American Oriental Society

FOUNDED 1842

CONSTITUENT OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES
AND THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ORIENTALISTS

ABSTRACTS

OF

COMMUNICATIONS
PRESENTED

AT THE

TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTIETH
MEETING

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

MARCH 20–23, 2020
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. Joshua T. Katz, Princeton University, and Na’ama Pat-El, The University of Texas, Austin
   Introduction

2. Joel P. Brereton, The University of Texas at Austin
   Stanley Insler’s Mātariśvan

   In 1984, Stanley Insler read a paper on the deity Mātariśvan, in which he argued for a new interpretation of the name of the god, discussed the character and function of the god in the Rgveda, and supported a controversial view that connects Mātariśvan to Greek Prometheus. He never completed an article based on this essay, but his handwritten manuscript and notes for developing his argument were among the papers left by him. We are planning to publish his essay together with additions and minor edits. The paper I will present gives Insler’s argument and offers an expansion of his discussion of the early history of the god.

3. Stephanie W. Jamison, University of California, Los Angeles
   Vedic īṣūdhy- and Old Avestan īṣūd-; īṣūdīīa-

   Vedic īṣūdhy- and Old Avestan īṣūd-; īṣūdīīa-, respectively, and Avestan also attests its apparent base noun īṣud-. Neither the meaning of the word(s) nor the etymology is obvious, and comparison of the Avestan and Vedic evidence is not entirely helpful because the contexts differ enough that comparing them does not define an overlapping semantic domain, as sometimes providentially happens between Avestan and Vedic. This paper will discuss previous etymological proposals, including the currently prevailing one, and suggest a new one, which better fits the contexts in both languages.

4. Jared S. Klein, University of Georgia
   On the Relationship between Metrical and Rhetorical Structure in the Rigveda: The Gāyatrī Stanza

   The gāyatrī stanza, second in frequency among Rigvedic meters, consists of three lines or pādas (abc) of eight syllables each. By contrast, triṣṭubh and jagatī stanzas (first and third in frequency, respectively) are composed of four pādas of eleven and twelve syllables each, respectively. The pādas of the triṣṭubh and jagatī stanzas consist of two equal units or distichs (ab//cd), and most of the time each of these distichs serves as a rhetorical unit as well, either as a whole (ab) or broken up into two units (a/b). Relative to this symmetrical structure, the gāyatrī is unbalanced. As a result, one finds, in order of decreasing frequency, structures of the type ab/c, a/b/c and a/bc, as in the following examples:

   1) ab/c

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1 –
1.1.2 agnih púrvebhīr ṛṣibhīr / ĭḍyo nátānair utā / sā devāń ēhā vakṣati ‘Agni is to be called by the previous Rishis and by the current ones. He will convey hither the heavenly ones.’

(2) a/b/c

1.16.3 īndram prātār havāmaka / īndram prāyat ādhvarē / īndram sómasya pītāye ‘Indra do we call in the morning, Indra at the beginning of the ceremony, Indra for the drinking of soma.’

(3) a/bc

I.9.4 āṣyram indra te gīrah / prāti tvām úd ahāsata / ájośā vrṣabhām pūtīm ‘O Indra, the songs have been released for thee. They have arched their bodies against thee, unsatisfied, (against thee,) their bull master.’

In this paper we will consider the rhetorical and syntactic implications of this unbalanced structure, specifically the ways in which the bards used the individual pādas of the jagatī to clothe their poetic conceptions.

5. ELIZABETH TUCKER, University of Oxford

Did the rishis of the Rigveda Have Evil Cousins? Atharvaveda Paippalāda 11.4.5, AV Śaunaka 19.35.5

A hapax legomenon rṣṇvo occurs in an interesting stanza of an Atharvaveda hymn to the Jajīda-plant. The form does not appear in any of our lexica and it has been overlooked by historical linguists as the Śaunaka manuscripts read kṛṣṇāvo, and in the Śaunaka edition by Roth and Whitney (1856) this has been emended to k tvāno, translated ‘[witchcraft] workers’ by Whitney and Lanman (1905).

However, the existence of the form rṣṇvo in the Paippalāda tradition is proved to be ancient by the agreement in reading between the newly discovered Oriya palm leaf manuscripts and the birch bark manuscript brought by Roth to Tübingen from Kashmir in 1875. Since kāṇḍa 19 is a supplement to the Śaunakasaṅhitā which consists mostly of Paippalāda material, it is likely that the Śaunaka Atharvaveda also originally read rṣṇāvo, which was then corrupted to kṛṣṇāvo, probably understood as ‘dark ones’.

The paper will discuss the whole AV stanza (AVP 11.4.5, AVŚ 19.35.5), where the syntax clearly shows that rṣṇāvo must be nominative plural from a u-stem noun rṣṇ-. On the basis of a morphological analysis rṣ-ṇ-, and parallels for the use of devākyta- which qualifies rṣṇāvo, it will be argued that rṣṇā- may be etymologically related to the Indo-Iranian noun sī- ‘composer of hymns, poet, sage’, Old Avestan oroshi- probably ‘poet, sage’. It can be envisaged that rṣṇā- like sī- originally referred to people who knew powerful verbal formulæ (devāttam brāhma RV 1.37.4, 8.32.27); but that, whereas the sī- was associated with using them for good ritual purposes, the rṣṇā- became associated with bad or hostile uses.
Thoughts of Gāthic Beginnings and Beginnings of Gāthic Thoughts

“Indo-European Religion and Poetics–A Comparative Approach. Myth, Ritual and Language” University of Copenhagen—11–12 October 2019

in memory of Stanley Insler (1937–2019)

If it is the case, as I believe it is, that the first word of the Iliad, μῆνιν ‘wrath’, goes back to PIE ∗mneh₂- ‘keep in mind’; and if it is the case, as I likewise believe, that Μοῦσα ‘Muse’, forms of which start both Hesiod’s Theogony (Μοῦσας) and his Works & Days (Μοῦσας), goes back to PIE ∗men- ‘think’; and if, furthermore, the former root is an extension of the latter, as most scholars accept, then a remarkable number of our earliest examples of Greek hexameter poetry reflect ∗men-/∗mneh₂- in their opening line (add Μοῦσα in the Odyssey), in many instances even as the very first syllable (add μνήμονει ‘let me remember’ in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo). In my paper “Gods and Vowels” (2019; revised from 2013 original) and other publications, I investigate this and related patterns that involve gods and song, without, however, properly looking at the evidence from other languages and texts that should help us understand the status of mindful poetic incipits in the millennia between Proto-Indo-European and Greek of the Late Bronze Age. My goal in this talk is to begin to rectify the omission by considering the matter from the perspective of Avestan.

Our oldest texts in Avestan, the Gāthas, would seem to be either a very good or a very bad place to start. After all, some of the most important concepts in Zoroastrianism, and thus most frequent words throughout our texts, are clear reflexes of ∗men-: √man ‘think’, manah- ‘thought’, manīiu- ‘spirit’, nāθra- ‘sacred utterance (vel sim.)’, and of course Mazdā-. I will look at these words and others in an attempt to find a new angle on the relationship between poetry and religion, to determine something new about the relationship between the poetic practice Zarathustra inherits and his individual compositional technique, and also to see what we can, and cannot, know about the order of the hymns that form the core of his religion’s liturgy.

The Syntax and Development of Constituent Interrogatives in Assyrian Akkadian

The Semitic languages typically position interrogatives in initial position, without otherwise alternating the syntax of the sentence. For example, in Old Assyrian, we find this typical interrogative sentence:

\[
\text{mēnum ribšu ša taštanappar-an-ni}
\]

‘what are the complaint you write to me about?’ (CCT 3, 24: 25–26)

In Neo-Assyrian, however, a new type of constituent interrogative has developed, where the interrogative occupies the same position as the interrogated constituent; for example:

\[
\text{anāku ina kūme mēnu ana belī-ya ussahkīr}
\]

‘what could I give back to my lord in exchange?’ (SAA 16 078: 9)
In this paper, we will discuss the development of this pattern from Old Assyrian to Neo-Assyrian. Based on the available evidence, we will suggest that in earlier phases of Assyrian a topicalized sentence constituent could precede the interrogative. This pattern was initially rare and highly marked. Syntactically, it was only possible to front one constituent. We suggest that this pattern became more widely used and therefore unmarked. When fronting was no longer understood as topicalization, the interrogative assumed the position of the interrogated constituent.

8. H. Craig Melchert, University of California Los Angeles

Luvo-Hittite *latti* - ‘Allotment, Portion; Detachment’

New examples in ritual context show that Hittite *latti*-, previously interpreted as ‘tribal troops’, means ‘allotment, portion (received)’. In military usage the sense is ‘detachment’ (a portion of troops received from a higher commander). The correct sense makes clear that the word is a borrowing from Luvian, a verbal noun ‘(a) taking, receiving’ < *là* - ‘to take, receive’. The logographic spellings are to be read as ŠU-TU(M)/TI, standing for Akkadian *qātu* in the meaning ‘share, portion’.

9. Tom Davies, Princeton University

Flood, Plague, or War? Solving the Human Problem in Greece, Mesopotamia, and India

One of Walter Burkert’s favourite cases of Mesopotamian influence on Greek poetry concerns the *Cypria* and the *Atra-hăsis*. Both extended narrative poems tell of a great, epoch-marking catastrophe, and explain it as the deliberate device of the chief god to cull the burgeoning human population. In *Atra-hăsis* this catastrophe is a flood. In the *Cypria*, it is the Trojan War. Burkert makes a formidable case that these resemblances result from Greek borrowings from Mesopotamian poetry.

This paper first argues that Burkert is mistaken: the Trojan War motif bears a far stronger resemblance to the *Mahābhārata* than to *Atra-hăsis*. It is not plausible that a Mesopotamian myth was transferred to the Aegean and to India and happened to diverge in exactly parallel ways in both new homes—the motif is inherited in Greece and India, and Burkert’s genetic account of its origins is false. But stopping here would be a rather sterile comparatism. Should we really dismiss the resonances Burkert identifies so quickly? Or can we find another way of accommodating them?

Johannes Haubold, in a brilliant treatment of flood and war in Greek and Mesopotamian poetry, has argued for a comparatism which takes as its objects not individual motifs in related traditions, but rather larger systems of genre and theme. From this perspective, what matters is not the genetic origin of specific motifs, but parallel uses in larger mythical and literary structures. The *Cypria* and *Atra-hăsis* are indeed to be read together.

This paper advocates Haubold’s approach, but argues that the scope of this interdisciplinary inquiry must be extended beyond Classics and Ancient Near Eastern Studies to incorporate the results of Indo-European comparative philology. The considerations which lead us to read *Atra-hăsis* and *Gilgameṣ* together with the *Cypria* and *Iliad* should also convince us to read both traditions together with the *Mahābhārata*.
10. Michael Weiss, Cornell University

Observations of the Tocharian B Hymn to Father Mani

The Hymn to Father Mani is a unique document in the Tocharian dossier because it is the only surviving document of Tocharian Manichaeism. The first edition of this hymn was produced by Annemarie von Gabain and Werner Winter in 1958 and this groundbreaking work has been largely superseded by Pinault 2008. The hymn hews closely to the tropes of the Tocharian Buddhastotra and one could easily mistake it for a Buddhist document if it were not for the explicit mention of pidar Mani. In the last third of the hymn devoted, in imitation of the Buddhist tradition, to the community the Old Turkic translation tells us that the Tocharian B hapax B sär means anēc(a)man, a borrowing for Sogdian or Middle Parthian 'ncmn ‘community of the elect’. Pinault has suggested that the phrase sär nomiye should be translated “the jewel of quintessence” (of the community), translating a plausibly restored TB kraupes. sē. In this sär Pinault recognizes a loan from Sanskrit sāra- ‘core of anything, best part, quintessence’. I would suggest instead that the puzzling word can be more straightforwardly compared with an Iranian *sar(a)- ‘union’ identified by Schwartz in Avestan, Sogdian and Pashto. This word has another possible avatar in Tocharian B in sārī ‘assembly’.

References


11. Martin Schwartz, University of California at Berkeley

Haoma and the Gathas Revisited

My presentation will focus on history and realia of the Haoma cult in Iran, much of whose former research has been problematic. I shall bring a focus on new evidence from the Gathas. It will be shown that Yasna 32 contains a parody of what must have been the pre-Gathic Urtext of Yasnas 9 and 10, and contains other material rebuking the use of psychotropic haoma, a rebuke continued in Yasna 48.10 seq. New translations of the relevant material will be provided, with linguistic and compositional justifications. The presentation will feature the use of two innovative compositional approaches to the Gathas, systematically concentric ring-composition and Serially Corresponding Recurrent Intertextual Mechanics (SCRIM) whereby the interrelationship of the individual Gathic poems is made clear by charts. In addition, I will show how the new analyses allow the overall coherence of the poems in question to be understood.
B. East Asia I: Metaphorical Debates in Early Chinese Thought. DAVID PRAGER BRANNER, Independent Scholar, Chair (1:30 p.m.–2:45 p.m.) Holmes-Brandeis

12. BOQUN ZHOU, Tsinghua University–Michigan Society of Fellows

The Crossbow Trigger Metaphor in Early China

The crossbow trigger, invented (or introduced) in China towards the end of the Spring and Autumn period, was a powerful device that had a profound impact on warfare in the ages to come. Ancient texts marveled at the efficacy of the crossbow as a killing machine, and military strategists made frequent use of it in tactical maneuvers. Against such a background, the word for “trigger”, namely ji or its cognate ji (without the “wood” signification), came to be used as an important metaphor in Warring States philosophy. The trigger metaphor refers to a mechanism through which a “subtle” (wei) initial state leads to an enormous and potentially “dangerous” (dai) outcome, because the small movement of pulling the trigger may kill a person a hundred yards away. In this paper, I will discuss textual and archaeological evidence of the ancient crossbow trigger and then trace the metaphorical meanings of ji in a variety of contexts. Combining metaphorical analysis with historical semantics, I will show how thinkers with different political agendas appropriated the trigger metaphor to suit their own purposes and make competing arguments. In Confucian ethics, the trigger metaphor functioned as a moral admonition that the gentleman’s subtle words and conducts may have great and harmful consequences. In Legalist and Militarist philosophy, the trigger metaphor became a sign of cost-efficient strategies of manipulation. The same image lends itself to polarizing metaphorical interpretations.

13. RINA MARIE CAMUS, The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Archery Metaphor in Early Confucianism: Contrast and Evolution

Archery was a multi-faceted phenomenon in early societies (military skill, sport, ritual) with exemplifiable features (focus, alignment, force, self-checking) which made it particularly attractive both as practice and as metaphor in classical philosophical traditions, East and West. Elsewhere, I discussed the usefulness of archery, a shared literary metaphor, as fulcrum for Sino-Greek comparison (cf. Camus 2015 & 2017). This paper focuses on sustained use of archery metaphor in the Analects, Mencius, and Xunzi. All three texts mention archery, albeit sporadically. Some passages extol aspects of archery rituals and may be considered literal statements; a good number employ shooting figures as paradigm for the gentleman’s (junzi) conduct and are clearly metaphorical. There are besides passages that manifest “twice-true phenomenon”, that is, they make sense both literally and figuratively. This paper looks into archery references in the three texts. Archery is a recurring image and has varying resonances which reflect the rapidly changing milieus and nuanced insights of the texts’ originators. Similarities and differences in perspectives about archery provide a new angle for comparing Confucius, Mencius, and Xunzi, and can help us map an evolution within pre-Qin Confucianism.
Images of disease play a central role in early Chinese debates on governance. The *Zhanguo ce*, for example, claims, “A good physician knows whether an ill person will live or die. A sage ruler is clear whether a service brings success or failure. If it is useful, then (s)he does it. If it is harmful, then (s)he abandons it.” (*liangyi zhi bingren zhi sisheng, shengzhu ming yu chengbai zhi shi, li ze xing zhi, hai ze she zhi*). In this talk, I will discuss a small portion of this elaborate image field on the intersection of governance, disease, and healing by analyzing the functions of sick visits (*wenbing* or *wenji*) in early Chinese texts. Since falling ill was construed as an emergency that necessitates prompt intervention and the reversal of common power-relationships (e.g., between rulers and officials), texts such as the *Guanzi*, *Hanfeizi*, and *Lüshi Chunqiu* repeatedly construed these situations as a governmental litmus test. Only if the ruler—like a good doctor—recognizes the severity of the situation may the kingdom be steered back into steady waters. This trope became so commonplace that texts like the *Mengzi* even utilized the faking of disease as a means to criticize a ruler. Hence, it seems as if sick visits not only played a social and political role at courts. *Wenbing* and *wenji* also became images utilized as rhetorical and argumentative tools in early Chinese debate culture.

C. East Asia II: Míng-Qīng Literature and Culture. RICHARD VANNESS SIMMONS, University of Hong Kong and Rutgers University, Chair 3:00 p.m.–4:45 p.m. Holmes-Brandeis *

15. CHUN LAM YOU, University of Michigan

Repetition revisited: Recurrence and Creation in *Jin Ping Mei* 金瓶梅

Since Zhang Zhupo’s (1670–1698) commentary, the established way to study *fan* (repetition) in *Jin Ping Mei* has been centering on the self-conscious textual manipulation of recurring motifs, events and characters, and its formalist contribution to structural coherence and thematic reinforcement. Premised on the similarity generated by repetition, this approach disregards another theoretical dimension—that each repetition is not only an echo of the archetype, but also embeds in itself its own unique identity which cannot be eroded or eliminated by the apparent similarities and overlaps—thereby failing to appreciate the creativity and agency involved and manifested in the intratextual and intertextual repetitions in the narrative.

This paper proposes to re-examine repetition on the basis of both similarity and difference. I begin with one extensive intertextual repetition, the beginning of *Jin Ping Mei* that is derived from *Shuihu zhuan*. On the similarity part, in addition to assigning intentionality (premodern commentators’ argument) to stress the author’s craft of writing, I argue that intertextual repetition serves as the genesis of fiction, the archetype to which the narrative returns through intratextual repetitions. The exploitation of familiar, referential names, figures and plots are transplanted, replicated in other characters, be they important, minor, or nameless, even interchangeable with any other names. This borrowed referentiality is made to ripple across non-referential characters in the narrative. The cyclicity, characterization and construction of the narrative seem inseparable from repetition. On the difference part, every repetition
disrupts, creates, and essentially resists the very concept of repetition. The borrowed part is an essentially original, singular chunk of the plot with its own narrative voice, temporality and identity. I will thus analyze how the two-directional forces of repetition both create and conclude the story, as well as discuss other issues such as where the beginning of fiction lies, whether it may be regarded as a sequel, and the seemingly endless acts of (re)writing and (re)reading that repetition generates in the narrative.

16. JIAYAO WANG, Augusta University

Drinking Game and Prophecy Devices In and Out of Dream of The Red Chamber

Games of chance are linked to the larger expressive system of religious beliefs and are believed to be exercises in relationship with the supernatural. There is a shared hypothesis among social anthropologies that games of luck (such as pitch pot) and divination techniques were genetically connected.

In the novel Dream of The Red Chamber, scholars tend to read the “authorial design” through various literary forms, including poems, songs, opera arias, lantern riddles, drinking games, Buddhist allegories, and other insinuating devices and argue that one of the marvelous skills of the author is how he adopted these literary forms as anticipatory notices to cast the fate of the characters and the aristocratic family.

In my research, I start with the drinking game in the novel where players draw a tally from the container, read out the literary lines and follow the drinking instruction. I argue that the drinking game of lot drawing is more than a game of chance. The way the game is played share the same schemata with the divinatory system in Chinese culture. There are patterned and repeated operations in the two different social practices: first, some randomizing procedure for selection; second, interpretation and pondering of the literary lines on whatever medium they are transcribed. I argue that the practice of drinking game is analogous to the mantic and divination system in Chinese culture. This connection makes the game a natural occasion to convey prophetic messages for the player who draw the tally. The same mechanism appears in other occasions and devices in the novel and in the imitation work of the novel. I argue that these instances, occasions, plays, games serve as prophetic signs because of the social practices and reading culture of them, and this pertains to our contemporary society as well. One example is the fortune cookie after dining.

17. YING WANG, University of California, Los Angeles

Empowering the Powerless: Sickness as Strategies in Late Imperial Chinese Fiction

Late imperial Chinese prose literature abounded in fictional medical narratives, stories that focus on a character’s experience of illness and on the way illness influences the character’s social life and interpersonal relationships. Although patients mostly consider sickness an undesirable state, many fictional medical narratives represent patients who become attached to various bodily symptoms caused by sickness as a means of freeing themselves from a dilemma or rid themselves of a role they do not want to play in family or society. During this process, a powerless female patient may gain some power and overcome a powerful enemy with the aid of illness. Stories involving chastity and desire show especially effective uses of strategic sickness. In a tale of chastity, a woman is able to refuse marriage or intercourse under the pretext of
sickness, and the process is similar to that of a general strategizing on the battlefield. As non-elite female characters’ wisdom was rarely depicted in previous narratives about exemplary women, these stories signal that Qing authors discovered strategic wisdom in non-elite women, thus echoing the literary tradition of military strategies and tactics. In a story of desire, a prostitute uses a feigned illness as she seduces an eminent monk. The seemingly powerless prostitute is fully conscious that desire is the monk’s weakness. As a weapon to breach the monk’s defenses, the feigned illness empowers a powerless woman to control her own and others’ bodies. These literary representations convey contemporary understanding of the social meanings of illness and body.

