A. Ancient Near East I: Syntax and Semantics. **John Huehnergard**, University of Texas, Chair (1:30 p.m.–2:30 p.m.) *Picasso Ballroom*

1. **Øyvind Bjørø**, University of Texas at Austin, and **Na’ama Pat-El**, The University of Texas, Austin

On the Historical Syntax of the Subordination Morpheme in Assyrian Akkadian

Akkadian marks subordinated verbs with a special morpheme, Babylonian -u and Assyrian -(ā)ni; e.g., ša ir-ra-ru ‘the one he curses’ (OB, Anzu, line 22). Semitists and Assyriologists have debated the origin of these morphemes in Akkadian in general and in Assyrian in particular (e.g., Kouwenberg 2010, Hasselbach 2012). In this paper we will concentrate on the syntax and distribution of the morpheme in Assyrian, where it is morphologically complex and its syntax differs significantly from Babylonian. We will argue that this morpheme becomes generalized in this dialect, shifting from being part of the Assyrian TAM markers with restricted distribution, to acquiring a purely syntactic function which is decoupled from the verbal paradigm. In Middle Assyrian, the morpheme is attested on all verbal and deverbal predicates, with no restriction, including with verbs carrying other suffixes, such as pronominal and ventive. The most interesting development, however, is attested in Neo-Assyrian, where the morpheme is used to mark the right-most edge of the subordinated sentence, no matter what element is located there, including pronominal subjects in nominal sentences; e.g., LÚ la ú-da a-a-ú šu-tu-ú-ni ‘I don’t know who this man is’ (SAA 10, 280: r1-2). We will discuss the linguistic implications of this development.

References:


2. **Silvia Stubnova**, Brown University

Where Syntax and Semantics Meet: A Typological Analysis of Old Egyptian Causatives

The earliest stage of the ancient Egyptian language, i.e., Old Egyptian, seems to have had two productive causative mechanisms that increase the valency of verbs: morphological (mono-clausal) and periphrastic (bi-clausal). The former is characterized by the prefix s-, while the latter employs the verb rdj “give” followed by a complement clause. Both causative strategies have been known to scholars since the inception of the study of the ancient Egyptian language, mainly due to their numerous attestations as well as their parallels in related languages. However, with the exception of Schenkel’s short treatment of causatives in the Coffin Texts, any systematic or comprehensive study of Egyptian causative verbs is lacking. Moreover, most descriptions of causatives are confined to few paragraphs within grammar books, without any extant analysis of their meaning or function.
Therefore, my paper aims to provide a new insight into the Egyptian morphological and periphrastic causatives by examining the syntactic and semantic properties of these verbs in Old Egyptian, employing the most recent linguistic theory of causative constructions. My work goes beyond the syntactic division of verbs into transitive and intransitive, and instead explores their semantic categories as well. The causative forms of active/inactive verbs, ingestive/egestive verbs, as well as verbs of motion are examined. The results of this analysis show which types of verbs have a preference for which of the two causative strategies and demonstrate the semantic differences between the morphological and periphrastic causative constructions. Furthermore, my paper clarifies the causative derivation of transitive verbs, whose valency does not increase and which have thus represented a puzzle to the Egyptologists. A possible solution to this issue is connected with the results of my study of the $\alpha$-prefix in Old Egyptian, which might represent a necessary first step in the causativization of transitive verbs.

3. AMBJÖRN SJÖRS, Uppsala University/University of Chicago

Aspects of the Ventive in Akkadian

The ventive in Akkadian is an orientational morpheme and as a matter of course, it is predominantly used with verbs of movement and verbs of sending, giving, and addressing. However, the ventive is also sometimes used with verbs that do not indicate movement towards a goal or involve an indirect object. The ventive of these verbs is usually understood as a form of ‘ethical dative’ or ‘dativus commodi’.

In this presentation, the ventive of non-motion verbs and non-dative verbs is identified with a marker of middle semantics. As a middle marker, the ventive is used with verbs of obtaining, verbs of posture and non-translational motion, verbs that designate spontaneous events, verbs of collective-reciprocal situations, and verbs of perception and emotion. In this construction, the ventive is used to focus on a low degree of distinguishability between participants and substructures in the state of affairs.

The verbs that associate with the middle marking ventive also tend to form active statives. This is not surprising, since verbs that form active statives focus on the affectedness of the agent. The indirect middle, for example, is used to focus on the subject of the verb as the beneficiary of the situation and there is zero distinguishability between the subject and the indirect object.

From the viewpoint of comparative Semitic linguistics, the middle functions of the ventive in Akkadian can be reconciled with its orientational function. The use of the ventive for the indirect middle historically results from the lexical semantics of the relevant verbs. While the ventive is deictically centrifugal with verbs of giving, which involve an indirect object non-identical to the agent by nature, the ventive is centripetal with verbs of taking, which involve an indirect object identical to the subject by nature.
4. GINA KONSTANTOPOULOS, University of Helsinki

Shulgi S: A Sumerian Text in Six Fragments

The Old Babylonian text known as Shulgi S is a singular composition. A prayer to a number of different deities on behalf of the Ur III ruler, the text is preserved on six tablets, evenly split between the sites of Nippur and Ur. Each fragment may be identified as this text thanks to the inclusion of its clearly recognizable refrain “a-mu-zu,” or “O, your name,” that marks the end of each section dedicated to an individual deity. This refrain is otherwise only found on the better-preserved text of Iddin-Dagan D, with which Shulgi S shares many structural and stylistic similarities. Shulgi S is also notable for its use of the closing rubric of “šīr₃-nam-erim₂-ma,” seen on the closing lines of CBS 11175, a tablet which also provides the critical information that the text as a whole would have been complete on two imgidda-style tablets. Unfortunately, the tablets of Shulgi S, particularly those from Nippur, are quite fragmentary, with full lines rarely preserved, thus frustrating attempts at reconstructing the text. To further complicate matters, there are no duplicated lines across the six tablets, indicating that the text, when complete, was indeed quite long. Despite these caveats, there is still hope for Shulgi S, particularly thanks to recent join to one of the more substantial fragments from Nippur. This paper presents the existing known tablets that can be reliably attributed to Shulgi S, placing their content within a proposed structure for the text as a whole, based primarily upon comparisons with Iddin-Dagan D. In doing so, this paper aims to move beyond the fragmentary state and limitations of the text’s individual sources, presenting Shulgi S as a more cohesive composition.

5. SOPHUS HELLE, Aarhus University, Denmark

A Literary Heritage: Authorship at the Neo-Assyrian Court

Scholars at the Neo-Assyrian court were responsible for a number of intellectual innovations. Among these was a systematic interest in literary authorship. With few exceptions the literary culture of the ancient Near East had previously been exclusively anonymous, but the Neo-Assyrian scholars compiled catalogues of authors, analyzed the names of famous authors, and invoked authors as their family ancestors. Drawing on the work of Wilfred Lambert and Piotr Michalowski, I set out to investigate why authorship suddenly gained so important a place in the scholarly milieu at this time.

In Assyriology, cuneiform authorship has often been discussed in historicist terms, i.e., as a question of whether the ancient scholars were correct in attributing the authorship of, say, The Epic of Gilgamesh to Sin-leqi-unninni. The approach employed here is different: I am interested in authorship not as a historical reality but as a cultural narrative. Regardless of who actually wrote The Epic of Gilgamesh, it is significant that the ancient scholars began to attribute it to a named author. In this paper, I ask why the narrative of authorship took hold during the Neo-Assyrian period, how the narrative was told, and what it meant in the cultural context of the time.

I argue that authors became important as mythical ancestors and cultural cornerstones due to the influx of new ethnic and social groups at the Neo-Assyrian court, and especially of Aramean-speaking scribes. Assyrian and Babylonian scholars responded
to the social transformations by anchoring their identity in the memory of ancient authors, which allowed them to claim a literary ancestry unavailable to the cultural newcomers.

Authorship thus arose as a reaction against a string of cultural encounters, and as an attempt to safe-guard the cultural prestige associated with cuneiform scholarship.

6. **RYAN C. DAVIS**, Brigham Young University

The Contexts of Categorization: Variation in Labeling Mesopotamian Incantation-prayers

Previous studies on and approaches to the KA.INIM.MA rubrics of first-millennium incantation-prayers have often assumed that these labels were static taxonomies that could be used to classify and categorize incantation-prayers. However, this approach has its pitfalls. One problem is that incantation-prayers can carry multiple rubrics. This suggests that labels were not always intended to compartmentalize incantation-prayers, but that labels were relevant only within specific contexts. Additionally, any system of categorization is bound to be affected by diachronic and regional variation; genre theorist Alastair Fowler emphasized the dynamic nature of generic categories when he commented that “genres are less like pigeon-holes and more like pigeons” (1982). Recent scholarship, especially the work of Eleanor Robson, has called into question the idea of a stable and unchanging “stream of tradition” in cuneiform scholarship. Robson has also pointed out that the ancient scholars’ access to texts could often be patchy at best, even in well-funded imperial institutions. This paper will explore the evidence for regional and diachronic variation in how incantation-prayers were labeled and categorized by ancient scholars. There is evidence that royal scholars at Nineveh changed how they referred to KA.INIM.MA rubrics when they became the subject of a new tablet series. Additionally, it may be the limited access to texts that caused the composer of the “Exorcist’s Manual” (KAR 44) to assume that all of the included labels were the titles of different tablet series. Focusing on how cuneiform scholars have variously understood and applied these incantation-prayer labels based on their regional and diachronic concerns will allow us to better talk about and analyze first-millennium incantation-prayers in modern scholarship.

7. **THEO VAN DEN HOUT**, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago

Does the Anatolian Hieroglyph 326 Really Mean “Scribe”?

Since 1956 the probably most frequently occurring Anatolian hieroglyph (no. 326) on seal impressions from the Hittite Kingdom has been taken to mean “scribe” and has been conventionally transliterated as SCRIBA. Its overwhelming presence has important implications for our assumptions of the spread of literacy in the Hittite lands. This presentation discusses the evidence for this identification and offers an alternative interpretation.
8. Maddalena Poli, University of Pennsylvania

What Good’s a Graph? Some Reflections on Reading Excavated Sources from Early China

In manuscripts from the Baoshan包山 and Guodian郭店 corpora, the word cha 察 “to examine” is written with a previous unattested graphic structure that has the component 言 and an unidentified component △, likely representing the phonetic speller. Graphs with this structure have been identified as writing the word “to examine” mainly on the basis of textual parallels, and contextual plausibility. The same component △ recurs in graphs writing the words qie 窺 “to steal”, qian 深 “shallow” (although controversial), and in one case cai 篾 “grass”. The reconstructions of these words in the system of Baxter and Sagart make this series of spelling relationships appear irregular, however. Several interpretations have been put forward, but none has so far solved the puzzle. This paper discusses previous interpretations of the component △, adding further evidence that may bear on our understanding of the graph. In doing so, it will emphasize the role of excavated and received sources in our understanding of Chinese script and the reconstruction of Old Chinese.

9. Newell Ann Van Auken, University of Iowa

Representations of the Interstate Hierarchy in Spring and Autumn Historiography

Historiography—that is, history-writing—is fundamentally interpretive. This is true even of annals that, like the terse, bare-bones Spring and Autumn (Chūnqīū 春秋), appear to record “just the facts.” What interpretation, values, or priorities did the Lǔ 魯 record-keepers impose onto the events they recorded in the Spring and Autumn? In this study, I examine how the Spring and Autumn represented the interstate hierarchy. Formal features that were used to indicate relative rank point to a static, unchanging interstate system; for example, the order in which states were listed in records of covenants, meetings and joint military actions remained the same throughout the Spring and Autumn. At the same time, the interstate power balance changed dramatically during the Spring and Autumn period (mid 8th c–mid 5th c BCE). Thus the Spring and Autumn does not provide a “truthful” or “accurate” representation of the contemporary interstate hierarchy, but an idealized representation. What values or priorities formed the basis of this idealized order? Turning to the Zuò zhuan 左传, we find several accounts narrating disputes about the order of states, but these disputes do not refer to current events nor to relative political power or military might. Instead they look to the past, invoking ancestral achievement and kinship ties in support of their claims for high rank. The unchanging interstate hierarchy in the Spring and Autumn appears to be based on similar thinking. Its records did not aim to represent the dynamic contemporary interstate power structure, but instead the Spring and Autumn set forth a fixed hierarchy from the Lǔ perspective, which perhaps (like Zuò zhuan narratives) was a commemorative hierarchy based on an idealized past.
10. CHAN CHOK MENG, University of Hong Kong

Eulogy Extraordinaire: The “Fu ming” Genre and Its Intricate Textual Strategies

Under the subcategory “Fu ming” (lit. “portents for the mandate”), juan 48 of the Wen xuan collects three panegyric essays composed in the Han dynasty by the great writers Sima Xiangru (179–117 BCE), Yang Xiong (53 BCE–18 CE), and Ban Gu (32–92 CE). The glorifying, if not sycophantic, nature of the pieces obscures the fact that they are highly imaginative compositions within a hybrid literary genre.

While the panegyrical writings of the Zhou and Qin periods generally limited their praise to the magnificent achievements of the current king and his meritorious ancestors, the boundary between heaven and earth was never overstretched. However, out of political zeal, Sima Xiangru not only extolled the contemporary regime as the best one since time immemorial, but went so far to say the Han dynasty’s (Fire) virtue nourished the realm so that all living beings benefited from its grace. Yang Xiong then modelled his “Ju Qin mei Xin” on Sima’s “Fengshan wen” and refined this fu-inspired panegyrical style by dropping the fictionalized dialogue and didactic admonishment, employing no less fanciful extended metaphors, and enumerating even more signs of a utopian world of great peace.

But it is Ban Gu who perfected the genre and took the laudatory mode to the extreme. His “Dian yin” harks back to the genesis of the world as Yang did, while portraying the “Fire Virtue” as the generative force behind all things and making the bold suggestion that human history has paved the way for Han rulership, even the order of the universe depends upon it. Inspired by David R. Knechtges’ close reading and literary interpretation of the Yang Xiong piece (“Uncovering the Sauce Jar,” 1978), this talk analyzes how the three panegyrists deployed intricate textual strategies to project the image of the Chinese “philosopher king” onto the reigning emperor, and in so doing, articulated their vision of an ideal Confucian state within an apparent eulogy.

11. YUE WU, Arizona State University

Adopting and Adapting the Repertoire: The Making of Fu Xuan’s “Yan ge xing”

Previous scholars have held discussions on the poem of Fu Xuan’s (217–278) “Yan ge xing” 豔歌行, focusing on the possibility of it being an imitation of an earlier Han poem, “Mo shang sang” 陌上桑. Several versions of the “Mo shang sang” are found in the received anthologies that were compiled in later dynasties. By comparing Fu Xuan’s poem to them, scholars argued that it is not an imitation of “Mo shang sang.” However, these earlier discussions are merely focused on the connections between “Yan ge xing” and “Mo shang sang,” without further investigation into the relations with other sources. In fact, if we look carefully into Fu’s verse, which suggests to the reader the incorporation of many other allusions, it seems that this poem was composed by splicing lines and images from various poems, rather than

D. East Asia II: Hán Literature and Thought. RICHARD VANNESS SIMMONS, University of Hong Kong and Rutgers University, Chair 3:00 p.m.–5:00 p.m. Monet
being only related to any one specific poem. In this paper, to investigate the possible compositional procedure of Fu Xuan’s “Yan ge xing” on Luofu and Qiu Hu 秋胡, I will analyze earlier sources and other possible contemporary verses that could be projected or alluded to in the lines of Fu Xuan’s poem. The evidence provided in this paper will engage many poems that are not mentioned in earlier studies. In this, I will prove that Fu Xuan did not purposefully imitate, nor rewrite, the “Mo shang sang” poem, but that he has intentions to compose his own piece of work by drawing from the imageries and expressions of several earlier works. In supporting my argument, I will investigate the possible compositional procedure of Fu Xuan’s “Yan ge xing,” and illustrate a map depicting the lineage of the poems. Moreover, I hope this study may shed light on the traditional readings of early medieval yuefu poetry.

12. Jennifer Liu, University of Washington
Sauce Jar Covers and the Universe: Revisiting Yang Xiong’s Taixuan jing

Since the Han dynasty, Yang’s Taixuan jing has long been evaluated as a mere imitation of the Zhou yi, with attacks that in compiling such an imitation he has committed a grave crime. More recently, modern scholars have sought to redeem Yang Xiong from this crime by looking more closely at the Taixuan jing, specifically how Yang’s system differs from the Zhou yi and how it is in fact a creative work, not just imitation. This essay is an attempt to revisit the Taixuan and understand it in a new philosophical light by reconceptualizing the Taixuan as an embodiment of the cosmos articulated in language by blending prose, verse, and image into a systematic corpus, complicating the notion of imitation and representation. The Taixuan is a distinct piece of work insofar as it is Yang’s attempt to reground the human person back into the scheme of heavens and earth. Additionally, this paper will also entertain the suggestion made by some scholars that the Taixuan formed the vocabulary essential to the philosophical movement xuanxue during the Wei and Jin dynasties. As such, it helps to redefine the “genre” of xuanxue by looking at the movement’s intellectual foundations.

13. Yaqiong Zhuang, Renmin University of China
The Writing Standard of Mysterious Contents in Shiji (The Grand Scribe’s Records)

The mysterious content in Shiji, consisting of legends, anomalies, auspicious signs, omens and prophecies, is a special aspect in the historical writing of Shiji. It has an interpretive function to pursue the meaning of historical writing rather than simply documents different mysterious phenomena.

Some Ancient Chinese scholars, such as Yang Xiong, blamed these obviously untrue contents to Sima Qian’s personal fondness of strange and unusual stories. Today’s researchers have already noticed that mysterious contents especially which contain omens and prophecies could be essential parts in narrative units. More attentions about mysterious contents in early Chinese historical writing have been put on Zuozhuan, such as Wai-ye Li’s analyses about reading and manipulation of signs. As
long as many mysterious contents in Zuozhuan were deleted and revised in Shi ji at the same historical period, Sima Qian also wrote a lot of mysterious plots and stories in his own contemporary history.

In my research, I interpreted Sima Qian’s own declarations of handling mysterious contents and explored several typical mysterious contents to discuss the indirect standard. In my opinion, historical writing of mysterious contents in Shi ji serves as the supportive evidence of Sima Qian’s historical interpretation system which eventually enables him to transcend from a history narrator to a history interpreter.

E. Inner Asia. HANNES A. FELLNER, University of Vienna, Chair Chair 2:00 p.m.–4:00 p.m. Renoir *

14. ZHAN ZHANG, Independent Scholar

Sogdian is NOT the Lingua Franca along the Silk Road!

In the early twentieth century, Paul Pelliot suggested for the first time that Sogdian was the lingua franca along the Silk Road. This suggestion was uncritically accepted by many and repeated ever since. If, however, Sogdian was once the medium through which people having different native tongues communicated, one would expect to find a fair amount of Sogdian materials composed by or intended for non-native speakers of Sogdian. Through a brief overview of the Sogdian materials discovered along the Silk Road, I shall demonstrate that almost all of them were composed and intended for native speakers of Sogdian. A noteworthy case is the Sogdian inscriptions from the period of the first Turkic Khaqanate (552–630). The choice to use Sogdian at that time, I argue, is due to the Turks’ inability to write their own language and the Sogdian people’s political importance on the steppes.

The lingua franca of the Silk Road, if it ever existed, should be Sanskrit used among pilgrims, as demonstrated by the travelogues by Chinese Buddhist monks and bilingual phrasebooks from Dunhuang. From the ninth century on, along with the Turkicization of Central Asia, New Persian gradually became the true lingua franca spreading from Balkan to Bengal up until the onset of the modern age.

15. HANNES A. FELLNER, BERNHARD KOLLER, MARTIN BRAUN, University of Vienna, Austrian Academy of Sciences

Variation and Change in Tocharian Paleography and Linguistics

The aim of this paper is to provide new insights into the relationship between the variation of the Brahmi writing system and the evolution of Tocharian B in space and time. The Central Asian variant of Brahmi in the Tarim Basin was used to write Buddhist Sanskrit, Tocharian, Saka, and, partially, Old Turkic. For Tocharian B, Malzahn (2007) based on Sander (1968, 2007) has established a classification system of text fragments that reflects the diachronic development of the writing system.

On the linguistic side, Peyrot (2008), building on work by Stumpf (1990), has grouped the attested Tocharian B texts into four distinct diachronic stages. Despite these important advances, a classification system of manuscript fragments that takes into account both linguistic and paleographic properties remains a desideratum.

As a first step towards establishing such a system we address the question of to what extent these two types of properties correlate. Our approach involves the use of
a digital text corpus encoded in TEI. Using the aforementioned findings in both areas, we have enriched our corpus with detailed linguistic and paleographic annotation at the word level and at the aksara level. By combining linguistic and paleographic information within a queryable database we are able a) to automatically match multiple combinations of properties against the text corpus in order to test whether the current established linguistic and paleographic classification systems do in fact provide the best fit for the available data and b) for the first time to systematically cross-reference established linguistic and paleographic properties in order to gain a deeper understanding of whether and to what extent these two dimensions correlate.

We demonstrate that the relationship between the two cannot be stated in purely chronological terms, where linguistic and paleographic archaicity directly correlate. Instead, we need to consider additional criteria, such as genre and scribal schools, when establishing a classification system that does justice to both dimensions.

References

F. Islamic Near East I: The Maghrib. PAUL E. WALKER, University of Chicago, Chair (12:30 p.m.–3:15 p.m.) *Chagall B* *

16. KEVIN BLANKINSHIP, Brigham Young University

A Second, Andalusí Witness of al-Ma‘arri’s Poetic Self-Commentary *Daw al-Saqt* (The Light from *The Tinder-Spark*)

The propensity of an author to explain his or her own writings suffuses premodern Arabic, Persian, and Turkish. Especially given to this propensity was the blind poet and iconoclast al-Ma‘arri (d. AD 1058), for whom meticulous, quasi-obsessive annotation supplied a tool by which to curate his literary legacy. Many texts by him come with an attached auto-gloss, including the poetry of *Saqt al-zand* (The first tinder-spark) and *Luzúm mā lā yalzam* (Self-imposed necessity), and the prose of *al-Fusul wa al-ghayāt* (Paragraphs and periods). And yet, modern studies largely overlook this part of al-Ma‘arri’s work, as they do self-commentary in general, which prolongs ignorance about self-conscious authorship in premodern Arabic and the textual cultures that sustained it. For al-Ma‘arri in particular, lack of attention to self-commentary also misses a key element of his reception abroad, especially in Arab-Muslim Iberia.
and North Africa. All of these gaps perpetuate the hard-to-shake narrative that the Islamic West lies at the margins of premodern Arabic cultural production, as do heretofore unknown modes of writing like self-commentary.

To address the gaps in scholarship, I focus on al-Ma’arri’s poetic self-commentary for Saqt al-zand, cleverly known as Daw al-Saqt (The Light from The Tinder-Spark). For decades, scholars have had to content themselves with a unique manuscript produced in seventeenth-century Istanbul and housed at the Bibliothèque National de France (BnF, ARAB3111). However, at least two other witnesses exist for the Daw. The first is Arab. 261 at the Kongelige Bibliotek in Copenhagen, while the second, and the subject of my study, is 164 at the Bibliothèque National du Royaume du Maroc (BNRM). Penned in a clear Andalusi hand sometime around the twelfth century, it was discovered in modern times by eminent Moroccan scholar Mohammed Bencharifa, who edited and published it in 2011. The manuscript supplies a second, badly needed witness of the Daw, while also furnishing meaningful shades and contrasts. In several places, for example, the Andalusi recension edits out comments that are present in the BnF recension, linking poetic statements to everyday functions of language. The BNRM text was long held in the Naṣriyyah lodge in Tamegroute, and the document itself shows later notes of a Sufi flavor in Maghrebi hand, thus revealing what is to my knowledge the first organic reception of al-Ma’arri’s zuhd-oriented writings by Islamic mysticism. In addition, the other, secondary commentaries that incorporate the Daw demonstrate longterm engagement in the Islamic West with Saqt al-zand, which was more popular in its day than many better-known texts by al-Ma’arri.

17. A. L. Castonguay, University of Notre Dame

What’s in a Name? Minting Malikī Recognition of the ‘Abbāsid Caliph in the Islamic West

The practice of minting coins in the name of the ‘Abbāsid caliph was a means of conferring political legitimacy and religious authority upon the minter. While this topic has been explored in the central Islamic heartlands, there has been little exploration of the underlying theological framework of this action in areas traditionally outside the domains of the ‘Abbāsid caliph. The few studies that do exist on Andalusi and Ifriqiyani coins minted in the name of the ‘Abbāsid caliph either concluded that the name used was fictitious and therefore a usurpation of religious authority, or, conversely, that the use of the ‘Abbāsid caliph’s name by Malikī Muslims was seen as an adherence to the theological principles of Sunnī Islam.

The inclusions of the ‘Abbāsid caliph’s name on Andalusi, Moroccan, and Ifriqiyani coins in the 5th/11th century represented a major theological shift in the Islamic West. Before this, the Malikī madhhab (legal school) had its own caliph, the Andalusi Ḥajjaj caliphate, and members of the Malikī ʿulamāʾ in the Islamic West not recognize ‘Abbāsid or Fāṭimid claims or their corresponding theologies. The downfall of the Andalusi ʿulamāʾ produced a major theological shift, namely the recognition of the ‘Abbāsid caliph and his corresponding theological claims by Malikī Sunnī Muslims. This theological shift is most evident on the coins minted by the Moroccan Almoravids, the Andalusi Taʾiffs (Taʾifī) kings, and the Ifriqīyan al-Murīz bin Bādis in the middle of the 5th/11th century. The rapidity at which ‘Abbāsid authority was recognized and affirmed by these Malikī Sunnī dynasties in the Islamic West points
to the theological need for a real caliph, no matter how distant, and the extent to which Mālikī theologians swiftly reworked their theology in the span of a generation to allow the ‘Abbāsids to fill that role.

18. MOHAMAD BALLAN, Dartmouth College

An Ānsārī Caliphate? Court Secretaries and the Articulation of Dynastic Ideology in the Naṣrid Kingdom of Granada (1238–1492)

Throughout medieval history, the writings of court secretaries, chancellors and other scholar-officials sought to rationalize dynastic sovereignty and harmonize it with notions of religio-political legitimacy that were in currency. This was particularly the case in the late medieval Islamic West where secretaries were, in the words of the 14th-century Andalusi poet-prince and historian Abū al-Walīd ibn al-Ahmār, “the tongues with which dynasties and kings would speak and the heart of every institution and bureau.” Their political treatises, historical chronicles, and poetry were the primary means through which particular norms of sovereign power and visions of legitimate royal authority were communicated.

This paper utilizes written (both edited and unpublished manuscripts), numismatic and epigraphic evidence to examine the various strategies of legitimation employed by the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada (1238–1492), the last surviving Muslim kingdom in Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages. Focusing on the period 1320 to 1380, it explores the emergence of novel conceptions of royal and quasi-caliphal sovereignty in the late medieval Islamic West, embodied by the ubiquity of the title “God’s caliph” (khalīfat allāh) in the writings of Andalusi and North African secretaries, chancellors and statesmen. The usage of the caliphal title (khalifah, amīr al-muminin) marked a significant departure from the classical Islamic principle that sultans and emirs were invested with legitimate authority by a universal, symbolic caliph. It advocated the notion that kings, by virtue of their sovereign authority and kingship, possessed a divine mandate to rule and were effectively God’s representatives on earth. Within the context of the kingdom of Granada, the reformulation of kingship in terms of vicegerency (khilāfah) was complemented by elaborate genealogical claims, which simultaneously connected the Nasrid dynasty to the Ansar of Medina and to the Himyarite kings of ancient Arabia. This paper highlights the relationship between these religio-political and genealogical bases of legitimation to demonstrate the role of court secretaries in Granada in the articulation and dissemination of an influential discourse about Nasrid legitimacy that shaped the manner in which the dynasty was represented by Muslims across the late medieval Mediterranean world, including those in Latin Christendom.

19. ARSHAD M. HADJIRIN, Pembroke College University of Cambridge

Society and Culture in Gharnāṭa: A Passage through Biographies in the Iḥāṭa of Ibn al-Khaṭīb

The Iḥāṭa of Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374) is a work of local history composed largely of biographies of people who lived or passed through Gharnāṭa over many centuries. In this paper, based on a systematic analysis of its biographical data, I shall attempt to bring forth expressions of culture that prevailed during the eighth/fourteenth century. The discussions incorporate methodological approaches as to how a local history might be used in reconstructing aspects of societal life that lead to outcomes of culture. In
this study, by positioning an historical subject such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb at the centre, it will be shown how biographies of people connected to him, directly or indirectly, can be isolated to form clusters that would indicate sections of his society. Then, by processes of subjecting those biographies to contextual reading, varied expressions of culture may be obtained. Examples of those can range from people’s emotional states and behavioural patterns to their forms of art, indulgences in leisure and mundanity, as well as practices in mysticism.

Studies on local histories in the Arabic tradition are few, and, among those, critical examinations of societal life are rare. Reasons for this can be varied, not least because of a general lack of relevant material in original sources. In many works, primacy is given to Ḥadīth oriented content (e.g., Tārīkh Baghdād). In some cases, where aspects of culture appear in biographies, they are spread out too thinly (Fāḍīrīl Miṣr). Yet in others, this data tends to be integrated into narrative devices such as poetry or rhetoric (ʾAʿlām Malaqā). In this respect, biographies of the Ihāta provide greater coverage for certain periods, and they include many categories of data such as akhbār (affairs) and ḥikāyāt (stories) that facilitate inquiry into matters concerning society. The present study demonstrates how this can be achieved.

20. Nicholas Harris, University of Pennsylvania

The Alchemical Poet of the Maghrib

The Shudhīr al-Dhahab (The Slivers of Gold) of ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Anṣārī al-Andalusī (d. ca. 1197), better known among alchemists as Ibn Arfaʾ Raʾs, was a lengthy poetry collection that was praised and occasionally derided, but more than any other was utilized as a repository of alchemical wisdom. Famously, al-Šafādī (d. 1363) and al-Maqqārī (d. 1632) loved it, and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 1406) hated it. But nearly every alchemist writing in subsequent centuries actually used it as an authority, or even a manual, for the craft of alchemy. Despite the fame (or infamy) of the poem, the author of the Shudhīr has hitherto remained somewhat of a mystery. Even so, it has been roundly assumed by scholars that Ibn Arfaʾ Raʾs must have been a practicing alchemist himself.

A critical edition of the Shudhīr has finally been produced in the last year, and with this exciting development some of the mysteries surrounding the poem may be brought to a conclusion. For example, we can much better ascertain what “alchemy” actually meant in the Shudhīr, and how later alchemists in their commentaries on the Shudhīr could exploit the poem as a kind of “decoder ring” of arcane secrets. Additionally, I aim to synthesize the many scattered bits and pieces of biographical data for Ibn Arfaʾ Raʾs, including his odd byname, which will produce an image quite surprising for a poet enamored with alchemy. He was an Andalusī khaṭīb and muḥaddith living in Fez, but could he have been living a double life? Finally we can conjecture about whether Ibn Arfaʾ Raʾs was an alchemist using poetry, or a poet using alchemy.
Embodying Archetypes of Authority: On the Historical Usage of Imāmī Ḥadīth

Etan Kohlberg has played a pioneering role in demonstrating the utility of Imāmī Ḥadīth collections for the retrieval of archetypal tropes of sacred history, religious authority, and identity formation in early Islam. This avenue of investigation has continued to be fruitful for the work of Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi and Maria Dakake as well as the recent work of Roy Vilozny and Matthew Pierce.

