developed for Arabic as an important background for an adequate understanding of the Arabic language (*bayān*) in relation to its content and form played an important role in the discussions and can itself be understood as an ambiguous concept. It shall be asked which questions and problems concerning hermeneutical challenges of Holy Scriptures have been discussed among these scholars and how was especially the role of the translator and the *mufasssīr* as cultural mediators been regarded and valued? How did our sources regard the relationship of theology and philology and how far is the understanding of a Holy Scripture and the articulation of faith as a marker of ‘identity’ negotiated?

66. EREZ NAAMAN, American University

Collaborative Composition of Poetry and the Questions of Authorship and Unity

Modern scholars of Arabic literature famously debated the authorship of classical Arabic poetry, especially when it came to the authenticity of pre- and early-Islamic poetry. Another well-known scholarly debate revolved around the unity of the classical Arabic poem. Unlike those involved in these debates, I shall focus on these two questions through the lens of collaborative poetry. This kind of poetry was composed in two ways: (i) by two—or more—contemporary poets, interactively; (ii) when a poet “completed” a poem composed in the past by another. Since collaborative verse is normally accompanied by contextualizing details about the creation and performance of the piece, we have the rare opportunity of gaining insight into the compositional process. We can see, for example, how a poem appearing in a *dīwān* of a celebrated early-Islamic poet was in part created by an early ‘Abbāsid poet, who “completed” the verse of the former. We also learn that a collaborative piece like this may fall into authorial limbo and be called “lost poetry,” because from the viewpoint of literary criticism neither poet can claim it.

When one “completes” verse composed in the past, we should also ask what it says about the presumed unity of the original poem. In other words, why the poem is in need of “completion” in the first place, and whether it is indeed characterized by a unity that is violated in this process. The evidence in hand shows that the literary connoisseurs engaging publicly in the pastime of collaborative composition chose to “complete” short occasional pieces but not the usually long and formal odes. This, among other things, is a tacit recognition of the prestigious ode’s unity and firmly established authorship, which prevented its “violation” in public.

67. DAVID LARSEN, New York University

Choral Projections in the Ode of Wasnā bint ‘Āmir of the Banū Asad

To document pre-Islamic religious practice was not traditional Arabic scholarship’s job, and little hymnic poetry from the period is preserved. Any representation of hymn or description of choral rite in the Arabic poetic record therefore draws notice. This paper’s notice is of a 13-line poem attributed in a number of classical anthologies to “a woman of the Banū Asad,” named in one as Wasnā bint ‘Āmir. The poem’s date and provenance are far from certain, but the speaker’s recollections of having participated in para-monotheist ritual (an *istimṭār* or rain-supplication ceremony that deviates significantly from Islamic norms) place her notionally in the generation of the *mukhaḍramūn*. The *sitz im leben* of the poem itself is another matter, and its understanding hinges on choral performance as represented within the poem itself, which very possibly was composed for private performance by a group of singing girls (*qiyān*). This paper proposes to understand Wasnā’s poem as a case of “choral projection”—a phenomenon named by Albert Henrichs by way of theorizing those scenes of Athenian tragedy in which a chorus identifies its on-stage performance with some ritual action of the long-ago heroic past. In Wasnā’s poem, the projection of choral action takes place across an additional divide of decorum between early Islamic song culture and its pre-Islamic imaginary.

68. MATTHEW L. KEEGAN, New York University

Play, Piety, and the Apocalypse in al-Panjdhī's Commentary on al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*

This paper explores the commentary of al-Panjdhī (d. 584/1188) on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122). This commentary remains in manuscript and has been almost completely overlooked by modern scholarship. Al-Panjdhī frames the *Maqāmāt* with quotations from the Qur'an and the *ḥadīth*, and he argues that al-Ḥarīrī was tantamount to a *mujtahid*. Throughout the commentary, al-Panjdhī forcefully repudiates the arguments of Ibn al-Khashshāb (d. 567/1172) who had penned a critique of the *Maqāmāt*. Thus, according to al-Panjdhī, the *Maqāmāt* was a thoroughly Islamic text. Al-Panjdhī's interpretation of the *Maqāmāt* leads us to rethink the predominant view in the scholarship that pious readers were affronted by the *Maqāmāt*'s parodic treatment of Islamic discourses.

To understand how al-Panjdhī interpreted the *Maqāmāt* as a thoroughly Islamic text, this paper examines the commentary's introduction and its discussions of several key passages in the *Maqāmāt*. I demonstrate that al-Panjdhī used *ḥadīth* to draw moral lessons while arguing that the reader who masters the *Maqāmāt* will be a better interpreter of the Qur'an.

Together with these surprising moral lessons, al-Panjdhī evinces a strong interest in *ḥadīth* about the apocalypse. I argue that al-Panjdhī's interest in the apocalypse and his ethical reading of the *Maqāmāt* are linked. Al-Panjdhī sees the *Maqāmāt* not only as an ethical, Islamic text but also as a salvific one, and his ethical lessons are emphasized through his references to apocalyptic expectations.

69. ARSHAD M. HADJIRIN, University of Cambridge

Time, Space, and History in the *Iḥāṭa* of Ibn al-Khaṭīb

This paper looks at the treatment of time and space in local history writings, composed of biographies, in the arabic tradition. The focus of the study is on a history of Granada entitled *al-Iḥāṭa fī akhbār Gharnāṭa* by the renowned vizier Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374). The work in question consists of over nine hundred biographies of people who traversed Gharnāṭa, where each one of them is composed of multiple categories of data that produce a self contained narrative of being. When considered as a collection, the individual biographies can seem connected together organically by means of an intricate web of spatial and temporal markers placed within the text by the author. Based on an in depth analysis of a cluster of such biographies, in this paper, I aim to show how readers can access the work through the portal of any biography, and, in using markers of time and space that are placed therein, how they are also able to construct different historical narratives. The findings and conclusions presented here are based on an original reading of the *Iḥāṭa*, which forms a substantial part of my PhD dissertation on the topic of local history in the arabic tradition. Since the brief sketch on local history by H.A.R. Gibb (*Tārīkh* in *EI*), the subject has attracted only marginal scholarship leading to the production of very short synoptic sections, often, inserted into various historiographical studies. among these, Rosenthal's contribution remains the only broad survey of the field, although it is somewhat dated. consequently, in modern scholarship, there is a genuine lack of theoretical and methodological approaches towards the subject. as for my research it

is a pioneering effort that presents a systematic study of *tawārīkh al-buldān*, or local history, as a unique mode of expression within the arabic historical tradition.

E. South and Southeast Asia III: Authoritative Intermediaries. DOMINIK WUJASTYK, University of Alberta, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:00 a.m.) *Bradbury/Rose Room* *

70. CHRISTOPHER MINKOWSKI University of Oxford

An Early Modern Account of the Views of the ‘Miśras’

In a doxography of theological views, Nilakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the seventeenth century commentator and polemicist, describes among others the doctrines of a group he calls the *miśras*. The doctrines appear to be Muslim, or possibly Christian, in nature, concerning the creator, heaven and hell, the unique births of souls, and moral justice.

The presentation will describe Nilakaṇṭha’s account of these doctrines and the text in which they occur, the *Ṣaṭtantrīsāra*, and will attempt to identify the sources from which they are drawn. There will also be some remarks about disturbances to the traditional patterns of Sanskrit doxography in texts of this period.

71. ADHEESH SATHAYE, University of British Columbia

The Framing of the Shrew: Scribal Subversions of Feminist Discourse in the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* of Śivadāsa

This essay examines the third story of the *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśati* of Śivadāsa, a well-known and well-travelled medieval Sanskrit collection of riddle-tales, and its relationship to the construction of gender and sexual norms in medieval Indian public culture. The tale itself concerns an argument between a parrot and a myna bird over whether men are more wicked than women, and presents at least a semblance of what A. K. Ramanujan might have called a “female-centered” perspective within the Sanskrit literary text, though admittedly it is in a highly fictive mode and told through the voice of its male author. By comparing a number of extant manuscripts of Śivadāsa’s text, we will investigate how interjected *subhāṣita* proverbs and the riddle that ends the tale—both of which belong to the masculine frame structure of the tale—reveal, instead, how the scribes and copyists responsible for these manuscripts were attempting to come to terms with masculine anxieties toward women’s sexuality and agency.

72. ZHANG MINYU, Beijing Foreign Studies University

The Forgotten Kabīr-Kamāl Lineage: a Case Study of Early Modern North Indian Vernacular Spiritual Authority

Kabīr, the Hindi weaver saint poet has attracted academic interests for centuries. His supposed main spiritual successor, Kamāl, however, was only poorly mentioned in the works of colonial period such as those of H.H. Wilson, G.H. Westcott, F.E. Keay. The historical existence of the Kabīr-Kamāl lineage is confirmed with textual sources from different communities, including Sikh and Kabīrpanth, though in many cases, he was remembered in a negative way—either as an incompetent successor who ruined Kabīr’s fame, a son who betrayed his father, or an unfriendly colleague towards other non-Muslim Kabīrian followers, etc. This paper furthers the discussion of the largely forgotten spiritual lineage by studying the following texts: firstly,

the Kabīrpanthi compositions, e.g. the Kamāl-praising *Kamāl Bodh* and the Kamāl-stigmatizing paragraphs in *Anurāg-Sāgar*; secondly, Kamāl's Hindi poems that have been scattered around different old Hindi anthologies, mainly in unstudied manuscript; thirdly, records of the orally transmitted tales about Kamāl. Though the relatively late date of composition of many texts would weaken arguments about the historicity of certain events, they help map out how the historical memory of Kabīr-Kamāl lineage evolved. Kamāl inherited certain teachings from Kabīr but his lineage, like many other spiritual lineages of similar north Indian vernacular Bābās', faced challenges from both Kabīr's Hindu followers, the founding fathers of future Kabīrpanth and more authentic Islamic Sufi orders. Gradually, the individual charisma was assimilated into the legal authority of Islam, distancing itself from other non-Islamic traditions.

F. South and Southeast Asia IV: Śivadharmā and the Formation of Lay Śaivism. JOHN NEMEC, University of Virginia (10:15 a.m.–12:15 p.m.) *Bradbury/Rose Room*

73. SHAMAN HATLEY, University of Massachusetts, Boston

The Slaying of Khaṭvāsura (*khaṭvāsuraavadha*): On the *Devīpurāṇa*'s Adaptation of a Tantric Scripture

This presentation identifies and examines the *Devīpurāṇa*'s adaptation of source material from the *Brahmayāmala*, an early *śākta-śaiva* scripture of the Bhairava-stream of tantric revelation. The borrowed material concerns the tale of the obscure Khaṭvāsura—the anti-god who Bhairava slays and then transfigures into his emblematic skull-staff (*khaṭvāṅga*). A number of indications for the dependence of chapter 119 of the *Devīpurāṇa* upon chapter 83 of the *Brahmayāmala* will be examined, including structural and narratological clues, cosmology, and vocative epithets. The *Brahmayāmala* survives in two recensions: the older, 12,000-verse recension as well as the recently discovered **Brahmayāmalasāra*, an abbreviated redaction of 3,500 verses. It will be argued that chapter 68 of the **Brahmayāmalasāra* drew upon both *Devīpurāṇa*, chapter 119 and *Brahmayāmala*, chapter 83. After demonstrating this, I will review implications for the dating and critical editing of all three texts. Readings from manuscripts of the **Brahmayāmalasāra* and the testimonia of the *Devīpurāṇa* have significant implications for editing the *Brahmayāmala*, all known manuscripts of which derive from a single 11th-century codex. Moreover, this case of intertextuality suggests directions for research into the history and redactional process of the *Devīpurāṇa*, a heterogeneous, poorly transmitted text which nonetheless appears key to the emergence of purāṇic “Śāktism.” Its direct borrowing from an early Bhairavatantra highlights the roles of early Śaiva literature in the purāṇa's formation, and links between tantric and exoteric goddess worship.

74. FLORINDA DE SIMINI, Università degli Studi di Napoli “l'Orientale”

The Śivadharmā and its Buddhist Audience

In the sixth and seventh centuries Śaivism was on the rise among the wealthy patrons of the main state formations in South Asia. One of the reasons of its success was its ability to appeal to the adherents of the other main religious traditions of this area, by adopting some of their teachings and rituals and integrating them into

their set of practices and beliefs. In this paper, I will focus on the efforts made by the author(s) of the Śivadharma texts in order to attract an audience of Buddhist lay practitioners. This becomes especially clear when we look at the *Śivadharmottara*, which, among the earliest texts of the Śivadharma corpus, is the one that seems to be more concerned with political matters and proselytism. An analysis of this text shows that it was composed with the objective of blending the Śaiva teachings for the laity with some of the most popular Buddhist beliefs, while trying to harmonize all with the traditional Brahmanical world view.

75. NIRAJAN KAFLE, Leiden University

Mountain-Observances? Some of the Special Observances Propounded in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*

Around the 6th–7th centuries CE, Śaivism already was a major religion in South and Southeast Asia. The movement sought to offer an attractive alternative to compete with Vaiṣṇavism, which was the most influential religion in the preceding centuries. As a result, Śaivism was producing a huge number of texts, monuments, and inscriptions. Among the texts of this period, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* was one of the most important in that it provided to lay religious audiences a model for the worship of Śiva. This text, the oldest of the eight or nine lay Śaiva texts comprising the so-called Śivadharma-corpus, contributed enormously to the spread of Śaiva theology in South and Southeast Asia. This presentation investigates two mountain-related *vratas* (observances), the Kailāsa-*vrata* and the Meru-*vrata*, mentioned in chapter 10 of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, and argues that these *vratas* have helped make Śaivism more dynamic, and thus became appealing to a wider range of people.

76. TIMOTHY LUBIN, Washington and Lee University

On Feeding *Śivabhaktas* and Other Rules of *Śivāśrama-Dharma*

In the wake of the consolidation of Brahmanical *varṇāśrama-dharma* in Manu's code, early Śaiva ascetic movements like the Pāśupata inspired efforts to reframe Śaiva religiosity as consonant with orthodox Brahmanism. Accordingly, the still unedited and little-studied *Śivadharmaśāstra* (6th or 7th c.), set out to superimpose on the Dharmaśāstra system of *varṇa* (social rank) and *āśrama* (mode of life) a new template for Māheśvaras (lay Śaivas). It did so by recasting classical Dharmaśāstric categories in light of Śaiva theological and liturgical commitments in a way that shows that they recognized the authority carried by Dharmaśāstra, but asserted that its values were realized more perfectly when inflected by *śivabhakti* (devotion to Śiva). This involved defining four *śivāśramas* to supersede the older Brahmanical set. The fullest personification of this ideal, the *śivabhakta*, then takes the place of the learned Brahmin as the ideal recipient of ritualized feeding as a form of merit-making. This paper analyzes the prescriptions on feeding *śivabhaktas* in this text in light of the older Brahmanical norms for the feeding of Brahmins (a ubiquitous trope that has somehow not attracted much attention in its own right). I hypothesize that such prescriptions, both in earlier Brahmanical works and in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, were intended to support the idea that pious non-celibate Brahmins were comparable in holiness with mendicants of the ascetic orders, and equally deserving of public support and royal patronage. The Śivadharma version had the further aim of showing that *śivabhakti* was the highest form of Brahmanical *dharma*.

77. NINA MIRNIG, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien

Rudras on Earth: the Worshipper's Spiritual Status in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*

The critical edition and study of the so-called Śivadharma-corpus proves increasingly important for understanding the socio-religious milieu from which the tantric traditions emerged in the early medieval period. Formally addressing the community of Śaiva lay worshippers, the corpus not only canonizes and consolidates a range of practices connected to Śiva worship as they stood in the sixth century, but also contains other features. On the one hand, it reveals shared practices with the initiatory traditions of the Atimārga, in particular the Pāśupatas. On the other, it contains elements that re-appear in subsequent tantric traditions. One such shared feature is the strong emphasis on identifying the worshipper with the deity—mostly Rudra—a concept that is heavily propagated in the earliest layer of the corpus, the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. The paper will investigate this early phase of conceptualizing the spiritual status of the Śaiva worshipper, also in relation to practices such as the Great-Śivaliṅga-Observance (*śivaliṅgamahāvratā*) and the spiritual benefits this divine status yields, these oscillating between worldly benefits or powers (*siddhi*) and liberation (*mukti*).

A. Ancient Near East IV: Text as Data: Digital Humanities for Text Analysis II. DAVID I. OWEN, Cornell University, Chair (2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) *Bunker Hill Room* *

78. NIEK VELDHUIS, University of California, Berkeley

Clustering Sumerian Literature

The definition of the Sumerian literary corpus is open to debate. Traditionally, “literature” was understood primarily as an aesthetic category, describing texts that use parallelism, metaphor, and other stylistic devices (see, for instance, Edzard 2004). More recently “literature” has been discussed in functional terms, as a group of texts used in scribal education (for instance Tinney 1999; Veldhuis 2004), or used in the production of royal self-representation (for instance Michalowski and Rutz 2016). Whatever the result of this debate will be, it is fairly obvious that the group of compositions once considered “Old Babylonian Sumerian Literature” is not a single entity. Some compositions were copied widely and frequently, others are attested only in a single exemplar. The present contribution will use computational methods to create clusters of compositions, based on their vocabulary. These clusters may be used as a starting point for further discussion of how clusters cohere and differ from other clusters and, ultimately, what that means for our understanding of Sumerian literature.

The analysis will use two types of clustering: hierarchical clustering and K-means clustering. Hierarchical clustering is most effective for a relatively small set of data points. The corpus of texts that will be subjected to clustering is the group of heroic tales around Gilgamesh, Enmerkar, and Lugalbanda. It will be shown that the Lugalbanda and Enmerkar stories form two coherent and closely connected groups, but that the Gilgamesh stories are scattered all over the place. This may indicate that the Gilgamesh narratives developed over a longer period of time, reflecting different needs and contexts. K-means clustering is useful for larger data sets and will be applied on the entire corpus of some 400 compositions. The resulting clusters partly overlap with the group of ‘core-curricular’ literary texts.