18. MA XU, University of California, Irvine

Pure Land Embodied: Female Corporeality and Religious Spaces in Late Imperial China

Perhaps no religion in the world would not be bewildered by the contentious yet fascinating question—“Is the body a barrier to the sacred realm, or a carrier toward it?” This paper aims to offer a nuanced window into this bone of contention within the context of Late Imperial China when lay Buddhism flourished across wide swaths of Chinese society and found an especially receptive audience in women. Focusing on the female body (both living and dead) as represented in literary narratives and burial practices in the Ming-Qing era, this paper argues that women’s corporeal asceticism and relicized corpses both function to instantiate, invoke, and invigorate sacred spaces in which the Buddha’s sanctity is to be manifested, experienced, and enacted. In other words, rather than making another effort to pin down the female body into the either-or category of carrier/barrier for one’s journey to the Buddhakṣetra (Pure Land), this paper will show that in many Chinese cases, a woman’s body integrated into and homogenized with the Buddhakṣetra. The identification of women’s bodies with spaces, in a broader sense, reveals how the human body, instead of being an inert receptacle of religious “habitus,” to the contrary partakes and presides over the making of spiritual spaces; meanwhile, it also strikes a chord with the scholarly trend which sparks a rereading of “space” as a dynamic, agentive process rather than the tabula rasa of human activities.

D. Islamic Near East I: Philosophy and Kalām I. PAUL E. WALKER, University of Chicago, Chair (1:00 p.m.–3:30 p.m.) *Kennedy

19. 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-Amiriyya, 1920–21; al-Faqih [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-Shāfi‘ī (d. 204/820), and the Murji‘ī theologian Bishr al-Marīsī (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 mihna (218–34/833–48 or 49). Notwithstanding the spurious nature of Kitāb al-Ḥayda (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 (ʿAbd al-Qādīr al- Maghrībī, 1954; Jamīl Salībā, 1964). Moreover, Kitāb al-Ḥayda has been studied as a document reflecting the impact of the mihna on Sunnī traditionalism (George Maqdisi, 1962; van Ess, 1993). This paper adds to previous scholarship by arguing that a textual history of Kitāb al-Ḥayda provides a new perspective on the depth and scope of this impact. The paper focuses on Kitāb al-Ḥayda’s second recension, compares it to the first recension, and highlights its textual characteristics and subtexts.

20. NICHOLAS AUBIN, University of Warwick

A New Epistle by Avicenna on Space

In this study I present a critical edition, translation and philosophical and historical analysis of an exchange of letters between Avicenna (d. 1037) and an anonymous follower. This exchange of letters deals with a number of philosophical and theological concerns about the ontological status of space (or void). It has until now remained untranslated and, save for an unusable 1953 printing of one poor manuscript, has never been edited. This critical edition takes into account three additional manuscripts, and draws out similia between this text and other works by Avicenna. The letter from the disciple to Avicenna (the first half of the text) is witness to an earlier interaction between this disciple and an anonymous figure connected to the great kalām thinker Ḥādī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār (d. 1024). In this first letter, the anonymous mutakallim propounds a daring theory of space (wūṣa), using Qurānic language to justify his claim that space is an eternal, necessary being. In his reply, Avicenna provides a doxographical history of the idea of void through antiquity, beginning with Pythagoras and Hesiod, continuing through Democritus, Epicurus, and Leucippus, and ending with the orthodox position on void as demonstrated by Aristotle. Avicenna then gives some scathing criticism of the positions he ascribes to Ḥādī ʿAbd al-Ǧabbār (going so far as to compare him to a Pythagorean), and then fleshes out his account of how the mind’s faculty of estimation is responsible for tricking the intellect into positing an extramental void. He concludes with an interesting remark on the difference between necessary conditions and necessary principles. This exchange offers a tantalizing glimpse of one episode of Avicenna’s professional engagement with the views of the mutakallimun, and also represents another important witness to the debate over the existence of void in the medieval Islamicate world. In the final section of this study I contextualize these findings by comparing this exchange with yet another unstudied medieval Arabic text concerned with the ideas of space and void, this time from Avicenna’s one-time master Abū Sahl al-Masīḥī (d. after 1025).
Partisanship in Philosophical Commentary: Tustarī’s (d. 732/1332) and Taḥtānī’s (d. 766/1365) Adjudicative Commentaries (muḥākamāt) on Ibn Sīnā’s al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt

Ibn Sīnā’s (d. 428/1037) al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt (Pointers and Reminders) was one of the most commented upon works of Arabic philosophy for several centuries after his death. It attracted influential commentaries by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) and Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). These, in turn, were the subject of adjudicative supercommentaries (muḥākamāt) by Badr al-Dīn al-Tustarī (d. 732/1332) and Qutb al-Dīn al-Rāzī al-Taḥtānī (d. 766/1365).

Tustarī and Taḥtānī both claim to pursue their supercommentaries in fairness and without slander, seeking the truth wherever it may lead. Of course, no matter how loudly one claims to be pursuing truth, objectivity, and fairness, we must not take each commentator at his word. Both criticize Rāzī for failing to do be fair to Ibn Sīnā and ignore when he is. Both praise Ṭūsī for his efforts in pursuing the truth, but ignore when he manipulates Ibn Sīnā’s thought for his own purposes. My analysis of Tustarī’s and Taḥtānī’s supercommentaries reveals that the function of these texts was not to evaluate critically disputes on specific scientific topics. Rather than being scientific, these texts play a historiographical and propagandistic role.

Recent scholarship has attempted to explain this partisanship by pointing to Tustarī’s and Taḥtānī’s association with Shi‘ism and suggesting that a sectarian partiality unites their commentaries in their promotion of the Shi‘ī Ṭūsī over the Sunnī-Ash‘arī Rāzī (Wisnovsky, 2018). Al-Rahim (2018), however, has argued that neither Tustarī nor Taḥtānī was Shi‘ī. If this is so, then we must look to reasons other than sectarian loyalty to explain Tustarī’s and Taḥtānī’s denigration of Rāzī and elevation of Ṭūsī as the preeminent philosopher.

Part 1 of Suhrawardī’s Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq through the Lens of Husserl’s Transcendental Logic

Part 1 of Suhrawardī’s Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq is generally believed to contain an inventory, and mild criticisms, of traditional judgments and categories from post-Avicennian Islamic philosophy. Part 1 is believed to offer nothing original, in contrast with the doctrine of knowledge-by-presence in Part 2, and two Parts are believed to be in the same book only because Suhrawardī had a penchant for combining things of a different nature, and needed to show that he is not just a neoplatonizing mystic but also a philosopher proper.

In this paper, I argue against this position by showing the logical unity in Part 1 of Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq. Part 1 not only organically leads to the innovative investigations of Part 2, but is, in fact, indispensable for their success.

I arrive at these conclusions by studying Suhrawardī’s approach in the light of basic principles of transcendental logic which were initially sketched out by Husserl in Logical Investigations. According to the latter, while regular propositional logic evaluates the truth of judgments within the logical concatenations themselves, transcendental logic demands the truth of judgments be assessed within a compass of their concrete
relationship with what is judged (i.e., an object of intention or a referent of the judgment). Using the critical edition of *Hikmat al-Ishrāq* by Walbridge and Ziai (1999), I analyze the foundational acts of consciousness, and the descriptive, intentional, and semantic essentials of Suhrawardi’s judgments.

In addition to showing that the dialectics of non-independent judgments in Part 1 are the foundation and means for Part 2, I show that the critique of perception in Part 1 prepares the ground for the analysis of consciousness in Part 2.

23. Andrew McLaren, Columbia University

*Ibn Hanbal’s Refutation of the Jahmiyya: Notes on the Text*

Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855) is remembered for being the eponymous founder of one of the four surviving Sunni schools of law and for steadfastly forbearing the onslaught of Abbasid imperial theology in the Miḥna. As Henri Lousst, Michael Cooperson, and others have shown, Ibn Ḥanbal’s memory was a collective construction: His works were compiled and edited by his son; elegiac biographies were written by another son and a nephew; his doctrine was assembled by a disciple who spent years traveling to re-gather his opinions. In this paper, I examine the particularly long afterlife of one piece in this commemorative puzzle, a polemic entitled *al-Radd ʿalā al-jahmiyya wa-l-zanādīqa*, which offers traditionalist takes on a number of classical theological problems. Although the arguments of the text are rooted in the earliest stratum of Ḥanbalī thought, the text itself appears in three different, but related, recensions between the third/ninth and eighth/fourteenth centuries. In this presentation, I will discuss my findings regarding the origins of the *Radd*’s three recensions, arguing that the narrative of the text’s development is a social historical one rather than a mere scholastic one. In particular, I will briefly examine the text’s transmitters prosopographically and link this point to modalities of argumentation in the Ḥanbalī logical corpus.

E. Islamic Near East II: Early Islamic History. Steven Judd, Southern Connecticut State University, Chair (1:00 p.m.–3:15 p.m.) Isabella Stewart Gardner*

24. Mohammed Allehbi, Vanderbilt University

*Umayyad Nakāl: A Possible Key to the Origins of Taẓīr?*

Recently, there have been advancements in the study of criminal justice in classical Islam. Modern historians have attempted to examine continuity between non-Quranic punitive frameworks, such as *taẓīr* and *siyāsa*, and late-antiquity administrative practices. However, there has been a lack of studies on early *taẓīr*. With the exception of Joseph Schacht, the majority of modern scholarship has focused on later manifestations of early *taẓīr*. This paper on the similarities that *nakāl*—an Umayyad-era punishment—has with *taẓīr* in two early Hadith compilations, seeks to provide insight into the origins and development of the latter.

Early Umayyad Papyri and government treatises mention *nakāl* as a non-Quranic penalty, but its contextual meaning is not apparent in these texts. Contemporary scholars have either translated *nakāl* as an exemplary punishment or designate it as a punitive action against rebels. Yet, a comparative analysis of the hadith compilations
of Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849) and ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827) reveal new dimensions to nakāl.

Both authors provide some of the earliest hadiths on tawzīr, but they are curiously outnumbered by the ones which mention nakāl. Furthermore, these narratives collectively demonstrate that nakāl shared attributes with tawzīr in regards to their discretionary parameters, categories of crimes, and the nature of punishments—lashing, beatings, imprisonment, or all three. Furthermore, Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī and other jurists would refer to nakāl as a synonym of tawzīr. In examining some hadith from these two compilations, I will explore the possibility that nakāl was a precursor of tawzīr, which may contribute to our overall understanding of the roots of the latter and the trajectory of criminal law in classical Islamic history.

25. ‘ISA ALMISRY, City Colleges of Chicago

Did Umar’s Letter Put John’s Paraclete on Isaiah’s Camel as the Muslims’ Prophet? An Inquiry into The Epistle of [Pseudo] ʿUmar II

Did ʿUmar’s Letter put John’s Paraclete on Isaiah’s Camel as the Muslims’ Prophet? An inquiry into The Epistle of [Pseudo] ʿUmar II’s twisting and intertwining of three proof texts in the context of rising Islam’s literature and the implications for dating and for identifying ʿUmar II’s role in Islam’s development.

Sources on Islam’s rise highlight disputations between Leo III and ʿUmar II (d. 720/101), titans who moved the course of Christianity and Islam. Gaudeul pieced together the epistle he called Pseudo-ʿUmar, linking it to Jeffrey’s published purported retort of Leo, dating them to the late 9th century: most subsequent studies tacitly followed this dating, Palombo adding identification of it as a Christian straw man, not a Muslim apologist or polemicist. Consequently treatment of polemics by Layth, Ibn Qutaybah, al-Ṭabarī, etc. have overlooked ʿUmar—although, this presentation shows, the texts are interrelated with ʿUmar: but who followed whom?

This analysis of ʿUmar’s use of Biblical pericopes, contextualized in trends of pre-canonized Islam’s development of its tradition, focuses on three paraphrased to Muslim use to produce the images of Muhammad as “Ahmad” mistranslated as “Paraclete,” riding a camel paired with Christ on a donkey. Watt’s prosopography dated “Ahmad” post 741/124, Isnād analysis pushes that date back a generation, the one that came of age under ʿUmar II. Philological study of “Paraclete”’s forms in Arabic reveals an early oral source in Greek, later made literary in Syriac/Aramaic, and then Arabicized in Muslim literature, complimenting Guillaume and Anthony on Ibn Ishāq’s “gospel,” confirming his 700/80 date. ʿUmar’s intertwining of these with the camel-donkey duo (cf. Bashhear), compared across the spectrum of texts from the first three centuries of Islam, reveal it inaugurating Muslim treatment on Christianity.

The results argue for a Muslim author/milieu, dating towards the beginning, not end, of Islam’s formative period, within the circles under ʿUmar II’s caliphate, if not within the caliph’s circle itself. The conclusion charts the implications that in ʿUmar we peer into the incubator of Muslim tradition, seeing Biblical material when still seen as Christian, before its transformation into ḥadīth, tafsīr and sīrah, and peek at pre-canonized Islam.
26. AMEENA YOVAN, University of Chicago

“Three thousand coin, a maidservant, a manservant”: Qatām and Tension in Narratives of ’Ali’s Assassination

In narratives of ’Ali b. Abī Ṭālib’s assassination, modern scholarship has accepted the incitement of Qatām, a beautiful woman, as the primary motivation. Little work has been done on his assassination beyond that, never mind any work examining how her presence—and absence—in the narrative function in the context of shifting gender roles, a slow change in tribal, political, and religious affiliations, and the communal trauma of the first fitna.

Qatām’s story is littered with inconsistencies and blank spaces, and only its impact on the assassination plot is outlined at all. She is, at once, a ghost in a poetic fragment; a temptress helming the fight against ’Ali; and Ibn Muljam’s main support in his foreordained task. All sources agree on her dower bargain with Ibn Muljam for ’Ali’s assassination; is that because it is true, or because it is a good story? Furthermore, she is present only in the first half of the narrative. Where the fate of all other conspirators is a violent end, she disappears before the assassination even takes place. Was there no appropriately gruesome end? Was it inconceivable for a woman to be punished, and equally impossible for any other resolution?

In this paper, I focus on Qatām’s presence as a vehicle for tribal tensions, the changing role of women in mourning, laments, and revenge, and the developing intra-communal divisions. I trace her presence in poetic fragments, histories, and adab literature; I then compare it to other women and representations of vengeance in the early Islamic period. While at first glance she is simply the woman blamed as the root of all sin, her role is more nuanced; her presence reveals tensions and divisions in social structures, such as the literary role of lamenting women, changing marriage practices, and community identity.

27. THOMAS BENFEY, Princeton University

Ahrun the Priest and the Beginning of Scientific Translation into Arabic: A Reassessment

In this paper I reexamine the life and career of Ahrun b. A‘yan al-Qass, or Ahrun the Priest. In standard reference works on Islamic science and medicine, such as those by Sezgin and Ullmann, this figure is considered to be a physician based in Alexandria during the sixth or seventh century CE, and the author of a Greek medical treatise, which, thanks to Masarjawayh’s translation of the late seventh or early eighth century, would become the first foreign scientific work to go into Arabic. In a 1932 publication, Temkin raised questions about this conventional identification of Ahrun the Priest and his work, arguing convincingly, primarily on the basis of a passage in Bar Hebraeus’ thirteenth-century Syriac Chronicle, that the medical compendium in question was more likely authored by Gessios of Petra, a physician active in Alexandria during the late fifth and early sixth centuries CE. Several pieces of evidence have come to light since Temkin’s time of writing that further support his point, indicating that Gessios’ writings did otherwise circulate in the late antique and medieval Near East, and underlining the evidentiary value of Bar Hebraeus’ report in this connection, despite its late date. Given all this, I argue that Ahrun was most likely an Iraqi who lived during the sixth or seventh century, and translated Gessios’ medical writings from
Greek into Syriac. Māsarjawayh would have then rendered this Syriac translation into Arabic. Of course, the identity of Māsarjawayh and the occurrence and date of his translation are controversial issues in their own right; these matters will be touched on as well.

28. Raashid S. Goyal, Cornell University

The Four Braids of the Ruwala Bedouin: A Component of Pre-Islamic Pilgrimage Ritual?

The present study examines an idiosyncratic custom observed by the Ruwala and other bedouin, as documented in the 1930s by William Shanklin and Henry Field. Photographs published by both anthropologists reveal that Ruwala men characteristically wore their hair in four braids, two before and two behind the ears, a custom also observed, though less consistently, by contemporaneous bedouin of Iraq. Noting the well-established isolation of the Ruwala from sedentary cultures until the early 20th century, I inquire into the provenance of this custom: Might it derive from a pre-Islamic cult of pilgrimage to the Meccan sanctuary? The question is suggested by reports that describe Muhammad as having worn four braids (ghaddā’ir) when entering Mecca as a pilgrim, a practice that is otherwise unattested and was ostensibly never sanctioned as Islamic. The Qurān prohibits the (male) pilgrim from shaving the head prior to completion of the rites of hajj, a violation of ritual ihrām that is excused only for medical necessity and must be appeased by prescribed penance (fidya). Given the sophistication of the legal framework surrounding the rite of shaving the head, the absence of any positive commandment pertaining to growing the hair is conspicuous. Citing texts that describe, implicitly or explicitly, the ritualization of hair in pre-Islamic Arabia, I propose that ritual growing of the hair was a prevalent and well-established component of ancient pilgrimage rites. At least some tribesmen, likely not Quraysh, may have worn four braids to advertise their intention to perform pilgrimage—the non-endorsement of this custom as a sunna may reflect questions of tribal prestige. Its religious connection severed, the custom appears to have endured as a symbol of tribal membership.

E. Islamic Near East III: Michael Bonner Memorial. Roy Mottahedeh, Harvard University, Chair (3:45 p.m.–5:45 p.m.) Kennedy *

29. Steven Judd, Southern Connecticut State University

Some Thoughts on siyar

We typically see siyar as a somewhat oddly named subcategory of Islamic law dealing with issues arising in armed combat and its aftermath. Siyar is closely related to jihād and magḥāzī and the lines between these categories are often blurry. This paper will examine more closely how early Islamic scholars conceptualized siyar as a category of law and will consider whether or not the siyar literature should be considered a separate genre, or perhaps subgenre, of Islamic legal works. The paper begins with an examination of how topics we generally associate with siyar are treated in the hadith collections. It then turns to the categorization of such questions in the ikhtilāf works. Finally, I examine the handful of discrete texts specifically known as siyar works (al-Awzā’i, Abū Yūsuf, al-Shaybānī, al-Fazari, et al) to suggest that these
were part of a small but distinct genre of early texts. I argue that the genre was short-lived and that *siyar* questions were eventually subsumed into other categories in the context of larger legal works. I will conclude with some speculation about why this shift in categorization occurred.

30. **Jacob Halevi-Lassner**, Northwestern University

The Desecration of the Umayyad Grave Sites in Light of Ancient and Contemporary Practices

This presentation is drawn from an ongoing project dealing with early Islamic political culture. The particular concern is the transition from tribal sensibilities to the formation of an imperial polity. The subject discussed here is the unprecedented brutal treatment meted out to various ‘princes’ of the Umayyad house following the overthrow of the regime. The various massacre accounts (tendentiously driven) have been meticulously examined by S. Moscati. This presentation deals with the violation of the grave sites of the Umayyad caliphs as reported in several Arabic sources. The most obvious explanation for this unprecedented act is that the new dynasts wished to wipe out all visual traces of the past regime (in and of itself an innovation). This presentation offers a highly speculative footnote that links the activity at the grave sites to ancient and contemporaneous practices that assure the dead will not arise to act malevolently.

31. **Amy Singer**, Brandeis University

How to Launch a Field of Study: Charity and Poverty in Islamic Societies

In the 1990s, Michael Bonner, Mine Ener and I organized a series of MESA panels and then an NEH-sponsored conference in 2001 at the University of Michigan on Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts. Through this series of events and the volume of articles that resulted from the conference, we helped to define the critical study of charitable giving in Islamic societies. Since that time, the scope of inquiry described by this rubric has expanded, fueled both by the growing interest in novel forms of informal and formal giving, continuously expanding national wealth in the Muslim world, and the increase in giving by wealthy and middle class Muslims world wide. From a more negative perspective, interest has also been heightened by non-Muslim awareness of charitable giving and hostility toward it as a counterpart of the international discourse on funding violent Islamist activism. Michael Bonner’s inquiries into the theology and ideas that underpin Muslim charitable giving played a critical role in launching this subfield of Middle Eastern and Islamic studies.