In this paper, I will turn once more to early Imāmī Ḥadīth compilations to discuss examples of Ḥadīth which shed light on the manner in which religious authority in the Imāmī community was constructed in the 9th and 10th centuries CE. Supplemental reports culled from heresiographies, compilations of akhbār, and doctrinal works reveal a variety of historical instances during which the contents of these Ḥadīth were used by specific historical actors to fortify their claims to lead the Imāmī community.

These examples allow us to speak concretely about the currency of specific Imāmī Ḥadīth in a social context, and the manner in which they constituted “proof-texts” of authority between “common believers” and their superiors. The inherent degree of “esotericism” sometimes associated with these Ḥadīth can also be reconsidered via proper attention to the intersection of broader sacral history and imamology which they reflect. Likewise, the specific context in which these Ḥadīth were invoked allow us appreciate the historical contingencies that allowed for the embodiment of archetype to pass as a viable solution to a concrete social problem.

Did ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (r. 99–101/717–20) Restore the Rights of Fāṭima’s Descendants over Fadak? A Reconsideration

The oasis at Fadak, a productive agricultural settlement north of Medina, became the property of the prophet Muḥammad after its conquest from the Jewish tribe known as the Banū ʾl-Naḍīr. The status of Fadak was disputed after his death—his daughter Fāṭima famously regarded the property as heritable and thus her inalienable right to possess; however, the first caliph Abū Bakr (r. 11–13/632–34) nullified her claim, maintaining that the prophet stipulated that such properties were ṣadāqah, communal properties that served charitable aims. Under the Umayyad caliphs, Fadak became the property of prominent notables from the Umayyad clan of Quraysh, most notably the sons of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 65/685). A grandson of Marwān, ʿUmar (II) ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz famously renounced his claim to Fadak after assuming the caliphate and returned the administration of the land to the descendants of Muḥammad. Often this decision has been portrayed as rooted in ʿUmar II’s implicit recognition of the rights of Fāṭima’s descendants to Fadak; however, this paper contends that this interpretation of his actions is untenable. Surveying the accounts of ʿUmar II’s decision to renounce his ownership of Fadak and his treatise al-Risālah fi l-fayr, I offer a new assessment of the motivations and rationale behind ʿUmar II’s decision.
The Institutions of the Imamate: Towards a Social History of Early Imami Shi‘ism

In contrast to ‘Alid rebels and Zaydi-style Imams who rose with the sword and sometimes even carved out kingdoms to rule, the Imami Imams—those men later recognized as canonical by the Twelver Shi‘a—were not very politically visible, and therefore seldom appear as major actors in historical chronicles. Between being ignored by the chronicles, and lionized by the Shi‘a sources, it is hard to know what kind of objective functions the Imams played in the societies of which they were part. Perhaps they were Imams, but Imams of what? To what extent were Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq or Muhammad al-Jawād really leaders of a group or movement which had tangible and recognized presence in the wider world? The answer to this question, I would argue, is not to be found where most people have been looking for it in the last half century: in the theological positions of the Imams, or even the slippery region of their political views. Instead, I think we can best answer this question through looking at institutions: and in particular financial institutions. In this paper, I will primarily be looking at the following sets of information drawn from the Imami Shi‘i sources: firstly hagiographical narrative reports that detail interactions with the Imams. And secondly, I look at abstract legal hadith on financial categories like khums and zakāt/sadaqa. Hagiographical accounts can provide an overview of the institutions of the Imami financial system, and the legal hadith can provide an explanation of the origins and development of this system. Finally, accounts of pilgrimage, and the duties of the Shi‘a on pilgrimage provide a view of the transregional institutional frameworks which integrated the Shi‘i communities in different places with the Imamate centred upon Medina or Iraq.

The Curse of the Egyptian Alawi

A seventeenth-century Persian author, Mulla Muzaffar Ali, tells the story of a confrontation at Safavid court which pitted Shah Ismail II (1577–1578) against the leading jurist of the realm, Sayyid Husayn b. Hasan al-Karaki (d. 1001/1592-93). Upon ascending to the throne, Shah Ismail II attempted to make Sunni Islam the official religion of the state, reversing the policies of his father, Shah Tahmasb, and his grandfather, Shah Ismail I. When Sayyid Husayn thwarted his plans, the Shah plotted to have him killed. Sayyid Husayn did not flee from Qazvin, despite fearing for his life, because of his duty to resist the tyrannical Shah. Instead, he uttered “the curse of the Egyptian Alawi,” which is known to thwart tyrannical enemies, and soon after, the Shah died. The immediate cause was apparently an overdose of opium, but the true cause, according to Muzaffar Ali, was the curse. The earliest extant text that preserves this curse is Muhaj al-Da‘awat, a collection of prayers by Radi al-Din Ali b. Musa Ibn Tawus (d. 664/1266), an eminent bibliophile whose library has been painstakingly described by Etan Kohlberg. The curse, supposedly dictated to the original user by the Twelfth Imam, is lengthy, about ten pages in the modern published edition, and it includes an elaborate explanation of its reported use in the ninth century by a sayyid who lived in Egypt. This study analyzes the content of the curse, which presents a series of Qur‘anic episodes in which figures from sacred history beseeched God and were granted their requests, arguing that the curse was originally a Sunni text that
was later reworked into a thoroughly Shiite version, perhaps in Fatimid Egypt, and discussing what it reveals about Shiite books and social history and about the various uses of curses in Arabo-Islamic contexts.

H. South & Southeast Asia I: Poetics and Literary Emotion. Richard Salomon, University of Washington, Chair (1:30 p.m.–2:50 p.m.) Van Gogh *

25. Jonathan Edelmann, University of Florida

Rasa and Character Analysis in the Earliest Bhāgavata Purāṇa

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (X.43.16 ff.) describes Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma’s entrance into the stadium to wrestle Kankaśa and his company just after they had arrived in the city of Mathurā. In doing so it depicts a succinct manner some characters from the life of Kṛṣṇa (e.g., the cowherd people and his parents), as well as a general group of Puranic characters like yogins and city dwellers. In the early 14th century Vopadeva and Hemādri had begun to apply a rasa theory to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, arguing for example in their Muktāphala that Kankaśa is in the bhayānaka-rasa, that of fear, on account of feeling anxious (udvigna) upon seeing Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma’s strength. In perhaps the very early 15th century from his monastery in Orrisa, Śrīdhara also used rasa theory, quoting from the Nātyaśāstra (6.15) for example, to tell us something about how characters in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa experienced Kṛṣṇa, an approach to the text that he may or may not have adopted directly from the great Maharashtrian authors. He also provides a remarkably succinct articulation of Kṛṣṇa as one who is a coagulation of all the rasas, a theology that is developed by Śaṅkara Gosvāmin in the 16th century in his Bṛhadviṣṇuvatoṣaṇī, a commentary on Book X of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, and a view that may have laid the basis for Rūpa Gosvāmin’s more well-known Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu. These are topics this paper explores.

26. Christopher T. Fleming, University of Southern California

The Bull of the Drāviḍas on the Path of Dhvani: Inference as Suggestion in Appayya Dikṣita’s Bhāratasārasamgrahastotra

This paper attends to Appayya Dikṣita’s innovative use of suggestion (dhvani) as a form of hermeneutical inference in the Bhāratasārasamgrahastotra, “The Hymn Summarizing the Gist of the Mahābhārata.” Appayya argues that the subtle, suggested meaning of the Mahābhārata is the identification of Śiva as the supreme, imperishable absolute (parambrahman). The reader might be forgiven for holding the view—with good reason—that the Mahābhārata states directly, vociferously, and repeatedly, that Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu is the paramount deity, supreme brahman, and best refuge for humanity. For Appayya, however, this directly stated meaning is far too obvious to be the real meaning of the Mahābhārata. He reasons that: 1) because the Mahābhārata is a poem (kāvyā); 2) because poetry is characterized by its ability to suggest a meaning over and beyond its literal meaning; and 3) because Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu’s supremacy is the literal meaning of the poem; 4) the Mahābhārata must suggest that some other deity is the parabrahman. But who?

My paper reconstructs the logical, inferential ‘flowchart’ that Appayya Dikṣita uses to build his argument that the suggested meaning of the Mahābhārata is the supremacy of Śiva. Drawing on recent work concerning Appayya’s rehabilitation
of Mahimabhaṭṭa’s inference-based theory of dhvani in the Citramiṃḍāṃśā— and Panḍitarāja’s criticism thereof—I suggest that Appayya’s contributions to literary criticism and to theology converge in the Bhāratasārasaṅgārastotra. Appayya’s elevation of logic-based factual suggestion (vastudhvani) over sensitivity-based aesthetic suggestion (rasadhvani) as the paradigmatic hallmark of poetic excellence enables a novel, contrarian hermeneutical approach to the Mahābhārata. This paper augments recent scholarly work on the Mahābhārata’s literary dimensions by exploring the ways in which contested, Sanskritic notions of ‘the literary’ inflected intellectual approaches to the Mahābhārata.

27. GARY TUBB

Vedantic Bliss in the History of Rasa Theory

Among late writers on rasa theory, Jagannatha Panditaraja attributed to Abhinavagupta an explanation of the experience of aesthetic pleasure couched in distinctly Vedantic terms. Sheldon Pollock, in his A Rasa Reader, has suggested that while many of Abhinavagupta’s remarks on related matters may have explicit connections with aspects of spiritual practice, important parts of the specific use by others of Vedanta terminology with reference to his theories appear to represent fairly late developments in Sanskrit poetics, concurrent with growth in the status of Vedanta philosophy in Sanskrit thought more generally. It is now possible to reexamine the connections between authors involved in these discussions, building on new information offered by Pollock. Further attention to the evolution and implications of these comments, and to the reactions to them from adherents of other philosophical systems, will help to clarify both Abhinavagupta’s own ideas and the reasons for the later representations of them.

I. South & Southeast Asia II: Textual Histories of Hindu Law. MARK MCCLISH, Northwestern University, Chair (3:00 p.m.–4:00 p.m.) Van Gogh *

28. MANOMOHINI DUTTA, Ahmedabad University

The Theory, Structure, and Degrees of Svatva in the Dāyabhāga

This paper is about the structure of svatva—a Sanskrit term understood both as property and ownership. Most studies on sva revolve around the translation of sva, the start of svatva, theorizing relationships between people and objects, while others use epigraphical data, showing how svatva is visible in practice. Questions such as: when does one have svatva, what can one do when she has sva, can sva be multiple or just single, and other related questions, have been addressed by previous Indological scholarship. Euro American research on property and ownership has also grappled with similar questions, mainly choosing to use the “bundle of rights” analogy to explain these issues, and has put forward theories regarding links between objects and notions of personhood. Apart from the aforementioned useful work, which has advanced the limited scholarship on svatva, there has not been much research on the internal structure of svatva. This paper, thus, attempts to put a structural framework on the process of svatva, using a text from the Dharmaśāstra genre—the Dāyabhāga—an influential Sanskrit treatise from 12th century CE Bengal. Based on the Dāyabhāga, the paper demonstrates how svatva may happen in a kind of process, that is, how svatva may conceptually be broken down into steps (wherever applicable). Svatva may
also happen in various degrees and forms in different people. In other words, \textit{svatva} may not necessarily be a uniform conceptual category. The paper discusses not only what it means for people to have \textit{svatva} legally, but also brings out the various degrees of the \textit{svatva} structure in people.

29. \textsc{Timothy Lubin}, Washington and Lee University

\textit{Svayambhu}, an Old Javanese Paraphrase of \textit{Mānavadharmaśāstra}, Chapter 8

This paper will present a preliminary analysis of an unpublished Old Javanese commentary on the eighth chapter of the Sanskrit \textit{Mānavadharmaśāstra}. “Swarajamblu,” the name given to this work in the scholarly literature (e.g., Jonker 1885, van Naerssen 1941, Boechari 1978), is a corruption of the epithet \textit{svayambhu} applied therein to the legendary dharma authority Manu. The commentary consists primarily of a paraphrase of the Sanskrit original, with occasional explanatory comments. Van Naerssen’s 1941 article, “De aṣṭadācayawahāra in het Oudjavaansch,” is the only detailed discussion to date. Noting that this work “has received less attention that it deserves,” van Naerssen observed that the author’s Sanskrit root text included several interpolated stanzas recorded by Mandlik (and now also Olivelle, in the critical apparatus to his edition). He also found indications that the Javanese author had consulted a commentary by either Sarvajīna Nārāyaṇa or Nandana, or something similar. I make some further observations on the Old Javanese text which, along with other Old Javanese commentaries on Sanskrit verse texts such as the \textit{Ślokāntara} and \textit{Vrātiśāsana}, seems to have contributed to the formation of distinctive Javanese-Sanskritic categories, e.g., \textit{aṣṭa duṣṭa}, \textit{aṣṭa cora}, and \textit{paṅca bhaya}, which were then deployed in a quasi-śāstric code of Javanese customary law, generally known under the title \textit{Kuṭāra-Mānava}, the extant text of which has been thought to go back to the Majapahit era, ca. 1350.

30. \textsc{Donald R. Davis, Jr.}, University of Texas at Austin

The Contributions of Richard Lariviere to the Study of Dharmaśāstra and Hindu Law

The editor and translator of two critical editions of important Dharmaśāstra texts, the Divyatattva of Raghunandana and the Nāradasmṛti, Richard Lariviere also authored a series of important articles on the Dharmaśāstra tradition that made a unique contribution to the field. In this communication, I describe the important contributions made by Lariviere in his shorter works as a summary of my introduction to a forthcoming edition of his articles. Above all, Lariviere helped studies of the legal side of Dharmaśāstra reach an audience beyond Indology. My focus, therefore, will be on how and why he pushed this field toward a broader engagement with academia.
31. ELAINE FISHER, Stanford University

On the Date of the Dīksābodhē, a Bilingual Sanskrit-Kannada Vīraśaiva Text

Within enumerations of the earliest surviving works of Vīraśaivism, mention is invariably made of the Dīksābodhē, attributed by historians of Kannada literature to the twelfth-century Hoyasala court poet Kērya Padmarasa. As Padmarasa had become a favorite of Kannada hagiographies by the fourteenth century, this attribution has yet to receive serious scrutiny. And yet, the genre of the work should give readers pause. The Dīksābodhē consists of an anthology of Sanskrit ślokas accompanied by a Kannada-language commentary, a textual form not otherwise encountered in Vīraśaiva literature in Karnataka until the height of the Vijayanagara Empire.

This paper outlines the philological evidence internal and external to the text that appear to render impossible an attribution of the Dīksābodhē, as we have received it, to the twelfth-century Kērya Padmarasa, including the use of terminology not otherwise attested by the twelfth century and the importation of Sanskrit ślokas common to later devotional literature in Maharashtra. By resituating the Dīksābodhē within Vīraśaiva textual history, the opportunity arises to consider the place, time, and circumstances of this style of multilingual textuality in south India: why does it become desirable only in later centuries to gloss well-known Sanskrit verses with a vernacular commentary? These issues hold broader implications for contextualizing multilinguality, whether through translation, commentary, or other strategies, in south Indian intellectual history.

32. TIMOTHY LORNDALE, University of Pennsylvania/McGill University

Bhūma’s Violent Victory: Toward an Annotated Translation of Ranna’s Sūhasabhīmavijaya

This paper examines several aspects of an edition-translation project on Ranna’s Sūhasabhīmavijaya (SBhV), an early telling of the Mahābhārata in Old Kannada. The SBhV was composed between the late 10th and early 11th centuries. It relays the epic narrative from the perspective of Duryodhana, challenging the normative Pāṇḍava-centered epic. In this paper, I discuss two innovative features of this edition-translation endeavor. First, I introduce a series of narrative-critical annotations that are meant to locate the SBhV in the larger reception history of the Mahābhārata epic in South Asia. I use these notes as an opportunity to contrast and compare Ranna’s text with Vyāsa and Pampa’s Mahābhāratas, as well as the Sanskrit kāvya tradition. Here, taking the episode of Droṇa’s death as my example, I show how the SBhV engages in a hermeneutics of amplification and alteration in order to vilify the Pāṇḍava brothers. Second, turning to the editorial side of the project, I study the oft-ignored metrical diversity of the SBhV. In addition to being prosimetrical, Ranna’s work is also mixed metrical, deploying a wide variety of Sanskrit and Old Kannada meters. However, no edition of the SBhV has treated this aspect of the text. I attempt to fill this gap by providing not only the metrical data for each verse, but also definitions of lesser-known meters. I then consider how the SBhV’s mixed metrics may affect the translation and
the interpretation of this medieval poem. For example, I demonstrate how meters are used as tools to organize themes throughout the narrative by examining Duryodhana’s lament over Karṇa’s body.

33. **ROSANE ROCHER**, University of Pennsylvania

The Oriental Translation Fund as a Sanskrit Startup

The Oriental Translation Fund, a spinoff of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and a stellar success of crowdfunding, was founded in 1828 by a group of prominent retired servants of the East India Company. Its goal was to make known the literary treasures of the East to a wide British readership through readable translations, accompanied, however, by the original texts, as a means to spur interest and facilitate entry in their fountainheads. An analysis of its first fifty publications in the remarkably short span of ten years reveals the particular challenges and opportunities Sanskrit offered. Less widely cultivated than Persian and Arabic, Sanskrit—including Vedic—was the source of only six publications, which, more clearly and uniformly than others, however, played a role in the professionalization of the field. Even though the Oriental Translation Fund only published translations into English and—with waning tolerance—into Latin and French, only one of the six translations from Sanskrit—Colebrooke’s and Wilson’s *Sāṅkhya-kārīka* and commentary—had British authors. The Oriental Translation Fund functioned primarily as an outlet for the first generation of University-taught Sanskritists. With an assist from Latin, it most significantly acknowledged and enhanced the leadership of the German schools of Indology in Bonn and Berlin.

34. **JOHN NEMEC**, University of Virginia

Philosophy and Critical Editing: Textual Variants and Emendations of *Śivadrṣṭi* and *Śivadrṣṭivṛtti*, āhnika four

The purpose of this presentation is to query Somānanda’s understanding of the unity of Śiva by examining selected passages of his *Śivadrṣṭi* (*ŚD*), along with the relevant extant passages of Utpaladeva’s commentary *thereon*, the *Śivadrṣṭivṛtti* (*ŚDVṛ*) or *Padasāṃga*ṭi. Through a close reading of selected passages drawn from the fourth chapter, I shall illustrate the ways in which critical editing comprises an indispensable dimension of the study of this, and by extension virtually any, philosophical work; for, I suggest—perhaps unsurprisingly—that a proper interpretation of the text sometimes demands textual emendation. Drawing on variant readings of twelve manuscript witnesses, as well the published edition of the *ŚD* prepared by Pandit Madhusudan Kaul Shāstri (*Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies*, vol. 54, 1934), I examine two classes of textual interventions: those that sharpen and clarify the philosophical meaning of the text and those that correct what can only be erroneous interpretations of the same. To do so, I observe: (1) instances of the application of double-*sandhi* and (2) instances where *sandhi* is broken in possible but semantically problematic ways; (3) the unwanted inclusion or exclusion of the alpha privative (*a/-an*) by dittography or otherwise; (4) the creation of doctrinal confusion by metathesis (in this instance the replacement of *śiva* with *viśva*); (5) and the introduction of imprecision by a scribe’s silent replacement of “cause” (*kāraṇa*) with “effect” (*kārya*), this by reason of a demonstrable misidentification of the lemmata. Ultimately, I argue that just as
textual criticism is an indispensable tool for the study of the philosophical arguments
of the SD and ŠDVR, so too a thorough understanding of the works’ philosophical
concerns is indispensable to successful engagement with the text-critical work; estab-
lishing the text and interpreting it are mutually imbricated and dependent endeavors;
for, neither can be accomplished without the other.

35. JAMES FITZGERALD, Brown University
Was Belvalkar Wrong to Exclude the Voices of the Siûta and Saunaka from the
Narâyānīya?

S. K. Belvalkar’s editing of the Nārâyānīya has been criticized by Reinhold
Grüendahl, Thomas Oberlies, and Alf Hiltebeitel on several grounds. But the
main criticism concerns Belvalkar’s excision of the passage 12.860* and related pas-
sages from his constituted text of the Mokṣadharmaparvan. 12.860*, which comes
at the adhyāya-boundary between 12.326 and 12.327, brings into the foreground the
colloquy of the bard Ugrāravas and Saunaka, the outermost framing colloquy of the
Mahābhārata, which is then woven into much of the second half of the Nārâyānīya. The
major criticism of Belvalkar for his eliminating this passage and the others that radi-
ate from it is that he relied on the testimony of his four Malayālam script manuscripts
over against the testimony of either the entirety of the rest of the ms. tradition (in
the case of 12.860*) or of many of the non-Malayālam mss. (in the case of the several
subsequent passages). Hiltebeitel adds to these criticisms an argument that Belvalkar
has thus eliminated from the text of the MBh a sophisticated “braiding together”
of the Ugrāravas-Saunaka dialog and the Vaiśampāyana-Janamejaya dialog with the
(rarely depicted) dialog of Vyāsa and his pupils in which the MBh had its original recitation.

A. Ancient Near East III: God(s), Religiosity, and Cult.

36. ELIZABETH KNOTT, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York Uni-
versity
Who Was Ishtar Irradan? Religion and Nation-Building at Old Babylonian Mari

The goddess Ishtar Irradan is known to us primarily from the Old Babylonian period
Mari textual corpus, where she is named in a handful of documents, including a rare
ritual text. Yet the role of this goddess in Mari ritual and politics is not entirely
clear. Mari texts offer multiple, sometimes contrasting, portrayals of this goddess
that are not easily pieced together. She is known, for example, by the names Ishtar

1 Reinhold Grüendahl, “Zur Textkritik des Narâyānīya,” in Nārâyānīya-Studien (Wiesbaden: Harras-
sowitz Verlag, 1997), 30–74; Reinhold Grüendahl, “Zur Stellung des Narâyānīya im Mahābhārata,” in
2 Thomas Oberlies, “Textgeschichte der Śvetadvipa-Episode des Narâyana,” in Nārâyānīya-Studien
(Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997), 75–118.
3 Alf Hiltebeitel, “The Narâyānīya and the Early Reading Communities of the Mahābhārata,” in Between
Irradan and Ishtar Radan(a) and may be linked to the eastern city of Ekallatum or even Akkad. Her appearance and disappearance from the Mari records coincides with Shamshi-Adad’s rise to power and death.

Evidence for Ishtar Irradan’s integration into Mari religious life is also mixed. Scholars imagine her as a touring goddess that moved throughout Shamshi-Adad’s Kingdom of Upper Mesopotamia, but texts also refer to her residence at Mari and the possible construction of a temple for her in the palace. For a goddess so closely associated with a ruling power, the irregularity of the textual documentation surrounding her comes as a surprise. This paper examines the possibility that attachments to Ishtar Irradan at Mari came through specific and limited channels. Using all published texts that make reference to this goddess, the paper reassesses her role in Mari religion and the formation and consolidation of Shamshi-Adad’s kingdom. Was Ishtar Irradan a symbol of the new political order at Mari? The paper suggests that the surviving evidence point towards a more complex portrayal of religion and politics at Mari.

37. Zachary Rubin, Brown University

Priestly Life at the Kalḫu Ezida

Although the scribal god Nabû originated in the traditions of Babylon and its lesser twin Borsippa, the cult of Nabû flourished in the Neo-Assyrian empire, where the god became a potent symbol of scholarly and royal identity. Surveying various letters and administrative documents, this presentation will clarify the roles of temple personnel and other specialists who maintained the Nabû cult. Texts relating to the Nabû temple of Kalḫu, named Ezida after the principal Nabû temple in Borsippa, provide the most direct evidence for cultic activity and the individuals who engaged in it. In addition, the documentary evidence illustrates the manner in which Assyrian traditions of Nabû’s cult diverged from the Babylonian practices in the south.

38. Sigrid K. Kjær, University of Texas

Apotropaic Anarchy: Invoking Other Gods to Protect the One God

The art of the apotropaic inscription or amulet is well-known in the Ancient Near East. Generally perceived to be incongruous with monotheism, evidence of protective spells or rituals nevertheless appear time and again monotheistic settings such as biblical texts, Aramaic magic bowls, or the silver amulets of Ketef Hinnom. Shared among these is that they are all created in a setting in which their contextual society was in the earlier stages of the full monotheistic reform.

A similar situation was the case in Late Antique Southern Arabia as the Himyarite kingdom was at the cusp of Jewish monotheism. The generals of Joseph dhu Nuwas (525 CE), the last Jewish king of Himyar, created three monumental inscriptions invoking the protection of their troops from their Jewish god. However, faced with the perils of war, they all felt the need to invoke their local south Arabian god to protect the physical inscription itself. If the physical forms of the inscribed letters were not intact, the protection would not hold.

This presentation discusses the chain of protective spells found in the South Arabian inscriptions, compare them to the general features of apotropaic magic spells, and ultimately argues that Himyarites—although nominally monotheist—still relied on pagan rituals in times of need.
39. **Dimitrije Stanojevic, Trinity International University**

The Vigilant Battle of “Turning” in the Hebrew Bible: The Act of “Shwb” as an Indicator of Free Will

At a time when conversion and transformation are more prominent than ever, it is important to understand the converting experience itself.

In the paper I explore the phenomena of the root “shwb” in Hebrew Bible and its meaning of “turning” or “turning back.” A special emphasize is given to the motion of personal inner change in people and its consequences to the Covenantal Relationship of God and Israel. In the same way, the act of turning involves deciding and responding with intention toward the purpose which is twofold: being in a relationship with God or not. Based on my analysis, I argue that the verb “shwb” carries the nuance of freedom. To illustrate, this verb works in a manner of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, as the ultimate test of affiliation. As a result, one is with the Lord or one chooses to leave God’s Covenant behind. This is embedded and deep mystery of the verb “shwb”, and either conquers the ego or boosts it. The actual pinnacle of this moral battle is the response, which defines one’s future, and determines whether one will be numbered among the righteous or not. If the act of “shwb” results in the positive turning toward God, then God will respond in the same manner, turning toward and blessing those who repent, as in Jer. 18:8.

Lastly, conversion is the consequence of free will, embodied in the act of turning which will be compared with the several examples of repentance in the Ancient Near East. It mysteriously represents the outcome of the vigilant inner battle.

40. **Rebecca Draughon, University of Virginia**

Ordinary Adversary: Saadia Gaon’s Rendering of the Satan Character in the Book of Job

In 10th century Babylon, Saadia ben Joseph, the acting head (or Gaon) of the Sura academy, came across something deeply unsettling. A certain “secretary” claimed the Satan character in the book of Job was actually a powerful angel, on par with the Fallen Angels famous from Enochic tradition. Incensed by this assertion, Saadia derailed an otherwise straightforward commentary in order to pen a full-blown polemic against the offending secretary and the mythic traditions that lay underneath his errant reading of the first few verses of Job. While Saadia couched his attack in his self-proclaimed superior philological skills—and indeed, his translation of the disputed passage into Arabic carries a lot of exegetical weight—in this paper I suggest that at stake were not quibbles over certain translations, but rather Saadia’s desire to protect God’s all-powerful justness. The secretary’s interpretation threatened this omnipotence as it suggested there were autonomous semi-divine angels who could deal in reward and punishment independent of the Lord. Although Saadia never disclosed the secretary’s identity, I propose that the ammunition Saadia uses to discredit this secretary’s teachings identifies him as a transmitter of the mythic strand of rebel angels preserved in Pirqet Rabbi Eliezer, and indicates the influence its prosecutorial lead angel, Samael, had in biblical interpretation at the time. By attending to this rupture in Saadia’s commentary on Job, I argue that the exegete is fighting to set the record straight when it comes to the purported autonomy of angelic beings, and in doing so, reign in would-be biblical interpretations to align with more canonical
and more rational readings. In turn, the paper develops a moment in the interpretive history of the Fallen Angels myth which has received little attention, and illuminates inter-Jewish theological debate in the medieval period.

B. Ancient Near East IV: Languages in Contact. PIOTR MICHALOWSKI, University of Michigan, Chair (10:45 a.m.–11:30 a.m.) Picasso Ballroom *

41. JAY CRISOSTOMO, University of Michigan

   When Sumerian Stole Semitic Verbs

   Certain Sumerian compound verbs have been widely recognized as Semitic loans such as sağ-rig7 (Akk. šarāku) “to bestow”, šu–hu–uz (Akk. šūhuzu) “to burn”, and ne–su–ub (Akk. našāqu) “to kiss”. I suggest that this pattern is not uncommon and may be the primary means by which Sumerian adopted Semitic verbs into its lexicon. In this paper, I provide examples of such borrowing based on the lexical tradition and discuss the patterns observed in these examples. Based on this survey, I suggest additional possible examples of Semitic loans, grammatical implications and adaptations, and potential outcomes for qualifying the extent and Semitic-Sumerian contact.

42. ANDREW G. DANIEL, Oxford University

   Aramaic Dialectology and the Greek Translations of Daniel and Ezra

   Recent research has become increasingly aware that the Septuagint translators often rendered Hebrew words in light of contemporary Aramaic and/or Hebrew. Yet, virtually no such work has been done on the Aramaic portions of the Bible (Daniel 2:4b–7:27; Ezra 4:8–6:18; 7:12–26). Beginning with a pervasive misunderstanding of Akkadian and Persian calques resulting in significant rewriting in the target language, this paper proceeds to document a number of cases where the translators misread the Aramaic of Daniel and Ezra in light of their own spoken dialects. At times these textual discrepancies result from the regional dialect of the translators, while in others a chronological explanation is in order, suggesting a temporal cæsura between the production of these texts and their reception in the Septuagint. Regardless of which explanation is offered, the value of the Greek translators for Aramaic dialectology can no longer be ignored.

C. Ancient Near East V: Signs and Writing.
PIOTR MICHALOWSKI, University of Michigan, Chair (11:45 a.m.–12:30 p.m.) Picasso Ballroom *

43. PETER T. DANIELS, Independent Scholar

   Some Observations on the History of Word Division in Early and Developing Scripts

   In the early scripts of Mesopotamia, Egypt, China, and Mesoamerica, “words” were at first not set off by any graphic device other than, perhaps, isolation. (A workable definition of “word” was devised by J. Sadock, 1980: 302–3.) Strikingly, scripts ranged in vertical columns tended not to innovate any form of word division; scripts written horizontally often (though not always) did: word divider characters (Ugaritic, some West Semitic scripts); blank space (some West Semitic scripts); distinctive shapes...
of characters (Arabic); some distinctive shapes plus blank space (Hebrew, Syriac); breaks in a continuous line ((some recent Indic scripts). In some scripts, word division may have been considered redundant because only a few characters could end words (Greek), and sometimes the nearly ubiquitous presence of distinctive characters sufficed (Egyptian hieroglyphs, Japanese). This paper attempts to compile a catalog of such devices, along the lines of the catalog of ways of expanding the inventory of alphabetic characters (Daniels, 2006). An attempt to account for the development of word spacing in Latin was offered by P. Saenger (2000), but whether that account is applicable in other societies is questionable.


44. JACK WEINBENDER and ØYVIND BJØRU, University of Texas at Austin

New Online Cuneiform Resource

Most resources for cuneiformists are still in book format, and although some fonts have been developed, and scattered tools like Cuneify and LaBaSi exist, no simple and user-friendly database of signs and their values is to be found. We propose to develop such a tool in the form of a website, not as a paleographic research project, but as a tool for students and researchers to quickly and easily look up signs, variants, readings, references to specific sign lists, and frequencies.

At the annual meeting, we will present a prototype with basic functionality such as searches by value, sign name, and sign list codes, as well as a breakdown of use and frequencies by period, language, and dialect for the corpora that are available through Oracc and other online repositories.