Literary compositions in Sumerian may be differentiated according to genre or according to use. Clustering by vocabulary may add one more dimension to this debate.

79. LAURA HAWKINS, Brown University

A Computational Analysis of Syllabic Sign Values in Late Third and Early Second Millennium Mesopotamia and Syria

The earliest evidence of cuneiform signs being used syllabically to write Akkadian words and proper nouns comes from between 2600 BC and 2500 BC. Between ca. 2350 BC and 1800 BC, syllabic sign values use proliferates across Mesopotamia and Syria, although the usage distribution is still largely local in nature. From approximately 1800 BC, reforms in scribal practices standardize these signs and their values effectively ending major variability in the script. Therefore, almost 600 years exists, during which there is a wealth of textual data documenting the first full adaptation of the cuneiform script to syllabically write Semitic words and proper nouns.

I use computational methods to analyze holistically the distribution of syllabic value use within the cuneiform writing system during this period in order to understand if each third millennium site in Mesopotamia and Syria has its own unique syllabary, and to elucidate the primary factors that influenced the differences between these syllabaries. Individual studies of the signs attested with syllabic values among select representative corpora formed our dataset. In the analysis, three computational methods were employed: phylogenetic estimation (in PAUP*), hierarchical clustering (in R-Studio), and principal component analysis (in R-Studio). These revealed putative principal drivers behind variation in syllabic values attested in Semitic contexts within the Syrian corpora and across wider Mesopotamia.

The results strongly indicate that geographic and temporal variation were the strongest influences on sign use, and suggest that during this period cuneiform syllabaries are significantly varied, and that variation can further inform us about the regional, temporal, and dialectal contexts in which they existed. The addition of this research to the wider literature on the early adaptation of cuneiform enhances the field's understanding of how cuneiform syllabic values began to develop and emerge across the ancient Near East.

80. ÉMILIE PAGÉ-PERRON, University of Toronto

A Quantitative Method for Identifying Meaningful Groups of People in Administrative Cuneiform Archives

Exploring cuneiform corpora in order to answer social, political and economic questions often at least partly rely on prosopographical research. This is usually undertaken using traditional text analysis methods employing, *inter alia*, typologies for classification, although a growing number of scholars utilize social network analysis to this end. This still marginal approach in the field is rather successful (see for instance the work of C. Waerzeggers, S. Brumfield and A. Anderson) but it is unclear which method is best suited for this investigative task and to what degree both methods are complementary. How valid are these new methods? Can we really translate quantitative results into qualitative assessment of relationships?

In this paper, I will be investigating administrative cuneiform texts provenienced in Adab that span from the Early Dynastic to the late Sargonic period and will compare

classical methods for the identification of archives and sub-groupings with a social network analysis investigative process. In order to do this, I will process the relationship between people using network analysis algorithms (such as components, blocks and their brokers, K-plexes, K-cores and factions algorithms). The groups identified will then be compared with the actual archives, political and social groups, work units, and family ties that have already been identified in secondary literature treating this body of texts.

By carefully contrasting results of classical and digital methods of inquiry applied to identifying ancient groups of individuals in administrative texts, this paper will demonstrate how these methods compare to each other and how complementary they can be.

81. MILLER PROSSER, University of Chicago

The Ras Shamra Tablet Inventory, a Textual and Archæological Research Project in The Ochre Database Environment

The Ras Shamra Tablet Inventory (RSTI) seeks to create a digital repository for textual and archæological research on ancient Ugarit, including both legacy and new data. The project, co-directed by Dennis Pardee and Miller Prosser, pursues various research goals. First and foremost is the creation of a textual database of all of the texts from Ugarit, regardless of language or writing system. Texts are atomized down to individual signs, which are validated against project sign lists. Signs are combined into words that are organized in a glossary. Glossary items are organized by grammatical forms and attested forms. Personal names in texts are analyzed for prosopographic information, serving as the basis for social network analysis. Tablet photos are hotspotted with wedge outlines for epigraphic analysis, from which one may generate epigraphic letter charts by genre and other criteria. All tablets and other inscribed objects are organized into spatial hierarchies representing archæological find spots. Geo-spatial references of find spots and inscribed objects can be plotted on a regional map, an excavation plan, or any other geo-referenced base map.

RSTI uses the OCHRE database environment to address this wide range of research goals. Now with a decade of intensive use and continuing development, OCHRE (the Online Cultural and Historical Research Environment) has proven to be a powerful and flexible database environment for research on textual corpora in various languages and writing systems.

82. LAURIE PEARCE, University of California, Berkeley

They All Have the Same Name! Using Berkeley Prosopography Services to Tame the Hellenistic Uruk Onomasticon

The widespread use of papponymy throughout the onomasticon of Hellenistic Uruk poses special challenges to the identification of individuals and social networks of their interactions. Broken and incomplete data complicate the task of determining which name instances label the same person; the corpus expert integrates knowledge of many features of the corpus to mitigate the challenge of disambiguating individuals from, for example, 425 instances of the name Anu-uballit. Berkeley Prosopography Services (BPS) is a digital toolkit that supports this task. Unlike many digital tools available, the integrated environment of BPS emulates the workflow and heuristics researchers

employ in disambiguating names and generates visualizations of the resulting networks. Using probabilistic algorithms, it supports investigation of the likelihood that two or more name instances do or do not identify the same individual and the various “what if” scenarios that result from these assumptions.

This paper will begin with a description of the conceptual foundations of BPS, how it emulates heuristics domain experts apply in preparing name instances for disambiguation and corpora for SNA, and the ways it may support innovative research agendas. It will demonstrate the workflow that leads to the creation of SNA visualizations for specific families and professions. The well-documented Nana-iddin family and an in-progress exploration of the activities of a scholar-scribe will provide the data for these test cases. The potential of such visualizations to facilitate new research agendas inhibited by traditional print publications will also be explored.

83. VANESSA JULOUX, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and Paris Research University
A Statistical Experimental Approach for Studying Relationships between Animated Entities in the Ba’lu Cycle of ‘Ilimilku

How can the relationships between animated entities (AE) in a narrative corpus be measured? As part of my doctoral thesis, I propose a new methodology for ethno-anthropological purposes.

Based on the philosophy of action from Donald Davidson, and Gertrude Anscombe’s concept of intention, I set up variables to measure the relationships between AE. They are divided into two main groups: 1) objective: verbal lexemes, specific verbal taxonomies, names of AE, spheres (outside, inside), roles (active, passive), as well as contexts; and 2) subjective (in other words, to be left to the interpretation of researchers): types and levels of emotions (e.g. anger, joy), types of intentionality, levels of desire (1 to 5), the consequences of action (entity, entity and other(s), other(s)).

From all these quantified data (extracted from texts encoded in e.g. XML-TEI), various statistical calculations were made. The results may however be difficult to understand without visualization graphics, according to certain key variables of interest: e.g. diagram of verbal frequency data for each AE, proxemics inspired by the anthropologist Edward T. Hall.

Such a statistical approach is not a substitute for scholarly interpretation of narrative corpus but it should rather be considered as an experimental tool which highlights the relationships between AE, and complements conventional research methods; notably for studying deontic power, such as described by John Searle, or whether showing an individual marker of behaviour (agency: to identify social gender), the statistical results should be re-framed within socio-cultural, historical, and political contexts. Furthermore, this approach challenges the scientific achievements about the capacity and the implication of major animated entities such as ‘Anatu in the corpus studied.

B. Ancient Near East V: Literature. ILONA ZSOLNAY, University of Chicago, Chair (2:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m.) *Museum A Room* *

84. RYAN CONRAD DAVIS, Brigham Young University

Understanding Mesopotamian Rubrics as Labels for Rituals

Explaining the relationship between Mesopotamian prayers and the rubrics that often follow them has been a difficult issue. Some scholars have argued that the rubrics

point to literary genres and textual features, while others have suggested that rubrics categorize rituals and not the prayers themselves. Past studies that have organized prayers by form and content have grappled with the issue that the resulting group of prayers carry a variety of rubrics, while other studies that categorize prayers by their common rubric have grappled with the fact that their form and content is variable. Greater clarity can be brought to this issue by incorporating aspects of modern genre theory. Cross-disciplinary approaches to genre have themselves grappled with whether genre should refer to the form and content of texts or to the settings in which these texts are used. Exploring the relationship between the rubric and the texts that they follow points to a difference between the text and the setting the text is used in. I will focus on two rubrics that have received sustained attention: the ŠU.II₂.LA₍₂₎ (Frechette 2010) and the DINGIR.ŠA₃.DAB₍₅₎.BA (Jaques 2015). Using modern genre theory and close readings of the texts that use these rubrics, I will demonstrate that these rubrics are labels for the rituals that a prayer can be used in and are not labels for prayers. Looking at these rubrics in this way best explains many details, such as the use of multiple rubrics on a single prayer or multiple copies of the same prayer that have different rubrics. Better understanding the relationship between rubrics and the texts that precede them will allow us to further refine our approaches to Mesopotamian prayers and the rituals in which they participate.

85. GINA KONSTANTOPOULOS, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University

Speak Bird, Speak Again: Animals, Speech, and Agency in Sumerian Literature

Mesopotamian literary texts exhibit a number of different settings for their narratives, each with distinct requirements and aims. Alongside examples of heroic epics and myths, we can find literary texts that more closely align with traits belonging to the fable. In particular, proverbs can very often conform to these principles, and within the boundaries of this category, certain elements that would appear peculiar are instead commonplace. This paper examines one such element; namely, the prevalence of animals to speak as people would within these texts. While the speech of animals is occasionally explained through supernatural means or magical manipulations in other texts, it appears as a matter-of-fact occurrence in many Sumerian proverbs of the Old Babylonian period, an integrated aspect of the text's narrative. Examining this unremarked acceptance facilitates the analysis and reinterpretation of Sumerian proverbs and their potentially allegorical nature: while talking animals are an accepted feature of the internal logic of the text itself, fables can utilize animals and their speech as elements of the narrative to various, often allegorical, ends, primarily through having them function as ciphers for the absent human actors. Through an examination of Old Babylonian proverbs as a whole, certain patterns swiftly emerge, such as the prevalence of foxes and dogs to speak more than all other animals combined. In examining which animals speak and in what circumstances, in addition to closely considering particular proverbs in detail, we can see how certain proverbs, as well as elements of the corpus as a whole, connect to the underlying tropes which govern proverbs and allegorical texts in a number of different historical and cultural periods. Furthermore, the treatment of these animals—which animals speak, how often, and in what contexts—sheds further light on their place within the Mesopotamian literary landscape.

86. JOSEPH LAM, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Does the *Dialogue of Pessimism* Allude to the River Ordeal?

This paper explores a possible allusion to the river ordeal in the concluding section of the *Dialogue of Pessimism*, a passage that is crucial to the interpretation of the text as a whole. In the passage, in response to the master's final question ("What is good?"), the slave responds: "To have my neck and your neck broken, (and) to be thrown into the river, is good!" While nearly all interpreters have taken these lines to represent a straightforward suggestion that the two of them be killed (or kill themselves), a possible connection to the judicial institution of the river ordeal, known from periods throughout Mesopotamian history, would modify and indeed complicate the sense of the passage considerably. This paper first examines the plausibility of such a connection in light of grammatical, literary, and cultural considerations, arguing that, if indeed a reference to the ordeal was intended, it would be an oblique and ironic one. Next, working from the assumption that an allusion is present, the paper draws out the implications of this idea for our understanding of the text overall.

87. ILKKA LINDSTEDT & SAANA SVÄRD, University of Helsinki

Twice Othered: Portrayals of Arabian Queens in Assyrian and Arabic Texts

We will compare portrayals of pre-Islamic Arabian queens in Neo-Assyrian (ca. 900–612 BCE) and Arabic (800– CE) primary sources. Despite the chronological gap between the two corpora, the comparison is fruitful because the motif of "Arabian queen" is, in both materials, a nexus for a number of literary tactics in constructing the Other. We will adopt the intersectional study of identity in analyzing the construction of the elite, ethnic and gendered identities of Arabian queens. In the Assyrian and Arabic texts, they are subject to twofold othering: ethnic and gender-based.

In Neo-Assyrian texts, a number of female leaders of "Arabs" are titled *šarrutu*. This is the feminine form of *šarru*, king, usually translated as queen. However, the Neo-Assyrian queens were called *sēgallu* ("woman of the palace"), never *šarrutu*, which was a title reserved for deities and for Arabian queens. It seems that the Assyrians, in encountering a foreign concept of ruling femininity, dealt with it creatively by giving them the title *šarrutu*; this othering is also evident in the iconographic evidence.

Recent research suggests that there was no clear Arab ethnic identity in pre-Islamic times but a plethora of group identities. However, the Muslim-era Arabic historians inherited many of the stereotypes that had been used in connection with the Arabians by previous literary cultures, e.g., nomadism and martial valor. For this presentation we will investigate the narratives regarding "Arab" queens (*malika*), such as Zenobia, and how the depictions of them were part of the Islamic-era scholars' endeavor to Arabicize pre-Islamic history.

In this paper, we show that the idea of a female leader was problematic and that constructing a gendered and ethnicized narrative required special strategies in both text corpora.

88. SUSANNE PAULUS, University of Chicago

"Fraudulent" — "Fiction" — "Forgery". Is there still Hope for Agum (kakrime)?

Some inscriptions of the Kassite rulers have received more attention than others. One such text is that of a ruler called Agum (kakrime), known from two copies from

the library of Assurbanipal first published in copies by Pinches in 1880. The text describes how the early Kassite ruler Agum returned the statue of Marduk, stolen in the events of the fall of Babylon around 1595 BC. This text known only from later copies would—if authentic—be one of the most important sources of Early Kassite history.

But doubts on its authenticity were quickly raised by Landsberger in 1928/29, calling the inscription a likely “*forgery*”. This opinion was quickly adapted, even though he gave no reason for this view other than comparing the content with other doubtful inscriptions. In 1991 Longman included the inscription in his book on *Fictional Akkadian Autobiography*. Recently, scholars focusing on the Kassite period (Brinkman 2015, Tenney 2016) expressed the opinion that the inscription is likely “fraudulent” and was composed to support economic interests.

This talk will initially examine if a Kassite date is even possible. For that purpose, structure and content of the text will be compared to other known Kassite inscriptions, including recently published material. Later, the argument of an economic motivation for a possible forgery will be addressed.

89. ALICE MANDELL, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Contract, Scribal Exercise, or a Colossal Joke? Rethinking the MRZḪ Tablet at Ugarit (RS 1957.702 = KTU 3.9 = TU 3.9)

This tablet is classified as a contract between the head of a *Marziḫu* association at Ugarit and its members. This text tends to be discussed in reference to KTU 1.114, which narrates El’s humiliation after an evening of binge drinking with his *Marziḫu* association. Also, prior scholarship has seen a link between this association and the *bēṭ marzēaḥ* polemicized in later Israelite prophetic texts. I will first address the archaeological and inscriptional evidence for the *Marziḫu* as well as debates about its socio-cultural and ritual significance. Some argue that this institution was a part of funerary rites to honor the dead, whereas others view the *Marziḫu* to be more of a drinking club under the auspices of local deities. I will offer a reassessment of this tablet that considers its materiality, execution, language, and the social context underlying its creation at Ugarit. The sloppy execution of this tablet and the anomalous orthography have been attributed to an unprofessional writer, and interpreted as an index of literacy outside of the scribal profession. I will address this proposal, and examine the possibility that this is a scribal exercise, and quite possibly a scribal joke.

C. East Asia IV: Classical Scholarship. STEPHEN WADLEY, Portland State University, Chair (1:15 p.m.–3:15 p.m.) *Museum B Room* *

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

Degrees of similarity of Handwriting in Early Chinese Manuscripts

The distinction of scribal hands and other judgments concerning degrees of similarity of handwriting often enough play an important role in the interpretation of early Chinese manuscripts. Yes, there is little agreement with regard to the terminology (whether Chinese or English) used to distinguish and describe such degrees of similarity. This talk aims to delineate the categories of “scribal hand”, “style”, and

“type” of script in distinction from one another. I will explore criteria for the identification of scribal hands and styles of script and consider to which extent a collectively shared style of script can yield similarly valuable information for the understanding of a manuscript’s production and its appropriate interpretation as is usually couched in terms of identifying individual scribal hands.

91. ERICA YIN-CHING CHEN, National Taiwan Normal University

Conceptual Metaphor Analysis of Chinese Sacred Mountains as Seen from the Daoist Classic of *Liezi*

From the perspective of contemporary Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the paper attempts to decode the metaphorical meanings of sacred mountains 神山 in Chinese mythology. The Kunlun Mountain, which is said to be the epicenter of the universe, has an intriguing shape like an “empty gourd.” This empty-gourd-shaped structure becomes the prototype of other Chinese mythical mountains, including the Round Mound 圓嶠, Square Pot 方壺, Urn Peak 壺嶺, etc., as recorded in the Daoist classic of *Liezi*. According to Conceptual Metaphor Theory, humans often view things, including themselves, as “containers” with an inside and an outside. Moreover, the gate or pivot that connects the inside and the outside also implies deep meanings. Through analyzing the container metaphor of *Liezi*’s mythical mountains, this paper expounds Daoist cosmology and meditation theory, and proposes further aspects in the studies of Chinese mythology and Daoist thought.

92. DAVID B. HONEY, Brigham Young University

Zheng Xuan, Critical Distance, and the Maturation of Hermeneutics: Major Trends in Classical Scholarship of the Northern and Southern Dynasties

No in-depth survey of the history of classical scholarship during the Northern and Southern Dynasties exists in any western language. With the completion of Part One, “Northern and Southern Dynasties” of draft volume three of *History of Chinese Classical Scholarship*, now is an apposite time to share some basic trends of the scholarship of this era. First is the continuing importance of Zheng Xuan (127–200), either as a nonpareil for the majority of the community of classicists, whose commentaries on the classics were the starting point for any serious exegesis, or the foil that freed later interpreters from slavish devotion to the traditional reading by reacting against him. Second are the competing assessments of the relative value of scholarship of the North versus the South by recent historical work. And third is the surprisingly wide critical distance reached towards the end of the era by classicists in their stance vis-à-vis texts that facilitated marked achievements in both textual criticism and hermeneutics, important advancements that led to mature classical scholarship during the Sui and early Tang periods. The exemplars of this critical distance will be Huang Kan (488–545) in the south and Xiong Ansheng (d. ca. 578) in the north.