32. **Paul E. Walker**, University of Chicago

Resistance to and Acceptance of the Fatimids in North Africa: The Transregional Ismaili *Du‘wa* in a Local Context

Understanding exactly how the Fatimids, locally considered as being foreign easterners in addition to heretical Shi‘a, negotiated sufficient acceptance in the Maghrib to withstand fierce opposition from Maliki Sunnis and Ibadi Kharijis, raises key issues concerning the formation of Islamic empires. Despite a plethora of enemies among the local population, they and their rule endured and even prospered. What we know
of the details has grown substantially with the fairly recent discovery of new sources for the critical earliest phase of this process. A good amount of data existed in older known accounts but, with Ibn al-Haytham’s memoir of his role and interactions during and just before the advent of the Fatimids (published by Madelung and Walker) and with Abū ’Abdallāh al-Shīrī’s brother’s Keys to Grace (Mafātīḥ al-nī’ma) about to be published (by the same pair), we have substantially more information about a) the interaction of Fatimid authorities with the local ‘ulamā’, and b) the inner dynamics of the da’wa and its allocation of restricted knowledge to those most proven in their loyalty as evidenced in part by payment of religious dues (zakāt and ṣadaqa). The former involved both the conversion of sections of the local elite and the demotion or expulsion of hostile elements in it. The first, cooption and exclusion, worked reasonably well as we can tell from a detailed accumulation of biographical data in part supplied by Ibn al-Haytham who was himself a member of the same elite. The second aspect greatly benefits from having an internal document preserved by the da’wa that explains clearly facets of its structure and what it meant to be a member of it in good standing, how its adherents were expected to prove their loyalty and the reward for doing so. Membership was exclusive as were the duties imposed and the reward accumulated. The Ismailis existed both as one component in the new society formed by the Fatimids and yet also remained quite apart as a community of Believers within the broader society of Muslims.

F. South & Southeast Asia I: Sanskrit Grammar in Early Modern Contexts.

Parimal Patil, Harvard University, Chair (1:00 p.m.–2:20 p.m.)

33. Gary Tubb, University of Chicago

Bharata Miśra’s Śphoṭasiddhi and Its Philosophical Context

The Śphoṭasiddhi of Bharata Miśra is a prose treatise in Sanskrit supporting much of the content of Maṇḍana Miśra’s famous work by the same name, but with several innovations of philosophical interest, including new ideas on the role of Vedic texts as evidence for ontological and metaphysical views. Bharata Miśra was mentioned by name and heavily followed in an anonymous work in verse covering similar ground, the Śphoṭasiddhiprakāśa. Both texts were printed in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, from a single manuscript in Malayalam script in each case. Next to nothing is known about Bharata Miśra, but some scholars have suggested for him a date in the mid-16th century, some nine hundred years after the time of Maṇḍana.

In this communication I attempt to clarify some ways in which Bharata Miśra, and the text based on his treatise, may have been influenced by other writers closer to him in time and place, who provide evidence of a resurgence of interest in grammatical theory and in other knowledge systems such as Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā in Kerala during the immediately preceding centuries. These include Parameśvara’s Gopālikā commentary on Maṇḍana Miśra’s Śphoṭasiddhi, and works on Mīmāṃsā and related topics by other members of Parameśvara’s family.
34. PATRICK T. CUMMINS, Cornell University

The Revival of Grammarian Philosophy of Language: Konḍabhaṭṭa’s Answer to Kumārila’s Theory of the Sentence

This paper explores the revival of Grammarian Philosophy of Language in Bhāṭṭojīdīkṣita’s Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakārikā and his nephew Konḍabhaṭṭa’s Brhad-vaiyākaraṇabhāṣyaṇa via their newfound attention to Kumārilaṭa’s theory of the sentence. While their project has recently garnered attention (Diaconescu 2012), the stakes of the debate have yet to be explained, and key intellectual-historical threads have yet to be traced.

Kumārila, in the bhāvārthadhikaraṇa (MS2.1.1), opposes Yāska’s theory of the sentence wherein the principle element is the verbal root, and relocates activity in general (bhāvana) within the finite verbal suffix (-tiṁ). This dislocation centralizes bhāvana as the governing element of hierarchical language computation via the functions of syntactico-semantic expectancy, semantic suitability, and presentation-to-mind. This dislocation also facilitates a deep-level argument-structure for commands wherein the verbal root (e.g. “sacrifice”) is the instrument, not goal. Kumārila makes an intimately related move in the kartradhikaraṇa (MS3.4.4), reinterpreting Pāṇini and Patañjali 2.3.1 and 4.21-22, arguing that the finite verbal suffix only directly signifies the agent’s number, not the agent (direct signification of the agent by the verbal suffix complements a theory of root-centralized activity).

No grammarian answer emerges for a thousand years, until Bhāṭṭojī and Konḍa. Bhāṭṭojī embeds positions against Kumārila within the Šabdakaustubha and Manoramā, and outlines a framework for a new Grammarian Philosophy of Language in the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakārikā. Konḍa launches a full-scale assault on Kumārila’s position from the kartradhikaraṇa, revealing inconsistencies and deploying concepts from Nyāya to underpin his own position. They advance against Kumārila a theory of the sentence where bhāvana is located in the verbal root (as per Yāska) and the verbal suffix directly signifies the agent (as per Pāṇini & Patañjali): their enterprise is a self-conscious revival of a Grammarian position in the domain of Philosophy of Language.

This paper concludes by way of explaining their revival-project within deeper trends in the discourses.

35. JONATHAN R. PETERSON, University of Toronto

Agni on the Banks of the Bhīma: the Grammar of Devotion in Kaśināthopādhyaṭa’s Viṭṭhalarīmantrasārabhāṣya

This paper analyzes the exegetical strategies by which Kaśināthopādhyaṭa, an eighteenth-century grammarian and prolific Dharmaśāstrī, reforges mantras from the Rg Veda in order to establish a Vedic precedent for the worship of Krishna as Viṭṭhala. In reading Kaśinātha’s unpublished essay titled Viṭṭhalarīmantrasārabhāṣya, this paper maps some of the principle strategies Kaśinātha uses to interpolate Viṭṭhala—a deity with an immense lay following throughout the Deccan—into mantras originally dedicated to Agni. While his strategies are multifaceted, Kaśinātha’s most erudite and sophisticated engagement with established Sanskrit śāstras is through Vyākaraṇa. This paper charts how Kaśinātha marshals the rules governing derivational procedure, phonology, and pitch accent, all with a sensitivity to ongoing debates in early-modern Vyākaraṇa, in order to reconstitute the Rg Veda as an aid to Viṭṭhala devotion. Al-
though principally concerned with Kaśinātha’s engagement with Sanskrit grammatical traditions, this paper gestures both to the historical precedent of his project as well as its social implications. In using the Rg Veda as a surrogate for sectarian aims, Kaśinātha aligns himself with Madhva Ācārya, the fourteenth-century Vedāntin who famously re-read the Rg Veda as a paean to Viṣṇu Nārāyaṇa. Yet where Madhva’s exegetical process led his detractors to question his knowledge of Vyākaraṇa and Mīmāṃsā, Kaśinātha leaves little room to doubt his erudition. While Kaśinātha’s work should be situated in a longer tradition of sectarian Vedic revisionism, Vedicizing a deity with massive lay appeal has led scholars of Marathi literature and folk religion like Ramchandra Dhere to suggest that Kaśinātha’s project was fundamentally appropriative. P. V. Kane, on the other hand, intimates more benignly that the Viṣṭhalaṇimantassārabhāṣya was a testament to Kaśinātha’s devotion. In either case, the text itself demands closer scrutiny both for its engagement with Sanskrit scholastic traditions as well as its place among broader networks of devotion and popular religion.

36. Radha Blinderman, Harvard University

Balarāmapāṇcānana’s Prabodhaprakāśa: A Śākta Take on Grammar

This paper focuses on the little-studied phenomenon of ‘sectarian grammars’ of Sanskrit, specifically on the Prabodhaprakāśa, Balarāmapāṇcānana’s grammar (circa. 17th–18th century AD) in the Śākta religious tradition of West Bengal, and the ways in which it compares with its 16th century Vaiṣṇava predecessor, Jīva Gosvāmin’s Hariṇāmāmṛtavaiśākaraṇa. These authors furthered the theologization of grammar and innovated with paronomastic (ślesa-based) terminology by using the names of gods and their entourage as grammatical terms. A pejorative tone has been established in regard to those grammars since the early days of Indology, when Rajendralal Mitra (1877) characterized their terminology as ‘strange’, ‘absurd’, ‘extravagant’, and even as a ‘ridiculous superstition’. Later, S. K. Belvarkar (1976) described their presentation of grammar as ‘dull’ and ‘uninteresting’, ‘having no history’ and ‘lacking improvement on the existing texts on grammar’. The Prabodhaprakāśa received little attention since and remained misquoted and miscategorized by generations of scholars.

The purpose of this paper is to present new information, respond to past critique, and offer a revised and unbiased assessment of the Prabodhaprakāśa by analyzing its major features: 1) religiously inflected grammatical terminology, grammatical rules yielding ślesa, and other mnemonic techniques; 2) theology-infused grammar, and Śākta attitudes towards Vaiṣṇava content; 3) attitude towards grammatical authorities like the Pāṇinian and Kātāntīra schools; 4) the alleged ‘simplification’ of grammar in the arrangement of rules, terms and derivations. This paper attempts to understand the Prabodhaprakāśa on its own terms, explore the author’s socioreligious world and investigate why the Śāktas might want to have their own grammar.

Finally, this paper discusses the historical significance of this intersection of religion and grammar in the Prabodhaprakāśa and concludes by arguing that the analysis of Śākta and Vaiṣṇava grammars contributes in many ways to the field of vyākaraṇa as well as religious studies.
On What Precisely Cannot Be Said about Māyā: Śaṅkara’s Understanding of Tattvāntvābhīyām Anirvacanīya

Paul Hacker (1913–1979), who studied in detail the Advaita Vedanta of Śaṅkara Bhagavatpāda (c. 700–750 CE) and proposed criteria by which Śaṅkara’s works and though can be distinguished from those of later Vedāntins, offered an interesting interpretation of the important phrase tattvāntvābhīyām anirvacanīya that is applied to māyā as the material cause of the world. In Hacker’s reading, Śaṅkara used this phrase in a cosmological sense, tantamount to the Śaṅkhyā idea of prime matter (prakṛti) that is indeterminate (avyakta) but is about to evolve into the world (Hacker 1995: 71–3). Later Advaitins read the phrase as sad-asad-anirvacanīya, meaning that māyā could not be described either as Being or as non-Being, that is, either as identical with or different from Brahman. Hacker claimed that Śaṅkara’s understanding was no longer familiar to them.

Hacker’s interpretation has almost univocally been accepted by later scholarship, notably by Sengaku Mayeda (2006) and Alan Thrasher (1993). One important exception in this was Michael Comans (2000), who looked at the phrase in a wider selection of Śaṅkara’s works and concluded that it does not have the cosmological significance that Hacker wants but rather stands for the ontological indescribability of the material cause as either identical with or different from Brahman.

In all cases, however, the approach to interpreting this important phrase has assumed that Śaṅkara invented it in a meaning that his students understood or failed to understand. I will argue that tattvāntvābhīyām anirvacanīya has had a long history before Śaṅkara, evident in Buddhist philosophy and the Advaita Vedānta of Bhārṭṛhari. Rather than new and obscure, it was a phrase with a transparent meaning in Śaṅkara’s milieu. This, I argue, makes Hacker’s interpretation implausible, and raises important methodological questions about the study of Indian philosophy and the negotiation between text and context.

Jiva Gosvāmin on the Reality of the World

In his commentary called the Krama-sandarbha on Bhāgavata Purāṇa 1.2.11 Jiva Gosvāmin (16th century) argues that the nondual consciousness, the ultimate reality, has three features: unqualified being (brahman), being that is immanent in the world (paramātman), and its own innate and intrinsic being that is qualified by all qualities (bhagavat). In his Paramounta-sandarbha Jiva argues that this nondual consciousness has an “unthinkable power” (acintya-śakti), one that allows him to have contradictory qualities like being the cause of duality, being without transformation, and being the world which transforms. In this paper I examine Jiva’s defense of this view in Paramounta-sandarbha (sections 58 ff.) against the Advaita school’s views on superimposition, ignorance, and other philosophies. I seek to further clarify Jiva’s position on the reality of the world and the veridicality of sense perception in relation to Śrīdhara (15th century) and Śaṅkara, arguing that Jiva is more of a “realist” than he is often portrayed.
39. Malcolm Keating, Yale-National University of Singapore

Why is a Haystack Not Like an Elephant? Similarity Judgments in Kumārila Bhaṭṭa’s upamānāpariccheda

The discussion of the “mere appearance” of comparison (upamānābhāsa) in the comparison chapter (upamānāpariccheda) of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa’s Ślokavārttika gives insight into competing commentarial interpretations of Kumārila’s core epistemological concept, “intrinsic validity” (svatabhārānānya). Through discussion of two examples of apparently veridical similarity judgments which are overturned as false (mithyā), we can see further evidence that Umbeka Bhaṭṭa’s approach is at times a strained reading of Kumārila’s text, and we can distinguish further between Pārthasārathī Miśra and Sucarita Miśra’s views. Earlier scholars such as John Taber (1992) and Daniel Arnold (2005) have argued that Umbeka’s account is not only textually deficient in comparison to Pārthasārathī, but philosophically so, since it collapses the distinction between justification and truth. However, despite recent work by Kei Kataoka (2011) on Kumārila’s concept of svaabhārānānya in the codanāsūtra, philosophical analysis of Sucarita’s theory in relationship to Umbeka and Pārthasārathī is still a desideratum. The two examples of upamānābhāsa in the comparison chapter help us understand the phenomenological manner in which intrinsically warranted cognitions disclose themselves as warranted for Kumārila, as well as how svaabhārānānya is useful for Vedic ritual, as a means to identify substitutes. Sucarita’s reading of these cases emphasizes how phenomenology is a guide to metaphysical reality. For him, our experiences of the world ordinarily, and justifiably bring about our belief in their contents, although they can be defeated by other cognitions because of their content and phenomenological character, such as the rapidity and force with which they arise.

H. South & Southeast Asia III: On Recognition and Non-Recognition in Early Indian Thought. Signe Cohen, University of Missouri, Chair (3:30 p.m.–4:30 p.m.) King *

40. James D. Reich, Pace University

Mechanisms of Cumulative Understanding in Sucarita Miśra’s Theory of Inference

In Sucarita Miśra’s commentary on Kumārila’s Ślokavārttika, Sucarita addresses a particular problem in Sanskrit epistemology: if inference is based on knowledge of a necessary pervasion [vyāpti] between inferential sign and inferred object, then how is this pervasion itself known? What pramāṇa allows us to know that such a pervasion exists? This is a tricky question, since all the available answers have potential problems. But to fail to answer is to give in to the materialist [carvāka] assertion that inference has no validity, and thus to give up on the projects in which Sanskrit philosophers were so invested. Sucarita, in giving his answer, disagrees with other Mīmāṃsakas. At the same time, however, he also relies on principles found elsewhere in the Mīmāṃsā system, usually, though not exclusively, in discussions of sentence cognition and arguments against sphaṭa. In general, Mīmāṃsā discussions of inference have not received as much attention as similar discussions in Buddhism and Nyāya. In particular, Sucarita’s arguments on this subject have rarely been studied, and never in any depth. In fact, only one small summary exists in the secondary literature, in G. P. Bhatt’s 1962 book Epistemology of The Bhatta School of Purva Mimansa [sic].
But this book treats the arguments only in relation to other arguments on the same subject by other Minûsakasas, and therefore overlooks some important broader and intertextual aspects of these arguments. This presentation will connect Sucarita’s discussion of pervasion to other aspects of his philosophy and to other texts on similar topics, particularly Mañandamiśra’s Śphotasiddhi, showing that this particular piece of argumentation is part of a broader tapestry and, like many arguments in Sanskrit philosophy, is a way of adjudicating broader principles by means of clarifying narrow topics.

41. Radhika Koul, Stanford University

Concentric Worlds: Space and Time in the Pratyabhijñā school and the Abhinavabharati

What is the shape of time? From Latin absolutus, “freed, unrestricted,” the idea of an absolute time that is linear and unidirectional, untethered to the particularities of phenomena has been attractive to many in Europe, most famously Newton. Some nine hundred years before philosophy of science in the twentieth century would deliver a decisive blow to the possibility of absolute simultaneity, Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta in Kashmir explored how space and time had the same metaphysical basis, succession, krama, as they together defined a reference frame. In the philosophical school of the Pratyabhijñā (“Recognition”), space and time, deśa and kāla, become the defining coordinates of a subjective ontology. In exploring only a few points of radical cohesion between Abhinavagupta’s commentaries on Utpaladeva’s Īśvarapratyabhijñānākārikā, the Īśvarapratyabhijñānimarśini, and Bharata’s Nāṭyaśastra, the Abhinavabharati, this paper considers how space and time define the concentric contours of both phenomenal and aesthetic worlds in Abhinava’s thought. In either realm, time is the basis of action, but only with respect to a particular subjective center: Abhinava can therefore propound a theory of metatheater that plays with the ontological relativity of illusion, each concentric layer characterized by its own encapsulations of space and time. The paper then considers the implications of taking Abhinava’s ideas on time out of the locked chest of historicism, itself a consequence of certain provincial and colonial conceptions of time. How might different conceptions of time afford different methodologies of critique, beyond historicism and formalism?

42. Jane Allred, University of Alberta

Passed over in Silence: The Mahabhāṣya’s Brief Inquiry into the Philosophy of Gender

My presentation will provide an analysis of the social dimensions of an important theme in Patañjali’s Mahabhāṣya—the relationship between grammatical gender and reality. The Mahabhāṣya is a foundational text in Sanskrit grammar, offering one of the first substantial philosophical inquiry into the nature of linguistic analysis in the Sanskrit tradition. In a lengthy passage on feminine affixes, Patañjali guides the reader on a discussion of the metaphysics of gender; the relationship between substance and quality; and the relationship between words, the intentions of a linguistic community, and reality. While this discussion has not been unnoticed by scholars, most ink has been spilled over matters related to more general metaphysical questions. In order to tease out the grammarian’s metaphysics of gender, as well as to glimpse into the
social history of gender in Ancient northern India, I will offer a close reading of the neglected portions of this discussion. Here, I will trace the way in which both the nature of certain words, as well as specific gender practices led Patañjali to the formulation of an essentially conventionalist account of grammatical gender, which helped justify his evasion of tough questions regarding gender constructs in his time. I will conclude with a gesture to how we may uncover such questions, offering my philological research on one particular word—bhrākuṇḍsa—which provided difficulty both for Patañjali’s ordinary understanding of sex and gender, as well as to following generations up until this very day.

I. South & Southeast Asia IV: Law, Society, and Statecraft in Early South and Southeast Asia. LUTHER OBROCK, University of Toronto, Chair (4:35 p.m.–6:00 p.m.) King *

43. PATRICK OLIVELLE, University of Texas

Dharmaśāstras Extant in the 9th Century CE

In my chapter “Social and Literary History of Dharmaśāstras: The Foundational Texts” in the volume on Hindu Law that I and Don Davis edited, I noted that “perhaps 90% of the Dharmaśāstras have been lost in the manuscript tradition.” Kane (I: 304) estimates that approximately 100 Dharmaśāstras are cited in medieval legal digests, of which we have complete manuscripts of about eight. We may question whether all the citations in the medieval legal digests and commentaries are from actual treatises available to their authors, or whether some may have been floating verses in the memory of experts, or, indeed, whether, some may have been simply invented as proof texts, as David Brick has shown with respect to the institution of satī. Nevertheless, there appears to have been a large-scale extinction of Dharmaśāstras. In this paper I seek not a solution to this problem, but to identify which of the one hundred or so texts ascribed to distinct authors in medieval texts were actually in circulation in the 9th century CE, when two extensive commentaries were composed, one on Yājñavalkya by Viśvarūpa and one on Manu by Medhātithi. I attempt here to reconstruct the texts and authors known to them and analyze the citations ascribed to these authors in the hope of advancing the history of the Dharmaśāstric textual production.

44. MARK MCCLISH, Northwestern university

The Cākṣuṣṭiya Arthaśāstra and the Character of the Early Statecraft Tradition

In 1942, M. RAMAKRISHNA KAVI published in the Journal of the Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute a brief work on statecraft called the Cākṣuṣṭiya Arthaśāstra. The Cākṣuṣṭiya consists of 67 short sūtras, each of which give a number and a subject (such as sapta vyasanāni, “seven vices”) that is explicated in a brief subsequent passage.

In an introduction, KAVI claims that the Cākṣuṣṭiya is earlier than the Arthaśāstra and that it “is only a primer in royal politics which served as basis for fuller works as Kautāliya etc.” (1940, 82–83). His argument was roundly rejected by P. V. KANE in the revised edition of his History of Dharmaśāstra (1968, 152–53). KANE considered the Cākṣuṣṭiya instead to be a derivative work of little importance. Since then, the Cākṣuṣṭiya and its place in the statecraft tradition have received almost no attention.
My own research on the Arthasastra (MCCLISH 2019), suggests that parts of Kautilya’s text may, indeed, be expansions on short sūtras like those found in the Cākṣuṣiya, as argued by RENOU (1961) and others. Moreover, the influence of such sūtras can seemingly be traced in other texts concerned with statecraft, such as the Mānava Dharmaśāstra and Kāmāndakīya Nītīśāra.