D. East Asia III: Buddhist Texts and Translation in the Medieval Period. RICHARD VANNESS SIMMONS, University of Hong Kong and Rutgers University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:15 a.m.) Monet *

45. ANTJE RICHTER, University of Colorado, Boulder

Æsthetic Appeal and Skillful Means: A Literary Approach to Early Chinese Buddhist Prose

The Mahāyāna concept of skillful means (Skt. upāya, Chin. fangbian) has received much attention in Buddhist Studies during the last several decades. Numerous books and articles have illuminated religious aspects of the device across South and East Asia. Turning to yet another facet of this important Buddhist concept, my presentation will take a literary approach to skillful means, that is, consider whether the æsthetic appeal of Early Chinese Buddhist scriptures may also have been conceived of as a skillful means. The exploration of this question will involve the reading of Buddhist scriptures as literary narratives, an approach that is gaining ground in studies of Chinese Buddhism, because it promises to throw light on the reception of this
Indian religion in Early Medieval and Medieval China. Focusing on the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* and other early Chinese Buddhist scriptures, I will examine the literary features employed in these texts, including protagonists, settings, plot, imagery, and other rhetorical features such as the repetitiveness and formality that can be detected on various levels of the text. I propose that all narrative elements, redundant and tangential as they may seem, are in the service of the texts’ main purpose, that is, the exposition and propagation of Mahāyāna Buddhist ideas. Staggering hyperboles, narrative digressions, and other seemingly gratuitous or even detrimental rhetorical practices make sense if understood as skillful means, that is, as expedient devices employed to facilitate the engagement of a broad range of audiences in the teaching of rather complicated doctrinal ideas and, finally, to lead them to enlightenment.

46. DAVID PRAGER BRANNER, Independent Scholar

Familiar Chinese Lexicon in the Fājūjing

In traditional times, China produced four distinct texts related to the Indic *Dhammapada*. The oldest is the *Fājūjing*, initially translated by Central Asian monks and apparently then revised by Zhī Qiān, a Central Asian serving as tutor to the Crown Prince of the Three Kingdoms Wǔ dynasty. One chapter even seems to be directed to a ruler or senior officials, so the book was surely meant for the eyes of educated Hán people of social standing and education.

Yet it is a relatively early Buddhist translation into Chinese, and the translators do not seem to have had in mind a precise equivalence between Indic and Chinese lexicon, as became common later. Zhī Qiān, particularly, is known to have avoided regularizing terminology when editing sūtras (as per Nattier 2008). The text is somewhat rough and although plainly related to the Pāli and Gāndhārī versions of the *Dhammapada*, it does not correspond exactly to them—perhaps (as the preface suggests) because of linguistic weakness on the part of the original translators, or perhaps because the source was a text we do not have now (as per Kuala Lumpur Dhammajoti 1995).

Given that context, it is interesting to explore traditional Chinese vocabulary in the *Fājūjing*. We are not surprised that traditional Confucian buzz-words are not in the text (e.g., zhōng 忠, ‘political loyalty to a ruler’, xiǎo 孝, ‘filial obedience to parents’, wén 文, ‘culture, to be cultured’). But many terms with heavy non-Buddhist freight are there (e.g., lǐ 礼, ‘ritual and correctly ordered relations with others’, wúwéi 無為, ‘non-action’, yín 淫, ‘lewdness’, rén 仁, ‘humane empathy’, shì 士, ‘scholar-official, person of refinement’, dé 德, ‘moral power’, wàng 傳, ‘irresponsible, ignoring social expectations’).

In places where Chinese verses correspond to known Pāli or Gāndhārī content, what can the reader conclude about the meanings of those freighted Chinese terms in this text?

47. ZHAO YI, The University of Kansas

A Path to Paradise: Reevaluating Pure Land Belief in the Northern Dynasties with the Nine-Buddha Halo Bronze Shrines

Portable bronze shrines with a seated Buddha figure with a nine-Buddha halo on the front and delicate reliefs on the back have not been properly studied, yet appear to be
an important type in the Northern Dynasties (386–581). I have identified fifteen such shrines which I divided into three subtypes, dateable to 420–450, 450–500, and 500–550, according to the typology of the flame-patterns on the main Buddha’s aureole. Previous scholars treat the three subtypes as contemporaneous work and generally follow the date of “Taihe Reign” (477–499) suggested by Matsubara Saburō. Based on stylistic comparisons with sculptures in cave-temples at Binglingsi and Maijishan, I associate this type of shrine with the region of southeastern Gansu and western Shaanxi. The top register of the back relief has been identified as “Maitreya in Tusita Heaven”, first by Matsubara. However, by identifying the two seated figures on the top of the back relief as beings “reborn on lotuses,” I argue that the top register represents Sukhāvati. If so, it would be the earliest existing representation of Sukhāvati in China. The bottom register shows two Buddhas preaching in a niche, representing the Treasure Stupa chapter of the Lotus Sūtra. As sūtras are written records of Śākyamuni’s oral lectures, I argue that through visually constructing the eight Buddhas in the middle register as a shared audience for the two lectures represented above and below them, this relief transforms the practitioners who read the Lotus Sūtra into the audience of Amitāyus in Sukhāvati. Thus, this transformation expresses the “causal relationship between ‘hearing the Lotus Sūtra and cultivating oneself according to its instructions’ and ‘ascending to Sukhāvati,’” as stated in the Bodhisattva Bhaisajyagarbha chapter of the Lotus sūtra. The shrines offer new materials to reevaluate Pure Land Belief which was traditionally considered unpopular in fifth century China.

E. East Asia IV: Táng Literature and Poetics. Antje Richter, University of Colorado, Boulder, Chair (10:30 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) Monet *

48. Baiqiang An, Macquarie University  
Imageries of Bird in Hua Jian Ji

This essay is a part of the ongoing literary research and analysis of the imageries of bird in Hua Jian Ji, an anthology edited by Zhao Chongzuo in 940 with a selection of 500 pieces of ci (a type of traditional Chinese poetry) composed by 18 poets. Occupying an important position in traditional Chinese literature, this anthology is the cornerstone of Hua Jian School, the key literary school that influenced compositions of ci in terms of its rules, forms and aesthetics presentation, and enhanced the development of traditional Chinese poetry in later time. Through the analysis of the imageries of bird in the ci of Hua Jian Ji, this essay attempts to gain a further understanding of their characteristics and contributions to the formation of the literary style of Hua Jian School. Due to few literary studies on imageries of bird in traditional Chinese literature and a lack of detailed illustrations of imageries of bird among existing versions of Hua Jian Ji, this research thus shows its significance. According to the preliminary analysis, this essay argues that (1) most of the imageries of bird present their meanings by following certain literary conventions passed down from previous literary works; besides, (2) certain aesthetic characteristics of these imageries are reserved as well and get integrated with the meanings of these imageries so that they, as a whole, externalize and visualize the inner meanings of ci in an aesthetic way; then (3) by being further adopted and applied by the 18 poets, these imageries become regular patterns and are systematic in terms of meaning presentation, and the
style of Hua Jian School is thus formed. During the analysis, besides, 30 supplements have been made to the existing commentaries of the imageries of bird in Hua Jian Ji and their meanings get clarified.

49. YIWEN ZHU, Yangzhou University

Geistesgeschichte Methodology in Tang Poetry Study: Why is the Poetry of Zhao-jun so Popular in Tang Dynasty?

Literature provides a good way to trace back a nation’s spirit and history. The perspective of Geistesgeschichte Methodology opens a window for the study of Chinese ancient literature. The poetry of Wang Zhaojun began in the Jin Dynasty and flourished in the Tang Dynasty. Why is the Poetry of Wang Zhaojun so popular in Tang dynasty? The essay focuses on the poetry which relates to Wang Zhaojun and observes the spiritual state and ideological tendency of the poets of the Tang Dynasty? It is not only an in-depth exploration of the ancient Chinese humanistic spirit but also a new development in the field of literary studies. Through the study of the poetry of Wang Zhaojun tries to solve the problem: How do the historical Characters’ participation in the construction of the Geistesgeschichte of Chinese Classical Literature.

50. XIAOJING MIAO, University of Colorado Boulder

A Tang Emperor’s Self-justification: Taizong and His “Weifeng fu”

Li Shimin, commonly known as Emperor Taizong (r. 626–649) of the Tang dynasty, is regarded as one of the greatest emperors of imperial China. Yet he paved his way to the throne by killing his brothers during the Xuanwu Gate Incident. After ascending the throne, one of the emperor’s biggest concerns was the public opinion on the Xunwu Gate Incident. To make certain that it was recorded in his favor, Taizong directly interfered with the compilation of the official history. He also offered his own version of the Xuanwu Gate Incident in a fu composition, the “Weifeng fu” (Fu on the Awe-inspiring Phoenix), which, according to the Xin Tang shu, was composed by the emperor to expresses his gratitude to Zhangsun Wuji (594–659), one of his most important ministers. In this paper, I will suggest that Taizong did not merely write the “Weifeng fu” to show his gratitude; rather, he composed the fu mainly for self-justification. Taizong does so in two ways. On the one hand, he presents the awe-inspiring phoenix, which clearly stands for the emperor himself, as the victim of the persecution of other birds, which symbolize his brothers. On the other hand, he gives all the credit to a specific gentleman, which represents Zhangsun Wuji, for saving the endangered phoenix. This may be flattering praise of Zhangsun Wuji, but it may also be the emperor’s way of further exonerating himself, that he was not personally responsible for the disappearance of “those dust and dregs,” or the death of his two brothers.

51. TYLER FEEZELL, Arizona State University

Master Yin’s Mellifluous Incantations: Tang Dynasty Epigraphy and Daoist Ritual Music and Cultivation

From the earliest days of the Tang Dynasty (618–907), the fortunes of the ruling family were intimately tied to the Daoist tradition. Daoism enjoyed unprecedented
imperial patronage as a state religion, and priests and priestesses became especially influential in the imperial court during the reigns of emperors Ruizong (r. 684–690 and 710–712) and Xuanzong (r. 712–756). Recent scholarship has explored Tang dynasty entombed epitaphs (muzhiming 墓志铭) to provide a closer look at the everyday religious practices of these Tang dynasty Daoist figures. This move represents a departure from earlier works, those which relied upon standard historical sources and works in the Repository of Daoist Texts of the Zhengtong Reign (Zhengtong Daozang 正統道藏) and were predominantly focused on the institutional structures of Daoism or specific texts of the period. In this paper, I undertake this new approach and consider a commemorative burial inscription titled “Entombed Epitaph of the Former Venerable Master Yin of the Great Tang” (Da Tang gu Yin zunshi muzhiming 大唐故尹尊師墓志銘). The text provides a detailed picture of the religious life of a court Daoist priest of the period, one who garnered the attention of the imperial court and the emperor himself. Master Yin (d. 747) was especially versed in ritual music and incantation, cultivating these skills during his daily regimen. Through an examination of this funerary record, I conclude that Tang Daoist musical and daily religious practice were intimately connected to Numinous Treasure (Lingbao 靈寶) Daoist texts and ideas. The beautiful sounds of a Daoist priest’s voice could bring prestige and renown. From the epitaph, we can begin to understand key aspects of Tang Daoist ritual musical practices, a facet of Tang Daoism seldom seen in primary sources and addressed in secondary scholarship.

F. Islamic Near East III: Al-Fārābī and Islamic Philosophy. EMMA GANNAE, Georgetown University, Chair (8:30 a.m.–10:30 a.m. Chagall B)

52. HAKAN GENC, McGill University

Late Antique Greek Sources for al-Fārābī’s Account of Unity by Virtue of Circumscription

One of the central senses of unity discussed in al-Fārābī’s Kitāb al-wāhid wa-l-wāḥda (KW) is unity by virtue of circumscription (inhīyāz) by a proper extremity, or a proper place, or a quiddity. The general idea is that X is one qua circumscribed by Y because X is contained and separated from other things by Y, that is, X is unique with respect to Y. The sense of unity qua circumscribed by a quiddity is particularly important for al-Fārābī’s metaphysics because this is the sense of unity which is co-extensive with the corresponding sense of being. Despite the importance of this sense of unity, its origin is not apparent: all the other senses of unity explained in KW have precedents in Aristotle’s Metaphysics, but the sense of unity by virtue of circumscription is not discussed anywhere in the Aristotelian corpus. By examining the use of ‘perigraphein’ and its cognates among late antique philosophers, I will argue that the Greek term was already associated with the idea of circumscription in al-Fārābī’s sense. Passages from Simplicius, Philoponus, Alexander of Aphrodisias and Galen suggest that this idea emerged as a result of reflections on the relation of a body to its proper extremity or place. According to Simplicius’ report, Porphyry analogically extended the physical or geometrical sense of circumscription to the general sense of unity qua uniqueness. Finally, I will review some passages that might have inspired al-Fārābī to articulate the sense of unity qua circumscribed by a quiddity. The ideas al-Fārābī was working
with and the inherited problems he was addressing in \( KW \) remain underexplored. My communication will contribute to understanding the Greek background of al-Fārābī’s account of unity by virtue of circumscription, and hence to our growing understanding of the reception and transformation of the Aristotelian metaphysics in classical Arabic philosophy.

53. **Rosabel Ansari, Georgetown University**

**Al-Fārābī’s Refutation of Monism**

In many places al-Fārābī refers to the Presocratic Parmenides of Elea and refutes the monistic argument that being is one (\( al-mawjūd huwa wāḥid \)). These references to the monism of Parmenides can be found in several places in \( K. \ al-Jadal, al-Amkina al-mughlíta, Falsafat Aristuṭālīs \) and \( K. \ al-Ḫurūf \) but have never been the subject of systematic study. In my communication I will present close readings of the relevant passages to examine how al-Fārābī argues against the notion that being is one. He achieves this through several steps: 1) he presents the multiplicity of beings as self-evident and a part of primary knowledge (\( ↪ ilm awwal \)); 2) he tells us that Parmenides’ argument is dialectical and composed of false premises; 3) he argues that ‘being’ is an ambiguous term (\( ism mushakkik \)) with many meanings whereas Parmenides had understood it to be univocal, which led him to conclude that being is one.

I build on research by Stephen Menn on the many senses of being in al-Fārābī as well as Alexander Treiger’s work on the modulation of being (\( tashkîk al-wujūd \)). While both scholars address aspects of al-Fārābī’s ontology, neither tackle al-Fārābī’s refutation of Parmenides’ thesis that being is one or his use of ‘being’ as \( ism mushakkik \) within that context. I conclude that this is hitherto neglected area of al-Fārābī’s metaphysics that is nevertheless crucial to understanding his philosophy as a whole and the subsequent trajectory of metaphysics in Avicenna, al-Ṭūsī and beyond.

54. **Jawdath Jabbour, École Normale Supérieure**

**Al-Fārābī’s Notion of Substantification (\( tajawhur \)) and its Application to the Human Substance**

The concept of substantification (\( taḡawhur \)) is used frequently by al-Fārābī and also appears in Ibn Sinā, yet neither of these philosophers explained exactly what it consists of. Furthermore, modern research has so far paid it insufficient attention, with the notable exception of Damien Janos who has examined its application to the celestial and human intellects. One of the main results of Janos’ study was that this concept may refer to a state or a process, and that it necessarily implies complexity and progressivity in the realization of a being. Through a careful study of the structure \( Falsafat Aristuṭālīs \), enlightened by other works of al-Fārābī, my communication aims to show how this notion can also be applied to natural bodies, and how it can explain the constitution of the human substance.

According to \( Aristuṭālīs \), the human substance results from the progressive action of three different principles—nature, soul and intellect—which substantivizes it first as a natural substance, then a living one and finally a rational one. By studying the way this process is realized, what it implies, my communication will show that the physical application of this concept leads to an ontological parallelism between the
logical, physical and metaphysical orders and that it originates both in the Neoplatonist tradition and the writings of Alexander of Aphrodisias. Additionally, it will aim to show that this concept allows al-Fārābī to deal with two particular problems concerning human substance. The first one is to explain how the human substance can be decidedly one, although it is constituted by several principles and characterized by many states and actions. The second one is to build a particular understanding of hylomorphism, which is compatible with the separability of the intellect without entailing the human soul be a substance distinct from the body.

55. Damien Janos, Université de Montréal

The Metaphysical Relevance of the Theory of \( \text{tashkīk} \) in Avicenna

This paper will discuss Avicenna’s metaphysics and more specifically his theory of ontological modulation (\( \text{tashkīk al-wujūd} \)) as found in the \( \text{Kitāb al-Shifāʾ} \) and other works. This theory is grounded in an ancient philosophical problem (highlighted especially by Aristotle) regarding how we predicate ‘being’ of things. First developed by al-Fārābī, Avicenna adapted, and elaborated considerably on, the notion of \( \text{tashkīk} \), ultimately relying on the theory of ontological modulation for his investigation of being-quasi-being as the central subject-matter of metaphysics. However, although the logical dimension of the problem has been researched quite extensively (since a groundbreaking study by H. A. Wolfson), the ontological and methodological implications of \( \text{tashkīk} \) in Avicenna’s philosophy have not been fully appreciated. Building on the work of Alexander Treiger and others, my presentation will focus on two main issues. First, I provide an analysis of the various criteria, aspects, or rules (\( \text{anḥāʾ, ahkām} \)) that constitute the theory of \( \text{tashkīk al-wujūd} \) according to Avicenna. This approach not only underscores the connections between logic and ontology in Avicenna’s understanding of \( \text{tashkīk} \) (when one focuses especially on the logical texts of Avicenna), but also shows that it acquires a metaphysical role and scope it did not have in the previous Arabic tradition (through an examination of key, but underemphasized, passages in Avicenna’s \( \text{Metaphysics of the Kitāb al-Shifāʾ} \)). Second, I address the issue of whether \( \text{tashkīk} \) applies to the transcendental level of being in addition to the categorial or predicamental level and examine how \( \text{tashkīk al-wujūd} \) fits in Avicenna’s theology, a topic which has become controversial in recent studies. I argue that Avicenna’s theory of \( \text{tashkīk} \) was systematically and programmatically designed as a metaphysical improvement on earlier theories and represents a hitherto underestimated turning point in the history of Arabic metaphysics.

56. Nicholas Allan Aubin, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Al-‘Āmirī and the Figure(s) of Empedocles: An Evolving Relationship

This paper explores new evidence for a paradoxical and evolving relationship between the tenth-century Muslim philosopher Abū al-Ḥasan al-‘Āmirī (d. 992) and the pre-Socratic Greek sage Empedocles. I argue that al-‘Āmirī presents different aspects of Empedocles’ thought in different works, and that some of the views he ascribes to Empedocles are in conflict with one another. Earlier scholarship has focused on al-‘Āmirī’s \( \text{Afterlife} \), in which the author portrays Empedocles positively as the first of the five Sages of the Greek tradition, and as a disciple of the Quranic proto-prophet Luqmān. In the \( \text{Afterlife} \), al-‘Āmirī is careful to attribute to Empedocles a number of
orthodox Islamic positions on God’s attributes, including God’s goodness, power and will. In this paper I focus on al-‘Amiri’s unstudied Determination of Various Aspects of Predestination and the recently edited Seven Sessions, in which al-‘Amiri confronts a ‘different’ Empedocles, the Empedocles in the background of Aristotle’s aporia in Physics II.8, who holds an unpopular and un-Islamic position on material determinism. According to al-‘Amiri, this position amounts to a denial of God’s providence. In the Determination, al-‘Amiri uses Aristotle’s own arguments to refute Empedocles’ material determinism. Significantly, he attempts to conceal the identity of Empedocles throughout the Determination, ascribing this position on material determinism to an anonymous, wayward sect of naturalist philosophers. In the later Seven Sessions, however, al-‘Amiri finally admits that Empedocles is behind this view, and sets about refuting it with his own creative argument. By focusing for the first time on the Determination and Seven Sessions, I draw attention to al-‘Amiri’s complicated and dynamic position at the confluence of the Kindīan neo-Platonic and Aristotelian commentary traditions.

G. Islamic Near East IV: Early Muslim Era Sources for Non-Muslims.
SEAN ANTHONY, Ohio State University, Chair (8:30 a.m.–11:00 a.m. Renoir *)

57. KEVIN VAN BLADEL, Yale University
The Language of the Xūz

Arabic authors of the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries report the existence of a peculiar language among the Xūz, the people of Xūzistān (Khūzistān, medieval Elam). Such reports have occasioned surmises among modern scholars that Xūz was a late form of the ancient Elamite language, a view that I endorse as overwhelmingly likely. The purpose of this paper is to review and analyze these reports about the medieval Xūzī language and its speakers. Combining the scanty Arabic reports with a general sociolinguistic model for the death of languages, it posits a social and demographic hypothesis concerning the demise of Xūzī and the shift of its speakers to other languages like Arabic and Persian.

58. TED GOOD, University of Toronto
Mardānfarrox on Free Will

Though he probably lived in the 9th century, our only knowledge of Mardānfarrox is from his apologetic and polemical treatise: Škand-Gumānīg Vizār (ŠGV; ‘the Doubt-Shattering Exposition’). His treatise rationally defends the tenets of Zoroastrianism and critiques the tenets of opposing religious viewpoints, such as Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. In addition to these opposing religious viewpoints, Mardānfarrox defends Zoroastrianism from atheists; in this portion of the text, Mardānfarrox argues that god has free will, and derives the interesting corollary from this that a second god must also exist. In this way, he defends Zoroastrianism dualism.

Thanks to the pioneering work of de Menasce 1945, the text of ŠGV has become readily understandable to Western audiences. However, while de Menasce admirably discusses many aspects of ŠGV, his work is not a philosophical exposition of Mardānfarrox’s densely argued treatise. This has led to the text’s philosophical content being eclipsed by its rich philological content.
So, this paper will draw upon the excellent work of de Menasce 1945 in order to set out the philosophical principles of a small portion of Mardanfarox’s treatise. It will be shown that the argument for god’s free will and its interesting corollary demonstrates that the SGV is also a work rich in philosophical content, which may shed light on a neglected piece of the interreligious debate in the early ‘Abbāsid period (750–1258 CE).

59. COLEMAN CONNELLY, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University

Sergius of Rešaynā and Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq on Their Reading Publics

From the eighth century through the tenth, Baghdad witnessed the translation of nearly all available ancient Greek scientific texts into Arabic, sometimes via an intermediary in Syriac. Muslim and sometimes Christian patrons from all sectors of ‘Abbāsid high society paid princely sums to small groups of translators, the vast majority of whom were Christians who used Syriac as their primary learned language. Is this ‘Abbāsid-era translation movement in seamless continuity with pre-Islamic Christian practice? Alternatively, did demand from Arabic-speakers produce a wholly new cultural phenomenon, distinct in scope and quality from its late ancient Syriac counterpart?

The present paper approaches this contemporary debate from a novel angle. How did two translators, one pre-Islamic and the other working under the ‘Abbāsids, conceive of their audiences in prefatory letters addressed to patrons? Despite their obvious importance, these letters are grossly understudied and in some cases unpublished. First, I examine Syriac prefaces to Galen and Aristotle by Sergius of Rešaynā (d. 536). For Sergius, only elite, qualified readers should approach the ancient sciences. Then, I turn to two prefatory letters by the Galen translator Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq (d. 873), both addressed to Christian patrons and both surviving in Arabic translations of Syriac originals. Ḥunayn deploys the same traditional Syriac tropes and pleas- antries as Sergius, whose work he knew well. Yet Ḥunayn’s prefaces break—perhaps consciously—from Sergius’ conception of the ideal reading public. For Ḥunayn, readers of all abilities should have access to ancient Greek science.

I argue that increased demand from ninth-century patrons and as well as Ḥunayn’s own close reading and imitation of Galen’s Hippocratic commentaries yielded this startlingly new attitude. From Ḥunayn’s own perspective, his work constituted a rupture with the late antique tradition represented by Sergius.

60. ISKANDAR BCHEIRY, American Theological Library Association

Shedding Light on an Unpublished Collection of Syriac Fragments from the Ninth Century in the Oriental Institute Museum-Chicago

The Oriental Institute Museum-Chicago has seventeenth Syriac manuscripts, ranging from single page fragments to a large volume with hundreds of pages. All these manuscripts were acquired in the first half of the twentieth century and are almost equally distributed between both traditions West Syriac and Eastern Syriac. The manuscripts were described very briefly and sometimes erroneously by Clemons, J. T. In his catalogue A Checklist of Syriac Manuscripts in the United States and Canada. All the manuscripts are from south east Turkey and Urmia, Iran and at first glance this
collection of manuscripts look like it might not be of much interest, but in fact some of the manuscripts are the only surviving versions of the originals from which they were copied. In my presentation I would like to shed light on the unpublished Syriac fragments in this collection of manuscripts, which had not been previously identified or examined. These Syriac fragments contain valuable historical information about the history of Syriac Christianity during the first two centuries of Islam.

61. THOMAS BENFEY, Princeton University

The Medical Tradition of Sasanian Khuzestān in Islamic Historiography

Building primarily on the work of Eberman, this paper comprehensively brings together, for the first time, two groups of Islamic-era accounts that discuss the origins and nature of a medical tradition in Sasanian Khuzestān. The first group, which I argue has a background in the Sasanian Xwaday-Nāmag (“Book of Kings”) tradition, or associated traditions, focuses on the city of Šūš (Susa), and appears in Ibn Qutayba, Eutychius, al-Tabari, Sprenger 30, and al-Thā’alibī. The second group, which I argue has a background largely distinct from that of the first, perhaps in East Syriac historiography, appears in Bar Hebræus and Ibn al-Qiftī, and focuses on Gondeshāpur. A report which I believe has still other origins (based on the work of Berti), which appears only in Ibn al-Qiftī, and which describes a kind of medical conference at Gondeshāpur during the early seventh century CE, will also be discussed in this connection. While Gondeshāpur may have only risen to prominence in the medical field at a fairly late stage, the variegated backgrounds of these accounts, and their common focus on a medical tradition in Sasanian Khuzestān, strongly suggest that this broader region was home to a notable medical tradition already during the Sasanian period. This provides a degree of nuance and corroboration for the claims made by Christensen and Browne, and later challenged by Dols, Pormann, and Savage-Smith, about the great importance of Gondeshāpur for Sasanian and early Islamic medical history.

62. CHRIS PREJEAN, University of California, Los Angeles

Characterizing the Social World of the Ninth Century: Ahmad b. Hanbal’s Responsa

Over the past decade, historians of the Middle East have frequently cited an early Hanbalī responsa (masā’il) text entitled Non-Muslim Religious Communities (Ahl al-milal) as a source for social history. Thomas Sizgorich, for example, argued that Christian-Muslim intercommunal boundaries were blurry and that Ahmad b. Hanbal policed them. Jack Tannous has used the text to argue that the beliefs and behaviors of Christians and Muslims were shaped by how tightly interwoven their lives were. Christian Sahner has used Non-Religious Communities to show that while the rules for intermarriage between Christians and Muslims were clear, areas such as burial, marriage, and inheritance were not. In a recent lecture, Uriel Simonsohn argues that Ahmad gives conflicting responses about how non-Muslim slaves or recent converts should be treated. These studies assume that Non-Muslim Religious Communities reveals something about social reality in the 9th century. My research shows that some of the responsa characterize 9th century social realities while others do not. I make this claim based on my analysis of the interlocutors and contents of the responsa.
Some interlocutors, for example, traveled to Baghdad to study with Ahmad in order to ask him the same questions asked to earlier authorities. For example, Ishāq b. Mansūr al-Kawsaj (d. 855 CE), a famous student of Ahmad, traveled from Khurasan to Baghdad to ask Ahmad legal questions based directly on al-Thawrī’s (d. 778 CE) responsa collection. The content of his questions, then, may reflect the reality of earlier generations rather than characterizing contemporary social circumstances, though it could mean both. On this basis, it is concluded that this example among manifold others should be used cautiously when used to contemporary social reality.

H. Islamic Near East V: More Shiism. SEAN ANTHONY, Ohio State University, Chair (10:45 a.m.–12:45 p.m. Chagall B *)

63. MICHAEL A. RAPPORT, Connecticut College

Was ʿUṯb al-Ḍīn al-Taḥṭānī (d. 766/1364–5) a Sunnī or a Ẓī? The Evolving Sectarian Affiliation of an 8th/14th-Century Scholar

ʿUṯb al-Ḍīn al-Rāzī al-Taḥṭānī was a prominent 8th/14th-century scholar of logic and philosophy who wrote influential commentaries on Ṣāmī’s (d. 675/1277) logical treatise al-Šamsiyya and Ibn Sinā’s (d. 428/1037) philosophical summa al-Isārāt wa-l-tanbihāt. His commentary on the latter—titled al-Muhākamāt bayna l-Imām wa-l-Nāsir, an adjudication between earlier commentaries written by Fakhr al-Ḍīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) and Naṣīr al-Ḍīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274)—quickly became, together with Ṭusī’s commentary, the primary means for studying the Isārāt and played an important role in establishing the narrative about this text (Wisnovsky 2014).

While Taḥṭānī’s significance as a scholar is well known, little scholarship has been written on his life. Key details of his biography are far less well known, most especially whether he was a Sunnī or a Ẓī. Though widely recognized today as having been a Ẓī scholar, the biographical literature presents mixed evidence. In fact, no biographical entry on ʿUṯb al-Ḍīn attests to his having been a Ẓī until Qāṣī Nūr Allāh al-Ṣūṣṭarī (d. 1019/1610) does so in his Majālis al-maʿrūmin. Every entry on ʿUṯb al-Ḍīn in the roughly two centuries prior to Qāṣī Nūr Allāh either attests that he was a Sunnī (Ṣāfī) or does not mention his affiliation at all. In this talk, I will present what we know of ʿUṯb al-Ḍīn, focusing on the transmission of his biography and the question of his sectarian affiliation. I will show that, despite abundant entries on him in the biographical literature, we know fairly little about ʿUṯb al-Ḍīn, as most entries copy from and agglomerate the earliest sources. Although these early sources assert that he was a Sunnī, I will argue that the evidence suggests that ʿUṯb al-Ḍīn was, indeed, a Ẓī.

64. SCOTT LUCAS, University of Arizona

Qāḍī Jaʿfar and the 6th/12th-Century Zaydi Revival in Yemen

Qāḍī Jaʿfar b. Ahmad al-Buhūli (d. 573/1177–8) was one of the most significant religious scholars in pre-modern Yemen. His primary legacy consisted of bringing an extraordinary collection of Zaydi and Muʿtazili hadith collections from Iran to Yemen, composing original works, and training influential scholars. The goal of this paper is to provide the first detailed assessment of Qāḍī Jaʿfar’s impact on Zaydi thought,
by identifying the texts he transmitted and composed, and the compositions of his students and their children. Manuscript evidence from the Biblioteca Ambrosiana and Vatican Library shows how Qâdî Ja'far played a crucial role in introducing the writings by famous Mu'tazili scholars, such as al-Ḥakîm al-Jîshûnî (d. 494/1101) and al-Zamakhshârî (d. 538/1133-4), to Yemen. These libraries also hold original theological and legal works Qâdî Ja'far wrote that remain unpublished and shed unique light on his own intellectual development.

This paper will focus on three things. First, it will show the diffusion and creative adoption of the hadîth and tafsîr books Qâdî Ja'far brought from Iran to Yemen. Secondly, it will devote special attention to Qâdî Ja'far's seminal role in establishing a thirty-topic template for Zaydi theology, which draws deeply from the Basran Mu'tazili tradition, and inspired many Yemeni commentaries and related works through at least the 11th/17th century. Finally, this paper will argue that Qâdî Ja'far was at the heart of the 6th/12th century Zaydi revival in Yemen, and that his scholarship had a tremendous impact on Zaydi thought for at least two centuries after his death.