93. EVAN NICOLL-JOHNSON, University of California, Los Angeles

Patterns of Citation in *Sanguozhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*

At the request of Emperor Wen (r. 429–453) of the Liu-Song dynasty, Pei Songzhi (372–451) compiled an elaborate set of annotations to *The Record of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhi*). Pei’s annotations cite over 200 texts. Several decades later, Liu Xiaobiao (462–521) compiled a similar set of annotations for *A New Account of Tales*

of the World (*Shishuo xinyu*), drawing from an even larger number of books. Both sets of annotations quote from works that would otherwise be unknown, including many titles not listed in the expansive bibliographic treatise in the *History of the Sui* (*Suishu*).

By documenting the location of each citation within the annotations of *Shishuo xinyu* and *Sanguozhi*, I have created a series of network diagrams that chart connections between cited texts and the corresponding sections and chapters of both citing texts. These diagrams show not only where and how frequently each title is cited throughout both texts, but also which portions of each text cite similar groups of titles, and which titles tend to be cited alongside one another.

The annotations of Pei and Liu have been appreciated for their bibliographic value for centuries, but past studies have focused on extracting a list of titles and arranging it according to an existing bibliographic schema. Though this has produced useful reference works, it does so at the expense of clarifying the textual relationships created through annotation. By examining and comparing citation distribution throughout both texts, this study reveals new details about the likely contents of many lost texts, presents a new way to understand the textual patterns of *Sanguozhi* and *Shishuo xinyu*, and sheds light on how scholars made use of the increasing quantity of books and documents circulating among readers of the Southern Dynasties.

D. East Asia V: Rhapsody and Letter. MEOW HUI GOH, The Ohio State University, Chair (3:30 p.m.–4:30 p.m.) *Museum B Room*

94. YANG WU, Arizona State University

Ancestor Sage and Calendric Order: On Du Fu's *Rhapsody on Presenting at the Palace of Great Clarity*

This essay examines the sources of Daoist elements and the way that these components are transformed by Du Fu in his *Rhapsody on Presenting at the Palace of Great Clarity*. Presented to Emperor Xuanzong, it imagines the whole procession of this newly invented state ritual practiced at the spiritual temple in honor of the deified Laozi when Daoism was advanced to a new height in the high Tang period. In this progress, Du appeals authority not only from the classical Daoist scriptures of different traditions that had been internally and externally circulated but also from the new Daoist texts composed in the Tang as well as emperor's own annotation of the *Dao De Jing*, by which he skillfully appropriates to venerate Xuanzong and to demonstrate the political legitimacy of the dynasty.

This essay attempts to show that rhapsody as the leading poetic form still plays a significant role in the ideological imagination of the empire in the Tang dynasty. Secondly, it provides an instance to rethink what is Chinese religious poetry. Being identical to the many Daoist poems, this piece is also highly occasional yet not self-referential at all. I thus consider the intertextuality in relation to religious reference as the one of the main characteristics of Chinese religious poetry. The diverse Daoist sources embedded as allusions serve as the discourse through which the religious communities of divergent temporalities shared and imagined themselves. The discursive structure of rhapsody further turns the inherited and transformed religious discourse into a meaningful representation of the religious ritual innovation by the emperor, which is its vital context.

95. CLARA LUHN, University of Munich

How to Word a Letter in Song Dynasty

The question of how to express yourself adequately in writing is a common concern for scholars, be it in composing a thesis, a paper, or the odd email. What is the case nowadays applied just as much to pre-modern Chinese authors: The otherwise rather unknown Song scholar Ren Guang (fl. early 12th century) recognized the problem and thus compiled the encyclopedia *Shuxu zhinan* ("Compass for the Writing of Letters", ca. 1126).

The *Shuxu zhinan*, to date only scarcely covered in sinological research, is one of the few preserved encyclopedias from the Song dynasty concerning epistolary writing. Organized in twenty *juan* with a total of two-hundred sections covering a variety of topics, it lists allusions to earlier texts. Its subject areas range from the emperor, his family, and the court (*juan* 1) down to disease, death, and burial (*juan* 20). For each of its entries the work gives the main source of the expression.

The paper makes use of this encyclopedia to evaluate the influence of letters contained in the *Zhaoming Wenxuan* (compiled ca. 530 CE) in the Song dynasty. The anthology of Chinese poetry and short prose *Wenxuan* is one of the few pre-Tang collections of literature that still exist today. It thus plays a major role in shaping our ideas on which works of antiquity were important and which weren't. The paper analyses expressions coined by the letters in the *Wenxuan* themselves as well as their allusions to previous works. It aims to show that these letters do not particularly stand out as model letters in comparison to other contemporary works of the same genre. Thereby it provides a new perspective on the literary influence of the *Wenxuan* selection of letters.

E. Islamic Near East VI: The Sasanian Heritage. SCOTT C. LUCAS, University of Arizona, Chair (1:30 p.m.–3:00 p.m.) *Hershey/Crocker Room* *

96. DANIEL SHEFFIELD, Princeton University

New Evidence for the Middle Persian Prototype of *Kalila wa-Dimna*

In this presentation, I present a newly discovered Zoroastrian Middle Persian text with striking parallels to the 'short version' of the account of Burzōy's voyage to India, proposed to be the opening chapter of the lost Pahlavi prototype of *Kalila wa-Dimna*. The text presented here describes the allegorical response of the Zoroastrian sage Ōšnār to a question about medicinal herbs growing in the mountains of Ērānšahr which are said to bring the dead to life. While the protagonist (Ōšnār for Burzōy) and the location (Ērānšahr for India) of the text differ from those in the 'short version' of Burzōy's voyage, the allegorical interpretation given to the story is the same in both texts. In the presentation, I will give a brief account of the controversy surrounding the Middle Persian *Wizirkerd ī Dēnīg* in which the story is found and discuss linguistic and text- historical problems. Then, I will review the transmission of the 'short version' in its Arabic, Hebrew, and Spanish recensions to assess the possibility of whether the Pahlavi version found here could be a re-translation from Arabic. Ultimately, I propose the tentative conclusion that, in spite of certain as-of-yet unresolvable textual problems, the Pahlavi version presented here indeed reflects a Late Antique original, providing concrete evidence for de Blois's conclusions concerning the antiquity of the 'short version.'

97. THOMAS BENFEY, Princeton University

Galenic Epistemology at the Late Sasanian Court

In this paper, I integrate the testimony of four texts (Agathias' reports on various philosophers' journeys between the Roman Empire and Iran; Burzōy's introduction to *Kalīla wa-Dimna*; Paul the Persian's *Treatise on Logic*; and Priscian of Lydia's "Solutions to matters about which Khusro doubted") to sketch out the intellectual atmosphere at Khusro I's court in sixth-century Iran. While the great potential these texts hold for the study of Late Antique Eurasian intellectual history has been acknowledged (by, for instance, Richard Payne, Joel Walker and Michel Tardieu), their content has never been systematically evaluated in order to reconstruct a shared milieu. Here I present a more accurate and nuanced description of the ideas (and particularly the epistemological orientation) these texts attest to than the fairly straightforward characterizations of them as "rational" and/or "skeptical" that have been advanced in the past. I argue that while "rationalism" and "skepticism" can sometimes be helpful descriptors in this case, Galen's high standards for the proper exercise of reason, and Skeptic-like refusal to commit himself to answering metaphysical questions deemed to be fundamentally useless and irresolvable (as discussed by Michael Frede) represent the best available comparandum for the views these Sasanian-associated texts attest to. This may be evidence for the circulation of Galen's texts, or in any event a more generally "Galenic" or "Galenic-type" epistemological orientation, in late Sasanian Iran. Building on Richard Payne's work on "Iranian cosmopolitanism," I suggest that this move to dull the potential impact of rational discourse on disputed questions of ultimate reality would have suited the aims of the Sasanian Zoroastrian establishment well: preserving a veneer of rational exchange for the well-known court-organized disputes between representatives of different religious traditions (a legacy continued by the 'Abbāsīd caliphs), while leaving Zoroastrianism's essential metaphysical claims unchallenged.

98. XIANGRU JIN, New York University

Focusing in: New Research on Sasanian Stamp Seals in Washington, DC

In 1993, the Smithsonian Institution's Freer Sackler Galleries accessioned a stamp seal depicting a motif which is very well known from the corpus of surviving Sasanian glyptic arts. Clay bullae with seal impressions of the same motif of a winged bull or "Gopatshah" (literally "King of Gopat") have been excavated at sites like Qasr-Abu Nasr and Takht e Sulaiman in Iran. Our seal, once owned by the American archaeologist and explorer Joseph Upton (1901–1981), has never been on public display, and the motif of the "Gopatshah" received only in recent years more scholarly attention, despite the fact that a great number of public and private collections hold similar stamp seals. In fact, a second "Gopatshah" seal is owned by the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History. This seal was donated by C. Marsh from Hamadan in 1889.

In this paper, I will address our current understanding and challenges in identifying the background of the development of the motif of human-headed winged bulls in Sasanian iconography and address aspects of their original contexts. Why was this motif so popular among the Sasanian elite and priests? How does the Gopatshah motif relate to the iconography of carved seals known from the Eastern border regions of the Sasanian Empire, and to earlier iconographic traditions? Drawing upon a stylistic

analysis and investigating the iconographical repertoire of the Middle East and Central Asia, I will present an alternative approach of looking into the culture and legacy of pre-Islamic seals. At the same time, my paper will address aspects of modern historiography, display and the important role Sasanian seals could play in institutions of higher education in Washington, DC.

99. CHARLES G. HÄBERL, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey

A Four-Column Glossary from Ottoman Basra

The *Glossarium Sabicum, Persicum, Turcicum, et Arabicum* is a quarto manuscript comprising 184 folia, 182 of which are occupied by text organized in two columns of sixteen lines per folium, for a total of roughly 2,900 lines or 11,600 entries from the four languages. In addition to these two columns, the verso of each folium bears a third column of Latin annotations, evidently in a different hand, as the Latin does not always correspond to the accompanying columns. The same hand (or possibly yet another) has filled the empty space between the columns on the recto of folia 183–53 with an Italian-Ottoman glossary.

Although the left-most column is occupied by the Sabian entries, the *Glossarium* is loosely organized according to the second column (the Arabic one) along a somewhat alphabetic basis. Presumably, this was also the elicitation language, as there is less repetition and finer semantic distinctions made in the Arabic column than in the accompanying three columns. The first part of each chapter consists of verbal roots and conjugated forms, followed in the second part by a miscellany of other parts of speech (and occasionally spare verbs lacking from the earlier part).

The *Glossarium* has the appearance of a set of field notes, hastily compiled and subsequently left unedited, but a cautious analysis of its pages will reward the reader with a unique and surprisingly thorough account of an otherwise undescribed language. This language, identified as “Sabian,” is evidently related to Mandaic in its various attested forms, but sufficiently distinct from these forms in its grammar and vocabulary to warrant attention in its own right.

F. Islamic Near East VII: Documents on the History of Early Islam.

SEAN W. ANTHONY, Ohio State University, Chair (3:30 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) *Hershey/Crocker Room*

100. AREZOU AZAD, University of Birmingham

Islamisation of Afghanistan and the Hindukush: The Use of Local Histories and Documents

The Hindukush region, characterised by oasis cities and metropolitan centres of administrative, economic and cultural life, has a long history as a crossroads for the so-called silk road trade. Yet the Islamisation of the region is little understood: one reason being the paucity of accurate sources which scholars of the previous generation faced. Much of our knowledge rests with the groundbreaking studies of Abd al-Hayy Habibi and C.E. Bosworth in the 1960s, and '70s. Their work is based largely on general histories, buttressed by some local and regional sources (such as, *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, and Bahyaqi's *Tārīkh-i Mas'ūdī*). In recent decades, however, a significant number of fascinating indigenous histories and documents have become available and now need

to be brought into the historical discourse. They stem from an array linguistic traditions, including Arabic, Bactrian, Persian, Judeo-Persian and Chinese. The linguistic pluralism of the sources provides an exciting opportunity, but also an added complexity, to the study of this region's history. In addition, Afghanistan has only recently produced new archæological evidence that stems from the early Islamic period that needs to be integrated into the historical study of Afghanistan within an interdisciplinary framework. In this paper, I will aim to introduce some of the important new textual sources (or, indeed, old ones that have been neglected by historians) for the study of Islamisation in Afghanistan and the Hindukush region, and suggest ways in which their study can greatly enhance the state of research today on questions of conversion, identity, and regionalization. Specific sources highlighted will come from Bamiyan, Bactria/Tukharistan, Herat, and Badakhshan.

101. ABDULLAH S. AL-HATLANI, Universiteit Leiden

Arabic Inscriptions from Medina related to the Abī ‘Abs

The rocks and mountains around Medina are covered in inscriptions. Dating from the pre-Islamic into the Islamic period the writing is in Arabic, Tamudic and other languages. This paper examines a group of 24 Arabic inscriptions related to one family called Abī ‘Abs. A well-known family in pre-Islamic Medina, the Abī ‘Abs belonged to the Anṣār and several members of this family appear also in the historical record as well as in collections of hadith transmitters. The paper will present a linguistic and historical analysis of the graffiti—discussing the names, formulæ, orthography and archeological context. The graffiti mention seven members of the Abī ‘Abs family, using two ways to write their names: firstly by giving the first name, patronymic and *nisba* (12 inscriptions) and secondly by using the first name and patronymic only (12 inscriptions). Tracing the relations between the individuals mentioned in the inscriptions I will add to the knowledge of this family beyond what is known from the history books, while reflecting on changing ideas of self-representation. I will also present an analysis of the writing system used, including the use of diacritics and the development of individual letters. Using the orthography and prosopography of the graffiti I will also suggest a chronology of the inscriptions. The ultimate goal is to show the wealth of historical material from the earliest history of Islam that these inscriptions contain and how we can read them.

102. PETRA SIJPESTEIJN, Leiden University “After God” : Requests for Help from Early Islamic Egypt [Withdrawn]

103. SHUQI JIA, Leiden University

Seeking Help against the Arab Invaders: Four Letters Preserved in Chinese

The Arab conquest of Transoxania in the 7th–8th century was the toughest in the course of the expansion of the Muslim empire. City-states under leadership of their kings showed strong and prolonged resistance also incorporating outside help. In this paper, I present four petitions preserved in the Chinese source *Cefu Yuangui* sent by the kings or envoys of Bukhara, Samarkand, Qumadh and Tukharistan to the Tang Emperor. The letters mention the kings, and the Arab commanders by name and contain a wealth of information on the character of the Arab troops and on the power relations in the region. Strikingly, while the kings all asked for the same thing—Tang’s intervention against the Arabs—they all requested different forms of

help. From the request to form a coalition of Chinese (and Turgesh) and local forces to help with abolishing the heavy Arab taxes imposed on them, the letters show the diverse interests and contexts of the Transoxanian parties. The letters have been sporadically referred to by scholars, but very few have interpreted them directly from the classical Chinese context, nor have the letters been typically discussed completely let alone as a group. In this paper I will systematically examine the letters arguing that 1) local kings at that time did not conceive of a long-lasting Arab invasion, either because the Arab main force regularly retreated before winter set in, or because they hoped for Tang's intervention; 2) the intimidating Arab attacks left local kings not many choices but to appeal for Tang's help, and rely on the Turgesh troops to gain more leeway; 3) city-states and their kings did not always act in the same pace, they had their own concerns and priority in the face of the Arab invasion. Finally, I will discuss what we can learn about the Arab invaders based on the letters as well as Tang's attitude towards them.

G. South and Southeast Asia V: Buddhism North and East of South Asia.
CHRISTOPHER MINKOWSKI, University of Oxford, Chair (1:00 p.m.–2:00 p.m.)
Bradbury/Rose Room

104. JAMES B. APPLE, University of Calgary,

An Indian Source for the Opening Verse of the Tibetan version of the *Heart Sūtra*

The *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*, known simply as the *Heart Sūtra*, is one of the most famous and widely commented upon *sūtras* in Mahāyāna Buddhist cultures. The scripture is preserved in at least seven Asian languages in two versions. The longer version preserved in Tibetan, and recited on a daily basis in Tibetan monasteries, contains a famous preliminary opening verse. The poetic verse praises the *Perfection of Wisdom* (*prajñāpāramitā*) and describes it, in part, as “ineffable, inconceivable. . . the essence of space.” Tibetan commentators often attribute the verse to either the Buddha's son Rāhula or to the *Prajñāpāramitāstrotra* by Rāhulabhadra. The former attribution is an untraceable oral tradition and the verse is not found in the latter work as recent scholarship has documented. Is there a textual source for this verse? When did Tibetans begin to recite this verse in their monastic institutions? This paper documents an Indian source for this verse and provides evidence for its recitation in Indian Buddhist monasteries. The paper argues that Atiśa Dipaṅkaraśrījñāna (982–1054 CE) brought the practice of reciting this poetic verse prior to recitation of the *Heart Sūtra* based on new evidence from recently recovered Tibetan manuscripts. The paper concludes that the opening verse of the long Tibetan version of the *Heart Sūtra* originates in India and was ritually recited in at least one major Indian monastery during the late Pāla period.