In this paper, I will explore the composition and dating of the Cākṣuṣiya. Although its date cannot be firmly settled, reading it in tandem with early statecraft texts suggests that sūtras of the kind found in the Cākṣuṣiya were important to the codification and transmission of foundational concepts within the statecraft tradition. In this paper, I will argue that the Cākṣuṣiya gives us some insight into the historical development of a shared statecraft tradition and refine what exactly we might mean by referring to an ancient Indic statecraft “tradition” at all.

45. DAVID BRICK, University of Michigan

On the Rare Sanskrit Term Kātyāyanī

This paper will examine in detail the meaning and usage of the Sanskrit word kātyāyanī, which, although quite rare, reveals important information about the practice of widow-asceticism in early India. To this end, it will first draw attention to the definition of kātyāyanī given in classical India’s preeminent work of lexicography, the Amarakośa (2.5.562), according to which the term denotes a middle-aged widow who has donned an ochre robe (kāṣāya)—an item of clothing highly characteristic of both Buddhist monks and Brahmanical world-renouncers. It will then attempt to flesh out the character of the kātyāyanī, alluded to in the Amarakośa’s intriguing definition, by examining the actual usage of the word in Sanskrit literature, as well as the nun character Kauśikī in Kālidāsa’s Mālavikāgnimitra, who, while never identified as a kātyāyanī, closely matches the image of the kātyāyanī, gleaned from other textual sources. Based upon the analysis of these sources, this paper will argue that a kātyāyanī was likely not a Buddhist nun, as is often assumed of the character Kauśikī in Kālidāsa’s play, but instead a particular and rather peculiar type of early Brahmanical widow-ascetic.

46. TIMOTHY LUBIN, Washington and Lee University

Javanese Innovations in Indic Legal Science

Archives in Java and Bali (not to mention in Europe) contain manuscripts of a number of texts in Old Javanese (sometimes mixed with Sanskrit verses) detailing legal “causes of action,” using the Sanskrit rubric vyavahāra[padā] or aṣṭādaśa-vyavahāra as it was used in the Sanskrit Dharmaśāstra literature. Apart from the work conventionally but misleadingly known as the ‘Kuṭāra Mānava’, which has been published twice (Jonker’s Wetboek, 1885; Hoadley & Hooker’s Āgama, 1981), in each case relying on a single manuscript, most of these have received little or no scholarly attention. Early results of my own study of these texts, however, suggests that they reflect a creative appropriation of Indic legal science as a framework for codifying indigenous Indonesian legal norms. This included a practice of formally defining criminal and civil wrongs in a casuistic manner used also for defining Sanskrit terms of legal art. Some of the Javanese expressions are more like maxims than mere titles, and can be rather colorful. Besides the Javanese terms of art, it is notable that a number
of fixed expressions used in these works, mostly numbered sets (aṣṭaduṣṭa, aṣṭacora, paṅcaabhaya, paṅcasādhaṁraṇa), have no precedent in Sanskrit sources from India and appear to derive from Sanskrit works composed in (or at least surviving only) in Indonesia. Thorough study of this literature also promises to clarify a number of legal features appearing in Indonesian inscriptions, including the formulaic lists of sukhaduhkha (wrongs subject to legal penalties, over which beneficiaries of religious endowments have authority), including this use of the term sukhaduhkha itself.

A. Ancient Near East II: Scribes and Letters. Eva von Dassow, University of Minnesota, Chair (8:30 a.m.–10:00 a.m.) Alcott *

47. Joshua Jeffers, University of Pennsylvania

Scribal Notations on Tablets Bearing Ashurbanipal’s Royal Inscriptions

Ashurbanipal, the last great king of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, has significantly more cuneiform tablets that bear royal inscriptions preserved for his reign than does each of his predecessors. These tablets contain various types of texts: copies, Vorlagen, or extracts of inscriptions written on prisms that were used as foundation documents; copies of dedicatory inscriptions written on objects that were presented to various deities; and other inscriptions detailing his training as crown prince, his building projects throughout the kingdom, and the return of statues of deities to their sanctuaries. While the contents of many of these tablets have been known for some time, scholars have tended to overlook the scribal notations that appear on the left edges and in the margins of the tablets. These notations provide us with a glimpse of how the scribes conceptualized the contents of the tablets, modified the text on the tablets, and possibly marked where future alterations should be made to an inscription, though the nature of the change was not noted on the tablet itself.

48. Alice Mandell, Johns Hopkins University

When Ants Bite: Another Look at Labayu’s Complaint in EA 252

Recent work on the Canaanite Amarna Letters reflects a shift in the study of this corpus from a purely philological enterprise, to one that considers the materiality of scribal habitus. In this study I offer a reassessment of EA 252, which is well known for its tongue-and-cheek reference to a parable about an angry ant. While past studies have focused on the West Semitic elements in this letter, I evaluate its design as a crafted scribal ‘thing.’ I analyze its layout, size, shape, and use of scribal marks in addition to its linguistic and stylistic elements. I then evaluate how these communicative modes worked together to create a compelling defense. This letter demonstrates how scribal strategies of communication went beyond mere words, but appealed to the visual and tactile aspects of textual engagement. Ultimately, my reassessment of EA 252 elucidates the important role that individual cuneiform scribes in the Levant played in diplomacy. They crafted letters that would appeal to the Pharaoh and key officials but also to their scribal counterparts in Egypt.

The official Aramaic letters of the Achæmenid Empire have survived in three major collections: i) the Arshama dossier, ii) the Elephantine letters, and iii) the Aramaic letters from ancient Bactria. Alexander (1978), Fitzmyer (1981), Porten (1996), Naveh & Shaked (2012), and Ma et al. (2013) examine the layout and phraseology of the letters. Still, none of them make a comparison between official letters and other textually relevant genres within the corpus of Achæmenid Aramaic texts. In this study, we compare the Aramaic official letters with the Hermopolis family letters, on the one hand, and the Elephantine legal documents, on the other, and show that official letters have little in common with family letters, but feature striking similarities with legal documents. This connection, we further argue, can shed light on some of the debated features of official letters, most notably the identity of the two names mentioned in the signature section of the letters.

The similarities between official letters and legal documents are observed in the layout, phraseology, and style of language. In terms of layout, the body of official letters includes three sub-sections: i) context, ii) request, and iii) reward/warning, which lays out the consequences if the request is or is not fulfilled. Similarly, Muffs (1969) identifies in the legal documents two subsections, which he calls, i) the operative subsection, which creates the new legal status, and ii) the ‘Schlussklauseln’, which anticipates the possible future actions of the two parties. In terms of phraseology, the same performative use of the verb ‘mr ‘to say’ is observed in official letters and legal documents, but not in family letters. Additionally, repetition and a plain style, expected features of legal documents, turn out to be prominent stylistic features of Aramaic official letters too. Finally, similar to official letters, legal documents mention two names at the end: the scribe (spr) who wrote ‘in the mouth of’ (k-pm) of the party speaking in the document. We argue that this similarity can help us understand a much debated term in official letters, i.e., ‘cognizant/master of (this) order’ (yd t-m $zh/b$l t-m).

References:


Many Hittite relative clauses (RC) are of the relative-correlative variety:

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51. Kathryn (McConaughy) Medill, Johns Hopkins University

Factive Motion or Fictive Motion? The Uses of the Directive he’ in Biblical Hebrew

In most cases, the directive he’ suffix in Biblical Hebrew indicates real movement toward a physical place, as in the phrase ‘alit yérüšalaym-md. “I went up to Jerusalem.” However, past grammars of Biblical Hebrew have also listed other uses for this clitic: separative (movement from a place), locative (location in a place), temporal (movement through time or time when something occurred), resultative, and more (e.g., GKC, Lambert 1931, Bauer and Leander 1962, Waltke and O’Connor 1990, Williams 2007). Yet I argue that the core meaning of this morpheme is indeed movement toward a goal. While directive he’ marks the physical goal of real movement only about 50% of the time (in 603 of 1122 possible cases), it marks the goal of fictive movement in most of the remaining cases. “Fictive movement,” which refers to any motion situation in which the mover, the motion, or the goal is non-physical or unreal (c.f. Talmy 2000, 2017), comes in several varieties, ranging from orientation paths (“He shall kill it on the northern (šapön-md) side of the altar” [Lev. 1:11]) to coextension paths (“Now the road crosses to Zin (šin-md)” [Josh. 15:3]).

References


52. Zeineb Sellami, University of Chicago

The Interaction of hinnéh with the Verbal System in Biblical Hebrew Prose

Descriptively referred to as a presentative particle in the literature, hinnéh is an element found 1,060 times in the Hebrew Bible. It is usually translated as “lo” or “behold”, without much sensitivity to its context of appearance. Joüon (1947:502) describes it as a “demonstrative adverb used to emphasise the utterance.” Previous studies on the particle have ranged from syntactic accounts (Zewi 1996) to trying to pin down an original meaning from which potential secondary uses might derive (Sadka 2001). The most exhaustive study done so far is Miller-Naudé and van der Merwe’s (2011) cognitive-based approach, which treats hinnéh as a mirative element. While these different analyses have provided a better understanding of the particle,
not much attention has been paid to the type of clause it introduces, particularly the verb forms it occurs with.

The aim of this paper is to look closely at the clauses introduced by *hinneh* that contain finite verbal forms. I argue that in most if not all instances where the presentative scopes over a perfective verb, it has the meaning of a perfect, of the English type “has done.” Thus, *hinneh* reduces the meanings available to the perfectives it occurs with. This account not only enhances our understanding of the biblical corpus but also resolves numerous translational issues still outstanding in the scholarly literature. Further, it provides a new look at the nature of the presentative and contributes to our typological knowledge of how particles indicating spatial deixis may develop temporal deictic usage. This adds another example of an already established grammaticalization process whereby demonstrative categories are recruited as parts of a language’s verbal system (cf. Hittite (Hoffner & Melchert 2008:323) and Neo-Aramaic (Cohen 2017)).

References:


53. **REBECCA HASSELBACH-ANDEE, University of Chicago**

**Syntax or Semantics: Is there Ergativity in Neo-Aramaic?**

Certain dialects of the Neo-Aramaic group of modern Semitic languages have been described as reflecting split ergative alignment. This interpretation of their alignment has been widely accepted and is commonly taken as a fact. There are, however, problems with such an analysis, which even several proponents of the “ergative hypothesis” have pointed out. The system of these Neo-Aramaic dialects has consequently also been described as “extended ergative” following Dixon or as “restricted ergative” (e.g., Coghill 2016). In this talk, I will argue that the alignment system exhibited by the Neo-Aramaic dialects should be understood as semantic rather than syntactic alignment. The interpretation of Neo-Aramaic as reflecting semantic alignment has been proposed before, for example by Coghill (2016:54), but Coghill sees the instances of semantic alignment in Neo-Aramaic as an intermediate stage between an original ergative system that developed into an accusative system. More importantly, she considers semantic alignment in general as being part of an ergative-accusative continuum, that is, as being part of the overall ergative/accusative alignment patterns rather than as being a discrete category. It will be argued that there is no evidence that
Neo-Aramaic is ergative and that semantic alignment is indeed, contrary to Coghill, a distinct alignment category from syntactic accusative and ergative alignment.

References:

C. East Asia III: Intellectual History. Gregory Patterson, University of South Carolina, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:15 a.m.) Holmes-Brandeis *

54. Yahong Shi, University of Wisconsin-Madison and Nankai University


Based on the Chinese Classic Books Database, this article uses the method of digital document retrieval to find how many times the key terms “Ge”, “Diao” and “Gediao” were used from Tang Dynasty to contemporary era. This result reveals the process that how this ordinary word “Gediao” gradually became an important literary criticism term step by step. This research brings new conclusions different from past opinions of Chinese literature history. In the past, “the former and the later seven poets” were also called as “Gediao Group”, and their poetic theory were named as “Gediao Theory”. This research finds that “the former and the later seven poets” used “Ge” and “Diao” separately, but they did not use “Gediao” directly. They were Wang Shimao in Ming Dynasty and Weng Fang’gang in Qing Dynasty who used “Gediao” to describe the artistic style of “the former and the later seven poets”. Guo Shaoyu in modern times and Japanese Sinologist SUZUKI TORAO inherited the concept of literary criticism of Wang Shimao and Weng Fang’gang. Guo and SUZUKI TORAO built the genealogy of “Gediao Theory” in contemporary academic history.
55. Kun You, University of Colorado

Titling Practices and Authorial Concerns in Early Medieval China

Scholars have remarked on the importance of Liu Xiang’s (79–8 BCE) bibliographic project for stabilizing the texts later transmitted to us, especially those ascribed to the Warring States “masters.” However, little attention has been paid to the connection between Liu Xiang’s project and the concerns of later authors. In this presentation, I argue that the comprehensive stabilization of pre-Han texts as a result of the bibliographic project led to authorial concern in two ways. First, pseudonymous writing was no longer regarded as legitimate after the imperial bibliography had established attributions of texts to particular author figures, whose names usually functioned as titles. Second, the notion of a self-contained text shifted from short, essay-length texts to compilations. Both factors changed the concepts of a text’s social and material existence. The titles of originally self-contained texts became chapter titles, and compilations consisting of chapters led to a new perception of the text as a whole, which needed to be titled in a significantly different way: the formation of author figures goes hand in hand with the formation of the text, and so does authorial concern. Authorial prefaces commenting on the choice of a compilation’s title are rare before Liu Xiang’s time. To demonstrate the shift of tradition in early medieval China, I will single out the prefaces to Wang Chong’s Lun heng and Liu Xie’s Wenxin diaolong as two ends of the spectrum in terms of chronology and motivation. Wang Chong used his book’s title to protect himself from punishment by the political world. Liu Xie, perceiving the bibliographic project as a historical record, along with the development of the idea of an anthology, used the title of his book to save himself from the eternal punishment that threatens every author—the loss of one’s writing.

56. Hin Ming Frankie Chik, Arizona State University

The Three Dynasties in the Discourse of Jinshi xue 金石學 in the Song: A Visible and Traceable History

This paper aims to examine the interrelationship between the pursuit of the Three Dynasties and the development of Antiquarian in the Song dynasty. Yu Ying-shih has argued that the Three Dynasties were exclusively discussed and alluded among ru (or Confucian) scholars in the Song. For example, in the letters Zhu Xi and Chen Liang exchanged to each other, the idea of Three Dynasties was vividly debated. Indeed, ru scholars throughout the imperial history saw the revival of the Three Dynasties as the ultimate goal of their moral teachings. Emperors, at the same time, took the sage-kings from the Three Dynasties as their models. The reasons for its prevalence during the imperial era are multiple, and the simplest one is that this period represented the peak of morality with such well-known sage-kings as Tang and King Wen of Zhou appeared to pacify the world. Important although it was in the ancient intellectual history, the idea of Three Dynasties is by and in itself far from clear. Not only were there alleged tyrants, at least in ru discourse, savaging the world, but the material aspects of this period, as Wang Fan-sen suggested, were also ignored. Song people, nevertheless, strongly believed that the Three Dynasties could be recurred in the contemporary time. In the Song, besides philosophical and political discourses, the idea of Three Dynasties also existed in Song discussions on bronze vessels from the antiquity. Texts like Xuanhe bogu tu examine in detail the shapes of the bronze vessels
from the so-called Three dynasties, if at least the Xia dynasty did really exist, and explain how those bronzes embodied the morality in the Three Dynasties. This paper, thus, attempts to analyze how, on the one hand, the everlasting pursuit of the remote golden age contributed the studies of bronze vessels during the Song; and on the other hand, to see how did the development of the Jinshi xue and Song Antiquarian stimulate scholarly discussions on the concept of the Three Dynasties in the Song.

D. East Asia IV: The Politics of Self-Representation in Medieval China (A Panel Sponsored by The Elling Eide Center). Ding Xiang Warner, Cornell University, Chair (10:30 a.m.–12:15 p.m.) Holmes-Brandeis *

57. Xiaojing Miao, University of Colorado Boulder

Self-representation with Wit: Yang Jiong and His “Fu on the Bookcase for Reading while Lying down”

One permanent challenge facing authors who write of themselves is that “it grates his own heart to say anything of disparagement, and the reader’s ears to hear anything of praise from him” (Abraham Cowley). In medieval China, many elite authors managed to escape this dilemma, as they often situated their self-praise within the literary tradition of bei shi buyu (lamenting for the gentleman not meeting his proper time). If not writing within this tradition, some medieval literati, in order to compliment themselves without annoying the reader, employed wit for self-representation. In this paper, I will discuss how the famous Tang poet Yang Jiong (ca. 650–695?) wittily and favorably represented himself in his “Fu on the Bookcase for Reading while Lying down.” For the sake of seeking political patronage, Yang Jiong wrote this fu-composition, where he portrays himself as a unique and remarkable scholar by cleverly manipulating the genre of yongwu fu (fu on objects). The wit he displays throughout the fu invites the reader to appreciate the genius of his self-praise, instead of dismissing it as irritating. Moreover, as wit was a desirable quality for government appointment in Tang times, advertising himself wittily also contributed to his goal of seeking political favor.

58. Graham Chamness, Kalamazoo College

Temporality of the Self in Xie Lingyun’s Landscape Descriptions

This paper examines the way in which temporality is used to represent the self in the writings of the great landscape poet Xie Lingyun (385–433). Whereas scholars have devoted much attention to Xie Lingyun’s depictions of landscape, the aspect of temporality reflected in his poetic self-representations deserves further consideration. By examining his writings on traveling to different scenic sites and comparing them with his literary predecessors, I argue that Xie Lingyun uses a long view of time as unending to write about himself wandering through landscape; and this constitutes a point of contrast with earlier poets who write of themselves as engaging with landscape in the present moment.
59. Gregory Patterson, University of South Carolina  
Narrative and the Mediated Self in the Poetry of Du Fu

The centrality of lyric immediacy as an ideal in the writing and reading of medieval Chinese poetry has tended to marginalize longer narrative shi poems as vehicles of autobiographical self-expression. Unlike shorter forms, which lent themselves to the disclosure of momentary experiences, and to effects of effortlessness and transparency, first-person narrative verse encouraged the sequencing of multiple experiences, perspectives, and reflections, foregrounding the author’s self-consciousness and artistic craft. Among this form’s innovators was the Tang poet Du Fu (712–770), who famously employed it in a handful of early works recounting arduous journeys following the outbreak of the An Lushan revolt. This paper will focus on an important but less well-studied later narrative, “Travels of My Prime” (766), which treats significant episodes from Du Fu’s childhood up through his demotion and banishment from court in 758. “Travels of My Prime” has been mined by scholars for its wealth of biographical information, but has been virtually ignored as a poem with its own tropes and rhetorical conventions. Taking this reception as a starting point, I will then indicate some of the poem’s sources in the poetic travelogue and “recalling past travels” traditions, and will offer a reading of it as an attempt to define an identity rooted in literature and sociality, separate from the world of court politics. This reading will suggest that, in contrast to the more familiar medieval lyric self of the imagistic quatrain and octave, extended narrative shi afforded self-constructions characterized by metamorphosis and mediation.

60. Xiaoxuan Li, Harvard University  
The Eloquent Body: Resisting the Regime of “Knowing Men” in Two Late Third-Century Hypothetical Disquisitions

This paper discusses two late third-century rhapsodies (fu) that debate the early medieval notion of zhiren, knowing men. Rooted in the moral and political discourse of governance, the question of how to assess and understand human character saw new developments in the philosophical and belletristic writings of the third century. Drawing from previous scholarship on the genre of “hypothetical disquisition” (shelun) and the early medieval culture of character evaluation, I argue that these two texts foreground the problematic nature of physical appearance and contest assumptions of the zhiren paradigm. Additionally, I show how they might revise our understanding of the fu genre as a mode of self-representation.

E. Inner Asia I: Languages and Scripts. HANNES A. FELNNER, University of Vienna, Chair 8:30 a.m.–10:20 a.m. Hutchinson-Lowell *

Inner Asia I–II: Ancient Languages in the Tarim Basin

1.1. Rationale The panel proposed here presents new research into the philology of the ancient languages of the Tarim Basin, approached from the disciplines of codicology, epigraphy, and comparative linguistics. The Tarim Basin, located at the precise intersection of the broad spheres of influence of the Indian, Iranian, and Chinese traditions was—and still is—a linguistic melting pot in which dozens of indigenous and non-indigenous languages have come into contact, and this dialogue was particularly
intense during the first millennium CE when the continental trade network was in full force. Yet, since the monuments of many of these languages were discovered through archeological research barely a century ago, philological work is still an ineluctable step towards broader historical inquiry. The panel we propose here deals with the philology of languages known to have been indigenous to the area (e.g. Tocharian, Khotanese), languages brought to the basin through conquest or political influence in historical times (e.g. Gândhārī Prakrit, Old Tibetan) and languages still undeciphered like the language of the “Formal Kharoṣṭhī” corpus from Kucha. The panel would provide a rare opportunity for specialists in this area to meet and share ideas.