65. MICHAEL DANN, University of Illinois

Zayd b. 'Alî and His Rebellion in Imâmî Ḥadîth Literature

From at least the late fourth/tenth century onwards, the Imâmî tradition was largely unequivocal in its endorsement of Zayd b. 'Alî, the half-brother of Muhammad al-Bâqîr who rebelled unsuccessfully against the Umayyads. However, a substantial body of reports attributed to al-Bâqîr and especially to Ja'far al-Ṣâdiq and his disciples portray Zayd as being ignorant of the rightful claims of the Imâms at best, or willfully opposed to them at worst. These negative narrations exist alongside a body of more positive portrayals that were accented in later Imâmî tradition. Some of these portrayals subordinate Zayd to the Imâms while recognizing his rebellion as legitimate and others offer more emphatic approvals of him. The different pools of tradition concerning Zayd correlate to a large extent with particular Shi'î circles active in early to mid-second/eighth century Kûfâ. The negative portrayals of Zayd are generally attributed to disciples of the Imâms who were strongly opposed not only to Zayd himself, but also to other Shi'îs who disputed the exclusive nature of the Imâms' authority. The positive portrayals of Zayd that clearly subordinate him to the Imâms are generally attributed to disciples of the Imâms not known for opposition to other Shi'îs. The most emphatic approvals of him were generally originally transmitted in Zaydî circles before being adopted by the Imâms in the course of the third/ninth century. These three different pools of tradition draw on a common set of phraseology and topos but employ them towards conflicting ends. Based on the foregoing, I argue that it is possible to determine with a reasonable degree of confidence how different circles among the immediate disciples of the Imâms viewed Zayd and the legitimacy of his rebellion, but that there is no firm basis on which to extend this determination to the Imâms themselves.

66. ANDREW MCLAREN, Columbia University

Caliphate in the Kitâb al-Irshâd

At the conclusion of his biography in the Kitâb al-Irshâd for al-Ḥasan b. 'Alî, the second of the twelve Imâms, al-Shaykh al-Mufîd (336–413/948–1022) announces
that al-Hasan died “in Safar of the fiftieth year of the Hijra [March 670]. He was then forty-eight years of age, and his caliphate (khilāfa) lasted ten years.” Here, the Shaykh obviously subverts the long-settled narratives about the length of al-Hasan’s caliphate (which lasted only seven or eight months)—a fact he himself must have known. The meaning of such a move, coming as it does from a prominent Shi‘ī theologian, seems patently is denying the legitimacy of the next caliph, Mu‘awiyah b. Abī Ṣafyān, the first of the Umayyad dynasty. But then what is the point of making it in the broader scheme of al-Mu‘īd’s work?

This paper explores the concept of khilāfa in al-Mu‘īd’s Irshād in two brief inquiries. First, I examine the concept as it appears in the text. How often does the term appear, given that most of the Imāms never came close to the office? How does it relate to the broader view of rightful leadership elaborated in the text? Second, I compare al-Mu‘īd’s account of al-Hasan’s khilāfa to that of Miskawayh (320–421/932–1030) in the Tajārib al-Umm, a contemporary work of history, also conceived with a larger ‘philosophical’ project undergirding it. Do their different theoretical and generic concerns affect their portrayal of an otherwise undisputed event? Or does it have more to do with the sources from which they draw (al-Mu‘īd relies heavily on Abu ‘l-Faraj al-Isfahānī; Miskawayh is much indebted to al-Tabarī)? What do the answers reveal about the stakes of writing caliphal history and debating just leadership in the Būyid age?

67. HADI QAZWINI, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

Every Jurist Cannot Be Correct: Fallibilism (al-takhtī‘a) in Imāmī-Shī‘ī Law

Muslim scholars have long debated whether “every jurist is correct” (kull mujtahid musīb). Many Sunnī theorists, including prominent Mu‘tazilis and Ashʿaris, have adopted infallibilism (al-taswīb) in law and agreed that, beyond cases based on apodictic (qatī‘) evidence in which a single truth existed, every jurist was correct in his or her legal conclusions. This is because in such cases, the “truth” was not considered to be a target to be sought, but one that was formed through the juristic activities (ijtiḥād) of each jurist. In contradistinction to many of their Sunnī counterparts, Imāmī-Shī‘ī theorists have contended that a single “truth” always exists for every possible legal case, regardless of whether a legal ruling is backed by apodictic evidence or not. As such, they argue that a jurist may either hit or miss the mark. This paper will explore the doctrine of fallibilism (al-takhtī‘a) and the question of the ontological unity of truth in Islamic law in Imāmī-Shī‘ī legal thought by surveying the opinions of classical and contemporary theorists. It will show that, despite the doctrine’s apparent restriction of the scope of legal diversity, Imāmī-Shī‘ī jurists reconciled it with the legal diversity, albeit within a restricted framework of legal theory.

Despite the importance of the fallibilism-infallibilism debate in Islamic legal discourse, it has received very little attention in academic discourses. Besides a few works, most notably by A. Zysow, J. van Ess, and A. F. Ibrahim, this debate has largely gone unnoticed. This is especially the case with Imāmī-Shī‘ī adoption of fallibilism, which as far as I can tell, is completely missing from western academic studies. The importance of this topic relates to discussions about the development of Islamic legal theory and law specifically, and religious and sectarian identity formation more broadly.
I. South and Southeast Asia IV: Themes in Hindu Legal Literature. Donald R. Davis, Jr., University of Texas at Austin, Chair (9:30 a.m.–10:30 a.m.) Van Gogh.*

68. David Brick, University of Michigan

Viśvarūpa’s Treatment of Cross-Cousin Marriage

In his commentary on Yājñavalkya Dharmaśāstra 1.53, the ninth-century author Viśvarūpa argues strongly against the legitimacy of cross-cousin marriage—a practice widely accepted in South India and famously defended by several later Dharmaśāstra writers of South Indian origin (Mādhava and Devaṇa Bhaṭṭa). However, without a close familiarity with the precise details of these later writers’ defenses of cross-cousin marriage, even an experienced reader of Dharmaśāstra would have difficulty discerning exactly how or even that Viśvarūpa is, in fact, arguing against such marriages in his commentary. Therefore, by explaining in detail how Viśvarūpa makes his case against cross-cousin marriage, this paper will provide useful insights into the earliest recoverable stage of a historically significant debate within the Hindu legal tradition.

69. Mark McClish, Northwestern University

A Thematic Analysis of the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra: The Vedic Graduate and the Householder as Subjects of Dharma

The Dharmasūtras bear witness to the formation of Brāhmanical orthopraxy and are, for this reason, critical to understanding Indic history itself. As such, they are typically read for information about law, ritual, religion, or society in the early classical period. Far less attention has been paid to their literary form (Vigasin and Samozvantsev 1985), a lacuna that inhibits our ability to speak precisely about their contents, literary development, and the cultural conditions that they reflect.

The first step in establishing a literary history for the Dharmaśūtras is a formal genre analysis, particularly formal analysis of their topics. Toward this end, I present some results of my study of Āpastamba, which is generally considered the oldest of the Dharmasūtras. I will argue that the topics of Āpastamba do not follow a clear progression from Vedic student, to graduate, to householder (Olivelle 2000: 12). Specifically, the voluminous rules of conduct that OLIVELLE (2010: 21–22) has identified as pertaining to the stage of life after studenship and before marriage (1.7.31–1.29.18) in fact shift back and forth between the student and the Vedic graduate (samāvṛttta), who is himself sometimes presumed to be married and sometimes not. The subject of these rules, I propose, is best understood as the Vedic graduate generally, not just the unmarried. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that they are supplemented, rather than replaced, by rules for the married ‘householders’ (grhamedhin) found in the second book (2.1.1ff.).

This finding provisionally raises the question of whether we can still perceive in Āpastamba something of the dharma tradition before the application of the theology of the āśramas (‘orders of life’), which put the concept of the ‘householder’ at the center of dharma discourse.
70. PATRICK OLIVELLE, University of Texas at Austin

Killing as Dharma: Hiṃṣā and Ahiṃṣā in the Vacanamālā

The rise of ahiṃṣā as a foundational ethical principle in India has forced mainstream Brahmanism to struggle to square that principle with Vedic injunctions that not only sanctioned but prescribed the killing of animals in sacrifice. The Mīmāṃsā principle to resolve that conundrum is put succinctly: the general injunction (utsarga) na hiṃseyād sarvā bhūtānī is modified by the exceptional rule (apavāda): agniṣomīyaṃ paśum ālabbeta, according to the hermeneutical principle: utsargād apavargo baliyān, “an exception is stronger than a general injunction.” Manu (5.39) famously stated that within the ritual vadha (killing) is avadhā (not killing). This ritual exception, expanded to include other Śāmarta rituals such as śrāddha and hospitality, was further expanded to include “self-defence”: it was legitimate to kill an ātatāyin, an assailant. Other exceptions in the older literature include legitimate war (dharmayuddha).

A rare and little known text from Kerala entitled Vacanamālā, whose author is unknown and which is a sub-commentary on Viśvarūpa’s commentary Bālakṛīḍā on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, has an extended and, in some sense, unique discussion of ahiṃṣā. A term that appears in Yājñavalkya Smṛti 1.8. In that discussion, the author turns to royal activities other than war, specifically to hunting. He considers hunting part of the rājadharma and, therefore, falling within the set of exceptions to the general injunction of ahiṃṣā. In this context, he argues that killing is in fact dharma. My paper will elucidate his arguments for the legitimacy and dharmic nature of killing in the royal hunt and, mutatis mutandi, in other kinds of svadharma that sanction or enjoin killing.

J. South and Southeast Asia V: Hermeneutic Traditions in South Asia.
TIMOTHY LUBIN, Washington and Lee University, Chair (10:40 a.m.–12:20 p.m.)
Van Gogh *

71. LAUREN BAUSCH, Dharma Realm Buddhist University

Vedic Philosophy of Language: Some Preliminary Thoughts

How much of the Mīmāṃsaka theory of śabda-pramāṇa (verbal testimony) is rooted in the Brāhmaṇa texts? This paper seeks to know what the Vedas themselves, and the Brāhmaṇa texts in particular, propound explicitly or implicitly that could constitute a Vedic philosophy of language prior to the theory in Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā that words are eternal and the Veda is eternal and authorless. In The Language of the Gods in the World of Men, Sheldon Pollock (2006: 40) describes an anxiety about Vedic authority in Jaimiti’s Mīmāṃsāsūtra, which signals a shift in response to the Buddhists’ social and religious critique. During the Vedic period, did this anxiety exist or was it unwarranted because of the way speech was conceived and enacted? Many scholars have written about language in the Vedas and about Indian philosophy of language, including Potter, Coward, Arapura, Raja, Staal, Jurewicz, Patton, Aklujkar, Siderits, and others. Building on their work and my own philological studies on brahman (sacred formulation) and vāc (speech) in Vedic texts, this paper will offer some preliminary thoughts on a Vedic philosophy of language.
72. Dhruv Raj Nagar, University of Chicago Divinity School

Uttara Mīmāṃsa as Niśkriyavāda: Śaṅkara’s Apophatic Grammar and its Contribution to Vedic Hermeneutics

This paper will evaluate Śaṅkara’s contribution to the science of hermeneutics as taking forward the Mīmāṃsa project of furnishing a coherent interpretative framework to understand and justify Vedaprāmāṇyam. This will be undertaken from the point of view of vyākaraṇa by looking at Śaṅkara’s exploitation of specifically grammatical resources in, as I argue, his establishment of niśkriyavāda as the central guiding principle of Śaṅkara Vedānta. This is achieved by a subtle but systematic broadening and radicalization of key Mīmāṃsa principles, as well as a fundamental revaluation and reconceptualization of the linguistic principles appropriated by Mīmāṃsa for exegetical purposes, especially by his near contemporary Kumārila Bhaṭṭa and his commentators. Śaṅkara Vedānta will thus be found to be grounded in an “apophatic grammar” that remains committed to language and sentential cognition—vākyajanyajñānam—in line with defending Veda’s śabdapramāṇatvam, yet making genuinely new contributions to the discipline of vākyā-śāstra.

Much scholarship until recently undervalued the significance of Pūrva Mīmāṃsa as genuinely engaged in philosophical reasoning about the nature of language, revelation, epistemology or the relation of language and action, seeing it merely as a dogmatic tradition defending the authority of the Veda. Precisely the reverse is true of Śaṅkara’s system which has been approached as a philosophical school (advaitavāda/ātmavāda/brāhmaṇavāda etc) albeit with some continuity with the earlier Mīmāṃsa, in which case understanding the nature and function of mahāvākyas or the great sentences has attracted much attention. This paper not only approaches Śaṅkara Vedānta as fundamentally a hermeneutic but tries to argue that its “philosophical kernel” is, to the end, seeped in and constituted by a deeply grammatical substructure and informed by a specifically linguistic on of the universe, bondage and liberation.

73. Kashi Gomez, University of California, Berkeley

Kāvya, Commentary, and the Problem of Gender

How do we determine the value of a given Sanskrit text? In an academic climate where proof of “value” is prime, the field of Sanskrit studies has fortified its methodologies for proving value beyond the recovery of obscure cultural artifacts. From debates surrounding historicity, following upon Textures of Time (Narayana Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam 2001), to a new wave of scholarship tracing intellectual genealogies as seen in Scholar Intellectuals in Early Modern India (O’Hanlon, Minkowski, and Venkatkrishnan 2015), such methods have gestured to a value system connected to a density of historical events and intellectual networks. But what happens when such dense connections cannot be traced—when we encounter texts that are not just obscure but truly marginal? In other words, what happens when we encounter texts that are lacking in these kinds of dense connections, not through esotericism for example, but through the force of structural inequalities?

This paper will examine the problem that female-authorship poses to our current methodologies of reading. In particular, I will examine the ways in which commentary produces “value” and the problems encountered in reading kāvya when there are
no commentaries. This paper takes as its case study a mahākavya re-imagining of Vālmki’s Rāmāyaṇa called the Abhinavarāmābhuyudaya, authored by the female-poet Abhirāmakāmāksī (c. 15th c., Vijayanagara) of the scholarly Dīṇḍima family. Instead of trying to recover the subjectivity of the female author—which takes its cue from the problematic presumption of text as a direct representation of the author—I argue that the problems which arise in accounting for female-authorship in the Sanskrit tradition, present a conundrum in how we are supposed to read and appreciate kāvya.

74. DIEGO LOUKOTA, University of California, Los Angeles

Who Owns the Language of the Seers? Kumāralāta’s Views on Language

My paper deals with the vision of the language landscape of ancient India embodied in the works of the 3rd Century CE Taxilan Buddhist monk Kumāralāta. A Sanskrit grammar and a collection of novellas by Kumāralāta are still extant in manuscript fragments, and these works describe and employ both Classical Sanskrit and the Middle Indic literary idiom conventionally referred to as “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit” (BHS): furthermore, one passage in Kumāralāta’s narrative collection is in a literary Prakrit from Central India, and this is particularly remarkable if we consider that up to his own time, Kumāralāta’s presumably native Gāndhārī Prakrit had nurtured a vigorous literary tradition with a strong regional character in the northwestern area of the Indian cultural sphere.

Hartmut Scharfe and Johannes Bronkhorst have commented on Kumāralāta’s labeling of BHS as ārṣa ‘[the language] of the rṣis’: Bronkhorst has argued that by doing so Kumāralāta may have tried to claim for BHS, the language of a substantial body of sacred Buddhist texts, the same prestige that Vedic Sanskrit had in the brahmanical milieu, and he has incorporated this reading in his analysis of the factors that determined the eventual predominance of the brahmanical ideology and of Classical Sanskrit.

My investigation of the role of language and register in Kumāralāta’s oeuvre provides an illustrative case-study of the general narrative proposed by Bronkhorst, and adds to it by considering evidence from Kumāralāta’s biography and work, and also by examining a circumscribed social and historical angle. I will argue that Kumāralāta’s advocacy for Classical Sanskrit as a medium of literary expression evinces a weakening of local literary traditions in favor of a new pan-Indic literary idiom as well as a moment of crisis among the non-brahmanical urban classes that supported Buddhism during his time.

75. VISHAL SHARMA, University of Oxford

Is the Mahābhārata a Śaiva Text? Tools for Determining the “True Tātparya” of the Epic

Śiva has a peculiar role in the Mahābhārata. He is not a main character, but he is also present in various subi stories, and occasionally makes dramatic interventions in the main narrative. In most of Śiva’s major appearances or mentions, the epic pays attention to the god’s relationship with Krṣṇa. In the Dronāparvan, for example, Vyāsa says that Aśvatthāman’s weapon could not harm Krṣṇa and Arjuna because
the pair had worshipped Śiva before. In the Nārāyaṇiya section, Kṛṣṇa explains to Arjuna that although he has worshipped Rudra in the past, he was really worshipping himself because he is within all beings, including Śiva.

Early exegetes of the Mahābhārata, like Devabodha and Vimalabodha, had little to say about Śiva in the Mahābhārata, or about the epic being an explicitly Vaishnava text. This began to change, particularly with Madhva’s Mahābhārata-tātparyanirṇaya and Appayya Dikṣita’s Bhāratasārasamgrahastotra. Appayya Dikṣita composed two essays, one on the Rāmāyaṇa and the other on the Mahābhārata, arguing that Śiva was the Supreme God in both epics.

In his Mahābhārata-tātparyanirṇaya, Madhva argues that, like other sadāgamas, the Mahābhārata’s highest meaning is the supremacy of Nārāyaṇa. In making his case, Madhva is aware of Śiva’s role in the Mahābhārata and proposes ways to read those passages. He argues that all authoritative texts, including the Mahābhārata is written in three different registers or “tribhāṣa”, Saṃādhi, Darśana, and Guhaya, and one can only understand the tātparya if one understands these languages found in the epic.

In this paper, I look at the ways in which Madhva proposes we read the Mahābhārata to rescue it from any misreading. I argue that he puts forward these tools such as the tribhāṣa in order to prevent a (mis)reading of episodes where Śiva appears to be superior to Nārāyaṇa. I also look at how Vādırāja takes these tools to analyze specific episodes of the Mahābhārata. What the Mādhvas were proposing here, I argue, was not only a way of understanding problematic sections involving Śiva, but a way of reading a text as complicated as the Mahābhārata as a whole.

A. Ancient Near East VI: Economy and Administration. MATTHEW STOLPER
University of Chicago, Chair (1:30 p.m.– 3:15 p.m.) Picasso Ballroom *

76. SUSANNE PAULUS, University of Chicago

Let’s Talk about Money... in Babylonia

At least since Polanyi’s work money is defined for ancient societies as a good which is generally accepted as a mean of exchange especially by providing a standard for attributing a quantifiable value to goods, if it is used as a mean of payment itself, and if it is used for the storage of wealth. Following this definition, most scholars accept only metal mainly silver and gold as money in Mesopotamian societies. Using texts from Kassite Babylonia (1350–1150 B.C.E.) as a challenge, I will argue that a different approach to money might be helpful to understand price payments before the rise of silver monetarization in the first millennium B.C.E.

77. AMI HUANG, University of Chicago

Counting Sheep: the Administration of Herding in Kassite Nippur

As in other parts of the ancient world, pastoralism played an important role in the Babylonian economy. Its significance is reflected in the numerous livestock-related administrative texts written at Nippur during the Kassite period (1350–1225 BCE). Despite the plethora of documentation, however, few studies have been devoted to investigating the organization of herding during this time period. In this paper, I will discuss the administration and management of livestock, as well as the complex underlying structures of shared responsibility.
The expansion of the Achaemenid Persian Empire (c. 559–330 BCE) precipitated a rise in the number of workers in the imperial core, in what is now southwestern Iran. Thousands of these laborers are recorded in the Persepolis Fortification Archive. This archive, which dates to the reign of the King of Kings Darius I (r. 522–486 BCE), records the movement, storage, and distribution of foodstuffs in the region around Persepolis. Among these texts are thousands of disbursements of rations. Many of the recipients of these rations fall into the broad category of dependent laborers, between free and slave. Three Elamite words are commonly used to categorize groups of dependent laborers: kurtaš, libar/p, and puhu. Richard Hallock, who published and translated over 2,000 of the Persepolis Fortification texts, translated kurtaš as “worker(s)” or “workforce;” libar as “servant” or, perhaps, “slave;” and puhu as “child, boy, girl,” which, by extension, also denoted a subservient position.

As Hallock already noted, and others (e.g., Briant, Brosius, and Henkelman) have subsequently reiterated, the socio-administrative meaning of these labels of dependency is not transparent from the texts of the Persepolis Fortification Archive. This paper will attempt to clarify the meaning of kurtaš, libar/p, and puhu through two methods. The first is by studying the average amount of rations that these groups received. The second is by examining the other persons with which each of these dependent groups appeared, such as free men, members of the royal family, or state officials. By clarifying the meaning of these administrative labels, this contribution intends to illuminate the emic categories by which the Achaemenid Empire conceived of its subject workers.

The Loyalty Oath (adê) in the Neo-Babylonian and Early Persian Periods

This paper investigates the evidence for the use of the loyalty oath (adê) in southern Mesopotamia during the Neo-Babylonian and early Persian periods. Only a few Neo-Babylonian and Persian-period documents plainly refer to a loyalty oath, but they suggest a continuation of the Neo-Assyrian practice. The paper centers around a text from the archives of the Eanna temple at Uruk, YNER 11, which was studied most recently in detail in a 2008 RA article by Elizabeth Payne. She interprets the document as containing an assertory oath on the part of temple craftsmen, but I will argue that the craftsmen swear a promissory oath. The document exhibits several features of standard Neo-Assyrian adês and equates disobedience to the temple’s authorities with a violation of a loyalty oath. This evidence strongly suggests that, in addition to state officials, a number of temple personnel very likely swore loyalty oaths to the king. Moreover, even temple oblates and visiting foreigners appear to be treated as if they too had sworn a loyalty oath even though they almost certainly had not. The paper argues that the evidence, when taken together, reveals an administrative system that assumed an implied loyalty oath on the part of all those who participated in the system. The allegiance and obedience expected from those who swore formal loyalty oaths was now expected of all who became involved in the administrative system whether they had actually sworn an oath or not.
80. JOHNSON Z. WEE, University of Chicago

Metrological Commentaries on the City Wall and Moat of Babylon

A tablet (BM 35385) described by A. R. George as containing “a metrological commentary of some sort” was transliterated, but only intermittently translated, in his monograph Babylonian Topographical Texts (1992), where discussion focused almost exclusively on a few better-preserved lines (col. ii 9’–13’) that listed dimensions of the city wall of Babylon. I introduce a new partial duplicate of this text (publication forthcoming), which improves on readings and interpretations previously maintained, while containing material unique to its own. The latter represents one of the few known instances where commentary manipulates not only language and script, nor merely numbers, but also metrological equivalences involving what C. Proust has dubbed “arithmo-metrograms”—in order to express erudite interpretations concerning the city moat surrounding Babylon’s wall.

81. SHIYANTHI THAVAPALAN, Brown University

Keeping Alive Dead Knowledge: The Case of the Akkadian Glass-Making Recipes

Cuneiform texts generally begin as part of living scholarly tradition, composed by and for an audience interested in setting down in writing the knowledge they contain. In their afterlives, texts may be copied at a time when the knowledge is obsolete or even by people who could no longer understand them. The scribes who copied Early Dynastic lexical lists in Old Babylonian Nippur preserved orthographies that had gone out of use. But by modifying the layout to fit Old Babylonian standards and by adding glosses—in other words, by interpreting these old word lists—they kept them alive. We encounter something else with the divination compendia: in this case, knowledge acquired through the practice of extispicy, which had been taking place long before diviners began to explain in writing the meaning of signs on sacrificial animals and in the environment around them, was organized into systems. This permitted the production of written knowledge within this field to extend beyond the constraints of empiricism. The divination compendia were not produced to keep the practice of divination alive but were written, copied and read by those who were interested in establishing the prestige of this knowledge.

My presentation concerns the inception and purpose(s) of the Akkadian glass recipes, most of which are only known to us in their afterlife. I will show that like the Babylonian and Assyrian glass “ingredient lists” (maškantu texts), the 7th-century procedural texts from Ashurbanipal’s library report on older, Bronze Age glass-making practices. The terminology used in the texts, the glass-making techniques described and recent chemical analysis of ancient glass support this view. I will also discuss the form and function of the glass-making recipes in light of other instructive and prescriptive ‘procedure texts,’ such as the Goal-Year texts and tērsītu tables used in mathematical astronomy in the first millennium BCE.
82. TYLER ROEDER, Brown University

Zodiacal Imagery on Hellenistic Seal Impressions: The Case of the Hypsomata

The corpus of Hellenistic seal impressions from Mesopotamia has been significantly expanded over the last two decades by the publication of seal impressions from Babylon on tablets (housed in the British Museum), from Uruk on both tablets and bullae (largely in the Yale Babylonian Collection), and from Seleucia-on-the-Tigris on clay bullae. Ronald Wallenfells has already discussed the evidence of zodiacal imagery among seal impressions from Uruk, and has drawn attention to the appearance of one specific astrological concept, the triplicity. This talk will return to the subject of zodiacal imagery in Hellenistic seal impressions in order to better understand the significance of accompanying symbols, mostly stars and crescents, on these zodiacal impressions. I will first discuss and analyze the different types of symbols used throughout the corpus. From there, I will argue for the appearance of another astrological concept, that of the hypsomata, among this imagery, and I will use the appearance of hypsomata-related imagery in order to attempt to identify the accompanying stars. I will ask whether the number of points on a star can be used to identify the star itself, and will look to images for which the appearance of the hypsomata allows us to identify the star otherwise in order to look for patterns. I will ultimately argue that there is no clear pattern between the points of the star and the identity of the referenced planet, but that the positioning of the star or crescent in relation to the main image certainly is significant, at the very least in cases referencing the hypsomata. I will conclude my talk by making some general remarks on the popularity of zodiacal imagery in Hellenistic Babylonia. I will argue that it is a combination of the easily mass-producible stock images and the significant room for symbolic variation that led to the near ubiquity of zodiacal and astral imagery on Hellenistic Babylonian seal impressions.

83. JOHN STEELE, Brown University

Life and Death in Babylonian Astrology

A concern with life and death is a common feature of many Babylonian astrological texts. In particular, during the Late Babylonian period we find both horoscopes which provide the astronomical data relating to the birth of an individual and texts containing omens and schemes for predicting a wide range of aspects of an individual’s life including their success in business, health, cause of death, etc. In this presentation I explore the various astrological doctrines related to an individual’s life and death based using both published and unpublished sources. In particular, I discuss a newly identified text which presents a previously unknown scheme which relates the signs of the zodiac to the life of an individual. This scheme can be connected to later Greek astrological schemes providing another case of a Babylonian forerunner to an aspect of Greek astronomy and astrology.
84. YANG QIN, Australian National University

Illustrations of the *Yijing* Numerology as a Rational Exegetical Method in the Northern Song

In mid-Northern Song (960–1127), there was a surge in the creation of illustrations of the *Book of Changes* (*Yijing*). Among them, Liu Mu’s (1011–1064) diagrams of a numerological framework based on the ‘Attached Statements’ (*Xici*) on the canonical text was unique and controversial. He depicted each of the two trigrams in a hexagram as connected black and white dots instead of in the form of lines. In so doing, he redefined the image of hexagrams and represented in a new way the progressions in the six stages of a hexagram. While denying the authority of apocryphal works, Liu Mu drew on resources from Han cosmology and diagrams of constellation. He also reshaped the legends about the origin of hexagrams by excluding Yu, the legendary founder of the Xia dynasty, from the lineage of sagely authorship of the canon. This re-engineering of early sources resulted in a paradoxical association between his illustrations of the *Yijing* and the thoughts of esoteric numerology.

Illustrations of the *Yijing* soon became overshadowed by the distinction between two schools of interpretation: *xiangshu* (figures and numbers) and *yili* (meaning and truth). The rationality of the illustrations was called into question as a result. Yet the two schools were constructed as a simplified dichotomy only after the late Northern Song and had thereafter produced stereotyped labels. Although Liu Mu’s diagrams long preceded the heated debate about the virtues of *xiangshu* and *yili*, they came to be categorized anachronistically as an exemplar of the former. This paper will show that, despite its analytical value, this established dichotomy obscures the author’s intention to build a rational rather than esoteric world view. More broadly, a reflection on the dichotomy will help to re-evaluate the nature of illustrations of the *Yijing* in terms of an exegetical method instead of an apocryphal legacy.

85. XIAOSHAN YANG, University of Notre Dame

Parallelism and Generic Congruity in Wang Anshi’s Poetry and Four-Six Prose

“Written on Master Huyin’s Wall” (“Ti Huyin xiansheng bi”) is one of the most famous quatrains by Wang Anshi (1021–1086). Its reputation rests almost exclusively on its second couplet, in which the parallel structure is based on a kind of generic congruity that requires the juxtaposition of allusions and phrases from the same genre of writings of the same historical period. Whereas critics have long admired such generic congruity as a hallmark of Wang Anshi’s legendary technical rigor, few poets seem to have consciously followed his example. Furthermore, the origin of the practice of constructing poetic parallel couplets in accordance with generic congruity remains unexplored, even though one commentator has suggested that the Tang poet Du Fu served as a model for Wang Anshi. Instead of a diachronically searching for historical precedence in earlier poetry, this paper explores synchronically the connections between Wang Anshi’s construction of parallel couplets in his poetry and his practice as a writer of parallel prose, also known as four-six prose because of the preponderance of regular lines arranged in couplets that have either four or six characters. Two points will be illustrated. First, the presence of generic congruity is much more pervasive in
Wang Anshi’s four-six prose than in his poetry. Second, the idea of generic congruity is a more prominent theme in manuals on four-six prose than in texts on poetics. The tentative conclusion is that the famed generic congruity in Wang Anshi’s quatrain originated in his four-six prose.

86. XIUYUAN MI, University of Pennsylvania

Reorienting Culture for Mongol Rule: The Politics of Reclusion in Yuan Dynasty China

This paper investigates the role reclusion played at the political scene of the Mongol Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368), when generations of eminent courtiers elevated an eremite, Liu Yin (1249–1293), as a culture icon, and persistently stressed the usefulness of Liu’s reclusion. Liu himself also discussed his reclusion in utilitarian terms, asserting that declining imperial summons was not a personal choice but an obligation. While the Mongol court’s conception of Confucianism as a profession undoubtedly contributed to the pervading utilitarian discourses in contemporary writings, I argue that Yuan scholar-officials’ enthusiasm for Liu Yin as a political figure reveal their anxiety over a challenged cultural tradition resulting from their limited political influence as well as the influx of diverse cultures into China proper—as John Langlois’s study of Yu Ji shows, even the most influential Confucian courtier during the Yuan Dynasty could achieve no more than manipulating the state rhetoric to embellish a Confucian appearance of the dynasty.

The importance of Liu’s withdrawal is not merely a non-collaborative political gesture to the serving officials. A recluse and one of the most learned Neo-Confucian scholar, Liu fittingly became a culture hero who safeguarded the integrity of literati identity and thereby the associated culture, rendering their value independent of the reigning regime. Thus we find Su Tianjue including Liu in his Brief Biographies of Eminent Officials and arguing that Liu’s reclusion had accrued political significance, Yu Ji praising him as the foremost leader of this culture of ours (guanmian siwen), and Ouyang Xuan borrowing Zhang Zai’s words and asserting that Liu’s intention was to “extend the lost teachings of sages in the past and establish peace for thousands of generations to come.”