105. PHILLIP SCOTT ELLIS GREEN, College of Idaho

The Joy of Non-Dualistic Discrimination: An Examination of *nirābhāsa*, *pramuditā*, and the Epistemological Foundations for Buddhism in Tenth-Century Cambodia

This paper will demonstrate that the tenth-century Cambodian stele inscription known as Vat Sithor draws upon epistemological foundations expressed in Yogācāra texts like the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, a heterogeneous Buddhist text probably composed

sometime around the fourth century C.E. Specifically, I will highlight how the inscription praises a framework for the bodhisattva path that corresponds to Yogācāra soteriological structures concerned with various levels of attainment leading to the collapse of dualistic discrimination, and ultimately Buddhahood. By highlighting the use of technical Sanskrit terms used in the inscription and in Yogācāra circles, terms such as *nirābhāsa* (a stage of Buddhist attainment characterized by non-dualistic discrimination), I render intelligible stanzas that have been misunderstood by previous scholars attempting to understand the religious content and significance of the inscription. This work treats doctrinal epigraphical references in early Cambodia with a level of specificity that avoids the pitfalls of over-generalization; such over-generalization has sometimes restricted Buddhism in Southeast Asia to a kind of monolithic Mahāyāna tradition with static characteristics assumed to be valid across temporal and geographical boundaries.

106. ZHEN LIU, Harvard Yenching Institute

A Newly Discovered *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* in Tibet

Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (*Byang chu sems dpa'i rtogs pa brjod pa dpag bsam gyi 'khri shing*) is among the most important poetic texts in Tibet. In the past 150 years, hundreds of work were written about the text, including its manuscript reports, text editions, and translations etc. (cf. Kirde 2002). These works were more or less based on five of the Nepalese Sanskrit manuscripts, a Sanskrit text in Tibetan script, and a Tibetan translation.

(According to Straube 2006, the five Nepalese Sanskrit manuscripts are Ms. A in Old Bengali script, B in Devanagārī script, E in Old Nepali and Devanāgarī script, H in Devanāgarī script and a Ms. kept in Bibliothèque Nationale Paris.) Recently, a Sanskrit manuscript of the complete *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* in Old Nepalese script was found in Tibet. This paper provides a brief introduction to this manuscript; It delineates the feature of its script, its colophon, and the position of each *avadāna* in the Ms., and provides a possible dating.

As an example, The fifth *avādāna*, *Candraprabhāvadāna*, which has been studied by Hartmann 1977, Rotenberg 1990, and Straube 2009 etc., in this Ms. will be compared with other extant versions. The variations and divergences will be demonstrated in the form of text-critical remarks, like what de Jong (1979) did.

H. South and Southeast Asia VI: Religious Lineages and Community. DAVID BRICK, Yale University, Chair (2:15 p.m.–3:15 p.m.) *Bradbury/Rose Room* *

107. JASON NEELIS, Wilfrid Laurier University

Narratives of Present and Previous Births in Gandhāran Manuscripts and Images:
A Report on Collaborative Research

Overlapping Buddhist genres of Avadāna stories focused on present lifetimes of characters, Pūrvayogas with links to previous births, and Jātaka birth tales of the Buddha and other characters are found in the literary and visual cultures of ancient Gandhāran manuscripts and art. Specialists editing Gāndhārī versions of over fifty Avadānas and Pūrvayogas in the British Library collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts are collaborating with art historians conducting a global survey of over 160 identifiable Gandhāran Jātaka images in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of narrative

transmission of rebirth stories in different types of media in Gandhāra in the early centuries CE. While initial phases of scholarship on rebirth narratives in Gandhāran Buddhism were limited to the available evidence from archeological excavations and iconographic analysis of Gandharan art, studies of Gāndhārī manuscripts are illuminating Gandhāran literary production of stories labeled as Pūrvayogas (Lenz 2003) and Avadānas (Lenz 2010). This collaborative project builds on published editions of Gāndhārī Pūrvayogas and Avadānas by bringing textual studies into dialogue with art history. This report will discuss findings from editions of the remaining Gāndhārī avadānas in the British Library collection and the survey of Gandhāran jātakas in museum collections and archives in order to 1) clarify differences in in patterns of selection, since only a single previous-birth narrative (the widely known Viśvantara jāta) is common to the extant Gandhāran literary and visual media, and 2) identify similar patterns of localization and cross-cultural appropriation in the hybrid milieu of ancient Gandhāra.

108. STEFAN BAUMS, University of Munich

Exegetical Backgrounds for Gāndhārī Texts: Mind and Self in Early Buddhism and the Upaniṣads

In recent years, the general historical position of early Gāndhārī Buddhist commentaries (especially the British Library verse commentaries and Saṃgītisūtra commentary) has become clearer: a certain part of their explanatory material is shared with the Pali Suttaniddesa and probably goes back to the earliest stratum of Buddhist exegesis; a particular method of ‘categorical reduction’ finds a counterpart in the Pali manuals Peṭakopadesa and Nettippakaraṇa and appears to represent an exegetical tradition local to Gandhāra. At the level of the explanation of any particular verse or passage, however, the web of historical connections is more tangled. It is never the case that a Gāndhārī commentarial paragraph has an exact counterpart in any of the other Buddhist textual traditions that we have access to. Often, however, a similarity of doctrinal concerns can be observed which are expressed using similar terminology, and some word associations made in the Gāndhārī commentaries have a long prehistory extending, in some cases, into pre-Buddhist times. The present paper will illustrate this with a detailed analysis of a passage from British Library Verse Commentary I that explains a variant verse of Dhṛp 34 (*dūraṅgamaṃ ekacaram aśarīraṃ guhāsayam ye cittaṃ saññamessanti mokkhanti mārabandhanā*) and Uv 31.8A (*dūraṅgamaṃ ekacaram aśarīraṃ guhāsayam ye cittaṃ damayisyanti vimokṣyante mahābhayāt*). It will demonstrate how valuable light is thrown on the interpretation of the Gāndhārī commentary not only by the Pali *aṭṭhakathā* and the Sanskrit *vivaraṇa*, but also by a number of Upaniṣadic passages discussing the nature of *ātman*. The paper will conclude with a discussion of the thematic unity of the Gāndhārī commentary and the position of this verse’s exegesis within it.

109. JOEL BRERETON, The University of Texas at Austin

Pāsaṃḍa in the Aśokan Inscriptions

In standard lexica, pāsaṃḍa (or pākhaṇḍa) is typically defined as ‘false teaching, heresy’ or ‘heretic’ and as an adjective, ‘heretical’. But as has often been observed, pāsaṃḍa in the Aśokan inscriptions does not have the negative force that these definitions carry. This paper seeks to identify the groups described as pāsaṃḍa in the inscriptions and to clarify its meaning.

While it is true that later texts use *pāṣaṇḍa* and its Old and Middle Indic equivalents negatively, texts from periods closer to that the Aśokan inscriptions occasionally employ these words neutrally to describe religious groups led by religious professionals, especially mendicants and ascetics but possibly brahmins as well. The *pāṣaṇḍa* groups are defined by rules that govern what they do—the dharma or samaya of the *pāṣaṇḍas*—and they are characterized by the views they held. This sense of the *pāṣaṇḍa* accords with that of *pāsaṃḍa* in the Aśokan inscriptions. Neither the inscriptions or texts using the word neutrally are completely clear about whether *pāṣaṇḍas* included laypeople or not, although the evidence of the inscriptions suggests that they did.

In investigating the meaning of *pāsaṃḍa* in the inscriptions, this paper focuses particularly on Rock Edicts 12 and 13 in both Prakrit and Greek translation, and in particular, it reconsiders the evidence of the Greek translation to understand the meaning of *sālavaḍhi*, a term that in RE 12 is closely associated with *pāsaṃḍa*.

I. South and Southeast Asia VII: The Indian Epics, Part 1. ADHEESH SATHAYE, University of British Columbia, Chair (3:30 p.m.–4:30 p.m.) *Bradbury/Rose Room* *

110. VISHAL SHARMA, University of Oxford

Upekṣā and the Hermeneutics of Moral Culpability in the *Mahābhārata*

The verb *upekṣ*—meaning to overlook or disregard—is used 65 times in the *Mahābhārata*. In the epic, it is frequently used to describe Kṛṣṇa’s disregard for the terrible events in the narrative, from the dicing match to the destructive war. In this paper, through a study of the recurring use of this verb, I ask a simple question: How does the *Mahābhārata* hold Kṛṣṇa responsible for various events in the epic, and what does that reveal about his role in the narrative?

I argue that the use of *upekṣ* reveals the epic’s hermeneutic of culpability. Many figures, and some metaconcepts, are held responsible for the terrible events in the narrative. Even Kṛṣṇa is not spared. In the post-war books, the use of *upekṣ* becomes a common idiom in which epic figures—from Gāndhārī to Arjuna—question Kṛṣṇa’s actions and culpability.

111. SALLY J. SUTHERLAND GOLDMAN, University of California at Berkeley

Voice and Structure in the *Śakuntalopākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata*

The Śakuntalā story, particularly in what is perhaps its best-known version, that of Kālidāsa’s *Abhijñānaśakuntalam*, has long been a focal point of scholarly attention. This scholarly focus has extensively documented the fascination of and influence of the tale on the literary and performing arts, as well as the political, social and cultural traditions of India. So popular and appealing is the story that its influence has spread beyond the sub-continent and, from the time of its introduction to the West in Sir William Jones’ 1787 translation of the play, its influence on the European imagination, especially that of the Germans, cannot be underestimated.¹

Nevertheless relatively little attention has been devoted exclusively to the original *Mahābhārata* version of the story. This lack of scholarly attention is even more

¹ See Dorothy M. Figueria, *Translating the Orient* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991).

remarkable in light of Vyāsa's striking narrative structure and use of voice in the *Śakuntalopākhyāna*. This paper looks to address this scholarly deficit with an eye toward establishing the narrative structure of this episode as unusual among the *Mahābhārata*'s *upākhyānas*. This structure, it will be argued, is reinforced and complemented by a systematic and meaningful gendering of voice throughout the narrative.

112. GARY TUBB, University of Chicago

The Story of Nala and Damayantī in the Development of Sanskrit Kāvya Style

The love story of Nala and Damayantī, which in the version of it told in the *Mahābhārata* epic has been familiar to many generations of Sanskrit students as their first extended reading passage in the language, eventually formed the topic of a long and difficult poem that in many ways represents the high point of Sanskrit *kāvya* poetry, the 12th-century *Naiṣadhacarita* of Śrīharṣa. That poem demonstrably built on the choices and achievements found in a surge of innovative Sanskrit poetic works from the 9th or 10th centuries dealing with the story of Nala and Damayantī, including the *Nalodaya* with its intricate patterns of repeated end rhymes, the *Nalacampū* or *Damayantīkathā* in mixed prose and verse, and probably also the *Naiṣadhānanda* stageplay. While these works have been widely recognized as pioneers in their own genres, their technical difficulty has tended to preclude serious consideration of their impact on later poets. An examination of several relevant developments in the poems, apparently known to Śrīharṣa, will help to explain his own approaches and achievements in his masterful revisiting of the story.

J. South and Southeast Asia VIII: The Indian Epics, Part 2. GARY TUBB, University of Chicago, Chair (4:45 p.m.–5:45 p.m.) *Bradbury/Rose Room* *

113. TIMOTHY LORNDAL, University of Pennsylvania

Shaming Śrī: Aśvatthāman's Encounter with the Goddess in the *Sāhasabhīmavijaya*

This paper examines a strange encounter that takes place in an Old Kannada version of the *Mahābhārata*'s (*MBh*) *Sauptikaparvan*. In Ranna's *Sāhasabhīmavijaya* (*SBhV*), the goddess Śrī abandons Duryodhana as he enters lake Vaiśampāyana and lays low until the war's outcome seems more-or-less determined. Following the *Club-Fight*, Aśvatthāman spots the goddess on the battlefield, slinking off to find her new master—Bhīma. Between passages 9.3–16V and 9.27V–29, Aśvatthāman lambasts Śrī, questioning her loyalty to *dharmaic* kings, her dubious relationship with Kṛṣṇa, and her own selfish nature. He accuses her of colluding with Kṛṣṇa and breaking up with Duryodhana on his orders. However, at this point in the epic's narrative, the Pāṇḍavas have already won. Why should Aśvatthāman confront Śrī? What is this episode's narrative function in the *SBhV*? Building on a close reading of the text, I argue that this incident contributes to the *SBhV*'s oppositional take on the normative, Pāṇḍava-centered *MBh* tradition. At each juncture where the Pāṇḍava brothers, especially Bhīma, appear in the text, the focalization quickly shifts away, presenting an interpretation of the epic that questions and criticizes their actions. Śrī, in both premodern texts and modern Indological scholarship, has long been characterized as

the fickle wife of the king, quick to run off in the face of danger (Gonda 1969; Hiltebeitel 1976; Shulman 1983). In the *SBhV*, the Śrī trope is used to denounce Kṛṣṇa and the divine intervention that went into the Pāṇḍava victory. Śrī, as the consort of Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa, serves as the vehicle for Aśvatthāman's critique. This episode, as I read it, interrupts and undermines the Pāṇḍava victory celebrations and scrutinizes the ethics of winning.

114. ROBERT GOLDMAN University of California, Berkeley

A Clouded Mirror: The *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa* as an Occluded Guide to Statecraft

The seventh *kāṇḍa*, or book, of the monumental ancient Sanskrit epic poem, the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, is entitled the *Uttarakāṇḍa*. The name is somewhat ambiguous, perhaps intentionally so as the adjective *uttara*, among various other meaning, can mean both concluding and future. Both of these senses are apposite here as the book is indeed the last of the poems seven *kāṇḍas* and its closing chapters, as they are recited to the epic's hero, narrate events that have yet to take place at the time of this performance. The contents of the *kāṇḍa* and its receptive history are strikingly different from those of the epic's preceding six books. The former have rendered the text rather controversial in India from at least the time of some of the giants of the early medieval Sanskrit literary pantheon such as Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti, through the medieval commentators and authors of massively influential re-workings of the epic tale, figures such as Kamban and Tulsī Dās, down to modernity where some of the book's episodes have aroused anger and resistance on the part of social reformers, political activists, feminists, Dalits, Marxists, regional movements, etc. The Sanskrit poets named above fully represent the book in their works but use them also to mount varying critiques of the actions of the epic hero. The medieval and early modern authors of influential versions of the tale in regional languages including the Tamil *Irāmavatāram* and the Avadhi *Rāmcaritmānas* simply excise the book completely.

Nor has the *Uttarakāṇḍa* fared well at the hands of modern scholars of the epic. Despite the fact that it appears in all the thousands of complete manuscripts of the poem in all of its many regional and orthographic variations, scholarly treatments of the work generally regard it as a late and inferior addition to the poem, at best a mere epilogue to the grand epic narrative given over largely to a scattered collection of peripheral, purāṇic narratives from which the epic hero, Rāma is either entirely absent and for which he most serves merely as either an auditor or narrator. Several of these embedded narratives, in spite of the fact that they have virtually universal manuscript support, have been excised from the critically constituted text by the editor of the book's critical edition, largely on the grounds that he found them distasteful.

On the other hand, on the basis of our long, close and careful reading of the book and its numerous Sanskrit commentaries, my collaborator, Dr. Sally Sutherland Goldman, and I have concluded that the *Uttarakāṇḍa* is not only an essential element of the *Rāmāyaṇa* but its embedded narratives which occupy well over half of its text serve, like the somewhat analogous *upākhyānas* of the *Mahābhārata*, an important function of the poem. Our argument is that these tales, some of them admittedly bizarre, provide a consistent discourse that is barely treated in the first six books of the poem. For those books end with the royal consecration of Rāma. Thus this figure, revered in the Indian cultural and political imaginary as the idealized sovereign reigning over a

millennia-long utopian kingdom, the so-called Rāmarājya, is not actually depicted as a functioning ruler for even a single day. It is, in fact, only in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* that the critical epic discourse on *nītiśāstra* and *arthaśāstra*, in short on kingship is set forth through a series of exemplary, if disturbing, actions on the part of King Rāma and of strange but fascinating cautionary tales.

In this presentation, I hope to lend some clarity to this admittedly somewhat complex but important text, which we believe to be a significant mirror, clouded though it may be, for kings.

115. VIDYUT AKLUJKAR, University of British Columbia

Nāma-rāmāyaṇa: An Ocean in Many Buckets

In “The Ocean in My Bucket: Summarizing Rāmāyaṇa in a Verse” a paper I presented in 2013 at the 223rd meeting of American Oriental Society, I had discussed different styles of summarizing Rāmāyaṇa. In the present paper I propose to discuss the peculiar case of Nāma-rāmāyaṇa by Pant Viṭhobā Aṇṇā Daptardār (VAD), who lived in Karhad, Maharashtra, (1813–1873) and composed many poetic works in Sanskrit and Marathi. The Nāma-rāmāyaṇa of VAD in 6 kāṇḍas summarizes the Rāma-kathā in adjectival vocatives addressing Rāma. I shall establish to what extent it resembles the other, more well-known, Nāma-rāmāyaṇa attributed to Lakshmaṇācār which is sung by many from Bengal to Tamilnadu and Kerala to Andhra Pradesh. I shall discuss its status as common heritage, leading to the curious claim of ownership made by many southern languages. I will conclude by pointing out the pervasive nature of Sanskrit language and Rāmāyaṇa in bringing together Indian languages and perpetuating poetic creativity.

A. Ancient Near East VI: Economy, Politics and State Administration.
MATHIEU OSSENDRIJVER, Humboldt University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:30 p.m.)
Bunker Hill Room *

116. SETH RICHARDSON, University of Chicago

Walking Capital: The Economic Function of Slavery in Old Babylonian Letters

Recent studies of Babylonian slavery (e.g., Culbertson ed. 2011, Tenney 2011, Seri 2013, Englund 2009, van Koppen 2004, a.o.) have engaged with the institutional and private settings of slavery, its legal formation, the origin, prices, and personal status of slaves, as well as their family and household lives. It has been difficult, however, to say much about the reason that slavery presumably existed in the first place: its economic function. The reasons for this are fairly clear, since evidence for the actual work or productive value of slaves is little discussed by our texts, a constraint seemingly common no matter what period or corpus is under examination. Indeed there is much agreement that slaves and slavery were simply not a dominant form of production in Mesopotamian economies at any point. That said, the economic purpose of slavery overall therefore remains unclear. This paper is no different for looking at a specific historical time and set of texts — Old Babylonian letters — and its conclusions may be limited to that period. But I will argue that slavery in that setting combined very particular economic functions in the socio-commercial sphere related to credit and information. The mobility of slaves permitted them to gather and relay business information at the same time that they literally embodied capital. As

“walking capital,” slaves had the unique ability to facilitate communications between households while simultaneously acting as collateral for debts or claims, security for pledges, or bonds for appearance, all through the private legal practice of distraint (where the capital was protected by statute). In the Old Babylonian case, at least, we ought to see the economic purpose of slavery as functionally closer to a financial service than to any specific form of production.