1.2. Panel Summary

We propose a panel with three miscellaneous papers related to various languages attested in the area and to language contact: Nathan Hill deals with the phonology of Old Tibetan on the basis of material from the Tarim Basin, Zhang Zhan with shared scribal practices in the Gândhārī documents from Niya and in the later corpora of Khotanese secular documents, and Federico Dragoni with Middle Iranian medical terminology in Tocharian texts. The papers of Stefan Baums and Diego Loukota deal with the still undeciphered language of the “Formal Kharoṣṭhī” corpus from Kucha, and although no new decipherment will be proposed, both suggest new directions of research. As the most recent attempt at decipherment of this corpus by K.T. Schmidt suggests that the corpus attests a previously unknown Tocharian language, these talks are linked to Niels Schoubben’s paper about yet another hypothesis of a further Tocharian language, Burrow’s so-called “Tocharian C,” and to Michaël Peyrot’s paper about the linguistic prehistory of the Tarim Basin. This creates a bridge towards a solid section on Tocharian philology, in which Hannes Fellner, Bernhard Koller, and Martin Braun will present their research on a question that links together issues of Tocharian paleography and phonology, Teigo Onishi a new proposed Tocharian syntactic law, and Dieter Gunkel a case study of Tocharian prosody and possible Indian prototypes.

61. Nathan W. Hill, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Old Tibetan Word Internal sandhi Patterns

Existing discussions of Tibetan phonology do not distinguish sʰ́on-hjʊŋ (prescript) and mɡo-can (superscript) consonants. In fact, sʰ́on-hjʊŋ and mɡo-can exhibit different sandhi behaviour. This behaviour may be summarized as two rules, viz., the sʰ́on-hjʊŋ deletion rule whereby, if a preceding syllable terminates in a rjes-hjʊŋ consonant, a sʰ́on-hjʊŋ consonant in the ensuing syllable drops out, and the mɡo-can deletion rule, whereby, (1) when the rjes-hjʊŋ of a preceding syllable is acute, and the sʰ́on-hjʊŋ consonant of the word in question would be deleted according to the sʰ́on-hjʊŋ deletion rule, an ensuing mɡo-can drops out as well, and (2) in Anlaut the mɡo-can is also deleted, although the sʰ́on-hjʊŋ remains. The second rule was only active during the early Old Tibetan period and can be used to confirm the results of paleography and codicology in the dating of documents. Both rules are inactive in Classical Tibetan.
62. ZHANG ZHAN, Independent Scholar, Beijing


The Gândhārī documents from Niya and the Khotanese ones from Khotan are two major groups of administrative documents from southern Tarim Basin. Though both groups contain documents of the same genres, such as orders, petitions, contracts, and so on, their difference in language, date, and location seems to signal a break in the writing practice of the region, and the links between them have seldom been explored. In my talk, however, I will demonstrate that these two groups display remarkable similarities in terms of forms, formulae, and terminologies, which in turn point to their common origin, namely, the Indian tradition, as detailed in Yājñavalkya’s Dharmasāstra. This shows that the scribal convention along the southern route of the Silk Road continued across the boundary of languages.

63. STEFAN BAUMS, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich

Mātrcieta’s Anaparāddhastotra and an Unknown Language of Central Asia

The Buddhist poet Mātrcieta, according to tradition a contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa at the court of the Kuśāna emperor Kaniska, is best known for his two long hymns in praise of the Buddha, the Prasādapratibhodbhava and the Varṇārav Darwinastotra. Both of these became very popular among Buddhist monastics in Gandhāra and Central Asia, and survive in numerous manuscript fragments as well as Chinese and Tibetan translations. A shorter work of Mātrcieta in twenty-six sārdilavākriḍita verses, the Anaparāddhastotra, is only incompletely know from a small number of Sanskrit fragments and was not translated into any of the major languages of Central or East Asia. Recently, however, one bispcript and bilingual paper fragment in the British Library’s Hoernle collection was identified as belonging to this text, and five other fragments are very likely to belong to the same manuscript and, probably, the same text. In these fragments, the Sanskrit text in Brāhmī script alternates, stanza by stanza, with approximately the same amount of text in a script that appears to be derived from Kharoṣṭhī (called ‘Formal Kharoṣṭhī’ by Lore Sander) and an unknown language. A recent decipherment attempt of these and other, monolingual fragments and inscriptions by the scholar Klaus T. Schmidt proposed that they recorded a new dialect of Tocharian (which he called ‘Lolanisch’). This paper will provide an overview of the known remains of the Anaparāddhastotra and of the reception history of Mātrcieta’s works, and on this basis will discuss the nature of the bilingual fragments with the unknown language. It will show that the readings proposed by Schmidt are incompatible with the content of the Anaparāddha verses (an identification unknown to Schmidt), and will propose further avenues towards a better understanding of the unknown script and language.

64. DIEGO LOUKOTA, University of Winnipeg

The ‘Formal Kharoṣṭhī’ Corpus of Kucha: Still Undeciphered?

The Iranianist H. W. Bailey was the first to remark in print, in 1973, on the existence of a derivative of the Kharoṣṭhī script, “Formal Kharoṣṭhī,” in use in the northern rim of the Tarim Basin sometime in the middle of the first millennium CE. This is noteworthy given the contrast between the amazing fecundity of the Brāhmī
script and the apparent barrenness of Kharoṣṭhī: the derivation of the scripts of the epigraphical hapaxes of Issyk and Dašt-e Nāwor III as well as of the Old Turkic “runes” from Kharoṣṭhī is conjectural, whereas “Formal Kharoṣṭhī,” represented by a handful of manuscript fragments and inscriptions, bears an unmistakable graphical likeness to it. It is clear, though, that the corpus does not record the Gāndhārī Prakrit typically associated with the script. The corpus and its underlying language were an understudied question until 2018 when the posthumous edition of Klaus T. Schmidt’s (1932–2017) unpublished works appeared. Schmidt proposed, through a richly argued disquisition, a decipherment of the corpus as the only remains of a third Tocharian language, which he termed “Lolanisch.” My paper mostly takes the shape of a critique of Schmidt’s unstated transcriptional technique: even admitting that “Formal Kharoṣṭhī” may have borne only a very vague graphical resemblance to its putative parent script, Schmidt’s transcriptional results are hard to replicate and I will argue, as a result, lacking internal coherence and untenable. Acknowledging Schmidt’s contribution to the conversation and the sheer ingenuity of his proposal, I will suggest a new isolation of the graphemes of the script, and although I will not propose a new decipherment, I will point to evidence for inflectional morphology—which excludes languages like Chinese and Old Turkic as candidates—and for some derivational suffixes perhaps to be seen as belonging to the Saka stock of Eastern Middle Iranian languages.

65. Federico Dragoni, Niels Schoubben, and Michaël Peyrot, Leiden University
Selected Tentative Readings in Formal Kharoṣṭhī

Building on collaborative work with Stefan Baums, Ching Chao-jung, Hannes Feller and Georges-Jean Pinault during a workshop at Leiden University, we propose selected tentative readings of the Formal Kharoṣṭhī script from the Northern Tarim Basin in present-day Northwest China. Unlike Klaus T. Schmidt’s posthumously published proposal to identify the language as a Tocharian variety from Lóulán, we think that the language appears to be rather Iranian. It seems to be related to Khotanese-Tumšuqese, and may even be an earlier form of Tumšuqese. Several readings are proposed, but a full transcription, let alone a full translation, is not possible at this point, and the results must consequently remain provisional.

F. Inner Asia II: Tocharica. Diego Loukota, University of Winnipeg, Chair
10:30 a.m.–12:30 a.m. Hutchinson-Lowell

66. Niels Schoubben, Leiden University
The Mystery Of Tocharian c: A Preliminary Assessment of Burrow’s Hypothesis

In a number of relatively recent publications (e.g., Pinault 1989: 10; Carling 2005: 47; Adams 2017: 453), the existence of a third Tocharian branch (Tocharian C) seems to be readily accepted. As is well known, Th. Burrow was the founding father of this theory, which he proposed in 1935 (and repeated in 1937: viii–ix). Tocharian C would be the substrate of Niya Prakrit, the administrative language of the Shan-Shan kingdom as attested from the 3rd to 4th century AD.

However, one may question the cogency of some of Burrow’s arguments. This is sometimes acknowledged in the literature (e.g., Tremblay 2001: 35 fn. 54), but, apart
from an unpublished lecture by Banti (2000), this has never been subject to a comprehensive review. Such a second look is part of my PhD-research on the basis of which I would like to present a preliminary assessment of Burrow’s arguments. This will be done with reference to the advances since 1937 in both Tocharology and Gandhāran studies and taking into account modern theories on language contact.

I will argue that we need to be more cautious in accepting Burrow’s theory, as a significant part of his arguments can be rejected or explained in different ways. By doing so, I will also comment on some of Banti’s criticisms and alternative explanations.

References


convention influenced by Iranian writing traditions. We further argue that at least a subset of cases that have traditionally been analyzed as involving word-final -ā feature an early form of virāma spelling and therefore end in a consonant. This is based on the fact that most cases of final -ā do not involve explicit vowel diacritics but consonant characters with inherent <ā> (“Fremdzeichen”), the same kind of characters used in virāma spelling.

Our approach involves the use of a digital text corpus encoded in TEI, which contains detailed linguistic and metrical annotations at the word level and paleographic annotations at the aks.ara level. The ability to query for combinations of linguistic, metrical, and paleographic properties allows us to track the distribution of mobile -o and word-final -ā across word classes, text genres, regions and diachronic stages of Tocharian B.

References


68. ONISHI TEIGO, University of California, Los Angeles

Notes on the Distribution of the Tocharian Pronominal Suffixes

Pronominal suffixes in Tocharian (A - overrides A m; B - overrides B m) have attracted many scholars’ attention because of their multifunctionality: they may represent various syntactic functions including a direct object, an indirect object, and a
possessor (see, e.g., Krause and Thomas 1960; Carling 2006; Pinault 2008; Meunier 2015; Adams 2015, among others).

Adams (2015, 21) observed that if both direct and indirect objects of a verb are pronouns, the indirect object seems to be “favored to become the enclitic pronoun.” However, he did not provide data to support his observation nor any possible explanation why this must be so. In this paper I carry out a survey to examine his observation and provide a possible theoretical explanation to it.

Since some of the pronominal suffixes can be semantically associated with an argument of a verb rather than with the verb itself (e.g., 1), I argue that a pronominal noun phrase generated within an argument of a verb is attracted syntactically by a functional head which merges with a verb phrase.

(1) → -n = possessor of the subject prosko ‘fear’

\[ \text{itune tautau-c saim pácer lama-n prosko} \]

‘Therein I will hide, in your protection, father, so that my [NP fear] will rest!’ (IOL Toch 5 b2; trans. by CEToM)

Since this functional head is merged with a verb phrase, an indirect object, which is closer to the functional head, undergoes movement and is realized as a pronominal suffix even if a direct object is susceptible to movement (Minimal Linking Condition; see Chomsky 1995). Moreover, this analysis yields a strong prediction: a direct object never becomes a pronominal suffix if an eligible indirect object is present in a structure. I will examine apparent counterexamples and show that alternative analyses are available to such cases.

References


69. DIETER GUNKEL, University of Richmond

Stress Regulation in the Tocharian B 4x25-Syllable Meter

The paper addresses two open questions: Is stress/accent regulated in Tocharian meter? What is the origin of Tocharian meter? I take the corpus of Tocharian B compositions in the 4x25 syllable meter as a case study. If there were simple, strict stress regulation in any Tocharian meter, it would have been described by Tocharianists long ago. However, it remains possible that there is a complicated or loose form of stress
regulation. To answer the question, I study the way that the Tocharian poets localize trisyllabic words in the verse line and ask whether the accentuation of those trisyllables (partly) determines their localization in the verse. With an answer in hand, I turn to the question of the origin of the 4x25-syllable meter: is it a “native” Tocharian meter or borrowed from Sanskrit?

G. Islamic Near East IV: Philosophy and Kalām II. Sophia Vasalou, University of Birmingham, Chair (8:30 a.m.–10:30 a.m. Kennedy *)

70. Rodrigo Adem, El Colegio de México
   Translating Ibn Fūrak, Translating Reality: Kalām Approaches to Natural and Philosophical Language
   No Abstract Submitted

71. Ryan Brizendine, Yale University
   From Proof of Islam to Seal of the Saints: Ibn ‘Arabī’s Critique of al-Ghazālī
   A handful of studies published since the late 1980s have suggested that, with specific regard to Ibn ‘Arabī’s engagement with the intellectual tradition, al-Ghazālī serves as his most important precursor and model. The two Asharite, Sufism-inclined authors indeed share numerous conceptual and in many cases even doctrinal formulations, and, despite his characteristic independence, Ibn ‘Arabī’s voluminous Meccan Openings refers to al-Ghazālī more than any other author except early Sufi Abū Yazīd and elder contemporary Abū Madyan, who himself regularly taught al-Ghazālī’s Revival of the Religious Sciences. Despite the magnitude of the thinkers involved and the formativeness of this filiation, it has nowhere been examined in detail. The few studies to attempt any evaluation either do so in brief, broad strokes or are partial and impaired by certain interpretive flaws.

   This paper presents the first comprehensive analysis of the fifty-plus references to al-Ghazālī found throughout Ibn ‘Arabī’s major works. Among its findings are that while the commonalities between the two are indeed significant and illuminating—to an extent, it is argued, still under-appreciated in Ibn ‘Arabī studies—their differences are in many ways even more so. For close comparative study ultimately reveals a nuanced stance: Ibn ‘Arabī’s relation to al-Ghazālī is not one of “resolute emulation,” as has been suggested, but combines confirmation and affiliation with selective criticism and distancing or differentiation. With special attention to their inspired epistemologies, the study concludes with a survey of the several distinctive concepts (which yet have roots in earlier Sufism) by which Ibn ‘Arabī not only continues al-Ghazālī’s project to “make room for the epistemological claims of revelation” (Griffel 2009) but seeks to carry it further.

72. Frank Griffel, Yale University
   The Distinction Between ḥikma and kalām in Post-Classical Islamic Scholarship
   Currently the most widespread explanation about the fate of philosophy in post-classical Islam (after c. 1100) is that its methods and its concerns are integrated into the discipline of kalām. In 2005, for instance, Sajjad H. Rizvi concluded that during
the post-classical period. “falsafa was absorbed into the sophisticated philosophical theology that was kalām,” and a year later Robert Wisnovsky suggested to “think of post-classical falsafa and kalām as together constituting Islamic philosophy.” When we now talk about the continuation of philosophy in Islam after Avicenna, al-Ghazālī, and Averroes most people understand this to mean that philosophy was practiced in books of kalām. This prompts critical readers such as Dimitri Gutas to state that in this period, “the best minds (…) spent their energies in apologetic pursuits trying to accommodate Avicenna’s scientific system within the Islamic paradigm.”

This paper argues that while not being wrong, the understanding that falsafa was integrated into kalām does not offer a complete picture about the practice of philosophy in Islam’s post-classical period. Parallel to this development, authors of this period also wrote books on ĥikma in which they engaged with Avicenna’s philosophical and scientific system without being concerned about Islamic theology. This paper will look at the earliest examples of this genre, namely Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s (d. 606/1210) al-Mabāḥith al-mashriqiyya and his al-Mulakhkhas fī l-ĥikma wa-l-mantiqr and present their teachings about the eternity of the world and God’s ability to choose from alternatives. Here and on others subjects, Fakhr al-Dīn followed and defended Avicenna and he suggested improvements to his philosophy. This leads to interesting questions about the reconcilability of these texts with al-Rāzī’s many writings in kalām. Books of ĥikma, so the thesis of this paper, generated in the sixth/twelfth century in reaction to al-Ghazālī’s criticism of falsafa, and they were produced and studied up until the early modern period.

73. Christian Mauder, Yale University

Muʿtazili Exegesis in a Sunni Court: The Debate about al-Zamakhsharī’s al-Kashshāf in the majālīs of the Mamluk Sultan Qānišāwī al-Ghwārī

Despite the well-known Muʿtazili identity of its author and the critical stance of Sunni scholars toward Muʿtazili teachings, Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī’s (d. 1144) Quran commentary al-Kashshāf ‘an ḥaqāʾiq al-tanzīl was one of the most widely read and taught exegetical texts among pre- and early modern Sunni Muslims. One strand of scholarship represented primarily by the work of Andrew Lane explains this unlikely reception history of al-Kashshāf by arguing that its author’s Muʿtazili identity had next to no influence on the content of the work. Other specialists including most recently Kifayat Ullah consider al-Kashshāf a profoundly Muʿtazili text, but hold that it nevertheless found widespread acclaim among Sunnis because of its linguistic and literary qualities. Both strands of scholarship, however, agree that with very few exceptions, pre- and early modern Sunnis did not voice principal opposition against the use of al-Kashshāf for exegetical purposes.

In contrast, the unedited eye-witness accounts of the learned majālis convened by the penultimate Mamluk Sultan Qānišāwī al-Ghwārī (r. 1501–1516) bear witness to a prolonged and heated discussion among the Sunni members of the Mamluk court over whether or not it was permissible to quote al-Kashshāf in exegetical debates. Eventually, this discussion resulted not only in a ban of the work from the majālis, but also in a sustained campaign to undermine its exegetical authority by pointing out those of its contents that were unacceptable form a Sunni perspective. The paper outlines this hitherto completely overlooked discussion and its ramifications, discusses the underlying intellectual and political circumstances, and shows that it formed part
of a larger strategy that aimed at shifting the primary locus of religious authority away from the Mamluk scholarly establishment toward the holders of political power.

74. **Elizabeth Price**, Yale University

The Brahmans from Antiquity to Islam: Revisiting the ‘Barähima’s Enigma’

From the tenth century onwards, Muslim theologians would frequently place two arguments into the mouths of the Barähima, who ostensibly represented the Brahmans of India. Firstly, the Barähima rejected the assertion that God would have sent prophets to inform human beings of divine commands, since natural reason was sufficient for ascertaining what was right and wrong. Secondly, the Barähima claimed to recognise a limited line of prophets (Adam, Seth, and in some cases, Abraham), whilst rejecting the dispensations of all subsequent prophets.

The theological stance of the Barähima raises a number of intriguing questions about their identity and provenance. How did Indian Brahmans, (if that’s who the Barähima do in fact designate), come to be associated with prophecy-denial? And how did they become the spokespeople for two seemingly contradictory positions—one that rejected all prophets absolutely and one that rejected only some? Much ink has been spilled by modern scholars in attempts to explain and reconcile the diverse and conflicting material on the Barähima within the wider Islamic tradition. Various clues to the ‘Barähima’s Enigma’ that date to the pre-Islamic era, however, remain largely unexcavated and unexplored.

This paper will consider the relationship between early Islamic representations of the Barähima and the literary complex that evolved around Indian Brahmans during Antiquity and Late Antiquity. It will argue that the ‘contradictory’ positions on prophecy that Muslim scholars associated with the Barähima seem to have been anticipated by earlier trends in Greco-Roman and Jewish-Christian literature, where the Brahmans not only served as emblems for theological and moral insight within a natural and unmediated state, but also as guardians of a chain of prophetic revelation that extended back to antediluvian times. It will also address the possible mechanisms by which these narratives were absorbed and transformed during the formative centuries of Arabic scholarship.

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**H. Islamic Near East V: India and the Islamic Near East: The Circulation of Knowledge between the Islamic Near East and India**

**Beatrice Gruendler**, Freie Universität Berlin, Chair (8:30 a.m.–10:30 a.m. Isabella Stewart Gardner ⊂)

Literature and knowledge has circulated between the Islamic Near East and India since the beginning of Islam to today. The panel focused and select occasions of cultural contact and exchange between the eighth and the sixteenth centuries, investigated from literary and historical perspectives. With this panel we hope to reawaken interest in the long-lasting connection and cross-cultural dialogue between both areas.
A Virtuous Transcultural Jackal

Kalila wa-Dimna, a salient transcultural work, is a collection of fables redacted in Sasanian Iran with Indian elements and preserved in two Syriac and over one hundred Arabic versions (and further translation from Arabic into over forty languages). In the course of its transcultural journey, the book received a number of prefaces, representing its earliest linguistic layers (Sanskrit, Pahlavi and Arabic).

Among the three chapters of Kalila wa-Dimna that derive from the Mahabharata, one is the tale of a jackal and a (tiger or lion) king. The jackal, known for his virtue, is called to serve the king as advisor. The major steps of the plot are the king’s selecting of the jackal, his subsequent mistreatment of the jackal upon false accusation by the other aids of the king, and the king’s investigation of the matter and reinstatement of the jackal. The Sanskrit, Syriac, and Arabic versions, differ considerably, especially in their beginning and outcome. For instance, the Hindu religious concept of cyclical time was reduced to traces in Syriac and cut entirely in Arabic. The Syriac and Arabic versions expound instead on the proper treatment of royal advisors. Here the Syriac version, focuses on the investigation of false accusation, whereas the Arabic version elaborates on the king’s need for numerous advisors and their control. One passage, missing in both Syriac and Sanskrit, can be credited to the Arabic translator-redactor Ibn al-Muqaffa. Regarding the tale’s end, the change of religious worldview in each of the three versions triggers a further change. The Sanskrit jackal chooses death and rebirth instead of reconciliation, whereas the Syriac and Arabic jackals accept reconciliation. In essence, the transformations show the replacement of Hindu religious concepts by the Arabic-Islamic iconography of the vizier.