87. JIAN ZHANG, University of Michigan

The Antilogy of Locality: Writing about Locale in Song-Yuan Ningbo

This paper examines the idea of locality in the so-called “local writing/history,” a type of writing that is expressively local rather than universal in geographical terms. The primary goal is to acquire a critical terminology for a study of Mingzhou (modern Ningbo) during the 12th to 14th century by scrutinizing a kind of local writing that is typically rendered in English as “local gazetteer” (fangzhi). It will first provide a brief review of what has been termed ‘local’ in recent scholarship on middle period China and reveals an interesting diversity of appropriating the idea in which a locale’s autonomy is often taken for granted—an assumption pervasive in European historiography on city-states. Rather than indulging in assertions of political autonomy and posing a universeLocale dichotomy, I argue that in order to conceptualize a locale, one necessarily appropriates antilogy as a rhetorical strategy to make sense of a place’s locality. The paper then goes to show that how the formation of local gazetteer as a type of
writing in middle period China reveals the antilogy of being local and to demonstrate how this rhetoric was constitutive of local gazetteer (fangzhi) as a genre, especially the differentiation of it from history (shi). After a detailed examination of contents and textual structures of the local gazetteers produced in Song-Yuan Mingzhou, I propose to understand the making of local gazetteers as representing a program of place-making in which the classic idea of airs and customs (fengsu) and the discourse of cultural refinement (wenming) give expression to and shape each other and together are constructive of the locality of Mingzhou.

D. East Asia VI: Ming-Qing Drama and Customs. XURONG KONG, Kean University (3:15 p.m.– 5:00 p.m.) Monet *

88. WENYUAN SHAO, Ohio State University

Unveiling Mediated Guises: What Have not Changed about She Xiang since Ming Dynasty

She Xiang was a Nipu Yi woman chieftain who came into power in 1384 as the regent for her still infant son. Meanwhile, she took over responsibilities of the Guizhou Pacification Commissioner for a considerable part of the Emperor Hongwu’s reign (1368–1398). Over the past six hundred years, verifiable records (shilu), gazetteers (fangzhi), biographies (liezhuan), penta-syllabic (wuyan) and hepta-syllabic (qiyan) classical Chinese poems, legends (chuanshuo), ritual chants, Mandarin Chinese novels, dialectal operas, television dramas and curated spaces remember and represent She Xiang within their respective conventions. This paper examines two examples selected from the intermedial translations and concentrates on She Xiang’s most memorable achievements—that is, how she played an important role in the agricultural, military, and diplomatic exchanges between the Ming court and Nipu Yi tribe. Taiwanese historian Huang Zhangjian (1984) has identified a major discrepancy in the official records and has provided a cogent reasoning of what She Xiang, as a historical figure, might not have done. This project, however, argues that it is equally important to analyze the process of receiving She Xiang as a cross-cultural spokeswoman appealing to the interests and sentiments of various parties. No matter how miscellaneous details might change, ontological foundations (such as Confucian ideas of “loyalty” and “benevolence”) of each reenactment of the She Xiang stories remains stable and traceable to an earlier tradition. Competing interpretations of the fabricated conflict between She Xiang and Ma Ye (a Ming official contemporary to She Xiang) reflect ideologies in which archetypes and logics have a longer lifespan than their external manifestations. Through close reading and generic analyses of the primary materials, the project aims to elaborate on the mechanism of collective memory and its relationships with ethnic language, religious morality, folk customs and aesthetic conventions.

89. XU MA, University of California, Irvine

Boudoir and Temple: Re-Imagining Women’s Social Spaces in Late Imperial China

From the second half of the Ming dynasty to the Qing dynasty (roughly spanning the 16th to 19th centuries), lay Buddhism flourished across wide swaths of Chinese society, and especially among women; meanwhile, the Neo-Confucian doctrines ascended to the state orthodoxy and fueled a reinforcement of lineage ideal and family rituals.
Whereas the state and officials increasingly emphasized women’s relegation to the private sphere, it was not uncommon for women to frequent temples and devote themselves to spiritual activities. As Buddhism and Confucianism vied for women’s allegiance at the time, the temple came to represent both a problematic site of heresy and transgression, and an alternative space that accommodated women’s body and soul.

This project offers a new window into women’s spatial, social, and spiritual positioning in late imperial China by reconsidering women’s multifaceted interaction with temples/monastic spaces. It is intended to be both an addition to and deviation from the ongoing scholarly trend of uncovering and understanding women’s expanded social spaces in late imperial China. Rather than another effort to recuperate well-educated women’s agency and autonomy by re-reading their literary contributions, my project aims to nuances our understanding of monastic spaces through the lens of gender. Drawing on contemporary spatial theories, I write against the reductionist understanding of temples as passive receptacles or geographical nodes on maps; I consider them instead as amorphous, dynamic “thirdspaces” that compensate, disrupt, suspend, or transcend the Confucian nei-wai (inside-outside) divide.

90. ZHAOKUN XIN, Arizona State University

The Ritual of Rang (Averting) in Ming-Qing Chuanqi Drama

Rang (averting) stands out as one of the most frequently depicted rituals in Ming-Qing chuanqi drama, predominant literary genre of late imperial China. Averting, as represented in chuanqi plays, forms a major part in healing practice for the ill and mentally unstable, but in contrast with literati playwrights’ vigorous engagement with the ritual is the previous scholarship’s relative inattention. Often conflating it with other healing practice into the overstretched category of exorcistic rituals, the limited scholarship on the averting ritual more problematically focuses on the biji (miscellaneous notes) corpus exclusively and takes such writings for factual documents, whereas the boundary between fact and fiction in miscellaneous notes is blurry at best. Based on the corpus of chuanqi drama, this paper instead foregrounds and embraces the mediating role of literati imagination in representing the averting ritual, exploring how the playwrights avail themselves of chuanqi drama and its generic conventions to reimagine, rather than document, the averting ritual on page and stage. More specifically, through a comprehensive examination of chuanqi plays’ portrayal of averting’s participants, this paper firstly argues that certain plays have manifested a gendered association of the female characters with the role of averting’s initiator, while their male counterparts feature a proclivity for medical treatment as the preferred healing practice instead. A further conclusion reads that what hints at the ritual practitioner’s authority and his or her averting’s efficacy is the character’s role type rather than appellation in the plays. Lastly, some literati playwrights have delimited the ritual with distinctive musical notation from the remaining activities in a same scene, and the acoustic differentiation contributes to, in Catherine Bell the “ritualization” of averting.
A Shànxi Standard for Míng zájì Rhyming: Sàng Shàoliáng’s 桑紹良 (fl. 1543–1581) Rime Table and his ‘Dúlèyuán’ 獨樂園

This presentation examines the phonology of Sàng Shàoliáng’s 桑紹良 (fl. 1543–1581) Qìngjiāo zázhú 青郊揺筆 [Compilation from the Qingjiāo studio] and investigates how that phonology is reflected in the only play that he wrote, titled “Dúlèyuán” 獨樂園 [Solitary garden of happiness]. Sàng Shàoliáng compiled his book in an effort to provide a phonology that broadly reconciles northern and southern Mandarin pronunciations, primarily as a guide to versification. Because Sàng was from the area of Northern Hébèi 河北, his work is also often thought to represent a form of the Guānhuà koiné of the time (for example, see Lǐ Xīnkùí 李新魁 1983:284–286). However, such a characterization has been disputed, as Sàng’s phonology contains idiosyncratic elements and layers that could not have been widely used in the Míng Mandarin koiné (Gēng Zhènshēng 1991). Careful analysis of the phonology in Sàng’s book reveals that in fact it was directly based on a type of Shànxi dialect, a variety that is spoken in the region where Sàng spent a large portion of his professional and family life. We thus have a Míng play by an author who also provided a detailed guide for operatic enunciation. This presentation will outline Sàng’s Shànxi phonology and explore whether or not that phonology can be discerned in the rhyming used in the songs in his play.

References


E. Islamic Near East VI: Hadith. Rodrigo Adem, El Colegio de México, Chair (2:00 p.m.–4:00 p.m.) Chagall B

92. Garrett Davidson, The College of Charleston

Reassessing the Role of Medieval Women in Hadith Transmission

The medieval sources preserve a substantial body of evidence attesting to the active role Muslim women played in the transmission of hadith. Recent studies of women hadith transmitters have, however, misinterpreted much of this material, inferring that because women participated in the transmission of hadith they must have also participated in learning and scholarship. This paper reassesses the nature of women’s participation in medieval hadith transmission, demonstrating that contrary to claims made in previous studies, the evidence instead shows that the vast majority of women hadith transmitters, like many of their male counterparts, had no training in the texts they transmitted. While there were women who were both scholars and transmitters, such as the famous transmitter of the Sāḫīḥ, Karīma al-Marwaziyya, these women were the exception not the rule. Most of the women who engaged in transmission had little if any knowledge of the texts they transmitted. In fact, a significant body of evidence suggests that the majority of these women were likely illiterate. Many of these women, nonetheless, become prominent transmitters, not for any learning or
scholarly reputation, but for their longevity and the short chains of transmission they possessed as a result.

Indeed, it is shown that in almost all of the more than a thousand cases analyzed, these women audited hadith, or received ijtâzas, as young very children or even infants, then have no contact with the world of learning and scholarship until they had outlived most of their peers and are sought out by hadith collectors not for any knowledge of the texts they transmitted, but for the unusually elevated chain of transmission they now possessed.

93. MUHAMMED ENES TOPGUL, University of Illinois, Marmara University

Ahl al-Hadîth Circles of Basra in the First Half of the 2nd/8th Century

The ahl al-hadîth emerged as a loose-knit scholarly trend composed of multiple overlapping networks in the early 2nd/8th century and eventually reached peak influence in the second quarter of the 3rd/9th century as their identity as a group coalesced. Although they represented one of the most prominent religious trends in early Islamic history, a comprehensive history of the ahl al-hadîth has yet to be written. One challenge in such an undertaking is the fact that the ahl al-hadîth were not a static group across time and space. For example, the ahl al-hadîth of the mid-2nd/8th century were very different from the ahl al-hadîth of the mid-3rd/9th century. Similarly, the ahl al-hadîth of Madina and the ahl al-hadîth of Basra had different opinions on certain topics in the first half of the 2nd/8th century. In this paper I argue that we can isolate distinctive circles among the ahl al-hadîth of Basra in the first half of the 2nd/8th century and that these circles adopted different approaches to the narration of hadith. In the circles of al-Hasan al-Basrî (d. 110/728) and Muḥammad b. Sīrin (d. 110/728) in particular, it is evident that their students adopted markedly different approaches to questions such as writing down hadiths and narrating hadiths according to their meaning (al-riwâya bi-l-maʿnâ). A lack of attention to the nuanced differences among different groups of the early ahl al-hadîth has led to some overgeneralizations concerning the attitudes of the movement as a whole. Precisely on the points of writing hadiths and al-riwâya bi-l-maʿnâ, previous scholarship has treated the ahl al-hadîth of Basra as a single unit, when in fact a more nuanced approach is called for. I hope to demonstrate that more tightly focused studies can lead to a more comprehensive and accurate history of the ahl al-hadîth.

94. YOUSHAH PATEL, Lafayette College

‘Blessed are the Strangers’: Interpreting an Apocalyptic Hadith

According to a hadith transmitted by Muslim (d. 261/875) in his Ṣaḥīḥ, the Prophet told his companions, “Islam began strange, and will [one day] return to being strange—just as it began—so blessed are the strangers (ṭūbā ʿl-ghurarābū).” Other hadiths further define this idea of estrangement, strengthening the hadith’s apocalyptic tone. Today, many followers of extremist groups such as ISIS call themselves ghurarābū, or strangers, but how did pre-modern religious authorities understand this concept? In this paper, I trace the reception of the hadith of ṣal-ghurarābū during the Islamic Middle period (10th–14th centuries), documenting its interpretation in a
range of religious texts, including encyclopedic hadith commentaries, fatwa collections, and independent treatises such as *Kitâb al-ghurabâ* by Abû Bakr al-Ajurri (d. 360/971) and *Kashf al-kurba bi-wasf ḥâl ahl al-ghurba* by Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalî (d. 795/1393).

95. RAASHID S. GOYAL, Cornell University

The Critic, the Convert, and the Concealment of the Torah: A Compositional Analysis of the “Stoning of the Jews” Tradition

The present paper examines the “Stoning of the Jews” tradition (SOJ), one of several to treat the topic of illicit sexual intercourse and its appropriate legal penalty. Among such traditions, the SOJ appears to be exceptional in several regards. Its variants exceed 100 in number and are attributed to no less than seven Companions. The SOJ also exhibits extensive compositional development; its variants fluctuate, for instance, between open recognition of Biblical and rabbinitic authority and polemical critique of Judaic praxis and the moral character of Medinan Jews. This latter development is reflected in variants in which the Jewish convert to Islam, ‘Abd Allâh b. Šalâm, exposes the attempt of an unnamed râbi (ḥabr) to conceal “the stoning verse” of the Torah when called upon to recite the appropriate portion. Juynboll’s study of the tradition (2007), examining thirteen variants attributed to two Companions, remains focused upon such versions of the anecdote and fails to appropriately consider what may be an earlier and historically superior account of the incident. Applying a layered isnâd-cum-matn analysis in which I quantify and compare the distribution of textual features, I propose a reevaluation of the tradition’s compositional development. I will argue that SOJ variants that lack the “concealment” motif and attribute substantial authority to Šimišî, a râbi known equally for his knowledge of Torah and his open hostility for Islam, likely represent the earliest extant redaction of the anecdote. The Šimišî narrative was gradually modified and ultimately suppressed by traditionists who favored the counter-story featuring Ibn Šalâm, which alone achieved canonical status (ṣîḥâ). By way of this case study in early Judeo-Islamic interactions, I introduce refinements to methods current in hadîth studies and call attention to the expansive role of traditionists in shaping the compositional development of traditions.

96. ELON HARVEY, University of Chicago

Solomon and the Petrified Birds on the Dome of the Rock

In the southern exterior wall of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, on the right-hand side of the door, there is decoration enclosed by a dark frame. The decoration consists of two slabs of marble hewn from the same stone and placed in such a way so that their veins form a symmetrical pattern that somewhat resembles two birds staring at each other. This decoration, which has survived recent renovations, is associated with a legend which appears in a collection of oral traditions recorded by J. E. Hanauer (1904). According to this legend, the two birds were a male suitor and his female love interest who were transformed into stone by King Solomon as punishment for the male’s boastful claim that he could tear down his palace. H. Schwarzbaum and other scholars have noted that similar versions of this legend appear in the *al-Risâla fî ḥ-ṭasawuf* of al-Qushayrî (d. 465/1073) and in other traditional compilations. However, these versions do not appear to be connected to the Dome of the Rock, since they do not feature the birds’ punishment by petrification. Schwarzbaum con-
cluded that the tradition became associated with Jerusalem only at a later time. His conclusion is sound but vague and incomplete, since it is based on only a few of the sources and methods available to us today. By carefully examining many new sources, analyzing chains of transmission, and looking at the archaeological and art-historical data, I am able to attain a better understanding of the development of the tradition and its chronology. I conclude that the Solomonic legend could have already been connected with the marble decoration in the first half of the 4th/10th century. By this, I hope to contribute to our understanding of the Dome of the Rock and its association with Solomon.

F. Islamic Near East VII: Qurʾan. Sidney H. Griffith, Catholic University of America, Chair (4:15 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) Chagall B

97. Suleyman Dost, Brandeis University

Gods of the Qurʾan—Idols of Arabia

The Hijāz, the provenance of the Qurʾan according to traditional Muslim accounts, is deplorably lacking when it comes to documentary evidence concerning the rise of Islam and the emergence of the Qurʾan but the southern and the northern ends of the Arabian Peninsula have witnessed centuries, if not millennia, of well-documented epigraphic activity. Inscriptions written in Nabataean, Safaitic and Old South Arabian languages have long been a staple of pre-Islamic Arabian topography and they are invaluable resources to contextualize the religious, historical and linguistic setting out of which the Qurʾan emerged. It needs to be conceded that epigraphic data has certain limitations: inscriptions are often short, hard to decipher, stylistically confined and they rarely contain information that is directly pertinient to the questions that the historian of early Islam asks. Nevertheless, one area that inscriptions could be particularly useful, largely due to the nature of their content, is divine nomenclature, i.e. names, attributes and cultic persona of deities that are mentioned in them.

In this paper I argue that the Qurʾan shares its nomenclature of both approved and disapproved deities and divine attributes with demonstrably Arabian, or shall I say “peninsular”, pantheons attested in Nabataean, Safaitic and Old South Arabian inscriptions. I demonstrate through an evaluation of the available epigraphic evidence that outside of the Qurʾan, al-Lat, Manāt and al-ʿUzza had their followers in the north in Petra and Madāʾin ʿṢaliḥ and five “Noahic” deities of chapter 73 had their counterparts in the Old South Arabian inscriptions. Furthermore, ʿIh of Dadanitic inscriptions, al-ilāh of pre-Islamic Christian inscriptions and rḥmnn of monotheistic Yemen all found their way into the Qurʾan as the name of the single Qurʾanic God, to whom was ascribed many other attributes that are found ascribed to other deities in the area. The aim here is to show not only that the immediate context of the Qurʾan purveys a unique pantheon of gods that find their equivalents in the inscriptions from the Peninsula, but also that the names and attributes of the Qurʾanic God reflect the regional preferences for divine appellations, with the tension between Allāh and al-Raḥmān particularly residual in the Qurʾan. By doing a diachronic reading of dated inscriptions I also hope to trace the shift from polytheistic expressions of divine names and attributes to the triumph of monotheism particularly in the Old South Arabian inscriptions.
98. Raymond K. Farrin, American University of Kuwait

The Appearance of the Qur’ān (ca. 610–632): A Revised Periodization Based on the Medina Verse Counting System

In the 1860s Theodor Nöldeke worked out a chronology of the Qur’ān that enjoyed scholarly acceptance for generations. Based on stylistic factors such as verse length and on content, he divided the revelation into four periods: first Meccan, second Meccan, third Meccan, and Medinan. However, Nicolai Sinai has lately proposed a revision to this chronology from calculation of mean verse lengths of the text. In his *The Qur’ān: A Historical-Critical Introduction* (2017), he defines three periods: early Meccan, later Meccan, and Medinan. Sinai uses the Kufan verse counting system for his computations, which has been the universal standard since the publication of the Royal Cairo Qur’ān in 1924. A recent statistical and literary comparison by this author, though, has indicated that, among the seven canonical systems from the early Islamic era, the first Medinan counting system, not the Kufan (which seems to have been adopted for largely political reasons, Kufa being the first capital of the Abbasids, r. 750–1258), is most likely to have been an original one.

This paper presents fresh data on mean verse lengths using the Medina I system. Significantly, the data set allows us to demarcate more clearly the Qur’ān’s stages—especially between the early Meccan and later Meccan phases, where there occurs a noticeable jump in the MVL. This seems to occur when the surahs total fifty; thereafter, references to a *kitab* or Book increase noticeably. It appears that the Qur’ān was recognized as a Book when the surahs reached fifty. Moreover, the early Meccan Qur’ān is characterized by a consistent apocalyptic message (later Meccan revelations feature longer verses and, increasingly, stories of earlier prophets from whom Muhammad might derive encouragement, representing a new stage). In short, this paper supports Sinai’s revised chronology and sheds new light on the Qur’ān’s gradual evolution as a text.

99. Adam Flowers, University of Chicago

Narrative Templates for Prophetic Communication in the Qur’ān

The Qur’ān’s employment of various genres of discourse is one of its most distinctive literary features; the text contains apocalyptic, legal, creedal, narrative, and exhortatory material. Amidst this stylistic diversity, however, are common modes of expression, particularly witnessed between the narrative and exhortatory genres. In this paper, I will argue that the Qur’ān’s narrative depictions of communication between Biblical prophets and their communities serve as literary templates for the Prophet Muhammad’s own exhortatory communications with his community. This template is both thematic and syntactic: injunctions towards piety and belief as well as the employment of vocative addresses and imperative verbs link the distinct genres of narrative and exhortation.

A recognition of the commonalities between the narrative and exhortative genres of the Qur’ān benefit both the scholar of the earliest Muslim community and the scholar of the history of the Qur’ān text. The mirrored theme and syntax between the two genres serve to entrench the Prophet Muhammad in the Abrahamic prophetic lineage and bolster the legitimacy of his mission in the sight of “the People of the Book.” As a tool for the textual history of the Qur’ān, the genre conventions for
exhortative speech laid down in the Qur-ān’s narrative passages can be applied to its non-narrative exhortative sections in order to help further define how the Qur-ān was composed from the combination of small units of revelation into larger chapters, or sūrah.

G. South and Southeast Asia VII: Epigraphy and History. Toke Lindegaard Knudsen, University of Copenhagen, Chair (2:20 p.m.–4:00 p.m.) Van Gogh *

100. Adam Newman, University of Virginia

The Spatial Context of Genealogy: The Āṭapura Inscription and its Relationship to the 15th Century Ekaliṅgamāhāṭmya

This presentation examines connections between the 977 C.E. Āṭapura Inscription of Śaktikumāra, composed in the nascent kingdom of Mewar in Rajasthan, and the fifteenth-century Sanskrit Ekaliṅgamāhāṭmya, a local narrative also written in Mewar. The Āṭapura Inscription and the Ekaliṅgamāhāṭmya are concerned overall with two primary themes: an account of the royal genealogy of kings (rājavamsa), and a description of the sacred landscape of the kingdom, including local pilgrimage places and temples. The Āṭapura Inscription records, for the first time, the Guhila royal genealogy and describes the newly established royal capital at Āṭapura. This inscription marks an important moment in the formation of a new kingdom—the claim to a political capital at a specific location in the landscape. The Āṭapura Inscription is making a claim to place, here, as much as it is making a claim to a certain royal lineage. The establishment of a temple, recorded in the inscription, at the new capital is also a very strong claim not only to political space, but also to religious and sacred space. Scholars who have focused on this inscription in past studies have limited their discussions almost exclusively to the factual or fictive nature of the Guhila lineage presented therein. However, the importance of the inscription is not just limited to the light it may shed on the royal lineage of the early Guhilas. Rather, its importance for both historians and for those who lived contemporaneously with the inscription are the assertions it makes to both political and religious space in the service of a newly consolidated kingdom. What is being missed in past studies are the ways in which royal genealogies are embedded in spatial contexts that make strong ideological claims to geographical place, sacred space, and political authority—themes that are central to the later fifteenth-century Ekaliṅgamāhāṭmya.

101. Richard Salomon, University of Washington

King Aṣvaghōsa and the Forgers of Sārnāth

The name of an otherwise unknown King Aṣvaghōsa is known only from two short inscriptions at the Buddhist shrine of Sārnāth. One of them, dated in the year 40, presumably of the era of Kaniska corresponding to ca. 167/8 CE, is engraved on the pillar erected by Aśoka and bearing his famous edict condemning schism within the Buddhist order. Ironically, the inscription of Aṣvaghōsa’s time unintentionally bears testimony to exactly the sort of division of the saṅgha which Aśoka had tried, some four centuries earlier, to discourage. For the first and last words of the later inscription have been intentionally excised, and it can be shown by comparison with other inscriptions at Sārnāth that it had originally contained the name of the Sarvāstivādin school, but that
that name had been chiseled out by adherents of the rival Vātśīputrīya-Sāṃmitiya tradition. But at two other prominent shrines within the Sārnāth complex we find evidence that the Sarvāstivādins had taken their revenge by removing the names of the Vātśīputrīya-Sāṃmitiyas and substituting their own. Taken together, the evidence of the seven inscriptions concerned provides the outlines of a picture of an ongoing, tit-for-tat struggle between the two schools for control of the most important shrines within the Sārnāth complex.

102. MATTHEW MILLIGAN, Georgia College & State University

The Missing Buddhist Beggars of Sri Lanka: A Semantic Epigraphic History of the biku-saga from 200 BCE to 200 CE

It is not without controversy to suggest that during its earliest years in South Asia the social backbone of Buddhism was its saṅgha, the monastic fraternity of deliberately poor beggars who took great care in preserving the dharma of the Buddha. As such, it is completely unsurprising that our earliest Buddhist epigraphic records from India are replete with either references to these bhikkhu-s or are, in aggregate, rosters of bhikkhu-s and bhikkhuni-s. Nevertheless, despite the legendary antiquity of the Buddhist saṅgha in Sri Lanka and probable connection to Aśoka’s missionary work, the biku-saga (Skt. bhikkhu-saṅgha) on the Island is nearly completely missing except in name only through at least the first few centuries of its presumed existence. The earliest stratum of epigraphy on the island—cave inscriptions assumed to be evidence of a robust, renunciant saṅgha—does not once mention any single individual bhikkhu. Instead, from the 2nd c. BCE onwards, all references to individual Buddhists whom we might deem monks (or nuns) possess other epithets. All usages of the term bhikkhu are compounded with saṅgha as biku-saga and are undoubtedly institutional references qualifying an institutional level message transmitted by the inscriptions themselves. This paper seeks to understand the semantic history of these institutional messages and hypothesize why such a distinction has been made in the first place. The answer may rest in the increasingly complex relationship between the biku-saga and, unsurprisingly, elite—sometimes royal—benefactors. Preliminary research suggests it was advantageous for social elites to associate with a class of legendary renunciants who may have existed only in an extremely limited capacity. As such, I will correlate the usage of the term biku-saga with other epigraphic technical economic terminologies such as laba (= “benefits”), pati (= “revenue”), and bali (“taxes”) to expose the layers of the fractal epigraphic “monastic self” existing from these literary works etched into stone. Such a new rendering of the monastic order in ancient Sri Lanka reorients our understanding of the nature of Buddhism’s institutional development outside the Buddha’s heartland to broader, theoretical considerations.

103. RAJENDU SULOCHANA, University of Texas at Austin

Cāḷūr Copperplates, A Vattelutu Script Deed from Kerala

Cāḷūr (Latitude 10° 31 ´ N, Longitude 76° 4 ´ E), is a village located in Triśūr district of Kērala state, India. It is one of the seats of the Royal Family of Cochin known as Cāḷūr Kōvilakam (Perumpāṭṭapu Grandhavāri). K. P. Padmanābha Menōn’s History of Cochin (Malayālam - 1914), C. Achuta Menōn’s Cochin State Manual (1911) are some other sources in the history of this kovilakam.
In 2014, a set of copperplates, known as Cālūr Ceppēṭu were handed over to the Museum of the State Department of Archaeology, Trippuṇittu. These plates were brought to public notice by Professor K. P. Nārāyaṇa Pishāroṭī during 1950s, but their ownership and present location were unknown to most of the researchers and students.

Cālūr copperplates:
Date: M.E. 960 (A.D. 1785)
Language: Malayālam
Script: Kōḷēluttu
Content: Partition deed of Cālūr Kōvilakam

**English Transliteration:**
Plate – 1 Side – 1
1. kollam 960 āmata māṇa viyāḷam makara ṅāyarṟil cāḷiyūra koyilakam

Cālūr plates is a 17th century Kōḷēluttu deed which contains an inventory of the entire land asset of Cālūr village divided ‘equally’ to both branches ‘Tekkēppāṭṭu’ and ‘Vāṭakkēppāṭṭu’. The present writer’s decipherment of the text proves conclusively that the copperplates were not issued in M.E. 260 (A.D. 1085) but in M.E. 960 (A.D. 1785) and that it does not represent the early form of Malayālam language as envisaged by Professor K. P. Nārāyaṇa Pishāroṭī but illustrates the Kōḷēluttu script and language of the late 18th century, reflecting the modern form of Malayālam language.

The study of Cālūr Copperplate is very important due to various reasons, not only by the text and script used in it but its significance in the evolution of Malayālam language.

104. Finnian M. M. Gerety, Brown University

Inscribing the Sacred Syllable: Towards a History of OM as a Written Sign and Icon

For the better part of three millennia, the Sanskrit mantra OM has been the “sacred syllable” of South Asian religions, central to chanting, ritual, meditation, and yoga. While OM is regarded as primarily a phenomenon of sound and recitation, the syllable has also had a rich career as a written sign and icon. Taking many different forms across the centuries, OM has been inscribed in a wide array of media, from stone to metal, paper to plaster, skin to the subtle body. Notwithstanding OM’s ubiquity in South Asian visual culture, scholarship has seldom addressed the epigraphic and iconographic history of the sacred syllable. What is the oldest inscribed OM? How
has the written sign for OM developed across different scripts, regions, periods, and traditions? How have visual representations of OM shaped (and been shaped by) religious doctrines and practices?

This paper offers some preliminary answers to these questions by mounting a broad survey of the relevant evidence in material culture; by suggesting a possible trajectory for the emergence of inscribed forms of OM in early medieval South Asia; and by attempting to account for the continued development of OM as a written sign and icon up through the early modern period. I draw a distinction between OM’s orthography—which I argue is governed by the standard conventions of representing Sanskrit sounds in early Indic scripts—and the syllable’s iconography, which I suggest is a somewhat later and derivative development. Moreover, I make the case that Buddhists and Jains made substantial contributions to the emergence of what is often viewed as a quintessentially Hindu symbol.

H. South and Southeast Asia VII: Yoga and Tantra. Signe Cohen, University of Missouri (4:10 p.m.–5:45 p.m.) Van Gogh *(4:10-5:45 PM)

105. Samuel Grimes, University of Virginia

Latent hathayoga Techniques in late Vajrayāna Texts

Recent research into source materials for hathayoga (Birch, Mallinson, Szántó) has revealed that the physical techniques and esoteric anatomy traditionally associated with Śaiva practitioners likely found genesis within Vajrayāna Buddhist communities. The physiology and practices for longevity described in the 11th or 12th century Amṛtasiddhi are easily traced in the development of subsequent physical yoga, but prior to the discovery of the text’s Buddhist origin, analogs to a hathayoga esoteric anatomy found in Vajrayāna sources have been regarded as coincidental. The anatomical model of wind flowing through three parallel channels within the yogin (a supposed hallmark of hathayoga) is found in the 13th century Vajrayāna Sāmvarodayatantra, as are techniques for manipulation of these subtle energies. The central prerogative of the Amṛtasiddhi is the prevention of life-extending bindu (semen) from dripping in the manner of an hourglass into the digestive fires and consumed over a lifetime. The model of a store of amṛta (semen) in the cranial vault located just above the ghantikārāndhra (uvula) is found both in the Sāmvarodayatantra and Candamahāroṣaṇatantra. The sole, 13th century commentary of the latter tantra details the life-extending properties of amṛta if it finds its way back into the cranial vault, and offers a peculiar way for getting it there involving a bamboo straw in the yogin’s nose. The existence of physiological models in these late Vajrayāna texts containing three subtle channels through which winds circulate and the concept of a store of immortality-siddhi-granting semen in the cranial vault, compounded with the fact that both winds and semen may be manipulated through physical means, is evidence of a continuation of practices within tantric Buddhism analogous to hathayoga and stemming from the same source material.
More Meanings of *hat.ha*

In JAOS 2011, my colleague Jason Birch analysed the meaning of the term *hat.ha* in Sanskrit texts on *hat.hayoga*. He identified seven Vajrayāna Buddhist texts as containing the compound’s earliest occurrences but hypothesised that it may have originated in a lost Śaiva source. My recent work on this subject, drawing on new scholarship on unpublished Vajrayāna texts, has identified a total of 20 Vajrayāna works which mention *hat.hayoga* (and an occurrence in the c. 400 CE Buddhist *Yogācārabhūmi*), but no mention of it in pre-15th-century Śaiva texts. Furthermore, some early Śaiva texts refer to what is later understood as *hat.hayoga* by the name *kaṭṭa.yoga*. This points to a Buddhist origin for the name *hat.hayoga*. In Vajrayāna works which mention *hat.hayoga*, it is a method of forcefully (*hat.hena*) preventing ejaculation during sexual ritual which is either a practice of last resort or is dismissed altogether.

The earliest text to teach the practices of what came to be formalised as *hat.hayoga* (but which does not use that name) is the c. 11th-century *Amṛtasiddhi*, which I have recently finished editing with Péter-Dániel Szántó and which we have shown to have been produced in a Vajrayāna milieu. The first text to teach a *hat.hayoga* named as such is the c. 12th-century Śaiva *Amaravaghaprabodha*, which places *hat.hayoga* alternately third and second in a hierarchy of four yogas. In this paper I shall argue that this work, which draws heavily on the Vajrayāna *Amṛtasiddhi* when teaching *hat.hayoga*’s practices, also draws on the Vajrayāna notion of *hat.hayoga* as a secondary practice when using it as a name for a secondary method of yoga, and show that the name’s pejorative connotations caused problems for later authors who sought to prioritise physical yoga methods, leading them to try to explain away the name *hat.hayoga* or ignore it altogether.