117. MICHAEL MOORE, University of California-Los Angeles

How to Win Friends and Influence People: Puduhepa, Tiye, and Networking in Royal Courts

The prominence of royal women in Egypt and Hatti is well known, but there are few systematic comparative analyses of Egyptian and Hittite queenship. This paper constitutes part of a larger study of Hittite queenship and power.

Born into influential but nonroyal families, Puduhepa and Tiye became queens and extraordinarily powerful women. Surviving into the reigns of their sons, Puduhepa and Tiye played key roles as queen mothers but were challenged by the rising power of the younger queens DUMU.MUNUS GAL and Nefertiti. This paper offers a comparative analysis of the methods the queens used to build and maintain a base of support, providing insight into the sources of power for royal women and their significance in supporting the rule of their husbands and sons.

As a relative newcomer to Hattusa and wife to a usurper, Puduhepa needed to acquire the support of the elites, and a dream text reveals Puduhepa may have held anxiety about her standing in the royal court. Puduhepa used religious ceremony and arranged marriages to acquire and maintain loyalty. By arranging marriages between court officials and family members or palace women, queens could simultaneously raise the standing of officials and create familial bonds. These bonds were monitored carefully, and Puduhepa wrote disapprovingly to an in-law to remind him of his familial obligations (KUB 23.85). The Tawagalawa letter underlines the importance of these familial ties.

“Because [the man I am sending] has (a wife) of the queen’s family, and because in the land of Hatti the family of the queen is highly regarded, is he not more than an in-law to me?”

Relying less on familial bonds, Tiye primarily used court ceremony and gifts of gold and luxury items to reward loyalty and bolster her status, practices continued and perfected by Nefertiti.

118. EDWARD STRATFORD, Brigham Young University

Death of a Salesman: How to Read Old Assyrian Documents

In the 82nd year of the Old Assyrian eponym sequence as we know it, a man named Aššur-rē’ī died. Like many Assyrian merchants, he was conducting business right up until his death. The effort to clear his estate, difficult and fraught with challenges from the beginning, took several years at first, but fragments of the estate were still disputed twenty years thereafter. Particularly in the first few years, the efforts to collect his outstanding claims are documented in debt notes and debt memoranda. These documents, along with letters from the last year of his life, offer a portrait of the size of Aššur-rē’ī’s commercial network, and of his son’s struggles to deal with

that network. But beyond this, the documents offer an opportunity to portray Aššur-rē'i's last year and his family's struggles at a temporal scale fit to the activities they pursued, subject to their immediate pressures. The death of Aššur-rē'i provides another opportunity to contextualize Old Assyrian documentation in a narrative frame that exposes the limits of language and the important temporal aspects of the trade that shaped documents we so often read in anecdotal frames. In this way, describing the death of this salesman constitutes an opportunity to reconsider how we read Old Assyrian documents.

119. EVA VON DASSOW, University of Minnesota

Subject to Duty in Ḫatti

Several words denoting duties owed the state are attested in Ḫatti. Hittite scribes wrote words for service duties using the Sumerogram ^{GIS}TUKUL and the Akkado-gram *ILKUM*, as well as writing the Hittite words *šahḫan* and *luzzi*. Yet another pair of terms, *unuššum* and *arḫālum*, appears in Old Assyrian texts from Anatolia. What kinds of duty were meant by these words, which term (written) in one language corresponds to which term in another, and who was obliged to do which duty on what grounds, remain unsettled questions. According to a recent proposal (Puhvel 2015), the words *šahḫan* and *luzzi* do not denote distinct duties but form a hendiadys referring to duty and its discharge. According to another recent proposal (Waal forthcoming), *arḫālum* may represent the Hittite word behind ^{GIS}TUKUL; meanwhile Hittite *šahḫan* would correspond to *unuššum*, the (Semiticized) Hurrian translation of Akkadian *ilkum*, for *ILKUM* seems to stand for *šahḫan* in later Hittite texts. Everyone considers that ^{GIS}TUKUL and *ILKUM* are categorically distinct, based on Hittite Laws §§40–41, and that they denote services owed in exchange for royal land grants.

I propose that HL §§40–41 may instead be understood to attest the identity of ^{GIS}TUKUL and *ILKUM*, that like the pair *šahḫan luzzi* each term may refer to the same overarching concept, and that concept is the duty of service incumbent on free subjects of the Hittite state. The principle that Hittite citizens owed duty underlies HL §§54–55. Such duties were assessed on the basis of land tenure, hence land was allotted to subjects who had none (§§40–41, 112). Landholders held title to the lands on which their duty was assessed, and these lands were both heritable and alienable (§§40–41, 46, 47B). Royal land grants, conversely, carried an exemption from duty (§47A); no extant land grant stipulates an obligation for duty.

B. Ancient Near East VII: Deities. GINA KONSTANTOPOULOS, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University, Chair (11:00 a.m.–12:30 p.m.)
Bunker Hill Room *

120. KAREN SONIK, Auburn University

De-Composing Divine (and Other) Bodies in Mesopotamia: Material Corruption in *Erra and Ishum* and the Gilgamesh Narratives

Incorporating incorruptible materials possessed of divine qualities and properties, Mesopotamian cult statues were also composed of materials that were subject to, and explicitly recognized as such in their original contexts, aging, tarnishing, and decay. One consequence of such material corruption in the present day is that even fragments

of cult statues are absent from the archæological record. Our contemporary knowledge of these, consequently, derives primarily from written compositions detailing their making, renewal, and consecration, and from representations or plans of their images, which (rather strikingly) might be graven in more durable or enduring materials than the statues themselves—and so capable of persisting or perduring in a way that the cult statues were not. Another, perhaps more pertinent consequence of this material corruptibility was, for the inhabitants and particularly the kings of Mesopotamia, the necessity of perpetually renewing and, necessarily, periodically replacing the cult statues. The theological and cosmological implications of these processes (decay and renewal; the *presencing* and absence of the divine) have already been the subject of scholarly attention: the cult statue, after all, was not just a marker of divine presence in Mesopotamia but was, rather, a *presence* in its own right. This contribution, examining representations of divine (and, concomitantly, mortal) material and bodily neglect, corruption, and decay in compositions including *Erra and Ishum* and the Gilgamesh narratives, focuses instead on issues of metamorphosis, purity, and the status of the original and the copy in the context of the literary narratives, religious practice, and divine materiality and materialization.

121. ILONA ZSOLNAY, University of Chicago

Chaos Versus Precision: ĜIŠĜUR, ĜARZA, ME, and the Whims of the Gods

Although somewhat dynamic, the Mesopotamian divine pantheon was not nearly as spirited as the Greco-Roman. The cuneiform literary corpus contains tales of cosmic war, cranky turtles, and giant uppity birds. It also includes a body of lively contest literature in which flora, fauna, and even metal debate each other; however, aside from a handful of tales recording the less than stellar behaviors of the gods Enki, Enlil, Inana, and Nergal, it contains nothing akin to the intense divine wrangling found in the Iliad, Odyssey, or Hesiod's Theogony. This may be because Mesopotamian deities were simply more reserved than their Mediterranean counterparts. They may have been better at adhering to the rules as set down in the council of Enlil (later Marduk or Aššur), but this is difficult to substantiate. Numerous cuneiform texts reveal that the gods themselves were periodically mystified by fates which befell them and their lands, and texts do not consistently attest to any kind of divine congress. Instead, explanatory accounts of significant events testify or allude to, not parliamentary edicts, but measured, even mathematical, designs. This presentation will consider these formal plans and the manner by which they affected both mortal and divine beings.

122. MARK E. COHEN, DCL Press

When the Moon Fell from the Sky: A New Sumerian Composition

This Old Babylonian Sumerian composition relates of the troubles that befell the country when the moon was positioned at a negative latitude and how the moon's mother, Ninlil, interceded with Damgalnuna, who, in turn, interceded with her husband, Enki, who then utters an incantation that positions the moon at a higher latitude, thereby restoring order in the country. Another interesting feature of this work is the invocation of the entire host of the Ekur, including Ninurta's weapons. This paper will also discuss how this work coincides with omen texts.

C. East Asia VI: Fiction. DAVID B. HONEY, Brigham Young University, Chair
(9:00 a.m.–10:00 a.m.) *Museum B Room* *

123. JULIAN SIYUAN WU, Arizona State University

A Textual Community of Pastiche: *Biji* (Scholarly Notes) Fiction in Late Imperial Chinese Vernacular Literature [Withdrawn]

This paper aims to examine issues involving textual production and authorial function in late imperial Chinese literature, so as to shed some light on certain characteristics of the textual community and explore the boundary of *biji* 筆記 (Scholarly Notes). I attempt to illuminate how Yuan (1271–1368), Ming (1368–1644) and Qing (1644–1911) authors and editors, a particularly sophisticated group of text readers, memorized, rediscovered and recreated meanings and patterns of Su Xiaoxiao 蘇小小's, a talented courtesan supposedly lived during Southern Qi (479–520), stories from the past literary heritage. The concept of communities appears in this paper as text producers and consumers, even as the “community of texts” formed by intertextuality and dialogism. What makes texts a community, as far as the subject of this paper is concerned, is that they share a common discourse in which the character of Su and her storylines shape the various readings and misreading of the texts produced and consumed by the literati and the marginalized mass from one generation to the next.

The *biji* genre lures authors and readers with all the free-floating novelty of everyday life. In so many ways *biji* can be analogous to a textual community that accommodates diverse passages from classics to anecdotes, from annotations to commentaries, from direct appropriations to allusive adaptations, from questions expecting for future responses to solutions addressing previous concerns. Discussion on the dialogical nature of the integral components within a *biji* shows the roles between author, editor, commentator and reader are more or less interchanged. The diversified texts in miscellaneous categories indicate the extent to which both the authorial and generic boundaries in the field of vernacular literature are broken down or crossed over. This analysis of *biji* and its appropriation and clashing with other genres lays the groundwork for my discussion of Su's textual community by placing the story in parallel with other popular and long-lasting storylines in both dramatic and narrative literature, including the romance of Shuang Jian 雙漸 and Su Xiaoqing 蘇小卿, the accounts of the Soul Returning of Jia Yunhua 賈雲華還魂記, and the Feng Xiaoqing 馮小青 stories. I aim to draw special attention to the concern on how the authorial selfhood and self-knowledge construct one's view of the tradition, and are at the same time fashioned by encounters with it. A textual community itself is emblematic of a pastiche world where the boundaries that fragment and compartmentalize knowledge are melting down, and where the fluidity and dynamism of texts prevail.

124. LIJIE DONG, University of Alberta, Edmonton

Fantasy or Science: The Collusion of Scientific Real and Fictional Narration in Science Fiction of Late Qing

Science fiction, a literary genre under the name of science, which was one of the two slogans in May Fourth Movement, appeared earlier in China than science itself. In 1981, western science fiction began to be translated into China by Chinese intellectuals; and in the 1900s, Jules Verne's science fiction became one of the most popular

literary works. Both these translations and circumstances in late Qing encouraged Chinese authors to create science fiction. Studies on Chinese science fiction in late Qing propose a special combination between the discourse of truth, knowledge and the discourse of legends. However, the questions here are: how did science fiction in late Qing combine the real based on reasonable scientific imagination and the unreality based on Chinese traditional fantastic writing? Is there a boundary between truth and fantasy in science fiction or the ambivalence in it is unbreakable? If there is, where is the line? Who drew the line? In order to seek the answers, this article will examine what constitute the real factors in science fiction. By looking into the writings of Liang Qichao, Xu Nianci and Bao Tianxiao, and comparing Chinese science fiction with fantastic literature in late Qing and western science fiction around the 1990s, it can be concluded that by changing different views of narrators, converting narrative time and translingual practice, the authors leaped between feasible imagination in the name of science and unbridled narrative strategies, not to draw a line, but to break the line between the real and unreal and they finally legitimated traditionally fictional narration in science fiction.

D. East Asia VII: Religion and Ritual. RICHARD VANNES SIMMONS, Rutgers University, Chair (10:15 a.m.–11:45 a.m.) *Museum B Room* *

125. HIN MING FRANKIE CHIK, Arizona State University

Why were Descendants of the True Kings not Worthy of Being Rulers?
Acceptance and Rejection of the Idea of Abdication (Chang rang 禪讓) in Pre-Imperial China

This paper aims to examine why in late Warring States period, idea of abdicating to the most worthy person became less attractive, and why texts from that period inclined to not deny the value of hereditary succession. Previous scholarship offers detailed analyses of the idea of abdication in both transmitted and unearthed texts from pre-imperial China and recognize the differences between attitudes to this idea seen in both types of texts. Some scholars even attempted to explain why abdicating the most worthy one, but not hereditary succession, could not be a regular way to transfer sovereign's power and why it became less prevalent in late Warring States period. However, they failed to take the following question into consideration: why were the sons of those true kings in predynastic period not worthy of being successors? This question is crucial for understanding the importance and influence of the idea of abdication in Chinese political culture. This paper consists of two parts. It first offers a criticism to Yuri Pines's argument that appealing to the remote past was the main reason for making idea of abdication unattractive. In this part, I also attempt to give a hypothesis to account for how did masters in pre-imperial period establish their authorities and get new disciples. It therefore explains why could their narratives of the predynastic history be served to support their arguments about abdication. The second part of this paper studies the inner logic of the idea of abdication seen in the newly discovered texts. I contend that these texts did not completely reject the possibility of those sons of the true kings of being the successors. However, the idea of abdication became formulaic and led to hypocrisy. This is the reason for making the idea of abdication less attractive than before.

126. PHILIP HSU, University of California, Los Angeles

Mujaku Dōchū on Chinese and Japanese Local Gods

Previous studies has shown that Japanese Buddhists like Mujaku Dōchū (1653–1744) faithfully adhered to the Chinese norms to demonstrate that the Buddhism they abide by was more genuine and orthodox than those previously practiced in Japan. In the encyclopedia *Zenrin Shokisen* (Dictionary of the Images and Implements of Zen Monasteries) that Dōchū compiled, there is a category known as *ryōzō*, which means “spiritual images,” or more specifically, portraits or statues of buddhas, bodhisattvas, and protective spirits. Most of these spiritual images were originated in China and later imported to Japan. These Buddhist spiritual images are mostly recorded in Buddhist scriptures, monastic codes or lamp records. Besides Buddhist icons, the category “spiritual images” also covers a wide range of Chinese local gods. Dōchū provides a list of Chinese local gods, including figures that were notable in Chinese popular religion. Interestingly, some local gods traveled from place to place within China, eventually imported over sea to Japan, mixed in Japanese local elements, subsequently developed new forms of local gods, later also known as *quán xiàn* (jp. *gongen*). This essay investigates several local gods’ original image in China based on the introduction by Dōchū. Furthermore, I compare the differences and similarities of these local gods’ new form in Japan and interpret the historical meaning of the transmission and transformation of these deities.

127. WEI LIU, The Ohio State University

Political Myth and Religious Beliefs in a Ritual Performance of Ancestor Worship in Huizhou, China

The ritual of ancestor worship is quite ubiquitous in China and much research interest has been generated in this widespread social phenomena. But we should avoid lumping a great variety of beliefs and practices together under the name of ‘ancestor worship’. Instead, the variety of its form and theoretical significance should be addressed. Examination of a particular form of local ritual can yield a new and different insight into a set of cultural and social values behind it. This paper aims to study the symbolic meanings of the objects and behaviors in a ritual performance of ancestor worship in a small village of Huizhou area, eastern China. To analyze the symbolic meanings of this ritual and its social constructs, this paper adopts Victor Turner’s concept of liminality and *communitas* and Bruce Lincoln’s analysis of ideological discourse, arguing that there are religious and political realities intertwined and embodied in the performance, which reenact the ancient Confucian tradition of respecting ancestors and its myth of kingly governance and thus bring common people in compliance to the dominant political power in the modern context. My analysis facilitates the understanding of the vernacular aspect of Confucian ritual practices in terms of its roles in carrying on the tradition, negotiating with the dominant official discourse and maintaining the social status quo.

E. Islamic Near East VIII: Theology and Philosophy. FRANK GRIFFEL, Yale University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–11:00 a.m.) *Hershey/Crocker Room* *

128. DAVID BENNETT, Göteborgs Universitet

Fleabites in Your Sleep, What the Sick Man Saw, and the Somewhat Active Intellect: Creeping Aristotelianism in Pre-Kindian Kalām

This paper presents three cases exemplifying what I propose to be a general concern with Aristotelian epistemological constructs in early Kalām. Acknowledging such a concern among practitioners of Kalām even before the appearance of the mid-9th Century translations of Aristotle into Arabic allows us to reconsider the philosophical commitments of these thinkers. Certainly it should be no surprise that Aristotelianism was known before the rise of philosophy as a discipline in Islamic intellectual circles, and it is generally accepted that later practitioners of Kalām directly applied themselves to the Aristotelian elements of Ibn Sīnā’s philosophy of knowledge, but positing a sustained and more systematic engagement than previously suspected entails a more inclusive understanding of the fruitful nexus of Kalām, imported Greek philosophy, and burgeoning Arabic philosophy. Whereas much contemporary scholarship is willing to side-line Kalām in the story of the development of Aristotelian philosophy, I propose that early Kalām interventions played a decisive role which rewards deeper study.

The three case studies I will present in capsule form each demonstrate a surprisingly rich encounter with elements of Aristotelian philosophy before the systematic innovations of al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā. In each case, we can witness the difficulties faced by later doxographers in evaluating alien forms of thought. Mechanisms for explaining sense perception, dream vision and illusions, and the nature of knowledge, were developed early in Muʿtazilite circles and subsequently influenced the reception of Aristotelianism. Because of the philological complexities of early sources, I hope to solicit critical assistance from the Arabists and Islamicists at AOS 2017. My contribution will encourage scholars puzzled by peculiar digressions in mature (post-Ashʿarite) Kalām material to consider the extent to which they reflect early adaptations of Aristotelian thought.