The Sayyid, the Shrine, the Court and the Sea—Community Building across the Sixteenth-Century Western Indian Ocean

Recent scholarship has highlighted the political transformations of the sixteenth-century Western Indian Ocean along the lines of competing claims to trade routes and universal empire. As the interactions between large empires and small polities reshaped alliances, individuals set sail to search for new social options across the sea. How did the individualising experience of Ocean travel in the early modern period and the ability to connect with new people reshape forms of knowledge transmission and their sense of social belonging?

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Sayyid Hasan al-Naqib, known as Ibn Shadqam, left his post of custodian at the prophet’s mosque in Medina to make his living as a migrant scholar abroad. He spent the rest of his life on the move between the Hijaz, the Deccan in South Asia and Iran. His trips included visits to the shrines of Najaf, Kerbala and Mashhad, where he built his scholarly networks. But he also entered the courts of Safavid Kings and Deccani Sultans, married a Deccani princess and received royal patronage.

His life encapsulates two “minorities”: the background of a Sayyid and the trajectory of a sea traveller. In this paper, I argue that Ibn Shadqam’s charismatic descent as a Sayyid—a lineage that goes back to the prophet Muhammad—constituted a cultural mobility which enabled his elite pursuit of intellectual sea voyages. At the same
time, this movement reshaped his social world. As he travelled from shrine to shrine and court to court, he penned several works in Arabic, biographical compilations and genealogical texts. He began putting together his 'own community': another minority of poets, scholars and sultans. This community-building project complicates the political map of the period by opening up a view on the entanglements of courts with scholarly communities in shrine cities and beyond.

77. FLORINDA DE SIMINI, University of Naples “L’Orientale”

Didactic Tales from the Mahābhārata as a Source for the Kālīla wa-Dimna

The Śāntiparvan (“Section on Appeasement”) is the 12th book in the currently accepted redaction of the Mahābhārata divided into 18 parvans. This is the longest single section of the Indian epic poem, its contents also forming a thematic unit with the following book 13, the Anuśāsanaparvan (“Section on teachings”). Both sections contain the various teachings and instructions that dying Bhīṣma gives from his bed of arrows to Yudhiṣṭhira, king of the Pāṇḍavas. The latter, after winning the war against his cousins, is now tormented by remorse and reluctant to play his role as a king, and Bhīṣma’s teachings are meant to soothe him and prepare him to fulfill his kingly duties. Given their general objective, these two extensive sections abound in philosophical, political and moral teachings, and constitute one of the most comprehensive source of information on early traditional Indian culture and society.

Such teachings are also conveyed through didactic tales, especially in the Āpaddhārnaparvan (“Section on the rules in case of misfortune”), one of the 3 subsections of the Śāntiparvan. In this paper, I will offer an analytical overview of a selection of those tales that have been made famous even beyond the boundaries of the Indic world since early times, thanks to their being assimilated and adapted within the Kālīla wa-Dimna. The tales I will consider are the story of the tiger and the jackal (12.112), the story of the three fish (12.135), the story of the cat and the mouse (12.136), and the story of the king and the dove (12.137). The issues that I will address concern, on one hand, the political themes that emerge from these stories, and how they relate to the general context of the section in which the tales are transmitted; on the other hand, I will address their connection with other early versions of the same stories, such as those transmitted in Buddhist Jātakas or in the Pāñcatantra, in order to better elucidate the context that brought to their translation into the Kālīla wa-Dimna.

78. MATTHEW L. KEEGAN, Barnard College of Columbia University

Its Meaning Lies Elsewhere: Ibn al-Habbāriyya’s Fictive Persian and Indian Readers

This paper examines how authors writing in Arabic contested and negotiated the relationship between Kālīla wa-Dimna and its Middle Persian and Indian origins. Ibn al- Habbāriyya (d. 509/1115–6) was a poet of the Seljuk period who wrote a versification of Kālīla wa-Dimna in rajaz couplets and an adaptation of the same text entitled al-Šādıḥ wal-Bāghim (“The Warbling Bird and the Lowing Gazelle”). In the frame tale of the latter text, an Arab traveler who acts as the narrator of the story overhears a debate between an Indian reader of Kālīla wa-Dimna and a Persian reader, each with his own interpretation of the text. The Persian rejects the Indian’s understanding of Kālīla wa-Dimna as a guide to practical political knowledge. He
argues that “its meaning lies elsewhere,” which he illustrates by telling a series of new stories that he believes sheds light on Kalila wa-Dimna’s meaning. Through an exploration of this frame tale and of related debates about the origins of Kalila wa-Dimna in medieval Arabic, this paper examines how these negotiations were bound up with the question of genre. In other words, discussing the origins of the text and its reception with different readerships offered authors a strategy for making interpretive claims about the text and its genre. It becomes clear from these investigations that Kalila wa-Dimna cannot be restricted to a single genre and that its reception was more multifarious than is often realized.

I. Islamic Near East VI: Ethics. FRANK GRIFFEL, Yale University, Chair (10:45 a.m.–12:30 p.m. Kennedy *)

79. ROSABEL ANSARI, Georgetown University

The Arabic Nicomachean Ethics 3.3

The Arabic Nicomachean Ethics, translated by Ḥunayn b. Ishāq (d. 910), was discovered by Arthur Arberry and Douglas Dunlop over 60 years ago, but only edited, translated and published in 2005.1 Despite the vast significance of this text for the history of philosophy, scholarly work has been slow to address its philosophical substance.

I will unpack the Arabic translation of the Nicomachean Ethics 3.3, 1112v12–24. In this passage Aristotle explains the order of action. Both the modern Greek edition and the medieval Arabic translation tell us that with regards to action, we do not deliberate about ends, but about how to achieve them, and that we continue to deliberate until we reach the first cause, which is the last in discovery. I will discuss how through the notion of “contrary analysis” (al-tahlil bi-al-aks) the Arabic version of this text introduces an ontological element regarding the order of being not present in the current Greek version. The Arabic version appears to contrast the order of action with the order of being, referencing the ontological dependence of all things on the first cause.

These particularities in the Arabic text build on distinctions between the order of knowing and the order of being elsewhere in the Aristotelian corpus. If my reading is correct, then the Arabic version of EN 3.3 will have important implications for the history of medieval philosophy and the relationship of ethics to metaphysics and epistemology. It will also provide further grounding to medieval theories of order and structure in human life that mirrors the cosmos.

80. GEOFFREY MOSELEY, Deerfield Academy

Medical Ethics between Revealed Monotheism and the Ancients in Ruhawī’s Physician’s Manual

Adab al-ṭabīb (The Physician’s Manual) is a ninth-century guide to medical ethics written by one Ishāq b. ‘Alī al-Ruhawī (henceforth R.), a physician variously identified in the secondary literature as a Jew, a Christian, and a Muslim. Despite its importance

1 Anna Akassoy and Alexander Fidora (eds), The Arabic Version of the Nicomachean Ethics with an introduction and annotated translation by Douglas M. Dunlop (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
for the history of Arabic-Islamic medicine and the reception of Greek authors in Arabic translation (e.g. Hippocrates, Galen, Plato, Aristotle), the work has been little studied (a major exception is the pioneering work of J.-C. Bürgel) and is available only in a facsimile (ed. Sezgin) of the unique MS and an unreliable English version (tr. Levey).

My study of The Physician’s Manual will investigate three questions: (1) what was R.’s confessional identity, (2) how does R. construct an ecumenical monotheism suitable for any respectable Arabic-speaking physician, and (3) how does R. understand pagan antiquity and what are the implications of this understanding for medical practice and the revealed monotheistic ethics with which pagan texts are juxtaposed in his Physician’s Manual?

I suggest that the arguments for R.’s Jewish or Muslim confessional identity are weak, and that the burden of proof remains on anyone who would argue against a Christian background. I further argue that R. constructs a form of monotheism that highlights shared elements (both generic and specific) of the various revealed religions in broadly Arabic-Islamic terms. This monotheism, for R., is largely consonant with the teachings of the ancients, who can thus be relied on as both scientific and ethical authorities and even quoted in support of monotheistic doctrine.

81. Felicitas Opwis,

Al-Dabbūsī on God’s Wisdom as Source of Ethical Judgment

My paper presents the thought of the 5th/11th century Hanafi jurist Abu Zayd al-Dabbusi (d. 430/1039) on the ethical assessment of acts and how it affects his understanding of the ratio legis (vīlla) in the procedure of legal analogy (qiyaṣ). Al-Dabbusi’s thought on the subject is situated between those, like Abu l-Husayn al-Basri, who reject an ethical component of the ratio legis and favor to see analogical reasoning driven by signs, and those scholars, like Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, who understand the ratio legis as reification of God divine purpose in form of maslaha. El Shamsy (“Two Theories of Wisdom”) previously noted that despite late 4th/10th century jurists’ understanding of the purpose of the Shari’a being people’s maslaha, they did not operationalize this in the law-finding process. Looking at al-Dabbusi’s articulation of the ratio legis, thus, puts in place a piece of the puzzle of how Muslim jurists over the course of the 5th/11th century increasingly conceptualized and operationalized ethical considerations and notions of God’s legislative intent in the procedure of legal analogy. This research also supplements Zyzow’s findings (Economy of Certainty) on the changing perception of the ratio legis from sign model to motif model during that time period. Al-Dabbusi conceives ethical knowledge as obtained by a mixture of rational and revelatory indications and he translates God’s wisdom into tangible criteria that influence the procedure of legal analogy. While al-Dabbusi’s work is not necessarily the “missing link”, it provides us with a more nuanced understanding of the intellectual climate in which al-Ghazali later could articulate his theory of the maqasid al-shari’a.

82. Sophia Vasalou, University of Birmingham

Ethics as Æsthetics in al-Ghazālī

This paper will explore the role played by the concept of beauty in the ethical thought of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and consider its implications for the
development of key questions of meta-ethics in the Islamic tradition. In *The Revival of the Religious Sciences*, the human response to the beautiful becomes al-Ghazâlî’s chief paradigm for articulating a bold notion of disinterested love. The instinctive delight that human beings take in the beauty of the natural world shows they are capable of a kind of love directed to an object for its own sake. This is the kind of love that God provokes in his grandeur and beauty, and that is also provoked by human beings when we find them endowed with great beauty of character. Acknowledging this range of aesthetic responses involves broadening our understanding of the concept of beauty and its objects, and also of the means by which these objects become available to us, given that beautiful human character is often mediated by narrative representations.

Al-Ghazâlî’s emphasis on the human response to beauty trains a new light on attitudes to nature in the Islamic tradition, and forges suggestive links to modern philosophical conceptions of aesthetic experience. His interweaving of ethics and aesthetics also resonates with other episodes of philosophical history in which the beautiful and the good were drawn into close conjunction, from Plato and Aristotle to Hume and Smith. Yet beyond these intellectual reverberations, the special interest of al-Ghazâlî’s aestheticized view of ethics lies in its implications for high-level questions about moral ontology and epistemology that had exercised Muslim theologians before his time. Al-Ghazâlî is popularly known as an opponent of the view that reason forms a source for normative judgements and as a trenchant critic of the notion of disinterested moral action advanced by Mutazilite theologians. Yet with the good reframed as the beautiful, his account in the *Revival* appears to mark a sharp reversal.

**J. Islamic Near East VII: Umayyads. Kevin van Bladel, Yale University, Chair (10:45 a.m.–12:30 p.m. Isabella Stewart Gardner**

**83. Sean W. Anthony, Ohio State University**

Disputes over the Land Bequests (*al-ṣadaqāt*) of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalib in the Second/Eighth Century

The importance of large land bequests (*al-ṣadaqāt*) for the wealth and status the descendants of propertyed Companions of the Prophet remains an understudied realm of inquiry. In this talk, I introduce what I consider to be two rather extraordinary—and hitherto neglected—pieces of evidence that have the potential to cast considerable light on the *al-ṣadaqāt* of hijāz in general and on the second/eight-century disputes over the *al-ṣadaqāt* of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalib near Medina in particular. The first piece of evidence is a lengthy testament, called *kitāb al-ṣadaqāt* ʿAlī, which ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalib purportedly drew up for his progeny in Jumādā I 39 (Sept–Oct 659), a year prior to assassination. Preserved by ʿUmar ibn Shabbah (d. 262/876) in his *Tarīkh al-Madīnah*, the testament was allegedly copied from a document held by his great-grandson, al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, and stipulated how ʿAlī’s wealth and properties were to be distributed among his sons in the event of his death. The second piece of evidence comes in the form of two early inscriptions by a certain “Zayd ibn Ḥasan” discovered in Wadi Hazrah between Medina and Yanbiʿ by Moshalleh al-Moraekhi and published in his 1995 University of Manchester dissertation. Although largely overlooked for the last two decades, I believe al-Moraekhi’s discovery is of extraordinary importance. These inscriptions, I argue, likely belong to Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī and provide a key testimony into the controversies over the Ḥasanids’ rights to the *al-ṣadaqāt* of ʿAlī.
84. LUKE YARBROUGH, University of California, Los Angeles

Political Thought and Professional Competition across the Umayyad-Abbasid Transition

This communication treats the political and legal views that are implicit in the surviving writings of ʿAbd al-Hamīd ibn Yaḥyā al-Kāṭib (d. 132/750), comparing these systematically to the better-known ideas of Ibn al-Muqaffaʾ (d. ca. 757). Both authors have been relatively well studied in this regard, the former by Kurd ʿAlī, Gabrieli, Latham, and al-Qāḍī, the latter by Götein, Zaman, Heck, Lowry, and Yousefi, among others. It is recognized (e.g., by Crone) that the two figures’ thought exhibit a number of implicit similarities—notably their valorization of the caliph’s authority in political and legal matters—that seem to suggest a certain degree of continuity between the political thought of leading secretaries (kuttāb) at the late-Umayyad and early-Abbasid courts. The present contribution adopts the premise that previous scholarship has approached the writings of both figures as stylists and theorists without taking adequate account of their professional positions as influential but vulnerable courtiers. In the major epistles that express what is known of their respective political and legal ideas—the Risāla ʿila l-kuttāb (as well as the epistle to the crown prince) of ʿAbd al-Hamīd and the Risāla fī l-ṣāḥaba of Ibn al-Muqaffaʾ—the authors both dispense pointed advice about the company rulers should keep and what they see as the proper qualifications of courtiers and secretaries. It is argued here that these passages should be seen as both records and instruments of personal and factional competition at court. Thus the two authors’ political and legal ideas should be read not as refined, theorizing—however important and illuminating their theories may be—but as historical documents that also responded to contemporary exigencies. It follows that scholars should be circumspect about regarding these ideas as more-or-less straightforward representations of early Islamic political thought.

85. DEBORAH TOR, University of Notre Dame

Futuwwa and Fitgān in the Early Islamic Period

The concept of chivalry (futuwwa), or an established code of noble conduct for warriors, has long been recognized as having played a key role in medieval Islamic society, in both its courtly—or knightly—and Ṣufi forms. Yet neither the German scholars—Hammer-Purgstall, Kahle, Ritter, and Taeschner—of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who first analyzed the courtly concept of futuwwa, nor the French Marxists (notably Claude Cahen) of the later twentieth century who reexamined it, ever attempted a systematic analysis of the historical appearance, definition, and development of futuwwa.

The aim of this paper, therefore, is to trace the development of the concepts of futuwwa and fitgān in the Arabic and Persian sources, from the earliest references in the writings of Sibawayh, Jāḥīz, Ibn Sād, and Dinawari regarding pre-Islamic and earliest Islamic times, through references regarding the early ʿAbbāsid period in Masʿūdī, Balāḏūrī, and Abūl-Faraj al-ʾIṣfahānī, and culminating in the fully elaborated definitions found in works from the tenth century onwards, including works never before consulted for this purpose: al-Tawhīḍī’s al-Muqābasāt, al-Khwārizmī’s al-Manāqib waʾl-mathālib, and al-Urmāwī’s ʿĀdāb al-mulūk.
In doing so, this chronological survey and analysis will show that *futuwwa* evolved from a term that at first appears simply to mean “warriorlike-ness”, through a stage in which it acquired another sense which, even if not yet fully chivalric, conveyed the meaning of someone who possesses noble qualities, or is all that a warrior should be; and, finally, by the eleventh century, into the fully elaborated code of knightly and noble conduct.

86. **Stuart D. Sears**, Arabic Language Associates, LLC

*Sacral Kingship, the Kalima, and the Legitimation of Zubayrid Rule*

This paper discusses the legitimation of Zubayrid rule through the formulation of a distinctly Muslim declaration of faith, the *kalima*, at the end of the seventh century CE. The formula, “There is no god but God, alone. Muhammed is the Messenger of God,” represents the earliest form of this declaration known anywhere. It was adopted on the coinage of the Zubayrid general of the East, Musab b. al-Zubayr, in 689–90 CE / 70 H. It is known today throughout the Muslim world in nearly the same form.

The paper examines its origin in the context of claims to legitimation by contemporary rulers and governors. These are found in inscriptions on coinage and monuments. Literary sources help elucidate the tribal, matrilineal, and matrimonial relationships behind them. For example, Musab’s marriage to Amīna bt. Ḥusayn, matriarch of the Ḥusaynid line of Ālids and granddaughter of the prophet, probably influenced his decision to include Muhammed’s messengership.

Modern scholars have little or no explanation for the *kalima*. Following later Muslim sources, they tend to assume that it was formulated in Syria by the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān after provocation by Byzantine Christians, if not Jews and polytheists.

My paper argues that it emerged in the East amidst the inter-Muslim conflict of the Second Fitna. In this context, Musab expanded claims of earlier governors identifying the ruler with God. This included the invocation of Muhammed’s messengership by ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abdallāh against al-Mukhtār’s claim to represent the Ālids family. The unity of God in the *kalima* appealed symbolically to the unique and sacral status of the ruler, while Muhammad’s messengership served as a model for the ruler’s delegation of authority to his governors in the provinces. The Umayyad caliphs embraced and adapted it to their cause after their conquest of the East against the objections of piety-minded opposition.

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87. **Jahnabi Barooah Chanchani**, University of Michigan

*Of Snakes and Tongues: Ramabhadra Dikshita’s *Patanjalicaritam***

My talk focuses on the *Patanjalicaritam*, a little known and hitherto untranslated Sanskrit text composed by Ramabhadra Dikshita in the Kaveri delta in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Previous scholars have narrowly sieved the text to briefly articulate its relationship to hagiographies of other saintly men. Drawing
on my ongoing translation of the text, I discuss its form and function and offer several postulations. First, the *Patanjalicaritam* is more than a straightforward retelling of Patanjali’s life and work. It is a fascinating narrative of Patanjali’s many lives: as Ananta, the serpent on which Vishnu reclines on the cosmic ocean, as Shiva’s paradigmatic devotee, as the brilliant author of the *Mahabhashya* and its popularizer, as poet-grammarians Bharthari and as mathematician Vararuci’s father, and as the guru of Adi Shankara, the Vedanta philosopher. Second, the *Patanjalicaritam* offers a rare view of dynamic processes and anxieties unfolding in early modern South Asia. At the historical juncture that the *Patanjalicaritam* was composed the Kaveri delta was ruled by the Maratha ruler Sahaji I. Tanjore, his capital city, was near Chidambaram where Patanjali had long been revered. Maratha Tanjore was a polyglot society: Sanskrit, Marathi, Telugu, and Tamil were amongst the languages used inside and outside the court. By composing a Sanskrit text about an ancient Sanskrit grammarian, Ramabhadra Dikshita negotiated his position in Chidambaram’s priestly community to make novel arguments about language order and the ‘true’ language of snakes, rethink sectarian viewpoints, and contribute to the Tamil region’s expanding entanglements with sacred centers and seats of learning across India.

88. **Dolores Pizarro Minakakis, New England Conservatory**

**More Than Bad: Categorization of *asati*s in the *Saduktikārnāṃṛta***

The *asati* (lit. bad/unchaste woman) is a compelling figure throughout Sanskritic muktaka poetry. While no doubt maligned by their actual contemporaries, these adulterous and seemingly sexually liberated women—including, or especially wives and mothers—are celebrated in many verses for their quick wit and clever ruses.

In Śrīdharaḍāsa’s 1205 CE poetic anthology, *Saduktikārnāṃṛta*, the classification of *asati*s goes into far more detail than several other well-known collections. While other compilations, such as, for example, the *Subhāṣitaratnakosā*, might include a broad *asati* section that includes descriptions of women generally behaving badly (including the abhisārikā in this particular case), the *Saduktikārnāṃṛta* boasts no less than six discrete sections—each comprising five stanzas—dedicated to the *asati* in a variety of different manifestations and attitudes. These include such classifications as veśyā, guptāsati, and kulaṭopadesāh, with verses that specifically highlight particular characteristics of these different nuanced groupings of unchaste women.