Skull Songs for Sophisticates: Knowledge Production in and around the Seuṇa Yādava Court in the Time before Hemādri

Compiled during the reigns of kings Kṛṣṇa and Mahādeva of the Seuṇa Yādava dynasty, the composition and rapid dissemination of the *Caturvargacintāmani* of Hemādrisuri permanently altered the content and character of the religious, intellectual, and institutional landscape of the Deccan, propounding for perhaps the first time a key formative antecedent to our familiar Hinduism. By attending to the nature of textual production in both Sanskrit and Marāṭhī in and around the Seuṇa court in the generations immediately prior to this sea change in values—a subject scarcely explored in our discipline—this presentation will bring into sharp relief the jarring nature of the discursive transformation engendered by Hemādri.

Succinctly, between 1056 and 1240, the majority of textual production within the region we now call Maharashtra took two discrete forms. On the one hand, often with some degree of royal patronage, we see extensive production in the fields of astrology, theoretical and applied mathematics, formal logic, practical Āyurveda, and alchemy. What unites this otherwise disparate array of sober works is their delimited intellectual ambition and pragmatic, utilitarian, largely non-sectarian character. In contradistinction, the Seuṇa court itself seems to have been animated by a worldview perhaps best characterized as an unapologetic embrace of Śaṅkta suffused cosmopolitanism. Within
the very court where Hemâdri would soon hold sway, to pass in high society in the 
early thirteenth century required the cultivation at once of a refined sensibility and 
certain degree of wit as well as the mastery of an aesthetic canon inherited from 
the Kâpalikas. While drawing upon a range of sources, special attention will be paid 
to evidence from the writings of the aesthetician and Seuña Yâdava court intellectual 
Śârîgadeva, Hemâdri’s immediate predecessor in the office of Śrîkaraṇâdhipati, whose 
world view the Caturvargacintâmanî will play an instrumental role in annihilating.

108. RADHIKA KOUL, Stanford University

Ābhâsavāda and Imagination in the Pratyabhijñā School

The apogee of Kashmir’s achievement in the field of letters has long been associ-
ated with the polymath philosopher Abhinavagupta—in his works from around a 
amillion years ago, we find a humane sensitivity to the world that parallels many of the 
golden moments of human flourishing. I study in particular the monistic, idealistic 
philosophical school of “Pratyabhijñā,” or Recognition, put forward by Utpaladeva 
and further developed by Abhinavagupta, c. 900–1000 a.d. One of the distinctive fea-
tures of this school is its sustained attention to the details of the functioning of 
the human consciousness. Though the nature of imagination in this philosophical school 
has been studied in the recent past (see, for example, Râtié 2010), I wanted to put 
particular pressure on ābhâsavāda, the theory of limited manifestations, put forward 
in the kriyādhikāra of the Iśvarapratyabhijñā treatise and its relation to imagination, 
broadly understood. Both K. C. Pandey and Navjivan Rastogi have noted the la-
tent weight of aesthetic thought in the philosophical formulations of ābhâsavāda. In 
this paper, I attempt to unpack the tight relationship between the aesthetic and the 
metaphysical in the particular domain of imagination. Such a study, undertaken in a 
manner open to comparison, helps us better evaluate the stakes of aesthetics in the 
ontological and epistemological framework of the Pratyabhijñā system vis-à-vis that 
of other thought systems in India and abroad.

109. HILLARY LANGBERG, University of Texas at Austin

Early Tantric Buddhism and Bodhisattva-Goddess Ontology: Târâ in the 
Maṇjuśriyamūlakalpa

In their groundbreaking work on the Maṇjuśriyamūlakalpa, Jean Przyluski (1923), 
Ariane MacDonald (1962), and David Snellgrove (1987) have overarchingly empha-
sized the text’s “assimilation” of Hindu or Brahmanical deities through a ritual system 
of mantra kulas (i.e., families). Their emphasis on outside appropriation, while cer-
tainly of interest, has nonetheless obscured important evidence of the rise of female 
deities in Mahâyâna Indian Buddhism, as both Bodhisattva savior figures and em-
boyed mantras. In order to shed light on the figure of the “Bodhisattva-goddess” in 
Mahâyâna and early tantric ritual contexts, this paper will closely examine a series 
of verses on the ontology of Târâ from Maṇjuśriyamūlakalpa chapter fifty. This pas-
sage, likely one of the earliest to discuss Târâ, describes her as a goddess (devî) and 
Bodhisattva who innovatively takes both mantric and female forms in order to aid 
beings.
As will become evident in my talk, a second major reason that these verses may have remained long buried is the text’s author(s) routine disregard of grammatical conventions. A self-described Mahāyāna vaipulya sūtra, the earliest chapters of this morphologically challenging Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit text likely date to the sixth or seventh centuries CE based on its nascent mantra-based ritual practices and a comparison with material evidence. In assessing the latter, we may note a marked disconnect between the role of the Bodhisattva-goddess in the text and scholarly discussions of the roughly-contemporary relief sculptures of Tārā in situ at the rock-cut Deccan cave site of Kānherī (present-day Mumbai). Rather than describing the female figures here as Bodhisattvas, scholars have typically identified them as “consorts” or “śaktis” of the great male Bodhisattvas. Therefore, to excavate the fullest possible ontological framework, I will also briefly assess sculptural evidence of mantra-kula praxis and early Bodhisattva-goddess reverence.

A. Ancient Near East VIII: Empire and Periphery. Grant Frame, University of Pennsylvania, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:00 p.m.) Picasso Ballroom *

110. ANDRES NÖMMIK, University of Helsinki

Military Capabilities of the Amarna City-States

The 14th century Amarna correspondence illustrates several aspects of the Egyptian vassal-states in Levant. The letters indicate that despite the Egyptian hegemony, city-states had considerable military capabilities.

Numerous city-states are mentioned in different military-related contexts in the Amarna letters. Although some military-related descriptions are brief and there is an aspect of self-justification in these letters, they enable us to say a lot about the relationship between the city-states and the empire and which military tactics could have been used. Additional contemporary sources and archaeological information can put these descriptions into perspective. My paper will focus on these military aspects of the Amarna city-states in the Levant and helps to better illuminate the military context of otherwise previously well-researched politics of the Amarna city-states.

The analysis of the letters enables to draw several conclusion: The Canaanite wars seem to have been relatively long-lasting, probably involved a limited number of soldiers but several strategies from destruction of grain to diplomatic pressure and mostly took place outside settlements. Political maneuvering seems to have been preferred to direct assaults on the enemy centres. The wars took place all over Egyptian dominated Levant. The common notion of Egypt not wanting to get militarily involved does hold true. Reasons for that can only be speculated on. They may reflect Egyptian policy of keeping Canaanite cities from uniting or even fears of Egyptian involvement leading to serious damage to Egyptian army and reputation, when getting actively involved in the conflicts of more powerful vassal-states, especially those in the north.
111. Federico Zangani, Brown University
Imperial Peripheries in the Levant and the Foreign Policy of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty

This paper sets out to reconsider a few overlooked aspects of Egyptian imperialism by analyzing how the Levantine periphery and semi-periphery influenced 18th-Dynasty policies of territorial expansion, economic coercion, and diplomacy, in an attempt to go beyond the Egyptocentric point of view of traditional scholarship. Systematic, military imperialism in the Levant originated as a form of pre-emptive warfare with the end of the Hyksos domination in Lower Egypt, with a view to eliminating any potential threat from Egypt’s northeastern frontier. Following the apex of territorial expansion under the Tuthmosids, military campaigns were no longer sufficient to control and coerce the complex and diverse world of Syria-Palestine and the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. This very complexity and diversity had a profound impact upon the Egyptian foreign policy, which was not devised unilaterally by the pharaonic monarchy at the center of the world-system, but was influenced to a great extent by the geopolitical and economic dynamics of the Late Bronze Age periphery and semi-periphery. As a result, this interplay between foreign imperial interests and indigenous, local dynamics explains the change from a phase of territorial expansion of the Egyptian state to the development of the diplomatic system of the Amarna letters. This study, therefore, unravels this process through a close investigation of both the Egyptian record and cuneiform texts from Amarna (Egypt), Kāmid el-Lōz (Lebanon), and Qatna (Syria), with the aim of redressing the balance in our understanding of 18th-Dynasty imperialism and at the local level in Syria-Palestine.

112. Andrew Knapp, Eerdmans
Ousting Assyria: Hazael’s Victory over Shalmaneser III

One hundred years ago, scholars wrote of a late-ninth-century BCE Aramean empire led by Hazael that stretched across much of the Levant, from the Euphrates to the territory attributed to Judah and Samaria in the Hebrew Bible. More recent generations of scholars have rejected this notion, however, contending that Assyrian dominion over Syria-Palestine was more or less complete once Shalmaneser III turned his armies in that direction in the 850s. Hazael’s Aram is now typically viewed as just another of the minor Syrian entities subjugated by Shalmaneser, at best a primus inter pares among the polities that jockeyed for power when Assyria was absent. In this paper I argue that the new majority view is an overcorrection: Aram was not defeated by Assyria in any sense; rather, Hazael ably defended against Assyrian aggression and ousted the invaders from the region.

I bring three pieces of evidence to bear at this conclusion. First, I compare the description of Aram to the description of other Syrian states in the Assyrian annals. Despite the propagandistic veneer of Shalmaneser’s inscriptions, he never claims to have conquered Aram, whose response to Assyrian ingress is related much differently than its neighbors’. Second, I compare the position of Damascus to that of Til-Barsip on the Euphrates: I argue that Shalmaneser targeted both as major goals in his overall project of westward expansion but could not adequately subdue Damascus. Finally, I point to the aftermath of the conflict, in which Assyria retreated from the area for several decades while Hazael immediately went on the offensive, invading nearby polities.
113. Seth Richardson, University of Chicago

From Ur to Eternity: Ideological Constructs of “Forever” and Imperial Disposition

Conversations about what constituted an “empire” in the ancient Near East seem ever less-productive, mired in debates about what the salient definitional criteria should be. This paper hopes to offer a new path forward with attention to an important benchmark that has been thus-far neglected: (how) can we tell if an ancient state “meant to become (something like) an empire? This paper traces an answer by taking into consideration the character and distribution of statements in royal literature about “forever.” What aspects of the state were imagined, ideally, to last “for eternity”? What was the relationship between those aspects and those that were recalled in later times? What do “eternal” objects tell us about historical states and how they operated?

114. Jay Crisostomo, University of Michigan & Hervé Reculeau, University of Chicago

Assyrian Sources and the Assumed Climatic Crisis of the End of the Late Bronze Age (12th–10th c. BCE)

Over the past decades, a growing body of literature—both academic and aimed at a general audience—has put forward the crucial role of climate change in the demise of Late Bronze Age societies in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Levant and Hittite Anatolia. According to this narrative, an abrupt episode of aridification starting around 1180 BCE was a key factor—if not the key factor—in the urban devolution and social changes that affected this part of the Near East between the 12th and 10th centuries BCE. The same arid event is usually connected with periods of trouble and ‘dark ages’ for the polities that did survive throughout the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age (most notably Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia).

The Assyrian case is of crucial importance to test the validity of these claims. At its apex in the late 13th c. BCE, the Middle Assyrian kingdom covered an area that encompasses both the zone of traditional dry-farming in the piedmonts of the Taurus and Zagros mountains and the arid steppes of the Jezirah, where irrigation progressively becomes crucial for agriculture. Its marginal location makes it all the more sensitive to an arid episode such as the one posited for end of the Late Bronze Age. Moreover, the hypothesis of a climate-induced ‘dark age’ of Assyria has a long standing in Assyriology, going back to a seminal article by J. Neumann and S. Parpola in the 1980’s. It has remained virtually unchallenged in the recent years, in spite of a surge in the publication of new cuneiform tablets and studies.

The present paper offers an overview of the cuneiform evidence and paths of inquiry that can be explored to evaluate whether and in what proportion Assyria experienced a climate-induced crisis towards the end of the Middle Assyrian period, and more generally how text-based studies can help put theses stemming out of archaeological studies driven by paleo-climatic and other natural sciences.
115. ADRIANNE SPUANAUGLE, University of Michigan

The Development of Deportation: Roots of an Imperial Scheme and the Subaltern Experience

Mesopotamian deportation systems are frequently asserted in scholarship, but the last major work to examine this imperial practice remains that of Oded 1979, which focused solely on the Neo-Assyrian period. Since this publication, postcolonial and subaltern studies have advanced to make possible new analyses of the data. Expanding the focus to include the Middle Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods illustrates the development of deportation from the remedy to socio-economic needs to the preferred method of producing imperial wealth. Using post-Marxist, feminist readings we are able to identify not only the socio-economic need underlying the imperial agenda, but also to access the experiences of subaltern communities in historical texts of the elite. The rationale behind deportation affected the experience of deported communities—which altered as the practice moved further from its original purpose. Drawn from close readings of the pertinent royal inscriptions, I present a summary of deportation practices from the Middle Assyrian period through the Neo-Babylonian period from both the imperial and subaltern perspectives.

116. DAVID DANZIG, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University

Ethnicity in a Small Corpus of Texts from Bannēšāyu, a Mid-First Millennium BCE Satellite of Nippur

In this paper, I examine a group of cuneiform texts related to a town near Nippur called Bannēšāyu, named after a term for Carians, who were also known as Karsaya. This falls under the umbrella of my dissertation project on ethnic dynamics of migrant communities in the mid-1st millennium BCE in central Babylonia, or the Nippur area. The Carians, who originated from southwestern Anatolia, spoke a language related to Luwian and are mentioned in numerous Greek texts, including the *Iliad*. They are known from ancient sources to have acted as mercenaries in the ancient Near East and, especially, in ancient Egypt. The latter may have been the source of their entry into Babylonia, either as prisoners of war from battles lost to the Babylonian or Persian armies or as hired soldiers. Previous studies have focused on texts from Borsippa (Waerzeggers 2006), in relation to other Anatolians, Greeks, and Egyptians (Zadok 2005), and in the continuation of the appearance of Carians in Greco-Roman literature (Potts 2018). For this study, in which I focus mainly on the group of at least 8 texts from Nippur, I have three goals. First, I collect and organize the economic and social knowledge gained from this group of texts, especially as regards the persons with non-Babylonian names in them. Second, I frame this knowledge in the contexts of the potential role of the town of the Carians in connection with Nippur and of the social roles of the Carians in Babylonia as known from texts outside of central Babylonia. Third, I discuss potential connections with the imperial structure.
117. KIMBERLY HARUI, Calvin College

Dreams and Anxieties: Manifestations of Subjecthood in Jōjin’s Travel Diary

Jōjin (1011–1081), an esteemed monk of Heian Japan’s Tendai sect, made a pilgrimage to Northern Song China in the year 1072 to pay homage to the sacred sites of the Tiantai and Wutai Mountains. Styled after the formal government diaries of Tang China that had previously informed male Japanese diary writing in Heian Japan, Jōjin recorded his travels in China from 1072–1073 in A Record of a Pilgrimage to Tiantai and Wutai Mountains (San Tendai Godaisan ki). His prosaic diary serves as a material artifact of place-making as he recounts his engagement with space and place in medieval China in formulaic daily logs. These entries include a detailed compendium of anecdotes on material culture, flora and fauna, water travel, and bureaucratic procedures during the Northern Song. However, in addition to transcribing official documents, inscriptions, Chinese texts, and lists of personal purchases and official procurements, Jōjin’s diary further reveals glimpses of his own introspection and sense of self within the palimpsest of landscapes that he travels across. An examination of his dreams and asides throughout the text points to the presence of Jōjin’s subjecthood within the travel diary that rises to the surface at important junctures, such as his audience with the Northern Song emperor and his attendance to sacred Tendai sites. Previous scholarship has primarily focused on treating subjecthood in the Japanese diary based on its presence in poetic and literary diaries written in vernacular kana, but Jōjin’s formal travel diary written in literary kanbun presents a case in which the notion of personal identity can be further fleshed out as a convention of the diary writing genre that extends beyond the poetic works classified as diary literature (nikki bungaku).

118. LIDAN LIU, Arizona State University

Hidden Waves under the Placid Water of Ming-Chosŏn Cultural Communication—On Prefaces of Two Chosŏn Poetry Collections

In 1592 the Imjin War broke out. Upon Japan’s fierce attack, Chosŏn, which had stayed in peace for two hundred years, sent out requests for help to its suzerain, the Ming China. From 1592 to 1599, the Ming army stayed in Chosŏn on and off for almost seven years. During this time, several books of Chosŏn literature were compiled by Ming literati who went to Chosŏn with the army. Among these unexpected fine by-products of the devastating and miserable war are two poetry collections: Selection of Korean Poems compiled by a Ming literatus Wu Mingji, and Complete Selection of Korean Poems by a military officer Lan Fangwei.

These two collections, which were compiled around the same time, with almost identical titles and similar selected poems, were for a time even mistaken as one work. But their prefaces show quite different attitudes towards Chosŏn people and culture. With a close reading of these two collections’ prefaces, this paper tries to raise and give tentative answers to the following questions: How did these Ming literati look at Chosŏn literature and culture? What were their purposes of compiling Chosŏn poetry collections? Was there anything else besides the harmonious sounds in the Ming-Chosŏn cultural communication? With some supplementary materials found in
Chosŏn literati’s diaries and records seen in the Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty, this paper tries to show the hidden tension under the surface of the seemingly harmonious Ming-Chosŏn cultural communication caused by the unsynchronized perception of “Chinese” and “barbarian” from the two parties, and the inequality of political powers between Ming and Chosŏn, which may provide some hints to help us understand the questions and phenomena reflected in the prefaces of these two collections.

E. East Asia VIII: Míng and Qìng History and Thought. KIMBERLY HARUI, Calvin College. Chair (10:15 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) Monet *

119. YIZHUO LI, University of Hong Kong

Banished Immortals: Women’s Self-Portraits in Seventeenth Century China

It is widely assumed that the images of banished immortals, like Ye Xiaoluan in Wù mèng táng ji, were imposed and incarnated to women by men literati in seventeenth century China. However, judging by the inscribed poems some women of that time wrote in their paintings of the immortals, they concealed themselves in those paintings which were supposed to be regarded as self-portraits, such as Xue Susu, Qu Bingyun and Cao Zhenxiu. My research intends to study the banished immortals as women’s own expression rather than men’s subjective creation, investigate their motivation and trace them back to the tradition that started as early as Tang dynasty (618–907) when women depicted themselves as banished immortals in their own anthologies.

120. HUIQIAO YAO, University of Arizona

Discourse on wén and wú: Redefining the Confucian Sage in Wang Yangming’s Biography in the Ming History

Wang Yangming (1472–1529) is an important late-Ming Neo-Confucian philosopher who influenced the intellectual history of late imperial China. As an unorthodox Confucian elite, his works on “the School of Mind” was widely distributed and his figure was adored by people from different backgrounds. However, Wang’s role as a military commander is not always stressed in the previous studies despite the fact that Wang was mainly portrayed as a loyal commander-in-chief who suppressed several rebellions in the Ming History. This paper tries to trace the discourse of the “civil” (wén) and the “military” (wú) in Wang’s biographies written by different biographers, and argue that Wang’s biographies play a pivotal role in the shaping of an ideal Confucian figure who can master both wén and wú in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties. The paper will begin by investigating several biographies written by Wang’s disciples in the late Ming and evaluate their motivation of portraying Wang as a master of wén; then it will read Wang’s biography in the Ming History, and discuss how Wang’s wú aspect comes into play in this text and its intertextual relationships with earlier recordings of Wang; finally, this paper will focus on several literary works related to orthodox Confucian figure in the mid-Qing, such as The Humble Words of an Old Rustic, and examine how the writers referred to Wang’s biographies that helped redefine a perfect Confucian sage in the Qing dynasty.
121. Wei Liu, Ohio State University

Writing Authority and Writing Justification: Prefaces of Genealogies in Wentang Village, Huizhou Culture

Deeply immersed in Neo-Confucian teachings, residents in the Huizhou cultural area of Anhui province, China, have long honored the tradition of compiling and preserving genealogies. These written texts serve to respect ancestors, revere the lineage tradition and organize human relationships. In the past three years, I visited a local community (the Chen clan in Wentang Village) in the Huizhou area, reading local genealogies, observing relevant cultural activities, and interviewing locals about their traditions. Genealogies are the center of communal life. Historically, each time the locals compiled genealogies, they added a preface as a mark of authority and as justification for the “honorable cause” of compiling the texts. In the terminology of Gerard Genette, the prefaces can be categorized as “original assumptive authorial preface[s]” whose “chief function is to ensure that the text is read properly.” While most studies of prefaces have stressed the geopolitical links and social networks inherent in genealogies, using them as supporting evidence in studies of history, sociology, anthropology and other fields, this paper focuses on the Huizhou prefaces as a genre on its own terms. The paper tentatively explores the generic features of six prefaces to genealogies of the Chen clan written from the Tang Dynasty (618–907) to the present. Specifically, the paper examines the claims of authority and justification within in the dynamics of continuity and rupture of historical transmission. Findings reveal that authority and justification come from the mythification and rectification of origin narratives, the establishment of exemplary model ancestors, and the discursive balancing of traditionalization and modernization.

122. Ziyao Ma, Princeton University

Teaching Like a State: Boundaries of Conveying Ideology in Eighteenth-Century China

This study discusses the eighteenth-century Qing state’s capacity to influence the intellectual world. Specifically, it examines the role played by the Education Commissioners (Xuezhen) in the Qianlong era (1735–1796) in disseminating intellectual thought from the center to learned subjects. Over the past decades, researchers have actively inquired the state’s relationship with the classically educated elites in this period. Most of the existing literature focuses on the state’s inquisition and censorship of literature, the knowledge production of the learned community, and the collaboration between the two. This study, unlike the earlier approaches, highlights the state infrastructure that enabled the monarch to disseminate and communicate ideas. Drawing extensively from the imperial archives, this study takes an institutional perspective to understand: 1) How the Qianlong emperor projected and regulated thought in his officialdom 2) The emperor’s incentives and objectives regarding his ideological practices 3) And the reason why such practices occurred during the eighteenth century, particularly during the Qianlong reign. I conclude that the Qianlong emperor developed various venues for ideological control and incorporated such venues into the daily life of his empire. The picture of Qing ideological control differs from the modern one. Nevertheless, the use of institutions like the Education Commissioners as tools of
ideological control had become an organic part of imperial rule in eighteenth-century China. This development, despite being contingent on the emperorship, contributes to our understanding of the Qing as an early-modern empire.

**F. Islamic Near East VIII: Law. Ahmed El Shamsy, University of Chicago, Chair (9:00 a.m.–11:00 a.m.) Chagall B**

123. Kamaluddin Ahmed, University of Oxford

Jurisdiction Discretion and Competing Authority in the Early Ḥanafi madhhab

Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150/767)’s immediate students frequently disagreed with his legal reasoning and opinions. In the first legal compendium, or Mukhtasar, in the Ḥanafi madhhab, Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭahāwī (d. 321/933) often prefers the opinions of Abū Yusuf (d. 182/798), Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805), and Zufar b. Hudhayl (d. 158/775). I demonstrate, in correction of an earlier work by Nurit Tsafrir, that in cases of disagreement between the founding Ḥanafī authorities, al-Ṭahāwī prefers the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfah only 25% of the time. This represents a marked contrast from his contemporaries and successors in Iraq, Khurasan, and Transoxania.

I examine the cases in the Mukhtasar where al-Ṭahāwī selects the solitary opinions of Zufar and al-Shaybānī, both of whom are later considered to be junior in authority to Abū Yusuf and Abū Ḥanīfah. By using al-Ṭahāwī’s choices to reconstruct his legal thought, I argue that al-Ṭahāwī was a product of the Egyptian milieu of his time, wherein second-generation Mālikī and Shāfi’ī jurists were navigating the juristic disagreements of first-generation scholars of their schools. Al-Ṭahāwī was aware of and influenced by similar disagreements of al-Muzanī (d. 264/877) and al-Buwaytī (d. 231/846) with the eponymous founder of their legal school, al-Shāfī’ī (d. 150/767), as evidenced by both in their own legal compendiums which are cited by al-Ṭahāwī in his works. I suggest that al-Ṭahāwī based his jurisprudence on a synthesis between the textual considerations of the Shāfī’īs and the rational evaluations of the Ḥanafīs rather than on concerns with the rank of early authorities.

Finally, I examine the strategies employed by Abū Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ al-Rāzī (d. 370/981) in his commentary on Taḥāwī’s Mukhtasar to dismiss Taḥāwī’s preferences in order to align the school more closely with its putative founder. Al-Jaṣṣāṣ’s emphasis on authority anticipates and lays the groundwork for later Ḥanafī scholars to establish strict methodological principles (ʿuṣūl) of rule-determinacy (tarjih) outlining a hierarchy of authority in the madhhab that would require a Ḥanafī jurist (faqīh), let alone a judge (qādis) or jurisconsult (muftī), to conform to the legal opinion of Abū Ḥanīfah or the agreed upon opinion of his two companions (ṣāhibayn), Abū Yusuf and al-Shaybānī and to dismiss the solitary opinions of other school authorities.

124. Lyall Armstrong, American University of Beirut

The Right of Return: An Examination of Taḥlil marriage in Islamic Legal and Commentary Traditions

Sūrat al-Baqara (2):229–230 legislates that after a husband has divorced his wife for the third time he is not permitted to remarry her until she marries another man; this is a process called Taḥlil in that the woman becomes permissible to her former husband. This piece of Qur’ānic legislation, according to many fiqh and tafsīr sources
and echoed in modern scholarly evaluations of the ruling, was originally intended
to place restrictions on marriage, granting greater protections to women, in spite of
the alleged historical context in which the litigant is actually the wife seeking to
annul her second marriage because of the sexual incapacities of her new husband.
With the passage of time, the criteria laid out in the passage led to the formation
of new legal categories, like the mahallil, which, according to some Muslim scholars,
not only subverted the original intention of the passage but unequivocally offended
basic principles of honesty and transparency incumbent on all believers seeking to
follow the guidelines of the Qurʾan. This paper will explore how early ʿulamāʾ and
fuqahāʾ addressed the emergence of these new legal categories. Furthermore, it will
demonstrate that the ruling reveals no association with marriage and divorce laws
in Zoroastrianism, Judaism and Christianity. In this case, as al-Tabarî noted, the
law emerged in order to limit the large number of divorces to one woman customary
among Arab tribes, suggesting that this ruling was autochthonous to Arab practice.
This study will also show how the alleged historical context of the Qurʾānic passage
exerted no discernible influence on the application of the law and will examine how
this legislation impacted the debate between Sunni and Shiʿa legal scholars on the
requirements for marriage, often in light of discussions about the legitimacy of mutʿa
(temporary) marriage.

125. RANA MIKATI, College of Charleston

Notes on Women’s Contribution to Jihad in the Islamic Legal Tradition

This paper provides the first treatment of the formative and classical Muslim legal
discourse on women’s participation in war. It focuses on how Muslim legal scholars
formulated the parameters of the religious duty of jihad vis-à-vis women by examining
two interrelated issues: the permissibility of their participation and their remunera-
tion. The permissibility of their participation and the definition of its nature concen-
trated on the harmonization and explanation of female companions’ presence on the
battlefield during the maghāzi with hadiths such as the “women’s jihad is pilgrimage”
tradition and its variants. In some cases, such as al-Shāfiʿī’s discussion of the issue,
the exegesis of Q2:216, Q8:65, and Q9:122 is also brought to bear. This analysis re-
veals a general consistency in these scholars’ attitude: overall like slaves and youths,
women could serve on jihad’s margins but could not be full-fledged jihad performers.
Whether women fought or served the army as nurses, their contribution could only
fall under the rubric of ghazw and not jihad. Later jurists articulated an exception
to this exclusion in the cases when jihad moves from being a communal (fard kifāya)
to an individual obligation (fard ʿayn) during times of general mobilization (al-nafr
al-ʿamm). Finally, the question whether women’s participation was to be remunerated
largely centered on whether they received a share (sahm) in the booty. With a few
exceptions, the consensus was that a woman received a gift (radkh) even if she were
to fight largely due to their aforementioned inability to be jihad performers.
The Role of Custom in Ta'zīr Punishments? A Case Study of Imprisonment in Mamluk Egypt

In the past two decades, Western scholarship on custom (urf) in pre-modern Islamic law has largely been studied in terms of its place in legal theory and in legal maxims. One area in particular that is ripe to be studied in terms of the ways in which custom played an important role in legal rulings is ta'zīr (discretionary punishments by a judge or ruler). Because ta'zīr was at the discretion of the judge, the customary practices of a place at a particular time influenced the type of punishment given. However, because ta'zīr is the least developed field of Islamic criminal law in books of fiqh, scarce scholarship has been produced on the subject. During the Mamluk period (1250–1517) in Egypt, while public shaming, flogging, and other forms of corporal punishment were frequent forms of ta'zīr, imprisonment in the designated space of the prison (sijn) as a punishment for crime proliferated and was discussed at length in other forms of legal literature besides fiqh. In a legal tradition that generally eschewed imprisonment, how did imprisonment become one of the dominant forms of punishment? In this paper, I argue that imprisonment as a punishment for crime during the Mamluk period was influenced by the practices and customs of the Mamluk military authorities. A question that will be explored in this paper is to what extent did Muslim jurists incorporate custom as a legal reason for their rulings on imprisonment? Secondly, I argue that Islamic law in practice and the role of custom in particular must be studied in conjunction with contemporaneous non-fiqh sources such as chronicles, treatises, and adab al-qādī literature as this enables a thicker understanding of the social and intellectual milieu of the Islamic legal rulings.

Influence, Borrowing, or Plagiarism? The Development of Legal Canons and Distinctions in Mamluk-era Islamic Law

This paper analyzes two early compilations of legal canons and distinctions by Mamluk-era jurists: the Qawā'id by the Shāfi‘i jurist Izz al-Dīn b. ’Abd al-Salām (d. 660/1262) and the Furūq by his student, the Mālikī jurist Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (d. 684/1285). A close comparison of these unexamined collections demonstrates that al-Qarāfī based his collection in large part on his teacher’s Qawā'id and incorporated most of its material into his Furūq. To date, this intellectual debt has remained undetected because al-Qarāfī never directly acknowledged his borrowings, and instead skillfully reordered, adapted, and supplemented his teacher’s canons. Furthermore, he relied on Mālikī doctrines and authorities to substantiate his canons. This ‘Malikization’ effectively obfuscated al-Qarāfī’s debt to Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, while successfully indigenizing in the Mālikī school a discursive analysis of the law in the language of canons. This ‘anxiety of influence’ displayed by al-Qarāfī offers a unique window into the tensions surrounding cross-madhhab education and influence in Mamluk Cairo, particularly among Mālikī jurists vis-à-vis their more dominant Shāfi‘i contemporaries. It also sheds light on the uses of the emerging genre of legal canons, its interrelations with legal distinctions and purposes (maqāṣid) literatures, and broader practices of borrowing, transmission, and authorship in Mamluk literature.
128. RACHA EL OMARI, University of California, Santa Barbara

A Textual History of *Kitāb al-Hayda*

*Kitāb al-Hayda* (The book on evasion) represents a fluid textual tradition that is well known and published in neo-traditionalist circles (Mecca: al-Matba‘a al-Amiriyah, 1920–21; al-Faqihī [ed.], Medina, 1992). At the center of this text, for which we have several widely varying recensions, is an account of a debate held at the court of the caliph al-Ma‘mūn (r. 198–218/813–83) between ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Kinānī (d. 217/836), a minor student of al-Shāfī‘ī (d. 204/820), and the Murji‘ī theologian Bishr al-Marisī (d. 218 or 19/833 or 34). One of the major features of this debate, as it appears in *Kitāb al-Hayda*, is that it relates a counterfactual outcome: al-Kinānī successfully persuades al-Ma‘mūn that the Qurān is God’s uncreated speech, in spite of al-Ma‘mūn’s well-known view in favor of the createdness of the Qurān and his enforcement of this view on traditionalist legal scholars during the infamous miḥna (218–34/833–48 or 49). Notwithstanding the spurious nature of *Kitāb al-Hayda* (Josef van Ess, 1993), its value as a document for the study of disputation methods used in *ilm al-kalām* (speculative theology) (van Ess, 1976) and for the history of public debate in Islam has been noted by various scholars (‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, 1954; Jamīl Sulībī, 1964). Moreover, *Kitāb al-Hayda* has been studied as a document reflecting the impact of the miḥna on Sunnī traditionalism (George Maqdisi, 1962; van Ess, 1993). This paper adds to previous scholarship by arguing that a textual history of *Kitāb al-Hayda* is necessary to provide a new perspective on the depth and scope of this impact. The paper focuses on *Kitāb al-Hayda*’s second recension, compares it to the first recension, and highlights its textual characteristics and subtexts.