129. RODRIGO ADEM, University of North Carolina

The Great Epistemic Shift in Classical Islam: A Framework for Periodizing Early Islamic Intellectual History

The field is currently witnessing resurgent interest in Islamic theology and philosophy, with particular reference to Muslim “rationalism” as well as the rehabilitation of “post-classical” Islamic thought. Yet such discussions often fail to philologically situate and historicize Muslim conceptualizations of “reason” and their role in creating normative forms of Islamic scholarship. This paper offers a corrective to this lack, based on a reappraisal of the influence of early Muʿtazilite thinkers in initiating a broader trend in Islamic scholarship epitomized in their thesis of “the necessity of inquiry” (*wujūb al-naẓar*). The dissemination of this idea among various influential lineages of Islamic scholarship (Muʿtazilite, Sunnī, Twelver, and Ismāʿīlī) provides the context for specifying the function of “reason” in Islamic theology between the 8th and 12th centuries as well as establishing the qualitative difference between the constitutive period for the codification of these scholarly discourses and the subse-

quent “post-classical” period which inherited them. I conclude that the insights this observable “epistemic shift” for early Muslim scholars afford us allow us to attempt the periodization of Islamic scholarship with greater precision on the basis of a more persuasive discursive analysis than what has preceded till now.

130. CARL SHARIF EL-TOBGUI, Brandeis University

Ibn Taymiyya on the Incoherence of the Theologians’ “Universal Rule”: Reframing the Debate Between Reason and Revelation in Medieval Islam

On the first page of his 10-volume *magnum opus*, *Dar al-Ta’arud*, Ibn Taymiyya states that the primary purpose of the work is to refute the “Universal Law” proposed by the *mutakallimūn* as a method for reconciling conflicts between divine revelation and human reason. This Law requires that in the event of conflict, reason be given priority over revelation since the former is said to “ground” our rational assent to the latter, such that any second-guessing of reason would undermine both reason and revelation together. Over a 500-page span of the *Dar*, Ibn Taymiyya elaborates more than forty separate arguments by which he aims to undermine the Universal Law by demonstrating its rational incoherence.

While a number of past studies have examined various aspects of Ibn Taymiyya’s critique of *falsafa* and *kalām*, such works have touched on his arguments against the Universal Law in only a very summary manner, if at all. While Ibn Taymiyya himself presents these arguments singularly and disjointedly, a careful analysis of them reveals an underlying logic that sheds valuable light on his larger project of reconciling reason with revelation both in the *Dar* and other works.

This paper presents the results of an exhaustive study of Ibn Taymiyya’s forty arguments against the Universal Law. By breaking down then reconstructing the arguments systematically, I demonstrate that, more than simply refuting the Universal Law, Ibn Taymiyya seeks to reconfigure the very categories and terms of the debate in two ways. First, he redefines the opposition not as one of “reason vs. revelation,” but as a purely epistemological question of “knowledge vs. conjecture,” with both reason and revelation potential sources of both kinds of knowledge. Second, he replaces the dichotomy “*sharʿī/aqlī*” with the dichotomy “*sharʿī/bidʿī*,” making valid reason a path to knowledge explicitly endorsed and exemplified by revelation itself.

131. SUHEIL LAHER, Brandeis University

Defeating you on Your Terms : Traditionalist Islamic Theologians’ Harnessing of a Rationalist Tool

This paper discusses how the rationalist Muslim theologians’ epistemological concept of *tawātur*, although initially spurned by their traditionalist rivals, was first mastered by the latter, then embraced and turned against its initiators.

In his thematic survey *Islamic Theology : Traditionalism and Rationalism*, Abrahamov has proffered that while these two prominent trends in early (3rd–10th centuries) Islamic thought are not mutually exclusive polar identities, nevertheless the methodology of each camp does have unique characteristics that favor, or contribute to, distinct trends. Thus, rationalism leads to change (and hence instability), while traditionalism favors stability as a result of its adherence to past authority and precedents, but that nevertheless there often were compromises. In his recent article *Scripturalist and Traditionalist Theology*, he goes on to describe that what eventually came

to dominate was a traditionalist theology, but one drew also upon rational methods and was consequently able to refute rationalists on their own terms. My study provides a specific case study that supports this general thesis, while at the same time elucidating what seems to be a radical shift in the traditionalists' tools and approach.

Taking a prominent traditionist scholarly lineage as a representative cross-section of this period, I explore how *tawātur* made inroads among the traditionists across the 4th/10th–5th/11th centuries. I make reference to Pocock's concept of linguistic universes to who how a dialogic between the writings of the competing camps led traditionists during this period, which corresponded to ascendancy of Ash'ari rationalism.

F. South and Southeast Asia IX: Veda, Part 1. JARROD WHITAKER, Wake Forest University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:30 a.m.) *Bradbury/Rose Room* *

132. SIGNE COHEN, University of Missouri

The Sacred Sound and the Golden Disk: Mantras, Orality, and Writing in the Upaniṣads

This paper traces the development of mantras from sacred utterances or sounds in the oldest Upaniṣads to more tangible inscribed artifacts in the later sectarian Upaniṣads. This transition from mantra as sacred sound to mantra as a ritually efficacious artifact to be worn on the body is especially visible in the late Upaniṣads devoted to Viṣṇu and his avatāras, such as the *Nṛsiṃhatāpanīya Upaniṣad*, *Rāmatāpanīya Upaniṣad*, and *Avyakta Upaniṣad*. The *Avyakta Upaniṣad* even ascribes Indra's power over the other gods to a mantra written on a golden disk around his neck. Whereas a great deal has been written on mantras in the oldest Upaniṣads, there is very little scholarship to date on mantras in the later sectarian Upaniṣadic texts. I argue that the shift in the description of mantras from oral to written in these texts may be related to the bhakti movement's insistence on religious devotion as open and accessible to everyone regardless of caste or educational background.

133. CALEY CHARLES SMITH, Harvard University

A Synoptic Study of Argument Structure in the *Puruṣasūkta*

Interest in the *puruṣasūkta* has spread beyond traditions of Vedic ritual exegesis, *dharmaśāstra*, and Vaiṣṇava bhakti to the West, capturing the imagination of historical linguists and comparative mythologists. Best known from the Rgveda, this poem depicts the dismemberment of the primordial man, establishing this act as the proto-type of sacrifice as well as the action for the divisions of the natural world and society; it has been received as a charter myth for caste division. There are, however, different versions of the *puruṣasūkta* in different recensions of the Vedic texts. The differences in the Śaunaka and Śākalya versions are well-known, but they have not been re-considered synoptically in light of relatively recent advances in the study of poetic structuring devices. The Sāmavedic version too is often overlooked because the text is not considered poetically novel but merely a re-arrangement of the Rgvedic version. I hope to disrupt this notion that the Rgveda's *puruṣasūkta* is by any means the model for, or even more archaic than, the Atharvavedic and Sāmavedic poems, and instead argue that each *puruṣasūkta* deploys the narrative of the cosmic man in a different way to make a different argument.

134. ALEKSANDAR USKOKOV, University of Chicago

The *Brahma-sūtra* and the Two Great Upaniṣads

In this presentation I tackle the question of the relationship of the *Brahma-sūtra* (BS) to the two major Upaniṣads, the *Chāndogya* and the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka*. Scholars have since long recognized that the BS was predominantly based on the *Chāndogya* (Deussen, Belvalkar, Nakamura) and proposed that initially there may have been several systematizations of individual Upaniṣads, which were finally redacted into the present BS around the *Chāndogya* core. In this process, Belvalkar claimed, the material from the other Upaniṣads, particularly the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka*, was used for the purpose of providing “side illustrations.” Focusing on the topic of liberation from the cycle of rebirth (*samsāra*) and books three and four of the BS, I will argue that a different process is at play. While the BS is, indeed, based on the core of the *Chāndogya*, what happens is not a systematization of the *Chāndogya* followed by illustrations from other Upaniṣads, but a systematization of the whole Upanisadic teachings of liberation on the basis of the *Chāndogya* in which a major competing account presented by the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka* is rectified so as to fit the *Chāndogya* model. This, I shall also argue, has tremendous consequences on the question of the original unity of the two Mīmāṃsās which has been recently denied by Bronkhorst. I shall demonstrate that Bronkhorst is misled by later developments in Vedānta and that the two Mīmāṃsās, while not necessarily systematized in a single original treatise, developed from a stock of shared concerns.

G. South and Southeast Asia X: Veda, Part 2. JOEL BRERETON, University of Texas, Chair (10:45 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) *Bradbury/Rose Room* *

135. STEPHANIE JAMISON, University of California, Los Angeles

The Prehistory of Vedic Ritual: Some Reflections

The division of the Vedic ritual universe into śrauta (so-called ‘solemn’) and gṛhya (‘domestic’) rites, with three fires versus one fire as one of their defining differences, is a given in the field, but little attention has been given to the history of this split and how this history is reflected in the attested śrauta and gṛhya systems. This paper will construct a speculative prehistory of the Vedic ritual system, suggest some reasons for its split, and treat some of the reconfigurations of the ritual system that the split engendered.

136. JARROD WHITAKER, Wake Forest University

Words, Weapons, and Women: The Function of Gendered and Sexualized Tropes in *Rigveda* 6.75

According to post-Rgvedic texts, the *Rgveda*’s so called Yuddhasūkta or “Weapons Hymn” (6.75.1–19) was used by the Purohita to praise the king’s armaments and equipment before battle, or in the Aśvamedha to bless the warriors who protect the king’s horse on its yearlong journey. This paper will examine several stanzas in the hymn that associate weapons of war, such as a bow and arrows, with explicit gendered and sexualized imagery. According to a recent study of the hymn, such associations function to transform the listener’s orientation to the world by conveying knowledge about human agency and its limitations. This paper will argue that gendered and

sexualized similes function to underscore the hymn’s powerful efficacy to bring about its desired results in either poetic competition or warfare. That is to say, the union of a man and woman represents the kind of symbolic coupling through which the male poet expresses his harmonious and fecund relationship with goddess “Speech” (*vāc*). This poetic ideal appears in other Ṛgvedic hymns that praise the union of a male and female; that is, poet-priest and liturgical speech, while underscoring the couples parentage of their liturgy. Consequently, the sexualized trope conveys a form of “virtual efficacy,” whereby the poet signals his relationship with goddess Speech, so as to infuse the Weapons Hymn with the appropriate energy to produce results, much like a couples potential to produce offspring.

137. LAUREN BAUSCH, Dharma Realm Buddhist University

Incorporating the Internal Powers

In *Crossing the Lines of Caste*, Adheesh Sathaye observed that during most of the Vedic period “being *both* Brahmin and Kṣatriya was not such a social impossibility” as it would later become (36). Through the stories of Viśvāmitra and Śunaḥśepa, Sathaye demonstrated not only how individuals could have a double pedigree in Vedic texts, but also how Vedic texts like the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* began to look to heredity as a factor of social identity. In a recent paper, Steven Lindquist aptly described the social aspect of *varṇa* as a system of categorization in intermediate and late Vedic texts. In this paper, I will explore the Vedic rationale for a person to embody more than one category. The intermediate and late Vedic texts understand concepts like *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatra*, and *viś* as internal powers. While later literature may associate these concepts with *varṇa*, in the Brāhmaṇas they frequently, and sometimes simultaneously, operate as vital powers in relation to the body.

138. FINNIAN M.M. GERETY, Brown University

The “Sacred Syllable” and the Limits of Language: the Case of OM

For almost two centuries, Indologists have debated the history of the Sanskrit *mantra* “OM” without reaching consensus as to the origins and rise of this “sacred syllable” of Vedic and Hindu traditions. Previous scholarship has framed the question of OM’s history as a matter of language, proposing explanations that are variously etymological (based on other Sanskrit words: e.g., *ava* ‘this’, *ām* ‘yes’, or *atha* ‘then’); performative (e.g., OM is an exclamation, a particle of address, a recitational modification of mantras, or a rhetorical marker akin to Semitic *amen*); or sonic (e.g., OM’s sound is akin to prelinguistic vocalizations, naturally expressive like humming and sighing, or otherwise evocative in its phonetic profile). For all their differences, most of these studies are alike in assuming that OM is a unitary term with a single path of origins. But this assumption is contradicted by the testimony of Vedic texts, which attest OM in multiple phonetic forms (*o*, *om*, *om̐*, *om̐̐*, *o-o-o-m*, and so on), and codify more than twenty different liturgical uses under the syllable’s rubric. Departing from previous efforts that treat OM as a phenomenon of language, this paper proposes a new approach that attends to OM’s multiformity in ritual and discourse. Showing that the case of OM cannot be reduced to one overarching linguistic explanation, I argue that OM’s significance as a “sacred syllable” arises from its discursive construction in Vedic prose texts, especially the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Āraṇyakas*, which fashion OM as a unitary entity by reflecting on its capacity to synthesize diverse ritual practices and thus encapsulate the authority of the Vedas in a single utterance.

A. Ancient Near East VIII: Sciences and Scholarship. EVA VON DASSOW,
University of Minnesota, Chair (1:00 p.m.–2:00 p.m.) *Bunker Hill Room* *

139. MATHIEU OSSENDRIJVER, Humboldt University

New Results on a Babylonian Scheme for Jupiter's Motion

New textual finds made in the Babylon collection of the British Museum allow a nearly complete reconstruction of a hitherto badly understood Late Babylonian scheme for Jupiter's motion along the zodiac. All tablets preserving the scheme were written in Babylon between ca. 350 and 50 BCE. A unique feature of the scheme is that Jupiter's daily displacement varies linearly with time, resulting in trapezoidal figures in a time-velocity graph. The scheme is empirically more accurate than most others, which assume constant values of the daily displacement.

140. ZACHARY RUBIN, Brown University

Babylonian Scholarship in the Libraries of Assur

It has long been recognized that as Assyria attempted to expand its sphere of influence to the south, Assyrian kings such as Aššur-uballiṭ I and Tukulti-Ninurta I took an active interest in Babylonian scholarly and religious traditions. Much headway has already been made in studying the involvement of Babylonian scholars in the royal court at Nineveh in the 8th and 7th centuries, but little is known about the presence of Babylonian scholars in Assyrian scribal circles beyond the orbit of the royal family. To that end, I will survey the Babylonian literary and religious texts found in the city of Assur, the original capital of the Assyrian state and the center of Assyrian state religion in the imperial period, with a particular focus on texts that were copied in the Babylonian script as well as tablets that cite cities and institutions from southern Mesopotamia in their colophons. I will show that while the number of tablets copied in Babylonian script sharply decreased over time, the number of tablets citing origins in Babylonia increased, perhaps reflecting an attempt to domesticize elements of Babylonian tradition as political relations between Assyria and Babylonia frayed. As a case study of the particulars of scholarly contact between Assyria and Babylonia, this paper will include a discussion of the *wiltu*, a term first-millennium Babylonian scribes had originally applied to small, one-column tablets in the landscape format. By utilizing the "proper" format of the *wiltu*-tablet as an indicator of adherence to Babylonian scribal norms, I will argue that Assyrian scholars who were less affiliated with the royal court appropriated this designation to refer to tablets in the portrait format as well, possibly indicating a decrease or hiatus in direct contact with Babylonian scholars.

141. M. WILLIS MONROE, University of British Columbia

Analyzing Association in Babylonian Zodiacal Medical Ingredients

The use of the zodiac in diverse forms of scribal knowledge in the Late Babylonian period allowed scholars to approach and organize traditional texts in new ways. From calendrical to medical material, the zodiacal schemes could be applied to a range of text genres. The coupling of zodiacal signs and medical ingredients, for example, offered an opportunity to link celestial signs and earthly objects. This paper will investigate the connections between the signs of the zodiac and medical ingredients in Late Babylonian texts.

The principal corpus from which to draw out these connections is the Micro-zodiac tables from Uruk and Babylon, which contain a wide range of information connected to a complicated scheme of zodiacal sign pairs. Unlike other rows on the table which have prior textual traditions with which to compare logical structure, the medical ingredients and their connection to the zodiacal signs must be analyzed in their local context by bringing in comparisons with other contemporary texts which use both signs of the zodiac and medical ingredients. Some of these contemporary texts are closely related to the Micro-zodiac in structures, while others represent disparate traditions but still make use of zodiacal signs and medical ingredients.

This study makes use of modern text processing techniques to compute the relative distance between the groupings of medical ingredients in an effort to understand the logic behind their association with certain zodiacal signs. The zodiacal scheme, as mentioned above, is complex and the connection between sign and ingredient is not straight forward. This study will analyze texts across genre and provenance in order to elucidate whether the pattern of association was based on the type or origin of the text.

C. Islamic Near East IX : The Philosophy of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. CARL SHARIF EL-TOBGUI, Brandeis University, Chair (1:30 p.m.–2:30 p.m.) *Hershey/Crocker Room* *

142. MICHAEL RAPOPORT, Yale University

The Influence of Fakr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Commentary* on Ibn Sīnā's *Book of Pointers and Reminders*

Scholars have recently been paying increasing attention to the reception of Ibn Sīnā's (Avicenna, d. 1037) philosophy via commentary on his last philosophical summa, *The Book of Pointers and Reminders* (*Kitāb al-Iṣārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt*). Much of this attention has been focused on reevaluating the received narrative of the roles of Fakr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210) and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274) as detractor from and defender of Avicennan philosophy, respectively. This talk will contribute to the reassessment of Rāzī's role in post-Avicennian intellectual history by focusing on the influence of his *Commentary* (*Ṣarḥ*) on the *Pointers*.