In this paper, I will examine these different categorizations of *asati*s and, where appropriate, point out their appearance in other anthologies, expanding upon Sures Chandra Banerji’s excellent work in editing and cross-referencing the entirety of the *Saduktikārnāṃṛta*. I will also explore and analyze the implications behind the different classes of *asati*s and what they might tell us within this particular literary and social context.

89. **Aleksandra Restifo**

**Getting Real in Rāmacandra’s *Mallikāmakaranda-prakaraṇa***

This paper focuses on the *Mallikāmakaranda-prakaraṇa*, a play authored by Rāmacandra (1093–1174), a Jain monk and playwright at the Caulukya court. The *Mallikāmakaranda* is a story of love between Mallikā, a daughter of a wizard
(vidyādharī), and Makaranda, a gambler. While all of Rāmacandra’s six extant dramas have occasioned only limited scholarly attention (Granoff 2013, Leclère 2013), the Mallikāmakaranda is one of the least studied among them (Kulkarni 2013).

I will argue that the Mallikāmakaranda is concerned with the duality between the internal and the external as ways of distinguishing what is true from what is not true and what is meaningful from what is meaningless. Rāmacandra shows that such external attributes as social status or appearance are misleading and do not reflect the truth about an individual, while true things are often invisible or less prominent. He juxtaposes external ritual to the inward recitation of the namaskāra-mantra, good looks to courage, social status to great potential, and action to intention. Through the interiorization of the karmic principle, Rāmacandra suggests that only internal processes such as intention have a true bearing on one’s life. He points to a gap between the true cause, such as rain for the growth of trees, and what only appears to be a cause, such as thunder for the same; between the external, such as the low social status of Kṛṣṇa as a shepherd, and the internal, his true abilities. He shows that this incongruity that often results in false appraisals also applies to the relationship between monks and poetry: no external activities of a monk have any bearing on his true self. As such, he advocates for a Jain monk’s freedom to be a full-fledged poet, for his internal reality remains unchanged as he writes dramas about the erotic and other worldly matters.

References

L. South and Southeast Asia VI: Critical and Text-Critical Matters in the Mahābhārata. Adheesh Sathaye, University of British Columbia, Chair (9:35 a.m.–10:55 a.m.) King ∗

90. Sravani Kanamarlapudi, University of Texas

Multiple Approaches for Exploring the Mahābhārata as a Bounded Literary Work

In the wake of Alf Hiltebeitel’s oft-quoted remark that the largest inadequacy in Mahābhārata scholarship is the failure to appreciate the epic as a work of literature (1999), there has been a vigorous interest in recent scholarship to view the epic as a bounded literary work (e.g., Bowles 2007, Brodbeck 2009, Hudson 2013). This working principle has opened several new interpretive possibilities for the epic, an important one being a sustained analysis of the MBh’s didactic texts as constitutive parts of the epic. While much of earlier scholarship disregarded the epic’s didactic tracts (barring a few exceptions like the Bhagavad Gītā), scholars are now increasingly highlighting the artificiality of bifurcating the epic fabric into narrative and didactic strands. These lines of argumentation, however, have mainly only focused on thematic and structural aspects—i.e., they look at what themes/aesthetics and what literary strategies unite...
the epic’s story and didactics. Put another way, these studies have largely remained restricted to “the world of the epic.”

This paper proposes that equally productive results can be drawn by paying attention to the epic’s reception histories, i.e., to “the epic in the world.” (Here I draw inspiration from new directions in Bhāgavata Purāṇa scholarship; Gupta and Valpey 2018.) Using one didactic text from the epic as a vantage point, namely the Vidurāniti, I present the results obtained by using four methodological approaches in juxtaposing the epic’s narrative and didactics. The first two are the familiar thematic and stylistic approaches, while the second two are the rarely employed approaches of engaging the epic’s indigenous reception in the Sanskrit commentarial and lived religious spheres. While the former two approaches yield anticipated results, the latter reveal something quite nuanced about how indigenous communities interpreted and reframed the epic’s didactics with an eye on its narrative.

91. Kenji Takahashi, University of Naples “L’Orientale”
Contested Horse Sacrifice (aśvamedha) in the Mahābhārata

The Mahābhārata is an ancient Indian epic that depicts the great war between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. After a horrible massacre, the war is concluded by the victory of the Pāṇḍavas. In Book 14 Āśvamedhika-parvāṇa, “the Book of the Horse Sacrifice,” Yudhīṣṭhira, the king of the Pāṇḍavas, performs aśvamedha (horse sacrifice) accompanied by huge donations to priests (Brahmanas) as an expiation for the sins that he committed during the war. Yudhīṣṭhira’s aśvamedha appears successful at first sight, because the Pāṇḍavas are said to be cleansed of their sins. At the same time, however, we find different and contradicting opinions in the text of the Mahābhārata concerning the efficacy of Yudhīṣṭhira’s aśvamedha and his donation to Brahmins.

The present paper analyzes discourses given by different personae on Yudhīṣṭhira’s aśvamedha and on donation found in the Āśvamedhikaparvan, and reconsiders the compositional process of this part of the text. Herman Tieken, in his article titled “The Mahābhārata after the Great Battle” (2004), argues that Yudhīṣṭhira’s aśvamedha is not successful on the basis of only one of the episodes. This paper, on its part, demonstrates that different opinions elaborated in the Āśvamedhikaparvan reflect different voices in society at the time of the Mahābhārata concerning the social and political relationship between priesthood and kingship, as royal ritual and donation comprise a channel that connects the two social powers. The analysis of dynamics underlying the composition of the Āśvamedhikaparvan is hoped to give an insight into tensions and negotiations between Brahmins and Ksatriyas.

92. Sally J. Sutherland Goldman, University of California at Berkeley
Prājñapraṇaprājñāḥ Pralāpajñām: The Mahābhārata and Nīlakaṇṭha’s mlecchabhāṣā

In the Adiparvan of the Mahābhārata, following upon the narratives of the births and childhood of the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas, there occurs a sub-parvan commonly entitled “The Jatughaparvan, ‘The Laque House.’” [CE Adhyāyas 124–138; CS 141–151]. The story tells how, in what can be understood to be a ‘soft exile’, Duryodhana convinces his father, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, to send the Pāṇḍavas to the town of Vanarāvata to live. Duryodhana, with the aid of his advisor Purocana, then conceives of and carries
out a plan to have a residence for Kunti and her four sons built of flammable items and encased in plaster made of laque. Once the Pāṇḍavas are established in the house, Purokana is to set it on fire, thereby killing them all. Vidura, the cousin-brother of both the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, learns of the plan and divulges it to Yudhishṭhira in a language that others cannot understand. It is this conversation between Vidura and Yudhishṭhira and its interpretations on which this paper focuses. The passage occupies only seven ślokas in the Citraśāla edition [1.145. 20–26] of the great epic.

While the text appears on its surface to be fairly simple, Nilakaṇṭha, the 17th century commentator on the Mahābhārata, provides an elaborate reading of Vidura’s words and a detailed analysis of those that he understands to be in the mleccha language. After providing a brief contextualization the notion of ‘mleccha’, a summary of the conclusions of some of the most important research on the term (Thapar, Parasher-Sen, Katre, etc.), and a brief overview of the use of the term mleccha in the epic literature—with special focus on references to the word based on Vidura’s speech—this paper examines Nilakaṇṭha’s ingenious interpretations of this passage, his understanding of who the speakers of mlecchabhāṣā are, and his analysis of the phonological and morphological changes that he claims are present. The paper concludes with a reflection of how both the epic passage and Nilakaṇṭha’s comments can further our understanding of the term mleccha in these historical contexts.

93. CHRISTOPHER MINKOWSKI, University of Oxford

The Commentators and the Battle Books of the Mahābhārata

No Abstract Submitted

M. South and Southeast Asia VII: Old and New Ways of Reading the Rāmāyaṇa. ADHĒESH SATHAYE, University of British Columbia, Chair (11:00 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) King *

94. ROBERT GOLDMAN, University of California at Berkeley

Hermeneutic Strategies of Medieval and Early Modern Commentators on the Vālmikīrāmāyaṇa and the Suffering of God

It is impossible to fully understand the significance of the influential and pervasive Sanskrit epics without a diachronic study of their receptive histories. So, apart from a philological focus on the poem’s genetic histories, it is equally critical, when studying these living works, to appreciate how they were understood by and interpreted for their audiences across time.

Unlike the authors of influential medieval and early modern devotional Rāmāyaṇas, such as the Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, the Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa, and the Rāmacaritmānas, who felt free to alter the inherited Rāmakathā as they liked in keeping with the bhakti-saturated religious milieu in which they flourished, the influential Sanskrit language commentators on the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa found themselves confronted with two opposing imperatives. Like these authors, they shared the representation of Rāma, his brothers, and Sītā as full-fledged divinities on earth, neither subject to any kind of nescience nor vulnerable to any sort of emotional suffering or physical harm, much like Krṣṇa in the Mahābhārata, Harivāṁśa and later texts. Vālmīki’s portrayal of Rāma, however, is quite different. Cleaving almost always to the thematic conceit that
the epic’s antihero, Rāvana, was invulnerable any supernatural beings, he represents Rāma as essentially ignorant of his divine nature and so vulnerable to all manner of suffering.

The present paper puts aside the large corpus of earlier philological study of the Rāmāyana’s genetic history to explore the poem’s critical receptive history as illustrated by its medieval and early modern Sanskrit language commentators. Specifically, it examines the differing hermeneutic strategies the commentators employ to read critical episodes in the work in two different ways; both as a literal history authored by an inerrant rṣi and as a sacred text suffused with the devotional ethos of their own age.

95. CHRISTOPHER T. FLEMING, University of Southern California

Rue Rāmarājya: A Juridical Analysis of Uttarakanda Prāṣṭipta III Sarga 3

This paper attends to the juridical dimensions of an unusual and largely overlooked scene in the Vālmīki Rāmāyana (Uttarakanda Prāṣipta III Sarga 3) wherein Rāma adjudicates a legal dispute between a vulture and an owl. Having been consecrated as king (and having ordered Laksmana to abandon Sītā in the forest) Rāma revolves to discharge his royal duty (see, for example, Mānavadharmasāstra 8.1–46) to preside over the kingdom’s criminal justice system. Unfortunately, due to the utopian conditions of Rāmarājya, Rāma has, as Robert Goldman notes, “considerable difficulty in finding anyone with a complaint, dispute, or indeed any matter at all for him to adjudicate.” Thankfully, a vulture forcibly evicts an owl from his home and the pair set off to Ayodhya to have their case heard. Rāma, delighted, summons his ministers and adjudicates the dispute in strict accordance with Dharmasātric models of judicature.

My paper draws on Sanskrit jurisprudential literature to explain the legal phenomena involved in this property dispute—such as the composition of a court, the reliability of witness, the epistemic authority of Paurānic literature, etc.—and to explore Rāma’s characterization in terms of legal reasoning. How does Rāma think as a judge? Rāma, I argue, views legal disputes (vivāda-s)—however petty—as a necessary condition for fulfilling his role as a paradigmatic Dharmic sovereign. Finally, turning to Govindarāja’s Rāmāyanaabhūsana (16th Century), I explain how Govindarāja transforms this seemingly minor narrative into a significant facet of his (and other Śrīvaishnaves’) broader theological project of framing the Rāmāyana as a soteriologically-efficacious treatise. This paper augments recent scholarly work on the Rāmāyana’s literary dimensions by exploring the ways in which legal theory and theology converge in a narrative milieu.

96. VISHAL SHARMA, University of Oxford

Bitextual Readings of the Vālin and Śiśupāla Episodes in the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata

Yigal Bronner (2010) has shown how śeṣa techniques influenced the reading of the Sanskrit epics together in kāvyā, and notes that the symmetry between the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata allows for creative bitextual readings. The Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata “grew together, and were partly constituted by one another,” (Bronner, 2010 p. 150) so it makes sense to study them together. In this paper, I look at the censures of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, by Vālin in the Rāmāyana and Śiśupāla
in the Mahābhārata respectively. I read these episodes with the commentaries of Mahēśvaratīrtha and Niḥākantha to show how the two commentators force a bitextual, and less profane, reading of the rebukes in both Sanskrit epics.

A. Ancient Near East IV: Celebrating Honorary Member Dominique Charpin, organized by Hervé Reculeau. Jack M. Sasson, Vanderbilt University, Chair (1:30 p.m.–3:20 p.m.) Alcott *

97. Jack M. Sasson, Vanderbilt University
   Introduction

98. Piotr Steinkeller, Harvard University
   Dominique Charpin’s Contributions to Ancient Near Eastern Studies: An Appreciation
   No Abstract Submitted

99. Jacob Lauinger, Johns Hopkins University
   Contribution to a Diplomatics of the Amarna Letters from the Levant: Tablets with a Blank or Partially Blank Reverse Surface
   No Abstract Submitted

100. Martha T. Roth, University of Chicago
    Judicial Violence in Mesopotamia: On the Head and Face
    No Abstract Submitted

101. Dominique Charpin, Collège de France, Paris
    Title to be Announced
    No Abstract Submitted

B. Ancient Near East V: Religion and Law. Tzvi Abusch, Brandeis University, Chair (3:45 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) Alcott *

102. JoAnn Scurlock, Elmhurst College
    Marduk, Ninurta and Erra: Clash of Heroes?

    Much ink has been spilt over the possible relationship between the Anzu myth, the Enuma elish and the Erra Epic, most recently by Selena Wisnom in JAOS 139/2: 269–286. Intertextuality is an interesting topic, but needs to be approached with caution to avoid the pitfalls of literary theory. I see nothing to be gained by an approach that manages to both vet its entire assessment of the quality of a work on its supposed author and to ignore authorial intent altogether. This sort of mind glue leads us nowhere. Pace Wisnom and fellow travelers on this road, none of these myths is an exploration of heroism; neither are we witnessing a moment of impending Monotheistic Religion and the Decline of Magic. What we are witnessing, I shall argue,
are understandings of the gods, their relationship to mankind and their role in human history, in short, a theology of polytheism of the sort more familiar to us from the Hebrew Bible.

103. Zachary Rubin, Brown University

The Wedding Rituals of Nabû and the Image of the Assyrian Crown Prince

Late in the reign of Esarhaddon (ca. 671 B.C.E.), several individuals representing the Nabû temple in Kalḫu (mod. Nimrud) wrote letters to the Assyrian royal court concerning the execution of a ritual cycle in which the god Nabû was united with his consort Tašmetu. The letters describe how the divine lovers spent seven nights together in a secluded bedchamber, after which the statue of Nabû was led on a procession through a garden and a game park. The ritual cycle, which has been described as a ritual of sacred marriage, is presumed to have been carried out annually. However, the performance of the ceremony that was described in the letters appears to have been incorporated into a series of rituals surrounding the installation of Assurbanipal as crown prince of Assyria.

In this paper, I will reconstruct and analyze the program of the wedding rituals of Nabû. As I will demonstrate, the heroic imagery attributed to Nabû throughout the ceremony mirrors the propagandistic imagery surrounding the Assyrian royal family and the Assyrian institution of kingship. Although Nabû was a deity of Babylonian origins, the ritual cycle demonstrates how the god had become naturalized as the heavenly counterpart of the Assyrian crown prince.

104. Bruce Wells, University of Texas

The Neo-Babylonian Judicial Oath: Weakened or Strong as Ever?

A great deal of additional data concerning the Neo-Babylonian judicial oath have come to light in recent years. A number of documents reveal litigants swearing by the gods before judicial authorities, an act that in most previous periods of Mesopotamian history would have disposed of the case in favor of the party who took the oath. But several of these documents show that the litigant who swore loses the case in the end. This is unexpected. A few scholars have commented on this phenomenon and characterized the Neo-Babylonian oath as a weakened form of the standard judicial oath, which has generally lost its dispositive force. Others have argued that the oath still carries the significance that it always had. This paper will consider Neo-Babylonian documents that clearly refer to an assertory oath in a judicial context. It will argue that, even though the oath appears to be dispositive in certain cases, there is enough evidence to show that it possesses diminished significance during this period. A range of texts demonstrate that litigants would take the oath to strengthen their case at trial but were still in jeopardy of losing in the face of contradictory evidence. In addition, some texts that appear to refer to a dispositive oath derive from efforts to resolve disputes in private rather than before a judicial panel.
105. **David Prager Branner**, Independent Scholar

How Much Information Must I Hold in Mind to Read Classical Chinese?

In prior research I have proposed an exceptionally simple set of syntactic rules to cover the relationships between words and expressions in Classical Chinese ("Wenyan") prose. The rules use only two parts of speech (verb and noun), in addition to “particles,” which are not assigned parts of speech because they function in unique ways. Here I consider the question of how much information someone in the act of reading must keep in mind before reaching the end of a normal syntactic structure.

Imagine the act of reading Wenyan as though the reader’s mind were a stack-oriented computer processor. In this model, each time we encounter the next word in the text, one of two things happens. (1) The word may be “processed” at once, so as to combine it with foregoing text according to the operations that make up the rules of syntax. Or (2) the word may be “pushed” onto a “stack” data structure, pending future processing of what is already in the stack.

How much information someone reading must keep in mind before reaching the end of a normal syntactic structure? That is like asking, in this stack-model, how big the stack has to be—for how many elements does room have to be left in the stack, while awaiting processing of the final element?

This paper is heavily illustrated with actual examples, taken from ordinary Wenyan prose as well as the relatively dense "counterbalanced" (piántì) blank verse form.

106. **Zhuqing Li**, Brown University

Stories Chinese Place Names Tell

This article studies Chinese place names from a sociolinguistic point of view. Different from the traditional toponomy, it argues that Chinese place names are more than designations for geographical locations. They are symbols of local identity. As such, this article proposes, each place name has a unique “anchoring point” that grounds it in the local life. This is the reason that for thousands of years, Chinese place names have been an indispensable part of personal identification: A person’s birthplace customarily appears in tandem with the personal name to introduce the person.

Both semantic and phonetic components of Chinese writing have been used as the anchoring point in place names. A character is sometimes adopted for its phonetic value to stand for a local pronunciation with no clear etymology, further obscuring it origin; or a character can be “loaned” from dialect to dialect, shifting both pronunciation and meaning from place to place and time to time; and sometimes, locals simply create their own unusual local characters to name their hometown.

Scenarios such as these make the search for the true etymology a daunting task. But once the linguistic information is sorted out, place names lend a unique window into the life and speech of the people in the location. Linguistic patterns found in place names provide linguists important evidences in dialect distribution and classification. They can show the routes of migration, gradations of language change over both space and time, and interactions between different regional dialects.
This paper will delineate these linguistic processes to show how Chinese places names become part of personal identity.

107. Richard Van Ness Simmons, The University of Hong Kong and Rutgers University

Spreading Rhotacization and Historical Layering in the Huìxiàn Dialect of Hénán

The Huìxiàn dialect of Hénán belongs to the Jin type of northern Chinese dialects found near the border of Shànxi. These dialects have highly interesting realizations of the effects of the so-called ēr-suffix both as a suffix and in the various finals that the suffix follows. The effects are seen in various patterns of rhotacization and outcomes related to the influence of rhotacized finals. The complexity of the possibilities is seen, for example, in the Huòjiā dialect described by Hè Weì (1989). The situation in Huìxiàn, though not too far northeast of Huòjiā, shares some similarities, but also has many of its own characteristics in the realization of the ēr-suffix and its rhotacization.

This study presents a description and listing of the types of rhotacized effects found in Huòjiā, comparing and contrasting the Huìxiàn forms with Huòjiā and other dialects where possible. We pay particular attention those areas that are useful in providing a perspective on the historical evolution and relationships of northern dialects of the region.

D. East Asia VI: Medieval Poetry and Scripture. Paul Kroll, University of Colorado, Chair (3:15 p.m.– 5:00 p.m.) Holmes-Brandeis *

108. Ryan Richard Overbey, Skidmore College

Intertextual Demonology: The Worlds of the Consecration Scripture

The Consecration Scripture (Guanding jing, T1331) is a fifth-century Buddhist anthology in twelve scrolls containing rituals for healing, protection, divination, and the generation of merit for the living and the dead. The anthology has received special attention for its twelfth scroll, which contains the earliest attested version of the scripture of the Medicine Buddha. All scholars who have worked with the Consecration Scripture agree that it is likely a Chinese composition drawing from both Indian and Chinese traditions.

But insofar as the Consecration Scripture draws on contemporary Chinese Buddhist sources, what can we say about those sources? In this paper I will argue that our best evidence for intertextuality is found in the anthology’s long lists of names for demons, as well as the names of the bodhisattvas, gods, serpents, and so on who protect us from demonic forces. The rich and surprisingly understudied demonology of the Consecration Scripture allows us to trace out cosmological features held in common by the scriptures and grimoires of early medieval Chinese Buddhism, such as the Great Peahen Queen of Spells, the Great Cloud Scripture, and the Maniratna Scripture.