129. AIYUB PALMER, University of Kentucky

The Use of Hikma as a Cognitive Frame in Early Transoxanian Hanafite and Proto-Sufi Discourses

This paper will address the effect of Islamic mystical doctrines on the development of Maturidite theology, particularly the concept of hikma (wisdom) as it is found in the work of Abu Mansur al-Maturidi’s (d. 333/944) *Kitab al-Tawhid*, and as it connects structurally to the use of hikma in al-Hakim al-Tirmidhi’s (d. ca. 295–300/907/912) *Kitab al-Hikma*. Tirmidhi’s *Kitab al-Hikma* sheds important light on what has hitherto been understood as a rather amorphous and vague concept related tangentially to Hellenistic notions of wisdom while also imbued with Quranic and Biblical formulations. The fact that Bernd Radtke did not study Tirmidhi’s *Kitab al-Hikma* provides further importance to this contribution. In *Kitab al-Hikma*, Tirmidhi is explicit about his definition of hikma and its function within his larger gnoseology. Ulrich Rudolph’s work on Maturidi’s theology, *Al-Maturidi und die sunnitische Theologie in Samarkand*, focuses primarily on the relationship of Maturidi’s work to previous Hanafite creedal texts. For this reason, current scholarly treatment of the concept of hikma in *Kitab al-Tawhid* is sparse and inconclusive. Nevertheless, the concept of hikma and its function as a cognitive frame for understanding tawheed is ubiquitous throughout *Kitab al-Tawhid*. Maturidi’s presentation of hikma accords closely with the definition provided by Tirmidhi in *Kitab al-Hikma*. While Tirmidhi construes hikma to play a
mediating role between the textual knowledge of the ulama and the inspired knowledge of the awliya, Maturidi uses hikma differently as a cognitive frame to rationalize the way in which God’s oneness derives logically from the inherent order observed in the natural world.

H. South and Southeast Asia VIII: Technical Arts and Sciences in South Asia. Mark McClish, Northwestern University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:20 a.m.)

Van Gogh

130. Signe Cohen, University of Missouri

Jewels, Metals, and Dangerous Androids in the Lokapāññati

This paper examines an intriguing narrative from the 11th century Pāli text Lokapāññati (folios 158–177) that recounts the legend of king Asoka, the relics of the Buddha, and the mechanical men (yanta) created to guard the relics. My analysis focuses on the many different jewels and metals mentioned in the text, associated both with the boxes and shrines that house the relics of the Buddha, and with the casket that hides a deadly android. I argue that an understanding of the traditional symbolism surrounding each type of jewel and metal mentioned in the narrative will serve to illuminate the story’s overall meaning.

131. Andrea Gutiérrez, University of Texas at Austin

Sam. bharapadārthe: Sambhar’s Early Days

Countless technical terms appear in texts on pākaśāstra (culinary science) to describe techniques such as fermenting (āmli bhū, etc.), making pickles (śalātu, etc.), and marinating (vi + √pac). Among this lexicon, the notion of sambhāra appears significant for Indian cuisine as well as for ethnic and regional identity. With the intention of revising the modern attribution of sambhar as a late dish of Maratha invention, I trace food references involving the term sambhāra from its earliest usages in the Arthaśāstra and the Pāli Jātakas up to the modern era. Early occurrences are consistent with the scope of the term as used in medieval literary and pākaśāstra texts, including the Pākadarpana and the Mānasollāsa. After reviewing past scholarly interpretations of this term, I enhance our understanding by proposing a basic semantic range for sambhāra as the requisite spice mixture, often prepared ahead of time, somewhat like mise en place. I suggest that this term might at times approach our modern-day understanding and usage of “masala” or even “curry powder.” With this in-depth lexical examination, I shed light on one facet of the technical knowledge contained in the cooking śāstra and establish consistencies between this genre and other Sanskrit literature. Overall, the study continues to advance our understanding of this long overlooked pāka corpus.
132. Michael Brattus Jones, University of Texas at Austin

The Development of the Krśi Sūkta and Its Parallels

The Krśi Sūkta (AVŚ 3.17), to be recited as plowing commences, has a close parallel in the Paippalāda recension, AVP 2.22. According to the methodology developed in Insler 1988, a hymn ancestral to this pair likely was not included in an Ur-Atharvaveda. This can be ascertained because their eventual inclusion into the two recensions placed them into books organized by hymns of different verse lengths, although both hymns as received have subsequently incorporated other verses.

Both hymns contain verses that are shared more widely across the Vedic corpus as well. There are two primary categories of these instances of sharing, verses borrowed from the sole agricultural hymn in the Rgveda, RV 4.57, and verses in the Yajurvedic samhitās utilized for the ritual plowing of the ground in the agnicayana. Tracing out these instances of sharing in detail reveals the particular importance of this material in the Maitrāyani Samhitā. More specifically, the plowing series in MS 2.17.12 appears to be a super-compendium of plowing verses, with the caveat that it intentionally avoids borrowing verses from RV 4.57 (excepting one half-verse). It shares more with each of the parallel Atharvavedic hymns than they share with each other. Intriguingly, the core of the plowing series in MS 2.17.12 seems to reveal a moment when AVP 2.22 had its original five verses and AVŚ 3.17 only had five of its six expected verses, perhaps revealing a moment between the Paippalāda and Śaunaka recensions.

133. Shubham Arora, University of British Columbia

In Conversation with Padmaśrī’s Nāgarasarvasvam: An Account of Intertextuality

While closing the text, Padmaśrī acknowledges prior kāmasāstric and tantric works—the Siddhākavīra[mahātantra], the Ratirahasya, and Śaṅkara’s Kāmatantra—upon which he modelled his Nāgarasarvasvam (c. mid-tenth to late-eleventh century a.d.), a Sanskrit sex-manual that stands out third in the literary legacy of kāmasāstra. However, the seventeenth-century Sanskrit commentary on the text by Maharaja Jagjyotirmalla of Nepal does not recognise this intertextuality. It passes over in the silence a critical import of the Nāgarasarvasvam. Hence, the essay aims at fulfilling this gap and makes an inquiry into its origin and intertextuality by bringing out instances of textual exchange between the Nāgarasarvasvam and above-mentioned texts. I argue that the Nāgarasarvasvam is an eclectic text that has acquired its style and content from other textual sources of the prevailing traditions mainly the Ratirahasya, Siddhākavīra[mahātantra], and Śaṅkara’s Kāmatantra. The fact is, Jagjyotirmalla over-analyses these terms, and instead of considering these words as free-standing texts, he interprets them as compounds, which makes the commentarial explanations of the verses dubious and, therefore, challenges its credibility. And due to this veiled intertextuality in the commentarial gap, none of the extant printed editions based on this commentary ever tried to look beyond.

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I. South and Southeast Asia IX: Real and Imagined Landscape in Religious History. Jonathan Edelmann, University of Florida, Chair (10:30 a.m.–11:50 a.m.) Van Gogh *

134. ELIZABETH A. CECIL, Florida State University

Roosters and Dogs in the Aśrama: Gentrifying the Śaiva Landscape at Vat Phou (c. 7th century CE)

In early Southeast Asia, mountains, forests, and rivers revered as the abode of tutelary deities, destinations for pilgrimage, and the heart of subsistence economies, were systematically redesigned as royal temple sites dedicated to Hindu deities beginning in the late 5th century CE. One of the most striking examples of this process is preserved in the monumental Śaiva temple complex of Vat Phou in Southwest Laos. To show how the local landscape was transformed into a Śaiva space, I contextualize and analyze the 7th century Sanskrit inscription issued by the ruler Jayavarman (K367). This record contains a series of interdictions aimed at circumscribing residential, agrarian, and recreational activities on Śrī Liṅgaparvata, the Śaiva aśrama at Vat Phou. The provisions were aimed at creating a space of non-violence, contemplation, and ritual purity according to a set of Brahmanical norms. The articulation of these rules in the highly aestheticized language of Sanskrit, in metrical verses, and in stone, indicates their perceived necessity and gravity for the people involved. I interpret this inscription as evidence of a pre-modern process of gentrification that displaced undesirable people and practices to make way for a new, upwardly mobile and pious elite.

The adoption of Sanskrit cultural forms—from art and architecture to belles-lettres and ritual—across South and Southeast Asia engendered what Sheldon Pollock has termed the ‘Sanskrit Cosmopolis.’ While attuned to the imbrication of aesthetics and politics, this rarified world of Sanskrit discourse remains untethered from physical geography and alienated from the very people, places, and polities that it purportedly linked. Also overlooked are the infrastructures of social and economic oppression that supported the implementation of elite ambitions ‘on the ground’. This paper reverses the traditional scholarly angle by examining the use of Sanskrit aesthetics in the spatial and material contexts in which political actors deployed them.

135. JOSEPH LAROSE, Rangjung Yeshe Institute

Here and There: Overlapping Realms in the Koṭiśākaṇḍavādāna

The Koṭiśākaṇḍavādāna—the story of Śrōṇa Koṭiśākaṇḍa and his twelve years of wandering, is the opening avadāna of the Divyāvadāna. I focus on this avadāna in order to explore these questions: Where do the Buddhist authors of this text imagine that Śrōṇa Koṭiśākaṇḍa is after he becomes separated from his caravan? Why is the term pitrāloka, “realm of the fathers” used to refer to the preta-inhabited cities Śrōṇa visits? Simply put, how is it that our protagonist can be lost on Jambudvīpa, then find himself among throngs of pretas who announce their location as the “realm of the fathers”?

Prior scholarship has either glossed over these questions, or provided only the thinnest of explanations. Joel Tatelman, for example, simply states that Śrōṇa Koṭiśākaṇḍa “encounters those from his own city, now reborn as hungry ghosts” (Tatel-
man 2005, 21). Andy Rotman notes the discrepancy in both his translation (Rotman 2008, 395 n. 117) and study of the Koṭikarṇāvadāna (Rotman 2009, 214 ns. 10–11), but goes no further.

Drawing on the Abhidharmakośa and the work of Stephen Teiser’s Reinventing the Wheel, I will argue that this discrepancy in the text is not a mistake to be overlooked or silently corrected. Instead, the language of the Koṭikarṇāvadāna is illustrative of the doctrinal positions of the Buddhist authors and represents a polemic against Brahmanic traditions. That is, the Buddhist authors are intentionally conflating the Brahmanic afterworld with the realm of the hungry ghosts to show the ineffectiveness of the larger tradition’s practices.

Works Cited

136. AARON SHERRADEN, University of Texas at Austin
Transposing the Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa onto the Sindūra-Giri

Before devotees see Rāma and Sītā in their temple situated on the hilltop overlooking the town of Ramtek near Nagpur, they are encouraged to first visit Dhumreśvara, otherwise known as Śambūka, lest their darśana with Rāma bear no fruit. This practice, often adhered to today, is mentioned in an 18th-century Sanskrit text, the Sindūragimīrahātmya, which details the sacrality of Ramtek Hill. The text understands Śambūka’s deadly interaction with Rāma as a moment of mutual respect between the two figures, departing considerably from the episode’s first iteration in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa. Instead of simply killing Śambūka, Rāma here gives Śambūka three boons: he immortalizes Śambūka as Dhumreśvara, a śiva-liṅga; promises to dwell on the hilltop with Sītā and Lakṣmana; and proclaims that attaining the full benefits of his darśana comes only by first paying respects to Dhumreśvara. In detailing these boons, the Sindūragimīrahātmya seems to be drawing on the Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, composed a few centuries earlier. This text also outlines a number of boons given to Śambūka, including Rāma’s permanent residence nearby with his wife and brother and the necessity of priming Rāma’s darśana by first visiting the newly divinized Śūdra. As a text of a more pan-Indic appeal, the Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa’s Śambūka story details Rāma’s role in providing a generalized path of liberation for Śūdras at the onset of the Kali Yuga. The Sindūragimīrahātmya’s concerns are more localized, hoping to define Śambūka’s purpose on this particular hill, marked as the site of the Śūdra’s death through a 12th-century inscription describing Śambūka as being famous on the hill by the name Dhumrākṣa.

It should be noted here that, in addition to glossing over the question of where these events occur, Tatelman silently emends the text to read pretalokam.
This paper attempts to place the *Sindāragirināhātmya* as a text that receives a number of narratives addressing the Sambūka story, puts them in consonance, and refracts them into a worship practice that continues today.

137. JASON NEE LIS, Wilfrid Laurier University,

Upper Indus Inscriptions and Petroglyphs in Northern Pakistan: New Methods and Tools for Understanding Epigraphical Landscapes

Tens of thousands of petroglyphs (rock drawings) and approximately 5000 inscriptions in Indian (majority are written in Brāhmī, but earlier layers in Kharoṣṭhī and later examples in Proto-Śāradā), Middle Iranian (Sogdian and Bactrian), Tibetan, Chinese, and other scripts and languages have been discovered and documented along the Upper Indus River and its tributary valleys since the Karakorum Highway was constructed in Pakistan in the mid-1980s. A partnership development project for Upper Indus Petroglyphs and Inscriptions in Northern Pakistan is intended to build upon landmark publications in the series for Antiquities of Northern Pakistan (ANP) and Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans (MANP) by using advances in digital imaging technologies, including photogrammetry software, Lidar 3D scanning, and georeferenced aerial data. Processed results of field research at the site of Shatial Bridge in April 2018 will be presented in order to demonstrate how new methods and tools can be applied to enhance the understanding of contexts for rock inscriptions and drawings in unique and spectacular epigraphical landscapes.

A. Ancient Near East X: Transmitting Knowledge. JOHN STEELE, Brown University, Chair (1:00 p.m.–2:15 p.m.) Picasso Ballroom

138. EDU ARDO A. ESCOBAR, Institute on the Formation of Knowledge, The University of Chicago

How to Lead a Horse to Water in Middle Assyrian Scholarship

This talk examines the scholarly and cultural context of Assyrian procedures for training horses from Middle Assyrian Assur, focusing on one of the exceptional texts from the corpus: VAT 9426. VAT 9426 provides a list of terms and phrases useful for training horses, or rather, for writing a horse training procedure in Middle Assyrian Assur. Despite the fact that the tablet has been known for over half a century, there is no consensus as to whether the text should be classified as a commentary or a lexical list. Indeed, the format of the entries in VAT 9426 is unusual in that it resembles a commentary, lexical list, or even a technical procedure. Parts of the text may be read as complete procedures (ungrammatical however, as nouns are written in the nominative case rather than accusative). In other instances, the text reads like a commentary, where well known signs are given explanatory readings. Here KASKAL “road” (typically Akkadian *harrānu*) is equated not with a single lexeme, but with the phrase *ina ḫūlī* “onto the track”; LUH “to wash,” meanwhile, is equated to *simkātu*, a noun exclusive to this corpus of texts (presumably related to washing a horse). Other sections of VAT 9426 read like a typical lexical list, wherein Akkadian nouns are juxtaposed with their logographic reading “fire” is *IZI = ʾisāṭu*, “river” is *ĪD = nāru*. In addition to examining the philological and scholarly aspects of this particular tablet, the talk discusses the relationship of the entries found on VAT 9426 to the
broader corpus of Middle Assyrian horse training texts. Ultimately, this talk seeks to employ VAT 9426 as a starting point for situating the Middle Assyrian horse training corpus within the broader intellectual history of Akkadian procedural knowledge.

139. **MARGARET GEOGA**, Brown University

**Transmission and Reception of “The Teaching of Amenemhat” in Eighteenth-Dynasty Thebes**

This paper examines the transmission and reception of the literary text “The Teaching of Amenemhat” in the Eighteenth Dynasty, specifically in Thebes, using a combination of reception theory, textual criticism, and material philology. The first section focuses on the transmission of this text, with an examination of the context and contents of each of the six Theban ostraca. Although the approximately 250 extant copies of “The Teaching of Amenemhat” do not generally show significant variation, a closer look at the Theban ostraca reveals varying excerpting practices and small variants and errors that are suggestive of different copying methods. An analysis of these features sheds light on how “The Teaching of Amenemhat” was being copied: in what contexts, with what other texts, and by what methods. The second section of the paper focuses on what these ostraca suggest about the scribes who copied them and how they interacted with the text as active participants in the reception process. Drawing on the work of literary theorist Hans Robert Jauss, this section examines the scribes’ literary-historical surroundings, including other literary texts being copied at the same sites and the status of Amenemhat I as a historical figure, in order to begin to reconstruct their horizon of expectations and how it informed specific interpretations of the text.

140. **ALEXANDER NAGEL**, State University of New York, Fashion Institute of Technology


Scientifically documented excavations in the cemeteries and on the sites of Susa and Persepolis in Iran revealed vast assemblages of ceramic materials and stone monuments originally covered with paint and surface décor as well as organic specimens. Many of these collections are now housed in U.S. museums. Following an initial survey of the materials, faculty and students at the Fashion Institute of Technology at the State University of New York began to study and re-examine selected collections in the framework of a new initiative to allow space for innovative approaches in educating on ancient materials from Iran into the 21st century classroom. This presentation will introduce the background, goals and methodology, as well as the first results from ongoing student’s projects on materials such as architectural sculpture, glazed bricks, ceramic assemblages and natural specimen from Iran from the 4th to the 1st millennium BCE, initiated in 2018. Archaeometric analysis of the surface of architectural sculpture fragments, technical analysis of selected glazes and paint, and innovative digital technology applications allowed the students to engage first hand with the materials and meeting researchers while learning about the importance and value of a multi-disciplinary approach. Late in 2018, students learned how to prepare a public display of their work introducing the results of their research to a wider audience and to think critically about the role of aesthetics and the environment of the world...
of Elam and Achaemenid Persia. Taken together, this paper presents outcomes and outreach as a combined strategic tool in U.S. higher education on the past cultures of Iran.

B. East Asia IX: Modern Sinological Perspectives. HUIQIAO YAO, University of Arizona, Chair (1:00 p.m.–2:15 p.m.) Monet

141. LIN-CHIN TSAI, University of California Los Angeles

Rewriting the Founding Legend: Examining the Images of Koxinga in Taiwan Literature through the Lens of Settler Colonial Criticism

Taiwan, a small island located on the western edge of the Pacific Ocean, has a complicated history of successive, multiple colonialisms since the invasion of the Dutch colonizers in 1624. Since Koxinga (also known as Zheng Chenggong, a Ming loyalist who expelled the Dutch colonizers in 1662) established the first Han regime in Taiwan and caused a large-scale Han migration from China to this island, Taiwan, a land whose indigenous inhabitants are members of the Austronesian language group, has been a de facto settler colony.

Conventionally, Koxinga has usually been regarded as the founding figure for Han settlement in most Han-oriented historiography—he was the one who brought Chinese civilization to this island and built up Chinese-style administrative and governmental systems in Taiwan during the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, from the perspective of settler colonial criticism, he was the one who invaded the indigenous territory, or more precisely, the one who made Taiwan a settler colony. Accordingly, to deconstruct the founding myth of Koxinga is an imperative step for indigenous decolonization.

Thus, this paper employs the analytical framework of settler colonialism—a specific colonial formation whereby settlers (superordinate migrants) displace the indigenous residents and take over the land—to see how Koxinga was represented in Taiwanese novels and examine the Han settler colonial consciousness embedded in these texts. By specifically looking at two novels—Keh-Ming Lin’s Formosa to Zeelandia: Memoir of a Dutch Formosan (2016) and Yao-chang Chen’s A Tale of Three Tribes in Dutch Formosa (2012)—this paper not only tries to challenge the conventional historical and literary interpretation of Koxinga but also aims at critically reflecting on Han settler colonial structure of contemporary Taiwan.

142. CUI ZHOU, University of California, Los Angeles

The Haunted 1980s: Time-Space Construction and Dialogue with Lu Xun in Death Visits the Living

As Chinese economic reform continued through the 1980s, the horror film industry flourished. Films composed of ghosts and corpses hit Chinese film screens throughout the decade. The horror film has been pushed out of the sight of scholars due to what critics called a “lack of artistic value” compared to its peers. However, the popularity of horror films raises many crucial questions. Why were people obsessed with horror films during the first decade after the post-Cultural Revolution? What is the cultural implication of the horror genre?

In this article, I will use the horror film Death Visits the Living as an example to argue that the horror genre presents an allegory for the horror of the Chinese
Cultural Revolution. Meanwhile, this genre offers a platform to reexamine Lu Xun’s “introspective criticism,” which consistently influences modern Chinese culture. In this film, the horror story of slaughter involving on-lookers, a victim, and his ghost work as a late twentieth-century version of Lu Xun’s primal scene—the original impulse of his introspective criticism. Then, this film reexamines the built-in self-other structure of introspective criticism and expresses that people fall into a dilemma of identity when Lu Xun’s alien Other is replaced by an insider in the contemporary context. Because of its lack of focus on the victim and the real perpetrators, filmmakers put the introspective criticism into question and find its subtle connection with the circularity of horror. Therefore, the popularity of horror in 1980s China symbolizes the cry of historical victims, reflects the identity crisis of ordinary people, and visually records the unsettled anxiety that resulted from fleeing the perpetrator—the patriarchal authority in post-socialist China.

Tingting Zhou, Nanjing University
Liang Shuming’s View of Cultural Patterns

In the book The Oriental and Western Cultures and Their Philosophy, Liang Shuming made comparisons between the western, Chinese and Indian cultures and offered his prediction of the world’s future culture. The present paper argues that in making those comparisons and prediction Liang has expounded his unique view of world’s cultural pattern based on a psychological intention analysis: the western culture centers on the intention of pushing-forward, which makes it a cultural pattern that has been driven into an impasse; Chinese culture centers on the intention of negotiating according to golden mean, which makes it a cultural pattern that is ideal for the world in the near future; Indian culture centers on the intention of reflecting and drawing-back, which makes it a culture pattern that will be suitable for the world in the far future.

When Professor Guy Salvatore Alitto from the Department of History at the University of Chicago was interviewed in 2015, he said that the meeting he had with Liang Shuming in 1980 in Beijing was up to then the most inspiring moment of his whole life and he believed that Liang’s thoughts will continue to play a significant role in the following one hundred years. Since 1921 when this book of Liang was published, there has been almost one hundred years. The present paper demonstrates how some points in Liang’s book are just like what Professor Alitto has put it, far from fading away. Meanwhile, by delving into how Liang’s view of world’s cultural pattern is different from those of both Spengler and Tang Yongtong, the present paper also demonstrates how some other points made by Liang Shuming are less insightful than those of Spengler and Tang Yongtong.

C. Islamic Near East X: Psalms and Sufis. Everett Rowson, New York University, Chair (1:00 p.m.–2:30 p.m.) Van Gogh *

David R. Vishanoff, University of Oklahoma
The Ascetic Piety of the Prophet David in Muslim Rewritings of the Psalms

Numerous Arabic manuscripts of “the Psalms of David” contain not translations of the Biblical Psalms but original Islamic compositions in which God exhorts David
to repent of his sin and pursue a life of otherworldly devotional piety. When several of these manuscripts were studied piecemeal in the early twentieth century they appeared to be unrelated, and were dismissed as so many forgeries. A comparative study of a dozen manuscripts shows that they are all revisions and expansions of a lost source text consisting of one hundred psalms, which newly discovered evidence (described by Ursula Bsees in a separate paper submission) allows us to date to the late eighth or early ninth century. This confirms that the source text was an early literary expression of an ascetical renunciant piety (described by Christopher Melchert and others) that flourished in the seventh, eighth, and early ninth centuries, when similar forms of Christian monastic piety were still regarded positively by some Muslims, and before Islamic asceticism lost ground to more inward and mystical forms of piety. The original text reflected what Nimrod Hurvitz calls mild asceticism, urging disdain for this world and total dependence on God without entirely rejecting private property or marriage. Later recensions of the text, however, softened and modified its ascetical tone in various ways. The recensions which I have dubbed Koranic and Orthodox mitigated some of its more rigorous demands, bringing David’s repentant piety into line with more realistic later norms, while the Pious recension emphasized adherence to the letter of the law, and the Sufi recension transformed David’s piety from tearful fear of hell into loving devotion. These recensions reflect divergent strands in the development of Islamic piety, while testifying to David’s continuing appeal as an exemplar of repentance and otherworldliness.

145. Ursula Bsees, University of Cambridge

An Early Pietistic Text Collection: Islamic Psalms and Hadith on a 3rd/9th-Century Papyrus Manuscript

Arabic papyrus texts, among the earliest written witnesses of Islamic history, do not only show us how governance and administration worked during the first Islamic centuries, but they also mirror the intellectual landscape of their time. Literary texts, a heavily understudied field of Arabic papyrology, can teach us which ideas and concepts prevailed among scholars in early Islamic Egypt. Two papyri from the Austrian National Library papyrus collection (P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1854) show a scholar’s collection of thematically linked texts. A prominent element of this florilegium is a passage from the Kitab al-Zabur, the Islamic psalms of Prophet David revealed to him according to the Koran. They exist in variant forms in later manuscripts, P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1854 is the earliest attestation of the text known so far. Apart from the Zabûr text, the papyrus bears accounts of Prophet Muhammad’s last hours and the death of Fâtima. What all these texts have in common is their pietistic tone that stands in the tradition of the early Islamic renunciation movements as described by Melchert. This paper will show how the text fits into the overall field of Arabic literary papyri and into Early Islamic scholarship. It will also ask questions about the origins of the Islamic psalms and their early versions in general, as well as embed P.Vind.inv. A.P. 1854 into the intellectual framework of its time.
146. ANTONIO MUSTO, New York University

Those Who Wear Wool: A Look at al-ṣūfiyya and al-mutaṣawwifa before the Emergence of Sufism

While significant work has been carried out on the emergence of Sufism around the turn of the 4th/10th century, the nature of earlier groups bearing the names al-ṣūfiyya and al-mutaṣawwifa and their relationship to the later mystical tradition known by the same terms has garnered significantly less attention. In light of this, the following paper examines the appearances of these terms in Arabic texts written prior to the mid-4th/10th century with three goals in mind. First, we will determine whether the fairly widespread use of these terms indicates the existence of a distinct group with commonly shared beliefs and practices who function as the precursors to mystical Sufism as some scholars suggest. Second, due to the significant scholarly disagreement about the point in which these terms begin to refer to the mystical movement we now call Sufism, this paper will provide a textual basis for the argument that it was not until the first third of the 4th/10th century that al-ṣūfiyya and al-mutaṣawwifa come to denote Sufism qua mysticism. Third, we will briefly examine the nearly nineteen individuals with the appellation “al-ṣūfī” who appear in texts written prior to the mid-4th/10th century in order to determine their relationship, if any, to either the early groups identified as al-ṣūfiyya and al-mutaṣawwifa or the later mystical tradition of Sufism. In dealing with these issues, we will directly engage with the scholarship of Louis Massignon, Alexander Knysh, Sara Sviri, Christopher Melchert, and others who have worked on the emergence of Sufism in order to better flesh out the pietistic milieu of the first three centuries of Islam.

D. South and Southeast Asia X: Histories from Early India’s Narrative Traditions GARY TUBB, University of Chicago (1:30 p.m.–2:30 p.m.) Van Gogh

147. TOKE LINDEGAARD KNUDSEN, University of Copenhagen

The Metaphor of the Mirror in Indian Cosmological Traditions

This paper will look at different shapes of the earth cited and critiqued by the Indian astronomers, in particular focusing on the shape described using the metaphor of a mirror, and discuss the interpretation of the astronomical tradition’s use of the comparisons.

The astronomers of ancient and medieval India frequently engaged in a critique of cosmological ideas from other traditions (Jain, Buddhist, and Purānic traditions). Among the topics discussed in this context is the question of the shape of the earth, which according to astronomers is often described by other traditions using the metaphor of the surface of a mirror.

In the the Siddhāntas, the treatises of the Indian astronomical tradition, the earth is a sphere situated at the centre of the universe. In other traditions, the shape of the earth was expressed through a variety of metaphorical shapes that included the shape of a cart, the surface of a mirror, the shell of a tortoise, and a lotus.

The shape of a mirror, the primary focus of this paper, is attributed by some astronomers to the Purānas. The astronomers understand the metaphor to indicate that the earth is flat (Skt. sama). However, as Indian sculpture shows, mirrors from
ancient India are not necessarily flat but can be convex. Furthermore, the available Purānas do not contain a statement to the effect that the earth resembles the surface of a mirror, though there is one such passage in the Rāmāyaṇa. In fact, a comparison of an object to a mirror can mean different things in Sanskrit literature. This paper will argue that the mirror metaphor could have meant round or circular in the tradition of the Purānas and Itihāsas. As such it is possible that the astronomers misunderstood the meaning of the mirror metaphor.

148. NATHAN MICHAEL MCGOVERN, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater

Brahma and the Dating of Ancient Indian Texts

My paper addresses the importance of considering the conception of Brahmā as the supreme deity in the dating of early Indian texts. Given the lack of ancient manuscripts, attributed authorship, or precise chronological histories in ancient India, the dating of ancient Indian texts is notoriously difficult, with some scholars calling established chronologies a “house of cards.” Generally speaking, chronologies have given rough relative dates to entire genres of literature, such as in recognizing a chronological progression from Vedic Saṃhitās to Brāhmaṇas to Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads to the Srauta, Grhyas, and Dharma Sūtras. In some cases, linguistic analysis and internal references (say to technology) can be used to speculate further on relative chronology.

In my paper, I argue that the figure of Brahmā can serve as an important relative chronological marker for ancient Indian texts or the strata therein. A supreme deity named Brahmā generally does not appear in Vedic texts. The beginnings of such a figure can be found in the Upaniṣads through their speculations on brahman, which is sometimes described in anthropomorphic terms. Most post-Vedic texts, on the other hand, portray either Śiva or Viṣṇu as the supreme deity. It thus can appear surprising that the early Buddhist sūtra literature (preserved most completely in Pali) consistently portrays Brahmans as committed to the worship of a supreme deity named Brahmā. The nomenclature is clearly more advanced than that found in the Vedas, but there is no hint of sectarian Śaivism or Vaishnavism. This demonstrates, I argue, the existence of a “lost” period in which Brahmā was considered supreme deity. Hints of this period can be found in the early strata of the epics and certain Purāṇas, as well as the Laws of Manu. Correlating such texts should help us to better understand the chronology of ancient Indian literature.

149. ADHEESH SATAYE, University of British Columbia

Why Was Śivadāsa’s Vētalā Anthology So Popular in Medieval India?