Being the first to write a comprehensive commentary on the *Pointers*, Rāzī took up the monumental task not only of explaining the contents of and highlighting problems in its twenty chapters, but also of structuring those chapters in a series of topics (sg. *mas'ala*), divisions (sg. *qism*), and sections (sg. *faṣl*) with specific titles and goals. The influence of these efforts on the content and structure of later commentaries has received little attention in contemporary scholarship. An exception is Wisnovsky, who has observed (2013: 368) that since Rāzī had already done the work of giving structure to the *Pointers*, Ṭūsī did not have to expend the effort of creating one himself. Wisnovsky, like many others, characterizes Ṭūsī's work as a super-commentary on Rāzī's commentary. To the contrary, we will argue that Ṭūsī does not adopt Rāzī's organizational schema; as such, his work should instead be understood as commentary on the *Pointers*. We will review the structure of a number of commentaries on the *Pointers* that came after Rāzī's as a means of a) evaluating Rāzī's influence on the commentary tradition on the *Pointers* and, b) determining whether a given work should be classified as a commentary or super-commentary.

143. FRANK GRIFFEL, Yale University

Do Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Two Major Philosophical *summæ* Reflect His Own Teachings?

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1210) two major philosophical *summæ*, *al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya* and *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī l-ḥikma wa-l-manṭiq* are increasingly identified as major milestones for the history of philosophy in Islam. Produced early in his life before he reached the age of thirty-five, the two books are comprehensive treatments of philosophy that cover all sub-fields of that discipline with the exception of ethics and politics. *Al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya*, which stretches over 1,200 pages, was Fakhr al-Dīn's earliest work of philosophy and was dedicated to a member of the Khwārazmshāh's court in Gurganj. It breaks with the tradition of dividing philosophical subjects along the lines of the established books of Aristotle, edited by Andronicus of Rhodes in the 1st century BCE, and introduces a novel division following the ontological status of the subject matter. Heidrun Eichner has established that the divisions first developed in *al-Mabāḥith* and later refined in *al-Mulakhkhaṣ* were adopted by all the major textbooks of *madrasa* education in Islam, such as 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's (d. 756/1355) *al-Mawāqif* and others.

Whereas the more extensive of these two *summæ* (*al-Mabāḥith*) is available in print since 1925, the one that had a more profound influence on the philosophical and theological tradition in Islam (*al-Mulakhkhaṣ*) still lies in manuscripts. Western scholars have used mostly *al-Mabāḥith* to determine Fakhr al-Dīn's position on such questions as atomism or his critique of the demonstrative method. The literary genre of these books, however, has never been determined. Are these books reports of the *falāsifa*'s positions, similar to al-Ghazālī's *Maqāṣid al-falāsifa*, or are the teachings presented therein ones that Fakhr al-Dīn subscribed to? Analyzing the author's own characterizations of these two books as well as the argumentative strategies used in them, this paper tries to determine Fakhr al-Dīn's own commitment to the teachings presented in *al-Mabāḥith* and in *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*.

144. NORA JACOBSEN-BEN HAMMED, University of Chicago

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Cosmological System: Evidence from the *al-Maṭālib al-Āliya*

It is only in the last decade or so that careful research has been published on Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) as scholars have increasingly recognized Rāzī's crucial role in the development of philosophical theology and philosophical mysticism in the medieval Islamic world. However, a broad vision of Rāzī's positions has yet to be achieved, in part because of the relative newness of serious research on Rāzī's works and in part due to the sheer complexity of Rāzī as a thinker. For instance, no scholar has posited a general cosmological system to which Rāzī subscribed, with some asserting that he believed in the existence of the Active Intellect (of great significance for his conception of human cognition) and others claiming the opposite. This paper focuses on the *al-Maṭālib al-āliya* (*The Lofty Pursuits*), his final work, to posit a cosmological system to which Rāzī likely subscribed by the end of his life. In the *Maṭālib*, while he appears doubtful of the existence of the Active Intellect, he posits a series of celestial souls that affect physical bodies in the sublunar realm and are key for the felicity of the human soul. He notes that the greatest of this sequence of celestial beings is the first, which he terms the Universal Soul. These celestial souls are the angels referred

to in revelation, tied to the planets witnessed in the heavens, and their movements manifest their striving for spiritual perfection. This paper details this cosmological system laid out in the *Maṭālib* with reference to other key works, including the *Tafsīr al-kabīr* and *Kitāb al-naḥs wa-l-rūḥ wa sharḥ qūwāhumā*, explores the relationship between philosophy and revelation as evidenced by Rāzī's cited sources and terminology, and posits influences from the Islamic philosophical, theological, and mystical traditions that informed Rāzī's understanding of the celestial spirits and their role in human cognition and felicity.

D. South and Southeast Asia XI: Gnosis, Ritual, and Yogic Practice.
SHAMAN HATLEY, University of Massachusetts Boston, Chair (1:30 p.m.–2:30 p.m.) *Bradbury/Rose Room* *

145. ALBERTA FERRARIO, Columbia University

Intuitive Knowledge or Ritual Empowerment? The *Tantrāloka*'s Theory of *śaktipāta* as a Strategy of Legitimization for *ācāryas*

This paper examines issues of religious authority and sectarian competition in the doctrine of grace expounded by the Kashmiri polymath Abhinavagupta (c. 960–1020 CE), within the broader context of his tradition, Tantric Śaivism. Specifically, I look at Abhinavagupta's theory of "grace in degrees," his notion that Śiva's grace-giving power (*śaktipāta*) manifests in nine main levels of strength—Intense, Moderate, and Mild, each further divided in three sublevels—based on which he constructs a hierarchical typology of gurus and initiated disciples. My investigation is based on Abhinavagupta's complex exposition of this doctrine in chapter XIII of his *magnum opus*, the *Tantrāloka*, and evaluates his likely interlocutors in the social and religious landscape of the time. I show that the author's exposition concerns more the Śaiva guru or "officiant" (*ācārya*) than the doctrine of grace in itself. Abhinavagupta's agenda in expounding his theory of "gradation" of Śiva's grace-bestowing power, is to claim scriptural validation and divine sanction for his classification of Śaiva gurus. I also argue that the hierarchy Abhinavagupta establishes among them is not merely a theoretical statement. Rather, it is part of a strategy to legitimize the power of the gnostics (*jñānins*)—gurus who had not necessarily been initiated and consecrated as officiants (*ācāryas*) through the traditional rituals—within the larger community of Tantric Śaivas. Abhinavagupta's theory thus overtly challenges the religious authority of the Śaiva Siddhānta, the predominant Śaiva tradition in the Kashmir of his time, at the doctrinal, institutional, and individual levels. It was in fact through this structure of formal empowerment that the Śaiva Siddhānta "clergy" maintained control over who entered the community of initiates and, most importantly, who became qualified as *ācārya*.

146. JOHN NEMEC, University of Virginia

Pratyabhijñā Arguments Against the Vedāntins

In this presentation I survey several previously unstudied arguments against non-dualist Vedāntins found in the writings of the authors of the non-dual Śaiva Pratyabhijñā, or "Recognition," School. My thesis is that Advaita Vedānta, in myriad forms, grew in importance in the Valley of Kashmir from the time of Somānanda (c. 900–950) to the time of Abhinavagupta (975–1025) and the commentator on his

Paramārthasāra, Yogarāja (c. 1050–1100), suggesting a growing concern with, if not a growing accommodation of, Vedāntic views over the course of a century of writing on the subject in Kashmir. The survey begins with Somānanda (c. 900–950), who, though his disciple Utpaladeva (c. 925–975) does not engage the Vedānta in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñānakārikās* and *svopajñāvr̥tti*, criticizes in the sixth chapter of his *Śivadr̥ṣṭi* no fewer than a dozen Vedāntin positions, including arguments that are directed against the ideas of Sphuliṅgātmavādins, Netivādins, and Ātmavādins, among others. In doing so he claims the Vedāntins cannot explain the appearance of multiplicity (*citratā*) in the context of their philosophical non-dualism; and he links his critique of the Vedānta with a similar criticism of the Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātrikās, an approach that is mirrored in the writings of the tenth-century Śaivasiddhāntin, Rāmakaṇṭha. Notably, both authors address the views of both illusionist (*māyāvāda*) and transformationalist (*pariṇativedānta*) opponents, though Rāmakaṇṭha, being a dualist, took up a different avenue of critique in doing so. Finally, Abhinavagupta (c. 975–1025) in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñānavimarśinī* and *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛttivimarśinī* amplifies the Pratyabhijñā's engagement with—and critique of—Vedāntin opponents, and he does so with greater detail than is offered in Somānanda's telegraphed and doxographic account. Most significant, however, is Abhinavagupta's *Paramārthasāra*, a reworked version of a Vedāntic text of the same name, the very existence of which plainly to treat a tradition that was apparently of marginal concern to Abhinava's predecessors.

147. DOMINIK WUJASTYK, University of Alberta

Is Effort Required to Practice Yoga Postures?

According to a close reading of the critical text of the *Pātañjalayogasūtra*, the sutras and commentary composed by Patañjali, posture (*āsana*) is characterized as becoming steady and comfortable through the relaxation of effort and a meditative focus on infinity. Such a priority of mental state over physical experience is also anecdotally reported by meditators. The oldest commentator on the *Pātañjalayogasūtra*, Śa kara, was apparently himself an ascetic renouncer, and he does not differ from Patañjali on this point. However, the scholiast Vācaspatimiśra, whose commentary was formative of the classical Yoga tradition, takes a different view. Vācaspati, himself a householder, develops arguments in order to assert that the opposite situation is the case, and that a special kind of effort is indeed required in order to achieve proper Yogic posture. This talk will explore the textual basis for some of these arguments, based on manuscript readings, as well as the logic of Vācaspati's argument and will speculate on why Vācaspati might have felt the need to develop his viewpoint on this issue.

E. Plenary Session: Violence. JOHN HUEHNERGARD, University of Texas at Austin, Chair **(2:30 p.m.–5:00 p.m.)** *Bunker Hill Room* *

148. MARTHA ROTH, University of Chicago

Ancient Near East

149. ANTJE RICHTER, University of Colorado, Boulder

East Asia: Socially Sanctioned Self-Harming: A Facet of Violence in Ancient China

150. MICHAEL BONNER, University of Michigan

Islamic Near East

151. ASHOK AKLUJKAR, University of British Columbia

South and Southeast Asia: Violence in and to Indian Intellectual Tradition

A. Ancient Near East IX: Materiality. PHILIP ZHAKEVICH, Columbia University, Chair **(9:00 a.m.–11:00 p.m.)** *Bunker Hill Room* *

152. ALEXANDER NAGEL, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History
Qataban Polychromies: Zooming in on an Ancient South Arabian Kingdom

A prosperous kingdom on the South Arabian Peninsula, the Qataban is today also one of the least studied and unknown kingdoms of the Near East in the late first millennium BCE. While life in ancient cities like Tamna, first excavated in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by European scholars, depended on wealthy landowners, merchants and traders, the burial grounds of the Qataban citizens were decorated with numerous buildings and sculptures. In 2011, the author began to conduct research on a number of South Arabian texts and stone monuments in order to understand the original polychromy of the monuments. This paper will present preliminary results of this multidisciplinary research project which aims to investigate, analyse and contextualize a group of materials from the cemetery of Hayd ibn Aqil in the heart of the Qataban kingdom. This presentation will introduce a set of alabaster statues today preserved in the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History in Washington, DC, and compare the material with other polychrome Qataban sculptures and inscriptions in European collections, and in museums in Yemen. The project, conducted in collaboration with European and Yemeni heritage specialists, aims to document the evidence for original pigments and inlays to improve our knowledge of the techniques and the role of craftsmen and painters, developments in ancient technology. As our presentation indicates, a deeper investigation into the polychromy of individual alabaster sculptures supports previous ideas according to whom Qataban sculptures featured highly individualized portraits.

153. HERVÉ RECULEAU, University of Chicago

Tell Muqdadiya (Iraq) and the History of the Diyala Valley in the Early Old Babylonian Period (19th c. BCE)

Tell Muqdadiya is a small archaeological mound located in the valley of the Diyala River, east of Baghdad in present-day Iraq. The publication by H.A. Hamzi (with an English translation by Mark Altaweel) of the final report on late 1970's-early 1980's Iraqi excavations is currently in preparation at the Oriental Institute of the

University of Chicago, under the supervision of McGuire Gibson. I was offered the possibility to study on photographs the twelve cuneiform tablets recovered by the archaeologists when they excavated early Old Babylonian private houses situated on the northeastern part of the tell. In ancient times, these tablets would have been part of three or four separate household archives. One house yielded one economic text and a letter, another six economic tablets (found together in a jar) and a loan contract of silver and barley, and three additional economic texts were discovered in two loci belonging to either one or two house(s).

The twelve tablets were recovered at level IB, and all but one are undated. Orthography, language and epigraphy link them to the “early Old Babylonian” stage of Akkadian known at Eshnunna and elsewhere—and more precisely to the second quarter of the 19th c. BCE. Two mentions of the rare goddess Humat (including one in the only attested yearname) suggest ties with the kingdom of Kazallu-and-Marad, and could help settle a long debated issue in early Old Babylonian history: They favor the hypothesis of a short-lived control of parts of the Diyala by Sumu-numḫim, king of Kazallu-and-Marad, and reinforce the theory according to which he was in fact the same person as the homonymous king of Šadlaš who engaged in a peace treaty with another Diyala city, Nērebtum (Ishchali).

154. TYTUS MIKOLAJCZAK, University of Chicago

Social Network Analysis of the Persepolis Fortification Archive

The Persepolis Fortification Archive records activities of hundreds of individuals involved in the administration in Fārs, Iran, throughout the period reflected by the documents (509–493 BC). Making sense of the underlying, complex administrative structure is a challenging task. This process can be facilitated by tracing the correlations between seals impressed on the cuneiform documents and their contents. Methods of the social network analysis and visualization are very useful with finding and recognizing such correlations. Preliminary network analysis confirms the results of the study of the texts contents. There is no doubt that the seals impressed on the tablets reflect an organizational structure of the offices producing these documents. The paper discusses the preliminary results and explores possibilities and perspectives for the further use of the social network analysis for the study of the Persepolis Fortification Archive.

155. GÖSTA GABRIEL, Harvard University/Georg-August-Universität Göttingen

Materiality and textual transmission of the Sumerian King List

Exploring material basis and textual transmission, the presentation investigates the “Sitz im Leben” of the Sumerian King List during the Old Babylonian period. By means of a trial based on circumstantial evidence it collects a broad array of indicators.

First, the paper scrutinizes the excavation sites of the manuscripts and their pragmatic context. Furthermore, it surveys the tablet formats of the Sumerian King List and compares their quantitative distribution with that of the manuscripts of the Decad. Eventually, the mode of textual transmission is explored on the basis of textual variations and their most probable cause—at this following the approach established by Paul Delnero (e.g., 2012a and 2012b, for a more critical point of view, see also Worthington 2012: 5–40).

These various aspects of the ancient manuscripts facilitate drawing a concise picture of the artefactual and intellectual use of the Sumerian King List in Old Babylonian educational practices.

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B. Islamic Near East X: Intellectual History. EREZ NAAMAN, American University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) *Hershey/Crocker Room* *

156. SEAN W. ANTHONY, The Ohio State University

Parodies of the Qurʾān in Early Arabic Literature: Notes on the Revelations of Musaylima of al-Yamāma

The standing of the Qurʾān and, in particular, the qurʾanic *sūra* as a sui generis genre of Arabic literary expression continues to pose analytical challenges for historical philology. The *sūra* and the qurʾanic literary style were revered, studied, and emulated, but ostensibly never imitated. How, then, does one undertake a comparative, historical analysis of a literary genre which stands in the solitude of itself?

Promising forays into the resolution of this problem have drawn on the parallels found between early *sūras* and the rhythmic, rhymed speech (Ar. *saġ*) attributed to the pre-Islamic Arabian soothsayers, the *kuhhān*, which share many of the literary features of qurʾanic *sūras*. Indeed, Angelika Neuwirth has gone so far as to comment that, "the *sūras* may even be considered as the most reliable evidence for *kuhhān* speech itself."

This study takes one such corpus of *saġ* compositions as the main object of its analysis: the *sūras* and revelations attributed to an Arabian claimant to prophecy and contemporary of Muḥammad named Musaylima ibn Ḥabīb of the Ḥanīfa tribe of al-Yamāma. Numerous Arabian claimants emerged in response to the rise and spread of the political hegemony of Muḥammad's Medina across Arabia, but of these, only Musaylima boasts a substantial corpus of revelations that survives in later Arabic literary sources.

This study seeks to establish a methodical and historical foundation for the analysis of these texts. In particular, it assesses the corpus of Musaylima's revelation by seeking to answer two questions: 1) How much of this corpus, if any, is authentic, and how can its authenticity be ascertained? 2) If this corpus is inauthentic, or dubious at most, why would such parodies of the Qurʾān be composed, and what do the literary features of these *sūra*-parodies tell us about the literary features of actual qurʾanic *sūras*?

157. MARIAM SHEIBANI, The University of Chicago

Whence Legal Maxims? The Contribution of ‘Izz al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Salām (d. 660/1262)

The emergence of legal maxim treatises remains an understudied field in Islamic legal history. Scholars have long noted early interest in maxims among Ḥanafīs in the fourth-fifth/tenth-eleventh century, followed by a sudden eruption of maxim treatises in the eighth/fourteenth century, largely concentrated among Shāfi‘ī jurists in Damascus. This has led some scholars to speak of a period of dormancy and stagnation of the genre for two centuries, spanning the sixth-seventh/twelfth-thirteenth centuries. Furthermore, the larger question of the functions of legal maxims in legal thought and history remains an open question.

In my paper I examine the contribution of a prominent figure from this period, ‘Izz al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Salām (d. 660/1262) to argue that no such gap existed. I argue that Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s work and that of his direct successors represents a crucial stage in the evolution of the genre, without which we cannot appreciate subsequent developments and the institutional and intellectual needs that legal maxims as a genre evolved to fulfill.

In the first part of my paper, I analyze Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s unique contribution to the discourse on legal maxims. In analyzing his *Qawā'id al-aḥkām fī maṣāliḥ al-anām*, I discuss its structure and logic, his motives for authoring the work, as well as possible influences. I also draw on his work of positive law, *al-Ghāya fī ikhtisār al-nihāya*, his two fatwā collections and notes compiled from his classes (*āmālī*), to provide a more complete picture of his understanding and theorization of legal maxims.