Among the four major Sanskrit versions of the Vētalā-pañcavimśati, or Twenty Five Tales of the Animated Corpse, the most popular was composed by a shadowy writer named Śivadāsa, who may have been a scribe (Kāyastha), and perhaps lived in early medieval Gujarāt (c. 1200 CE). While other versions have been more celebrated by scholars and modern readers—particularly Somadeva’s version included in his Kāthāśārīrvśāgara (Ocean of Streams of Stories, c. 1070, Kashmir)—Śivadāsa’s version would have had a much greater impact on the subcontinent in the medieval period. For one, there are far more extant manuscripts of Śivadāsa’s anthology than any of the other Sanskrit versions. Moreover, we find that medieval vernacular recastings of the Vētalā anthology were generally adapted from Śivadāsa’s version, and not
the others. In this paper, as part of an ongoing project to create a new ‘dynamic’
edition of Śivadāsa’s Vetāla anthology, I will investigate how and why Śivadāsa may
have achieved this mass popularity, in comparison to the other three Sanskrit versions.
Focusing on evidence from the first Vetāla tale, involving a princess who illicitly com-
municates with her suitor through gestures, I suggest that Śivadāsa’s popularity may
have stemmed from how his text robustly embraced a vernacular register of the San-
skrit language, encouraged the interjection of anonymous proverbial verses, and subtly
contoured the stories to appeal to a wide spectrum of medieval readers and scribes.

E. Plenary Session: Wine. STEPHEN H. WEST, Arizona State University, Chair
(2:45 p.m.–4:45 p.m.) Picasso Ballroom  *

150. PETRA M. GOEDEGEBUERE, University of Chicago
   Ancient Near East: Wine in the Ancient Near East: from Origins to Anatolia

151. XURONG KONG, Kean University
   East Asia: Truth in Wine: the Dual-Attitude of the Chinese Literati

152. MICHAEL COOPPERSON, University of California Los Angeles
   Islamic Near East: The Polyglot Bacchanal: A 12th-Century Arabic Boozefest in
   Hebrew, Persian, Gilaki, German, Russian, and English??

153. JAMES MCHUGH, University of Southern California
   South and Southeast Asia: Wine in India: the View from the Center

   Grape wine is not mentioned in our earliest texts from South Asia, the Vedas, or in
the epics, yet early Sanskrit texts contain evidence of an established drinking culture.
Drinks in this early period were mainly based on grains and sugarcane products. When
did grapes and wine appear in the Indic cultural world, and how were they received?
Previous scholarship on wine in India has often focused on peripheral wine producing
regions, such as Gandhara, or on finds of Roman amphoræ in India, highlighting the
possibility of Mediterranean influences in Indic drinking culture. This talk explores
wine from the Indian perspective, for many of our Indian sources celebrate grapes
and grape wine as foreign. I briefly consider when grapes and wine first appear in the
Indic textual record and in what contexts. Why did people in India choose to import
grape wine when they already had plenty of local drinks? I argue that far from being
passively Hellenized, Indic drinking cultures as represented in our texts consciously
adopted and appreciated wine-as-foreign, and indeed wine was the only alcoholic drink
deemed exotic in early periods. How was this prestigious new drink assigned a place
in Indian drinking culture? I survey how wine was presented in literary, medical, legal,
and other texts. In elite settings where people consumed wine, how did they drink? I
explore what we know about the rituals of high class drinking, wine talk, and evidence
for the evaluation of drinks for aesthetic ends.
154. AREN M. WILSON-WRIGHT, University of Zurich

Rethinking the Relationship between Egyptian and Semitic: The Morphological Evidence

Although Egyptologists and Semitists alike agree that Egyptian and Semitic are genetically related based on morphological evidence, they have yet to establish systematic sound correspondences between the two language families. The lack of sound correspondences, in turn, raises doubts about the relationship between Egyptian and Semitic and necessitates a renewed analysis of their shared features. In this paper, I will review the morphological phonological evidence for a genetic relationship between Semitic and Egyptian by comparing Proto-Semitic and internally reconstructed Egyptian forms, a standard historical linguistic procedure that has helped established numerous language families, ranging from Indo-European to Uto-Aztecan. Based on this comparison, I argue that there is insufficient evidence to support a genetic relationship between Egyptian and Semitic. This is not to say that the two language families are not genetically related, only that it is impossible to detect a genetic relationship between them using current methodology.

155. REBECCA HASSELBACH-ANDEE, University of Chicago

The Position of Eblaite in East Semitic: A New Look at its Classification

Ever since its discovery, the position of Eblaite within the Semitic language family has been a matter of debate. Although it has now been proven with a great degree of certainty that Eblaite belongs to the East Semitic branch of Semitic together with Akkadian, and not, as previously suggested by some scholars, to West Semitic or even Canaanite, its exact relationship with Akkadian is still unclear. Two main approaches are found in the scholarly literature: first, that Eblaite is a dialect of Akkadian and thus directly related to other Akkadian dialects such as Babylonian and Assyrian; second, that Eblaite is an independent branch of East Semitic, which, although closely related to Akkadian, is not part of Akkadian itself. In this talk, I wish to revisit the question based on an investigation of phonological and, most importantly, morphological features, which Eblaite either shares or does not share with Akkadian in order to see if these features can be classified as retentions or innovations. In addition, since there is no real doubt that Eblaite constitutes a member of East Semitic, we need to ask why an East Semitic language would have been used in Ebla, given its geographical location and proximity to areas that are more closely connected with “western” Amorites. The latter question is influential for the sub-grouping of Eblaite since it suggests a possibly more complex situation than Eblaite simply being either an independent branch of East Semitic or a dialect of Akkadian, meaning the question of its sociolinguistic setting and potential language contact has to be considered as well before we can determine its position within the Semitic language family.
The Treatment of PIE laryngeals in Anatolian Revisited

The basics of the story have been generally understood for some time now. In Anatolian:

- PIE $^*h_1$ disappears or, at least, is never reflected in the orthographies of the historical Anatolian languages;
- PIE $^*h_2$ is generally retained, save for a few environments, including some post-consonantal ones;
- PIE $^*h_3$ is lost in medial position but is retained word-initially, where its reflex at the Proto-Anatolian level must have been different from the reflex of $^*h_2$, as suggested by Lycian evidence with its distinct treatments of the two inherited segments.

Details, however, remain debatable.

Tied in with the question of the Anatolian reflexes of the PIE laryngeals is the question of their phonetic nature in Anatolian and PIE. Many scholars have endorsed the idea that the PIE laryngeal $^*h_1$ was a glottal stop /ʔ/ or a voiceless glottal fricative /h/, while the laryngeals $^*h_2$ and $^*h_3$ were pharyngeals, i.e., $^*h_2 = /h/$, $^*h_3 = /ɦ/ or /χ#/$. However, the coloring and backing effects of the second and third laryngeals could just as likely have been triggered by uvulars (/χ/ and /χ(w)/), and just such a uvular reconstruction has been suggested by Kümmel (2007) and recently supported by Weiss (2016). Furthermore, whether the third laryngeal really was labialized in PA, as has been argued by Kloekhorst (2008) and accepted by Rieken (2010) and Melchert (2011), still remains a hypothesis. Lastly, it has been claimed recently that Anatolian evidence points to the second and third laryngeals having been uvular stops (/q/, /χ(w)/) rather than pharyngeal or uvular fricatives (Kloekhorst 2018). In this paper I evaluate these recent claims and reexamine the available evidence and typological considerations that buttress them.

References:


Kloekhorst, Alwin. 2018. Anatolian evidence suggests that the Indo-European laryngeals $^*h_2$ and $^*h_3$ were uvular stops. Indo-European Linguistics 6 (2018), 69–94.


The discovery in 1967 of a damaged tablet containing an almost complete copy by Xerxes (XPl) of the important Old Persian lower tomb inscription of Darius I (DNb) has brought several improved readings for the latter. Among others it showed that the sentence DNb lines 13–14 does not contain a word for ‘anger’ (restored [d]-rt-n-y-a, supposedly from the same inherited root as Vedic hr-, hrı̰nte) but rather ‘fight, conflict’ ([p]-r-t-n-y-a, XPl p-r-t-n-a-y-a, cf. RV přtaná- f., YAvestan pošanā-f., pošanān.)

This paper will revisit the interpretation of OP manauviś / manauviś (m-n-u-vi-ś DNb 13, XPl 14)in the preceding sentence naiy manauviś a(h)m as all translators have continued to render as “I am not hot-tempered, I am not prone to anger”, albeit with different linguistic analyses of the sequence -u-vi-ś. However, there is no evidence within Old Iranian to show that the inherited Indo-Iranian s-stem noun *mānas- n. could mean ‘anger’, nor is this sense found in early Vedic where it is māṇyā- m. from the root man- which means ‘anger, wrath’.

It will be proposed that manauviś is the nominative sg. of a determinative compound where the first element mana(h)- has exactly the same sense ‘thought, thinking’ as this noun has when it occurs outside of a compound in two other places in the same Darius inscription (DNb 14, 32). The second compound element —uvi- may represent a ‘Caland i-stem’ of an inherited property concept adjective, parallel to the Indo-Iranian na-stem (< IE *no-) seen in Vedic āna- ‘lacking, deficient’ (AV ánāna- ‘without defect’). Hence Darius is saying “I am not lacking in thought, I am not deficient in thinking power” at the beginning of the section in his tomb inscription which stresses both his intellectual and physical abilities.

The early period of Western Rigvedic exegesis was wild and freewheeling (as philology goes—in particular allowing wholesale and unconstrained emendation to achieve what the interpreter considered better sense than the transmitted text seemed to convey. This era is long past; the current austere approach, which has held sway for a century at least, is to avoid emendation at all costs and to try to wring sense from the text we have. The only exception involves resegmentation, or rather resegmentation of the Padapāṭha text, the early word-by-word analysis of the RV, leaving the continuous Sanskrit text alone. This is a small, but generally accepted, set of such examples, e.g., IV.17.2 Sanskrit dyauréjad / Padapāṭha dyauṁ réjat → resegmentation dyauṁ éjad, with the verb reanalyzed as belonging to the root √ej, not √rej.

In this paper I will demonstrate that using the same tool of resegmentation can reveal an earlier stage of Vedic morphology. That is, an inherited ending that was eliminated from standard Vedic grammar existed well into the period of hymn composition and was preserved in the transmitted text because of early misparsing. The ending in question is the 3rd pl. act. secondary ending *-nt, replaced in standard Vedic
(and later Sanskrit) by -n. I will give several straightforward examples, and then apply this tool to a well-known crux in the great Indra-Vṛtra hymn, I.32.12, in which Indra’s arch-opponent Vṛtra seems to be identified as a god, indeed the one god. This unfortunate textual situation can be avoided by some creative resegmentation.

159. ANAHITA HOOSE, University of California, Los Angeles

On the Morphosemantics of Past-Referring Verbal Forms in Middle Indic

I analyse aspectual factors governing the choice of verb forms used to encode past events (finite pasts, forms of the old past passive participle, or morphological presents) in four Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) corpora (Aśoka’s Major Rock Edicts, the Hāthigumpha Inscription of King Kharavela, the Pāli Vāṃṇupathajātaka and the Jaina-Māhārāṣṭri Naggai) and outline a new diachronic account of morphosemantic change.

Participles have a relatively constant aspectual function, encoding perfective and anterior aspect. Finite pasts, which lack a specific function where they occur (in Aśoka’s edicts and the Vāṃṇupathajātaka), have essentially been lost by the time of Naggai. The early inscriptions contain no unambiguous evidence of an aspectual motivation for the use of presents; I argue that the past-referring presents in these texts appear due to a rhetorically-motivated shift in deictic centre. In the Vāṃṇupathajātaka and Naggai, a correlation with imperfective aspect appears. While this correlation (and that between participles and perfective/anterior aspect) is perfect in the Vāṃṇupathajātaka, multiple exceptions to both appear in Naggai.

These exceptions constitute counter-evidence to the analysis of Deo (2012), who argues for an MIA aspect-based system wherein presents realise imperfective aspect and participles perfective aspect. I argue that texts with shifted deictic centre were subject to a semantic reanalysis such that the deictic centre was assumed to remain constant while presents were used with reference to past time. They were therefore in competition with participles, so came to be used mostly where participles would not be, namely where imperfective aspect was required. Whereas the trend was carried to its logical extreme in Pāli, in Māhārāṣṭri both perfective and imperfective readings were available for both categories. The aspectual flexibility of presents, a relic of their original compatibility with any aspectual reading, led to the analogical rise of imperfective participles.

Reference


160. IAN HOLLENBAUGH, University of California, Los Angeles

The Subtractive Semantics of the Augment in the Rgveda

The precise function of the augment in the past tenses of Vedic Sanskrit has been notoriously difficult to pin down. Virtually every imaginable kind of answer to this question has been given: The augment marks past tense (Kiparsky 2005:9, Hoffmann 1967:160); the augment marks past tense but only redundantly (Bartolotta 2009:514–5); the augment marks “current relevance” (cf. Willi 2018:411–2, 416); the augment marks perfective aspect (Willi 2018:381–9, 415); among others. All of these conclusions
have in common the assignment of a particular “meaning” to the augment. That is, by all accounts, the augment is viewed as contributing some meaning to the verbal stem that it otherwise lacks. My aim is to redirect this line of inquiry, such that we ask not what the augment contributes to the meaning but rather what the augment subtracts from the meaning of the verbal stem to which it is affixed.

Under this view, the augment is a restrictor, which limits the set of interpretations available to a verbal stem. Put simply, the augmented past tenses have fewer “readings” (i.e., a smaller range of interpretations) available to them than do the corresponding injunctives. For instance, the Aorist injunctive attests modal readings (≈ subjunctive, optative, imperative), prohibitive readings, gnomic or “timeless” readings (cf. Fortson 2010:214), “recent past” readings, and “narrative” readings. By contrast, the Aorist indicative only attests the last two of these readings. Thus, the indicatives can be said to have a proper subset of the readings available to the injunctives. This being the case, it is more parsimonious to view the augment not as a semantically meaningful element in the verbal stem but as a limiting element which restricts the set of readings available to a given verbal stem.

161. Laura Grestenberger, University of Vienna

The Indo-Iranian 3pl.aor. Ending -anta and the Thematic Aaorist

The Indo-Iranian passive aorist of the type Ved. ávāci, OAv. avaḥcī is a traditionally problematic category. Much of the debate surrounding it has centered on explaining its root ablaut and 3sg. ending -i and 3pl. ending -ra(n/m). By comparison, the 3pl. ending -anta of forms like the Vedic 3pl.aor.inj. jusanta ‘tasted, enjoyed’, budhánta ‘they are waking up’, mrṣanta ‘they are forgetting’, etc., variously analyzed as belonging to the passive aorist or its (thematized) suppletive middle root aorist, has received less attention. These forms have been interpreted as an extension of the thematic 3pl. middle ending (< */-onto) to the passive aorist, as a “medialization” of the active athematic 3pl. -an (e.g., Cardona 1960), or as belonging to the middle paradigm of an (alternating or deponent) root aorist all along (Insler 1968, Kümmel 1996).

The goal of this paper is to revisit the question of these “thematic” endings of the passive aorist in light of its connection with the origin of the thematic aorist. Forms like budhánta are formally and functionally quite close to thematic aorists in Indo-Iranian and Greek (e.g., Hom. idonto ‘they saw’). Although the origin of the thematic aorist is likewise contested, at least the stems underlying Ved. aṝṭaḥ and ávidoṭ are generally considered to be inherited based on cognates outside of Indo-Iranian. Moreover, Jasanoff (2016) has argued for a PIE origin of the R(Ø) thematic aorists from “proto-middle” forms such as 3sg. *uīid-ē (*ueid ‘see’, cf. Ved. ávidoṭ), which were reanalyzed as active and remodeled with formally active, thematic endings. I argue that the formal remodeling of the 3pl. of such forms as formally middle was another source of the R(Ø) thematic aorist and that at least some of the Indo-Iranian and Greek forms in */-onto are inherited rather than independent innovations. I also discuss the consequences of this approach for the interpretation of the problematic OAv. 3pl. form xśc̥ñtā

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B. East Asia X: Appropriating the Other, Negotiating the Norm  
MICHAEL
NAPARSTEK, University of Wisconsin, Madison (9:00 a.m.–10:15 p.m.)

Masha Kobzeva, University of Wisconsin, Madison

The Other Neighbor: Eastern Barbarians in the Sanguo zhi

Chapter thirty of Wei shu 魏書 in Sanguo zhi 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms) is one of the most comprehensive Chinese sources on early Korean history. It contains records on dongyi 東夷 (eastern barbarians): polities, such as Goguryeo 高句麗 and Buyeo 夫餘, located within Korean peninsula, parts of Manchuria and modern northeastern China as well as in the Japanese archipelago. The dynastic histories that frame the Sanguo zhi chronologically, such as Hou Han shu 後漢書 (History of the Later Han) and Jin shu 晉書 (History of the Jin), while compiled later, for the most part they simply reiterated the material on the dongyi from the Sanguo zhi. Moreover, Jin shu omits the entry on Goguryeo, despite Goguryeo’s prominence in the area during the fourth and fifth centuries.

Ethnographic accounts in the dongyi section of the Sanguo zhi shared a similar narrative structure: descriptions of geographical features, system of officialdom, personality characteristics, penal system and local customs with a focus on marriage and funeral rites. Descriptions are often followed up by the comparisons to the Chinese (“our”) way and that of the other barbarians (“their”) along with judgements of the deviant practices. The overall positive or negative evaluations directly correlated with the polities’ relationship status with China at the time and reflected political motivation behind creation of the certain image of the foreigners. The paper would probe the specific vocabulary and imagery used to distinguish between the uncomfortable and accepted “other” to identify the underlying mechanisms of compilation and purpose of the ethnographic accounts in the dynastic histories.

Josiah J. Stork, University of Wisconsin

Dragons: Familiar Strangers

In many discussions of identity, there is a key concept of the normalized vs. the other. The group with the most social capital is considered to be normal; and anyone or anything that does not fit into that group is considered the other. For most of imperial Chinese literature, living Confucian Chinese human scholar-official males are considered to be the norm. Anyone/thing else be they dead, Daoist, foreign, animal, of a different class, or female are considered other. This is especially true in the early S`ong collection of short classical language tales, the T`aiping Guˇangjı. This paper looks at how dragons take an unusual role in the normal-other dichotomy. As mythical animals with divine powers, they are clearly other. Yet as dragons frequently represent Chinese identity, they can also be viewed as part of the normal group. In the T`aiping Guˇangjı, dragons, these familiar strangers, take part in events throughout all of China’s history, are seen across all of China’s landmass, and interact with all of China’s social classes.
164. **Christine Welch**, University of Wisconsin, Madison

The “Ultimate” Other: Representations of 17th Century Formosan Indigenous Shamanesses in Colonial Travel Writing

The seventeenth century saw the repeated incursion of colonial pens and ink into the subject of the indigenous female shamans. Many of these women not only wielded sacred power but also were the landowners in their communities. Spanish, Dutch, and Chinese colonizers employed similar rhetorical techniques to characterize these shamanesses as witches, monsters, or fox spirits, enabling them to wrest power away from them and restructure the indigenous societies as patriarchal.

This conference paper will focus on Chinese descriptions of the “ultimate Other,” Formosan shamanesses, especially representations found in the Small Seas Diaries written by a lower level Fujian bureaucrat, Yu Yonghe 旅海紀遊. Whereas European diarists and letter writers maligned the shamanesses as witches, the Chinese paradigm was of the fox spirit, another gendered construct which similarly connoted danger to male sexual power.

Whereas the isle of Formosa had been described as a paradisiacal “Land of Women” or even the “Immortal Isle of Penglai” in previous Chinese geographic and ethnographic accounts, relying mostly on legend and oral tradition, Yu Yonghe’s account provided one of the first detailed records of the island, and certainly the first literary travel account. His multifarious ideas about the Formosan indigenous peoples, women, and the supernatural somehow coalesced into a very similar attitude held by the European colonists who had written on the same group of women several decades before. This paper plans to analyze both the context of these representations and the literary devices used to convert respectable Formosan female landholders and religious leaders into an animal spirit possessed of dark magic and anti-male power.

C. East Asia X, Part 2: Appropriating the Other, Negotiating the Norm.

**Masha Kobzeva**, University of Wisconsin, Madison (10:30 a.m.–12:00 p.m.)

Monet *

165. **Michael Naparstek**, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Awakening toward the Center: Hongwu’s Subjugating the Demons and the Power of Visuality at the Margins of the Qianlong Era

As his military campaigns continued to press beyond the borders of China’s empire, the Qianlong emperor (r. 1735–1796) promoted Buddhist religious for both personal and political gain. This paper investigates a Qianlong-era long hand-scroll depicting Shakyamuni Buddha’s enlightenment, entitled Subjugating the Demons (Xiangmo), through the lens of power and “Otherness” within the context of the Qing’s attempt to gain control in the frontier. Now part of the Liaoning Provincial Museum’s permanent collection, the scroll was executed by the celebrated court painter and imperial relative, Hongwu (fl. ca. 1736–1820), and bears multiple seals of the Qianlong emperor himself indicating his long-standing appreciation of the work. An exemplar of Qing narrative figure painting, the hand-scroll depicts the familiar trope of the demon-king Mara’s attack as both Buddhist and Daoist divine warriors battle against wild demonic figures. This paper carefully looks at the scroll’s visual vocabulary to argue how its depiction of “subjugating the demons” articulates the emperor’s political aim.
of controlling the frontier in multiple registers. By situating the scroll both within recent scholarship on the image of demons as symbols of power in the margins of imperial authority, as well as within the growing work on the material culture of social elite embodying Buddhist divinities, it redresses the didactic role of narrative figure painting by investigating how visuality functions within the broader Later Imperial worldview of articulating power at court.

166. JI WANG, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Imagined Sea World and Situated Knowledge: Nie Huang and his Haicuo tu (Album of Marine Diversity)

In 1698, Nie Huang (ca. 1640–1700), an amateur biologist and a master of natural history illustration, finished an encyclopedic album named Haicuo tu (literally, Album of Marine Diversity). It is a four-volume image-compilation that assembles paintings and descriptions of over two hundred kinds of maritime creatures and plants. Different from other albums for zoological art, such as Album of Beasts (Shou pu) and Album of Birds (Niao pu), Haicuo tu was not an official project initiated by Painting Academy and completed by courts artists. Its author, Nie Huang, remained obscure all his life but was determined to become a “historian” of China’s territorial seas. He traveled throughout coastal regions of southeastern China, conducted extensive investigation, and finally produced this encyclopedic album.

Previous research on Chinese albums for natural history produced in the age of global trade focuses more on the roles that European knowledge and images played in shaping those works, or on how Western artistic styles and tastes were “domesticated” in China’s context. Admittedly, Nie’s album also borrowed and appropriated the depiction and images from a variety of Western sources. What interests me, however, is Nie’s peculiar way to syncretize them with Chinese intellectual traditions and natural historical accounts. How did he amass and organize the marine life, past or present, Western or Chinese into a hierarchical system parallel to Chinese political counterpart? Why did he choose “praise” (zan), a poetic subgenre widely used in narratives, to write a natural history work? How did Nie suture the real natural world and imagined world through his “scientific” practice? Nie’s album shows that this kind of encyclopedic works was not always about endorsing the European knowledge and artistic tastes, but rather the attempt to situate them into Chinese context and refigure China’s own natural history.

167. ZHEYU SU, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Non-Chinese Elements in Chinese Nether World

In Chinese culture, ancestors are considered as still maintaining a life-like force. It is said that Chinese culture “treats the dead as alive” 視死如生. From pre-Han times on, the Chinese had many different ways to embody this concept. In southern China, people usually burn paper money covered with tinfoil to provide for the dead in the afterlife. People believe that through such a ceremony, fire can act as a vehicle to transform paper money into an underworld currency. The tinfoil is a replacement for real silver and gold. Interestingly, neither this conception of the nether world nor this use of fire is an element of traditional Chinese culture. So, I propose to discuss the origin of these non-Chinese elements.
Precious Stone from Frontiers: The Production and Transportation of Jade in Xinjiang during the Qianlong Era

Jade has been used for an extended period and carries the symbolic meaning of Confucian virtue. Valued for its attributes of toughness, texture, and attractive color, jade was a metaphor of spiritual and earthly powers. Based on understanding the jade mining and production, this article will focus on the commercial network and the whole process of jade from raw material in Xinjiang to ornaments in lower-Yangtze markets and the Qing court. Moreover, the use of jade as ritual objects, ornaments, luxury consumption, and imperial symbol shows jade has multiple perspectives for studying. More importantly, I would like to show the preference to Xinjiang jade of Qianlong emperor was a part of legitimization of the Qing dynasty when the Xinjiang area was newly conquered. Qianlong emperor’s art collection was eclectic, and the searching for jade is beyond personal aesthetics; it is a requirement for constructing the imperial order by fulfilling the rites and authority of the empire.

I will further demonstrate how this will shed light on the material history of jade, the changing rules of production and different routes of transportation. The resource extraction is a way to exert imperial authority of the Qing empire. The control of jade resources shows Qing court’s complex institutions and infrastructure of using the high-end material. Beyond political and economic motivations, licit and illicit trade about Xinjiang jade shows the idealized vision of government regulations and the realistic commercial situations, which further explains state-society relationships.

D. Islamic Near East XI: Language and Literature. Tahera Qutbuddin, University of Chicago, Chair (9:30 a.m.–11:30 a.m.) Chagall B *

Jewish Reception of Islamic Poetry in the Cairo Geniza

Several scholars have delineated the contours of the Sufi-influenced pietists (hāshi-dim) of Ayyūbid and early Mamlûk-era Egyptian Judaism. Paul Fenton in particular has identified numerous Sufi treatises and narratives in the Geniza and translated Jewish pietist works by Obadiah Maimonides (d. 1265 ce) and others. However, attention to this group has tended to focus on doctrinal points, while the Judeo-Arabic Muslim poetic and other literary texts copied and read by the pietists have been somewhat neglected. At the same time, renewed attention has recently been given to the contours of Ayyūbid and Mamlûk-era Islamic piety (Megan Reid, Nathan Hofer, Daniella Talmon-Heller), in particular emphasizing the distinction between Sufism and other non-Sufi ascetic trends.

In a previous communication at AOS, I drew attention to three unpublished poems from the Geniza by the Fatimid-era Sufi Ibn al-Kizānī. Many more Judeo-Arabic Geniza texts, often simply catalogued as “liturgical poems,” shed light on the pietist reception of Sufism and Islam, above and beyond doctrinal issues. I will discuss and provides translations of several additional new texts. The author of a poem found in T-S Ar.37.252 has not been identified, but it features themes of wine, illumination, and dhikr consonant with several major Sufis from the period (al-Suhrawardi, Ibn al-Fārid). It could be called theosophical. On the contrary, T-S Ar.54.31 records ascetic
pious statements attributed to al-Shafīʿī, whose tomb in Cairo was perhaps an object of veneration by non-Muslims and Shiites as well as Sunni Muslims. Several other texts provide similar material to these two.

As Hofer and Reid have argued, Islamic asceticism from the period demonstrates a split between increasingly institutional forms of Sufism and equally popular but less theorized, non-Sufi pious asceticism. It appears as if Jewish pietist readers from the period duplicated the Islamic trend within their own community.

170. BEATRICE GRUENDLER, Freie Universität Berlin

Variations of Difference, or, A Misbehaving Classic

The classic of Arabic-Islamic statecraft presented in the form of fables, Kalīla wa-Dimna, translated and redacted by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (executed 757 CE), experienced an extremely complex textual history. After a dark phase of half a millennium, first full-text manuscripts surface in the thirteenth century. By then, the original model of secretarial prose and a classic of adab literature has changed into a kind of matrix of popular ethics and philosophy, within which copyists substantially interfered—and to whom the term “copyists” does not really apply anymore.

The number and diversity of the textual variants of Kalīla wa-Dimna go beyond anything documented so far in classical Arabic literature. This kind of textual change is different from the one evinced for instance in the Thousand and One Nights, since it takes place in the written mode and not through oral retelling. I will compare select manuscripts to look at the types of editorial intervention (synonymous paraphrase, reformulation with changed sense, reinterpretation or adaption of the consonantal skeleton (rasm), proliferation of the text through rephrasing or combination of extant elements, substantial addition, or cutting, from phrases to entire narrative segments), in some of which the copyists acted as silent co-authors. This serves as a basis to investigate the manner and potential purport of these divergences and to observe how the Arabic text was reengineered by the copyist-editors.

This then leads to the larger question of how to classify, or group, the manuscripts that exhibit such changes and propose a typology for their interrelation. This must take into account all of the following phenomena: textual adaption, choice of chapter sequence, position within a redactional continuum (i.e., intercalated rewriting across several manuscripts), structural changes (i.e., relocation and refitting of passages), combination of Vorlagen (merged into the text or parallel texts on the margin), and (rarely) verbatim copy). Further aspects to be considered are codicological features, such as paratexts, layout, and the presence and sequence of illustrations. The hypothesis is that although Kalīla wa-Dimna might exhibit a high degree of redactional interference, its case is not a unique and will serve to acknowledge a mouvance par écrit in Arabic literature on a broader scale.

171. AILIN QIAN, Southern University of Science and Technology of China

Did Ibn Khaldun Keep a Copy of the 1001 Nights?

Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406), while speaking of the general layout of his Kitāb al-ʿibar, pointed out that his Muqaddimah “deals with the great merit of historiography, offers an appreciation of its various methods, and cites historians’ errors.” Among the
examples of “historians’ errors,” there are al-Masūdi’s report of the “City of Brass” and al-Tabari’s rendering of “iram dhāt al-‘imād.”

While constructing his philosophy of history at the end of the 14th century, Ibn Khaldūn emphasized the importance of speculative thinking and refused to endorse any absurd report transmitted by big names. Besides “Iram with Pillars” and the “City of Brass,” he warned people not to take too seriously some anecdotes about Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma’mūn. What interests us most is that most of these anecdotes also appear in the 1001 Nights. Ibn Khaldūn’s enumeration even accords with their order in the Nights as well.

In this paper, I focus on the role of 'ibar, as it appears in Ibn Khaldūn’s book title and is considered one big merit of the Nights’ entertainment (‘ibrāhī ‘ī man ya‘tabiru). I suggest that Ibn Khaldūn had a copy of the Nights while composing his Kitāb al-'ibar. He picked out the pseudo-historical stories, and traced them back to the much shorter prototypes in history books.

172. YARON KLEIN, Carleton College

Percussion Instruments in Samāʾ Literature: Al-Udfuwī’s Kitāb al-imtāʾ bi-ahkām al-samāʾ

Samāʾ literature contributes greatly to our understanding of music and musical practices in premodern Arab and Islamic societies. These legal works, written over centuries of Islamic history, present a wide array of legal opinions towards music and musical practices. In doing so, they discuss the nature of music, its effect on the human nature, and its role in society. Many samāʾ works include chapters on musical instruments, in which contemporary instruments and their usages are discussed.

This paper focuses on percussion instruments in samāʾ literature, with a special attention to Kamāl al-Dīn Ja’far b. Tha‘lab al-Udfuwī’s al-Imtāʾ bi-ahkām al-samāʾ. An Egyptian Shafiʿī jurist, al-Udfuwī (d. 748/1347) is the author of one of the most extensive works on samāʾ. The work, still unpublished, includes a lengthy section on instruments, of which six of its ten sub-sections are dedicated to various percussion instruments. Through a discussion of what is primarily a legal debate of the permissibility and non-permissibility of playing certain instruments, we will reflect on the centrality of percussion instruments in al-Udfuwī’s work. We will discuss the importance of percussion instruments in a number of key social institutions in premodern societies, beyond the devotional Sufi context, and explore the association between sound produced by percussion instruments and tarab, the elation or emotional reaction listeners experience when listening to music. Last, we will look at the perceptions of gender associations with certain percussion instruments, as revealed in the Intāʾ.

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