In the second part of my paper, I trace how Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s *Qawā'id* directly inspired the subsequent efflorescence of thought and writing on legal maxims. This was in part achieved through the efforts of Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibn al-Wakīl (d. 716/1317), the son of one of Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām’s prominent students, who taught extensive lessons on legal maxims that were later compiled into the first maxim treatise entitled *al-Ashbāh wa-l-naẓā'ir*. The most important compilers of maxim works in the next two centuries—such as al-‘Alā‘ī (d. 761/1359), al-Subkī (d. 771/1370) and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505)—acknowledge their significant debt to both Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām and Ibn al-Wakīl, whose works formed the foundation of the genre and on which they drew explicitly and copiously.

Finally, I conclude my paper by discussing the institutional and intellectual functions of legal maxims in the work of Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām and his successors. In particular, I explore how the emergence of the genre contributed to the consolidation and systematization of the legal schools, to reimagining the boundaries between *ijtihād* and *taqlīd*, and to legal practice inside outside the courts.

158. ELIAS G. SABA, University of Pennsylvania

An Unknown Text of Legal Distinctions: The Implications of a New Discovery

In this paper I analyze a short, anonymous book of legal distinctions (*al-furūq al-fiqhiyya*). The work in question has so far received no scholarly attention and exists only in manuscript. However, there are many factors that should draw our attentions to this work, including its wide diffusion in premodern times and the debates over its

authorship. Its premodern spread suggests some level of importance in spite of the confusion surrounding its attribution.

I have discovered five manuscript copies of this short work, each one in a different library: Garrett 4185Y at the Princeton University Library; Peterman II Nachtrag 4 at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin; Halet Efendi 807 at the Suleymaniye Library, Istanbul; Fiqh Ḥanafī 2089 at the Maktabat al-Haram al-Makki, Mecca; and Ṣāhiriyya 4501 at the Asadiyya Library in Damascus. Although these manuscripts are attributed to different authors, this paper demonstrates that all five are actually copies of the same work. Of the five manuscripts, one is unattributed, while the others name Ibn al-Turkumānī, İsmail Hakki, al-Arzustānī, and al-Urdustānī as author. Of these authors, only İmail Hakki, an Ottoman scholar who died in 1137/1725, can be identified with certainty. Ibn al-Turkumānī, meanwhile, likely refers to Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Uthmān al-Turkumānī, a Cairene scholar who died in 744/1343. The identity of the other authors, two of whom are mentioned only by their *nisbas*, cannot be established.

This work of legal distinctions is particularly interesting since it is one of the best-attested in manuscript libraries. In this paper, I briefly discuss the contents of this book and compare them broadly to other works of legal distinctions written in Mamluk times (ca. 7th/13th and 8th/14th). Through analysis of both the content of the manuscript and its dissemination, this study contributes to our understanding of the premodern circulation of texts and ideas, and to the history of the genre of *furūq* as legal literature.

C. South and Southeast Asia XII: Ascetics and Householders.

STEFAN BAUMS, University of Munich, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:00 a.m.) *Bradbury/Rose Room* *

159. PATRICK OLIVELLE, University of Texas

Gṛhasṭha Revisited: A Report on Collaborative Research

This paper reviews the collaborative research project on the semantics and institution of *gṛhasṭha* in ancient India. The springboard for the project was the seminal paper of Stephanie Jamison, *Houses, Housewives, and Householders* read before the Society at its 2015 meeting in New Orleans. In it Jamison presented the discovery—which, on later reflection, I found to be revolutionary in terms of our understanding of the ancient Indian social fabric—that *gṛhasṭha* as the common Sanskrit term for householder was comparatively recent, occurring for the first time in the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* in the 3rd century BCE. This term contrasts with the older Vedic term for a house-dwelling married gentleman, *grhapati*. At about the same time as *Āpastamba*, Aśoka was also using the term in Prakrit *gahatta* to refer to a very specific mode of religious life carried out in a house, as opposed to one that required the departure from home, that of a *pravrajita*. Aśoka takes the two categories *pravrajita* and *gṛhasṭha* as two kinds of individuals who belonged to a religious order called *pāṣaṇḍa*. The term *gṛhasṭha* is taken over by the Dharmaśāstra tradition within the context of the novel institution of the four *āśramas*. The collaborative project looks at the novel institution of *gṛhasṭha* in a variety of ancient Indian literary and religious traditions: Vedas, Aśoka, Pāli Buddhism, Gṛhyasūtras, Dharmaśāstras, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Arthaśāstra, Kāmasūtra, and Medical Texts.

160. CLAIRE MAES, University of Texas at Austin

From ‘Ascetic’ to ‘Ascetic other’: A Philological Examination of the Pāli Term *titthiya* (Sanskrit *tīrthika*)

The early Indian Buddhist community evolved in intense dialogue with its wider ascetic landscape. It is in constant negotiation with its various ascetic others, whether real or imagined, that the early Indian Buddhist community organized itself and developed an on-going identity rhetoric. This paper aims to show this dialogic role of ascetic others on the early Buddhist community’s identity negotiation by means of a philological examination of the Pāli term *titthiya* (Sanskrit *tīrthika*). Meaning ‘one belonging to an ascetic community,’ ‘*titthiya*’ is the term most frequently used in Buddhist texts to refer to the Buddhist’s ascetic other. Through a philological excursion, I will identify a semantic shift in the term’s application. Whereas early Buddhist monks could initially positively associate themselves with the term *titthiya*, they (gradually) lost their self-identification with the term. Instead ‘*titthiya*’ became exclusively used to generically refer to their real or imagined ascetic others, and this usually in contexts betraying a negative perception of these others. I will (1) argue that this semantic shift went hand in hand with a shift in the manner how the early Buddhist community perceived and related to its ascetic other and (2) demonstrate how the early Buddhist monks’ initial positive understanding of the term *titthiya* was in accordance with the wider Indian metaphorical language of liberation.

161. YOU ZHAO, University of Oxford

Remaking Vimalakīrti

This paper will investigate the process through which the Indic Mahāyānasūtra character Vimalakīrti was refashioned into an ideal personality among Chinese religious, which phenomenon may have been understated due to his different fate in Indic and Tibetan context.

Chinese translations of *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* firstly gave a touch of localized settings to the narrative. Meanwhile, oral transmission and adaptations (eg., *Jiang jing wen* etc.) enriched the narrative by supplying further details or anecdotes with significantly Chinese imagery. Moreover, the figure prescribed in the highly philosophical text was literally substantialized as a Chinese layman by the creation of his visual representation (*Wei mo bian*)—If we examining steles, secular burial reliefs and cave paintings, the astonishing similarity among early Vimalakīrti images, local gentleman, and Taoist saints shows that the reception of this figure was highly dependent on his identification with indigenous idea of *good-men*. Later in imperial China, Buddhist-Confucius listed Vimalakīrti as the initial lay Buddhist preceding all historical Chinese lay celebrities in *Laiti Biographies*, while Taoist ritual texts had him as one of the Celestial Generals. Even nowadays, statues of Vimalakīrti still stand as the symbol of lay communities, which suggests a special function that Vimalakīrti has constantly played in history.

Thus I will argue that: through a specific yet complex identification with local ideas of good-men, Vimalakīrti surpassing the boundaries of various communities became one of the essential parts in the continuum of Chinese religious traditions; and such a continuum remade Vimalakīrti into a new form with new connotations. This paper aims to reconsider the idea of sinicization through the example of Vimalakīrti, try to

provide a model of the interplay between Buddhism and other Chinese religions which operates on an overarching ideal personality, and suggest how this process runs as an impetus whereas a resistance against foreign ideas.

D. South and Southeast Asia XIII: Time, Space, and Intoxication. MARK MCCLISH, Northwestern University, Chair (10:15 a.m.–11:30 a.m.) *Bradbury/Rose Room* *

162. JAMES MCHUGH, University of Southern California

Maitreya, the Ambiguous Intoxicating Drink of Ancient India

Indic texts from several centuries before and after the turn of the Common Era mention an intoxicating, alcoholic drink called *maireya*. It seems *maireya* was quite popular and prestigious at that time, though it was sometimes prohibited. There are also references to this drink in texts from later periods. Establishing the nature of any ancient alcoholic beverage is challenging, philologically and methodologically, but in the case of *maireya* the evidence is particularly confusing, as descriptions of this drink appear to be extremely varied and inconsistent. Thus there is some confusion in previous scholarship about the nature of this drink. In this paper I aim to establish what sort of drink *maireya* was. I shall briefly explore recipes for the drink, look at how it was classified, and reflect on the contexts in which it was drunk (or avoided). But to truly understand *maireya* we need to adjust our perspectives. Thus I argue that if we consider *maireya* chronologically and adapt our expectations about what would constitute a single, named type of drink in the ancient world, we are better able to deal with the evidence. For the *maireya* drink was intrinsically characterized by flexibility in composition (compare to “cocktail”). Also, in earlier periods *maireya* was made of common local sugars with the addition of desirable spices, and was thus probably more complex and socially prestigious than common grain beers. In later medical literature the memory of *maireya* as a mixed, rather ambiguous drink survives and it is understood as a mixture of sugar-based drink and grain-based drink, and may even have been produced as such.

163. NATALIYA YANCHEVSKAYA, Princeton University

Time and Eternity in Ancient India

The doctrine of Time as the Absolute unmanifested reality and power that creates, sustains, and destroys the universe is a most prominent, albeit underexplored, idea of ancient Indian religious thought. The paper investigates historical developments and origins of this concept by analyzing the Vedic and early Brahmanic literature and shows its significance for the later theological, philosophical, and literary tradition.

Relevant fragments from various texts such as the Rigveda, Atharvaveda, Upanishads, philosophical works, and epics are analyzed. Conceptual and historical connections between early views on Time (Vedic period) and those of Hinduism are established. A special attention is paid to the relation between Time and death, and also to the idea of two kinds of time: one is eternal, undivided, and unchangeable; the other one is empirical, changeable, and divisible.

It is argued that there existed an all-encompassing doctrine of Time. Characteristic features of the doctrine are summarized, and an interpretation of why Time occupies

such a place in ancient Indian philosophy and religion is offered. The paper also examines how this doctrine relates to other theological and philosophical models of ultimate reality within the Vedic and early Hindu tradition.

164. JULIE VIG, University of British Columbia

Imagining the World beyond Punjab: Spatial and Emotional Landscapes in *gurbilās* Literature

This paper examines the spatial landscape in *gurbilās* literature in relation to the vocabulary of emotions. More specifically, it focuses on examining the meaning of space in Kuir Singh's *Gurbilās Pātshāhī Das*, a mid-to-late eighteenth century text in Punjabi-Brajbhāṣa about the lives of the Sikh Gurus with a strong emphasis on the life of the tenth Sikh Guru, Guru Gobind Singh and his heroic character. There has been a tendency in Sikh Studies to research premodern Sikh literature within the boundaries of Punjab and of the Sikh tradition which has kept the Sikh cultural production disconnected from its wider cultural and historical contexts. The authors of *gurbilās* imagined and located the Sikh Gurus and their communities in a world that extended beyond Punjab which is well reflected in *gurbilās* literature. Purnima Dhavan has argued for the importance of considering the category of emotions as an important field of enquiry in relation to *gurbilās* texts and their authors (Dhavan 2011, *When the Sparrows became Hawks*, 150). In *gurbilās* texts the vocabulary of emotions is deeply tied to description of space and communities. The emotional, social, and spatial landscapes depicted in *gurbilās* literature open a window into wider social and spatial worlds in which these texts were produced. On a more literary level, linguistic and aesthetic choices made by authors of *gurbilās* texts shed light on wider literary and cultural worlds in which these authors situated themselves. How are space and communities imagined? What are the significant places associated with the Gurus and their community, and how are they described in relation to the vocabulary of emotions? The goal of this paper is to locate Sikh cultural production within a wider world, rather than to isolate it as unique and unconnected.

Index of Abstracts

- Adem, Rodrigo, 33, 70
Aklujkar, Ashok, 21, 80
Aklujkar, Vidyut, 63
Al-Hatlani, Abdullah S., 56
Alahverdian, Arnold, 10
Anderson, Adam, 6
Anthony, Sean W., 55, 82
Apple, James B., 57
Azad, Arezou, 55

Baums, Stefan, 59, 84
Bausch, Lauren, 74
Bellefleur, Timothy, 4
Benfey, Thomas, 54
Benkato, Adam, 10
Bennett, David, 70
Bjørn, Øyvind, 1
Boero, Dina, 12
Bonner, Michael, 80
Brereton, Joel, 59, 73
Brick, David, 19, 58
Brill, Jo, 21
Buchta, David, 23
Bursi, Adam, 14

Casey, Christian, 5
Chang, Wenbo, 9
Chen, Edith, 12
Chen, Erica Yin-Ching, 51
Chik, Hin Ming Frankie, 68
Cohen, Mark E., 66
Cohen, Signe, 72
Connelly, Coleman, 37
Cutter, Robert Joe, 30

Dang, Kayla, 13
Dann, Michael, 35
Davidson, Garrett, 15
Davis, Donald, 19
Davis, Ryan Conrad, 47
de Mowbray, Julia, 15
De Simini, Florinda, 42
Dong, Lijie, 67
Dougherty, Roberta L., 16

El Shamsy, Ahmed, 15
El-Tobgui, Carl Sharif, 71, 76
Escobar, Eduardo A., 5

Ferrario, Alberta, 78
Fleming, Christopher, 19

Gabriel, Gösta, 81
Gerety, Finnian M.M., 74
Goedegebuure, Petra M., 2
Goh, Meow Hui, 52
Goldman, Robert, 62
Goldstein, David, 26
Green, Phillip Scott Ellis, 57
Grestenberger, Laura, 28
Griffel, Frank, 70, 77

Häberl, Charles G., 55	Liu, Wei, 69
Hadjirin, Arshad M., 40	Liu, Zhen, 58
Harb, Lara, 37	Lorndale, Timothy, 61
Hasselbach-Andee, Rebecca, 1, 29	Loukota, Diego, 11
Hatley, Shaman, 42, 78	Lubin, Timothy, 43
Hawkins, Laura, 45	Lucas, Scott C., 34, 53
Hill, Nathan W., 22	Luhn, Clara, 53
Ho, Wong Wai, 32	
Hollenbaugh, Ian, 24	Maes, Claire, 85
Honarchiansaky, Ani, 13	Mandell, Alice, 50
Honey, David B., 51, 67	McClish, Mark, 20, 86
Hsu, Philip, 69	McHugh, James, 86
Huehnergard, John, 80	Mehrvarz, Abbas Zarei, 36
	Michalowski, Piotr, 1
Jacobsen-Ben Hammed, Nora, 77	Mikati, Rana, 17
Jamison, Stephanie, 73	Mikolajczak, Tytus, 81
Jia, Shuqi, 56	Milligan, Matthew, 21
Jin, Xiangru, 54	Minkowski, Christopher, 41, 57
Juloux, Vanessa, 47	Minyu, Zhang, 41
	Mirnig, Nina, 44
Kafle, Nirajan, 43	Monroe, M. Willis, 75
Kantor, Benjamin, 28	Moore, Michael, 64
Keegan, Matthew L., 40	
Ketchley, Sarah L., 3	Naaman, Erez, 39, 82
Konstantopoulos, Gina, 48, 65	Nagel, Alexander, 80
	Neelis, Jason, 9, 58
Laher, Suheil, 71	Nemec, John, 42, 78
Lam, Joseph, 49	Nicoll-Johnson, Evan, 51
Larsen, David, 39	
Lassner, Jacob, 17	Olivelle, Patrick, 19, 84
Li, Chris Wen-Chao, 7	Onishi, Teigo, 29
Liew, Han Hsien, 33	Ossendrijver, Mathieu, 63, 75
Lindstedt, Ilkka, 49	Owen, David I., 44

Pagé-Perron, Émilie, 45	Sun, Di, 31
Pat-El, Na'ama, 2	Sutherland Goldman, Sally J., 60
Paulus, Susanne, 49	Svärd, Saana, 49
Pearce, Laurie, 46	Tor, Deborah, 17
Poekel, Hans-Peter, 38	Tubb, Gary, 61
Prosser, Miller, 46	Tucker, Elizabeth, 25
Qureshi, Jawad, 16	Uskokov, Aleksandar, 73
Rapoport, Michael, 76	van Bladel, Kevin, 11
Reculeau, Hervé, 80	Veldhuis, Niek, 44
Rezakhani, Khodadad, 9	Vig, Julie, 87
Richardson, Seth, 63	von Dassow, Eva, 65, 75
Richter, Antje, 8, 80	Wadley, Stephen, 7, 50
Richter, Matthias L., 6, 50	Walker, Paul, 15, 17
Rieken, Elisabeth, 24	Wangling, Jinghua, 30
Rizek, Ali Rida Khalil, 35	Weiss, Michael, 24
Roth, Martha, 80	Wen, Zuoting, 32
Rubin, Zachary, 75	Whitaker, Jarrod, 72, 73
Saba, Elias G., 83	Wilson Wright, Aren, 2
Sagha, Mohammed, 33	Wu, Julian Siyuan, 67
Sathaye, Adheesh, 3, 41, 60	Wu, Yang, 52
Sharma, Vishal, 60	Wujastyk, Dominik, 41, 79
Sheffield, Daniel, 12, 53	Xu, Peng, 8
Sheibani, Mariam, 83	Yanchevskaya, Nataliya, 86
Shen, Yiming, 22	Yang, Baoli, 31
Sijpesteijn, Petra, 56	Yates, Anthony, 26
Simmons, Richard VanNess, 6, 68	Zhakevich, Philip, 1, 80
Smith, Caley Charles, 72	Zhang, Meimei, 8
Sonik, Karen, 65	Zhao, You, 85
Stephan, Tara, 18	Zsolnay, Ilona, 47, 66
Stratford, Edward, 64	