109. 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 concept, my presentation will take a literary approach to skillful means and ask whether the aesthetic appeal of early Chinese Buddhist scriptures may also have been conceived of as a skillful means. The exploration of this question is based on the reading of Buddhist scriptures as literary narratives. This approach is gaining ground in studies of Chinese Buddhism because it promises to throw light on the reception of this Indian religion in medieval China. Focusing on the Vimalakirti-nirdeśa-sūtra and other early Chinese Buddhist scriptures, I will examine the literary features employed in these texts, including protagonists, settings, plots, 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 complicated doctrinal ideas and, finally, to lead them to enlightenment.

110. YUE ZHANG, University of Macau

A New Reading on Jiang Yan’s Imitation Poems

Jiang Yan’s (444–505) imitation of the subgenre of poems on history (yongshi shi) is entitled “Record Keeper Zuo Si (ca. 250–ca. 305), Poems on History.” In discussing this imitation poem, scholars, such as Cao Daoheng, John Marney, and Nicholas Williams, have found out many differences between the two poems. Based on their solid research, this paper will examine these two poems from another angle to discuss Jiang’s imitation of Zuo’s original poems in terms of overall theme and style to give evidence on their similarities. In addition, this paper will highlight the significance of Jiang’s imitation poems.

Except borrowing words and images directly from Zuo in some couplets, Jiang’s poem imitates the style and theme of Zuo’s poems. Like Zuo’s eight poems, Jiang discusses changing attitudes towards fame and reputation, argues for meritocracy, and points to historical circumstances and family background as the key to political success in a hierarchical society. Jiang’s imitation grasps the stages in the development of Zuo’s attitudes toward life that are captured in Zuo’s poems. In his imitation poem, Jiang imitates Zuo’s poems as well as Zhang Xie (d. ca. 307) and Tao Yuanming’s (ca. 365–427) poems in the same subgenre, thus demonstrating the historical development of yongshi shi. At the same time, through this gesture, Jiang established his authority as a senior scholar able to correctly appraise and interpret yongshi shi before his era. Jiang Yan’s opinions had an immediate and profound influence, as the Shipin, an important work of literary criticism, and the canonical anthology Wen xuan both accepted the literary standards Jiang attempted to establish.
111. Xiaoshan Yang, University of Notre Dame

Discrimination and Periodization: The Discursive Rise of Tang Poetic History in the Late Southern Song

The quadripartite division of Tang poetry in Early, High, Middle, and Late periods was first codified in the early Ming with Gao Bing’s *Tangshi pinghui* and remains standard today. The origin of such periodization is generally acknowledged to trace back to Yan Yu’s *Canglang shihua* in the late Southern Song.

This paper does not aim to disprove or challenge the heuristic functionality of such periodization. Rather it explores the cultural and literary forces behind the formation of such periodization in the late Southern Song. To be more specific, the paper illustrates three points. First, before Yan Yu, Song critics of different tastes and from different time periods often had different referents in using such terms as Tangren (“Tang poets”) and Tangshi (“Tang poetry”). Second, periodization is a form of hierarchical valorization. Periodizing Tang poetry is not so much a matter of dividing it into coherent temporal segments as it is an effort to apotheosize a particular period or particular poets as the correct model, from which any deviation should be rejected. Third, the urge to establish High Tang as such a model grew out of a profound reflection on, and dissatisfaction with, the directions in which Song poetry had been developing. A particularly important factor was the critical backlash against the dominance, in the late Southern Song, of the so-called Four Lings and the Rivers and Lakes School, which took Late Tang poets such as Jiao Dao and Yao He as their models rather than High Tang giants like Li Bai and Du Fu.

E. Islamic Near East VIII: Law. Ahmed El Shamsy, University of Chicago, Chair (1:45 p.m.–4:00 p.m.) Kennedy *

112. Neri Y. Ariel, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Towards Inter-Disciplinary Reconstructed Oriental Law: Jurisprudential Works of *Adab al-Qādī* between Islam and Judaism

The geonic age spanned the seventh to eleventh centuries in Babylonia. If the early geonic corpus was composed of collective oral traditions, the successors of Se-adya Gaon (882–942) specialized in the composition of individual legal-halakhic codices. Known as “late monographic works,” the judges’ duties genre is the legal-jurisprudential climax of this monographic genre.

In my talk, I would like to comparatively reflect on my recently approved PhD dissertation, “Manuals for Judges (*Adab al-Qudāt*) in Geonica: A Study of Genizah Fragments of a Judeo-Arabic Monographic Genre” (Hebrew University, 17.6.2019). In this previous research I set the basis and justification for the discovery of Rav Hai Gaon’s (Pumbedita, 998–1038) (*Kitāb adab alqadā/Book of Judges’ Duties*). Other remnants stemming from different works of this jurisprudential genre survived and are included in my completed research (e.g., *Kitāb lāwāzim al-ḥukkām* by Samuel Ben Hofni Gaon; Ibn Aknin’s *Fasāl fī ādāb al-dayyānīn* (“Chapter on the judges’ good manners”) from *Ṭibb al-Nafūs* (“Hygiene of the Souls”).

These works were entirely written in an intellectual milieu essentially corresponded with its Muslim environment. This paper will supply several examples of content-related parallels and structural equivalents between Genizah remnants of this newly
discovered Judæo-Arabic sub-genre and already known works of their Muslim con-
temporaries in a well-based genre. Examining textual proximities and the possible
ideological juxtaposition of the legal, philosophical and literary contexts, I would
like to ponder several issues characteristic for the distinguished Adab al-Qâdi, or the
judges’ duties genre (Hovot ha-Dayyanim) as a Cross-Pollination, concerning ques-
tions such as the ethical character of the judge, the perception of the adjudicational
process and the comprehension of civil procedure.

113. JESSICA SYLVAN MUTTER, Bowdoin College

Syriac Christianity and Early Islam: Conversion and Apostasy in the Legal Lit-

erature

Syriac Christian legal responses to Islam changed significantly over the first two
hundred years of Muslim rule. In this paper, I will focus on how Christian leaders
responded to Christians who converted to Islam during this time, and how and why
their responses changed. Converts from Islam to Christianity emerge as early as the
late seventh century c.e. Christian leaders responded to these cases in a variety of
ways. A trend in the Syriac legal literature from leniency to strictness emerges over
the course of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, as conversion to Islam became
more common and more devastating to Syriac Christian communities. As Daniel Sahas
notes, Jacob of Edessa (d. 708 c.e.) was a prominent example of this early leniency
toward Christians who converted Islam. He allowed deathbed conversions from Islam
to Christianity and permitted those who did so to receive communion. Those who
recovered from their illness were required to do penance for having converted to Is-
lam, but after completion of their penance were again allowed to receive communion.
Church leaders encouraged clergy to be kind to Christian women who married Mus-
lim men. By the ninth century c.e., in contrast, converts to Christianity from Islam
were required to reject Muhammad by name, along with the Qur’an, various Islamic
teachings, the family and associates of the Prophet, and even Mecca and the ‘God
of Muhammad.’ Adults who had chosen to convert away and revert back were let
into the church but were not allowed to receive communion again until the end of
their lives. Women who married Muslim men were excommunicated along with their
fathers. This paper will examine these shifts and others, and their implications for
Syriac Christian communities in the early Islamic era.

114. MARIAM SHEIBANI, Harvard Law School

A Tale of Two ʿTariqas: The Iraqi and Khorasani Shāfiʿī Communities (4th/10th
to 6th/12th Centuries)

Recent contributions to Islamic legal history have focused on the thought of al-
Shāfiʿī and his direct students, Shāfiʿī legal theory in the formative and post-formative
periods, and Mamluk-era legal practices and institutions. A major gap persists re-
garding the evolution of the Shāfiʿī school after the generation of al-Shāfiʿī’s students,
roughly from the fourth/tenth to the sixth/twelfth centuries. My paper examines the
development of the Shāfiʿī school during this period, when the school expanded East-
ward from its base in Cairo, into the emerging intellectual centers in Iraq, Khorasan,
and Transoxiana.

Through a reconstruction of the intellectual networks that constituted the Iraqi and
Khorasani communities and an analysis of the thought of prominent figures in each
community, I argue that the two communities represented two competing methodological and epistemological paradigms within the Shafī‘i school and Islamic intellectual history more broadly: the emotive collection and transmission of hadith, and the rational investigation of rational theology. I show that the ‘Khorasani Contemplative synthesis,’ epitomized by Abū al-Ma‘ālī al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) and the Nishapuri school, represented the more analytical, systematic, and rationalizing branch, which corresponded with their rigorous development of Ashʿarī rational theology (kalām), theoretical jurisprudence (uṣūl al-fiqh), and Sufi piety. Khorasani Shafī‘īs carried the exploratory approach of Ashʿarī theology into their jurisprudence, developing a theory of the ethical purposes of the law, and in their legal doctrine, articulating broader principles governing legal rules in the form of legal canons or maxims (qawā'id fiqhiyya).

In contrast, ‘Iraqi Emulative Traditionism,’ epitomized by Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083), privileged a more conservative and transmission-based approach to the law. They largely opposed speculative theorization in theology and ensured that Ashʿarī doctrines and Sufi ethics did not encroach on their theoretical jurisprudence and substantive law. Finally, the paper shows that while formal attribution to the Khorasani and Iraqi branches gradually ceased, the intellectual legacies and distinct approach of each community vied for authority in Ayyubid Damascus in the sixth/twelfth century.

115. **Elon Harvey**, University of Chicago

Al-Shafī‘ī and the Hornet

Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shafī‘ī (150/767–204/820) is widely held to be one of the major figures in early Islamic law. He is often credited with having established the prominence of the Prophet’s Sunna as a legal source alongside the Qurʾān, and elevating its status over Companion and Successor traditions. His legal theory is preserved in two major works, Kītāb al-umm and al-Risāla which are occasionally printed together. These two works are our most dependable representations of his thought. In addition to his legal writings, there is a plethora of individual traditions with chains of transmission which describe moments in his life. These traditions are scattered throughout medieval Islamic literature, occasionally collected together in biographical works about him. Their authenticity is often uncertain, and their content may be considered hagiography. One such tradition depicts a study session in which al-Shafī‘ī responded to a Khurṣanī inquirer’s legal question about hornets. By analyzing the various versions of this tradition, their contents as well as their chains of transmission, I hope to show that it preserves an early recollection of al-Shafī‘ī’s sharp wit and that it features a significant and arguably authentic legal justification, which is not found in any of his known writings.

116. **Naveen Kanalu**, University of California, Los Angeles

Law-Making in the Islamicate Courts of the Indian Sub-Continent: Fatāwā and the Production of Legal Doctrine for Statecraft (1300s–1500s)

The paper examines the nature and production of fatāwā texts, which proliferated from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries in the Indian sub-continent. While the compilation of legal precepts of the Hanafi madhhab in Arabic at the Mughal imperial court, Al-fatāwā al-ālamkīyya in the 1670s at the behest of Aurangzeb’s Alamgir (r. 1658–1707) is well known, the formative period in the development of Islamic law in
the region before the sixteenth century is often neglected. I analyse fatāwā collections made under the patronage of Sultans and princes of the Delhi Sultanates (c. 1200–1526) and the Sharqi Sultanate of Jaunpur (1394–1479) in order to situate the nature of legal doctrine as it emerged in close proximity with the interests of statecraft. Some of these notable compilations in Arabic and Persian include Fiqh-i firuzshāhi, Fatāwā-i tātārkhanīyya, and Fatāwā-i ibrāhīmshāhīyya.

From a historicist perspective, I ask how legal precepts were derived and applied in premodern Islamicate polities. For instance, how did the juxtaposition of legal precepts from diverse legal texts allow for the formulation of a body of substantive law in Islamicate courtly cultures in the Indian sub-continent? Originally, the term fatwā designated a responsa issued by a muftī (jurisconsult) containing an opinio iuris. However, in post-classical Islamic jurisprudence, fatwā had come to represent an independent genre and style of legal composition. These texts were collations of legal precepts based on ikhtilāf (juristic disagreement) within the madhhab, which neither settled legal doctrine nor upheld the absolute primacy of one set of legal arguments over another. Rather than making pure “compilations”, that is, collations of pre-existing legal precepts, the authors of fatwā aimed at clarifying on variant explanations in established doctrinal sources in order to ascertain the certainty of juridical positions. Problematizing the internal textual structure of fatwā collections, I argue not only for their value as substantive law but more importantly for the juridical underpinning they provided for the sustenance of Sultanate as a political institution, whose meta-normative condition was maslaha (welfare).

117. Elias G. Saba, Grinnell College

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī’s al-Ashbāh wa-l-Nazāʿir as a Portrait of Late Mamluk Shāfīʿī Law

In this paper, I situate al-Ashbāh wa-l-Nazāʿir by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) within Shāfīʿī legal understandings current in late-Mamluk Cairo. In it, I argue that al-Suyūṭī’s text should be understood as a kind of legal encyclopedia that provides an overview of the discipline of Shāfīʿī Islamic law. Following this argument, each of the seven sections in the book (i. the five maxims, ii. universal maxims, iii. specific maxims, iv. important points of substantive law, v. similar cases, vi. dissimilar cases, vii. various similar matters) should be read as a major element in the scholarly enterprise of Shāfīʿī fiqh in late-Mamluk Cairo. My paper will present and explain the seven sections of this book. In discussing the contents of the book, I demonstrate that usūl (legal theory) and furūʿ (substantive law) are not the primary concerns of the author. I then compare the organization of this book to previous texts named al-Ashbāh wa-l-Nazāʿir by Shāfīʿī scholars to show how al-Suyūṭī’s text represents a break from other texts in this genre, which were largely just collections of legal maxims. Next, I highlight resonances between the organization of this text and al-Manthūr fi al-qawā'id by Muhammad ibn Bahādur al-Zarkashi (d. 794/1392) to suggest a different intellectual background to al-Suyūṭī’s text. I end with a discussion of the implications of this analysis: namely, the complex history of this text, the relative importance of maxims over legal theory in late-Mamluk legal thinking, and the need for a reappraisal of the state of the discipline of fiqh in Mamluk Egypt.
F. Islamic Near East IX: Poetry. Kevin Blankinship, Brigham Young University, Chair (4:15 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) Kennedy ∗

118. CATHERINE AMBLER, Columbia University

Inscribing the Wave: Persian Taṣkiras of Poets on Memory

Persian Taṣkiras (mementos) of poets combine biographies of poets with selections from their poetry. Modern scholarship has tended to draw on taṣkiras for accounts of social and cultural history. In this paper, I shift emphasis from the question of what the taṣkiras make of particular moments in social and cultural history, to the question of what the taṣkiras make of the temporal world itself. I approach this question through an analysis of discussions of memory in three taṣkiras: Niṣārī Bukhari’s Muzakkir-i Aḥbāb (Remembrance of Friends, 974/1566), Muṭribī Samarqandi’s Nuskha-yi Zibā-yi Jahāngīrī (The Beautiful Book of Jahangir, 1035/1625), and Māliḥa Samarqandi’s Muzakkir al-Asḥāb (Remembrance of the Masters, 1104/1692). All three are composed by authors from Transoxiana (Central Asia) and devoted to contemporary poets, especially those whom their authors had met. The taṣkiras describe a context of instability in Transoxiana, while also characterizing instability as necessarily part of the fabric of the temporal world. Given this sense of the world’s transience, what are the stakes for these taṣkiras in setting out to inscribe the lives and works of poets?

I argue that these works reveal ambivalence toward memory, as both central to their projects, and a form of being bound to this world—a binding that certain poets, particularly Ṣūfīs, attempt to resist. Some interpretations of Ṣūfism in pre-Modern Islamic contexts suggest that a stance directed toward other worlds (such as the afterlife or the unseen) entails a lack of interest in this world. Thus, otherworldly orientations may be charged with quietism, passivity, subservience to tyranny. Against such binary thinking, I argue that the taṣkiras’ ambivalence toward memory models the ability to stand at the interstices between worlds—neither fully immersed in the temporal, nor resigned to relinquishing it.

119. DAVID LARSEN, New York University

Bananaic Crafts in Early Arabic Poetry: The Case of Weaving

As a poetic figure for poetry itself, weaving seems overdetermined. “A craft and a kind of weaving” (Jāhiz, Hayawān iii, 132) is the canonical refrain, and all the way back to the beginnings of Arabic verse tradition, critics think they hear its echo. But actual historical analysis reveals a surprising fact. While the craft of weaving is much mentioned by early Arab poets, it does not appear to be in use as a metaphor of poetry until the late Umayyad period, by one of the last poets to be considered early, the rajaz artist Ru‘ba b. al-‘Ajajī (d. 145/762). It was the critic Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (d. 199/815) who brought the metaphor into Arabic prose writing about poetry, and from that point on, as a figure for poetic craft in Islamic culture, weaving has been rivaled only by the competing metaphor of stringing pearls.

In this article, the poetry of Ru‘ba is made the occasion for a diachronic look at weaving and its place among the other fiber arts, such as embroidery, tailoring, and above all spinning. It is offered as a corrective to the ahistorical standardization of weaving as a metaphor for Arabic poetry. What early literary critics had to say about poetic craft is bypassed in preference for the early poets’ own metaphors for
their labor—above all, their recourse to the other crafts and trades. On the subject of representations of poetic craft in Arabic poetry, it is the first of several papers planned.

120. EREZ NAAMAN, American University

Al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ vs. The Khālidī Brothers: A Major Plagiarism Dispute of the 4th/10th Century

The medieval Arabic literary tradition is very rich, when it comes to citing lines of poetry alleged to be “stolen” in different ways from other poems. Very rare, however, are cases in which a large body of evidence in poetry and prose, revolving around a specific plagiarism dispute, exists in the sources. The fourth/tenth century plagiarism dispute between the poets al-Sarī l-Raffāʾ and the inseparable Khālidī brothers is a case in point. This was a big controversy that reverberated across the literary world of Iraq and Syria of the time, dividing learned people to two camps, and involving in various manners some of its most notable figures.

My paper concentrates on this dispute, which thus far has not been subjected to close examination by modern scholars, going beyond a cursory discussion. It is based on an attempt to put together the various pieces of information available to us in poetry and prose. I will present an outline of the decades-long dispute between the two parties, with a particular focus on its culmination in Baghdad around 350/961, during the last years of al-Muhallabī’s vizierate. I will pay attention to the strategies of the parties, fighting aggressively against each other in art and life, satirizing the opponent in poetry and appealing to high-ranking figures in a vigorous campaign to vanquish the other party. Since one party suffered a devastating defeat, while the other prevailed and prospered, the probable causes of this outcome will be discussed. In addition, I will consider the assessments of medieval literary critics and scholars, who addressed this dispute in their works, and offer conclusions about the ways in which this dispute reflects literary and social conventions of the time.

G. Islamic Near East X: Late Antiquity and Islam. SEAN W. ANTHONY, Ohio State University, Chair (4:15 p.m.–5:30 p.m.) Isabella Stewart Gardner *

121. KEVIN VAN BLADEL, Yale University

The Survival of the Sasanian Dari Language

In a lost Arabic work cited by several later authors, the Persian secretary and translator Ibn al-Muqaffaʾ (d. circa 756) mentioned a language called Dari. He says that “it is the language of the cities of al-Madāʾin” (Seleucia-Ctesiphon in Iraq) and was named for its association with the Sasanian court (dar) that used to be there. It was distinct from Parthian, Middle Persian, Aramaic, and Khuzi.

The Persian specialist Gilbert Lazard (1920–2018) established the now-standard view that the Iraqi Dari language had spread to Transoxania somehow before the advent of Islam, and that Early New Persian was just the resurgence of Dari there. To justify this claim, he assumed that Dari had become a specifically northern Iranian vehicular language. He supposed that it spread beyond the confines of the Sasanian Kingdom because of its assumed prestige. This standard view is based on false surmises, however, as I demonstrated in a presentation at the AOS meeting of 2016.
The theory is based on the misinterpretation of a critical Arabic text and neglect of historical sources on the relevant population movements.

This leaves the Dari of Iraq as an unknown language. It is a striking situation in which an apparently important language has left no known trace. The present contribution proposes to identify Dari texts. They have been hiding in plain sight for more than a century.

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

There’s Something About Meryey

The Mandäan proselyte Meryey, best known from her representations in the Canonical Prayerbook, the Great Treasure (Genzā Rabbā), and the Book of John (Drāšī d-Yahyā), serves as an illuminating example of the sort of figure who partially and ambiguously bridges the interests and concerns of differently constituted religious communities, allowing for a certain degree of collaboration between them. Christians readily identify this Mandäan figure with Mary, the mother of Jesus, and Muslims similarly identify her with Maryam bint Imrān of the Qurʾān.

Mandäans today identify their Meryey with neither of the above, insisting that theirs was a different woman of the same name, but prior generations were content to permit such identifications in the interest of dialogue across religious boundaries, as Edmondo Lupieri has demonstrated. In its most extensive retelling, that of the Book of John, her legend situates her at a literal boundary, the Euphrates, where a pursuing Jewish host is drowned, in an inversion of the Exodus narrative. These days, however, she stands not at the boundary but rather the center of the debate over contentious issues such as the permissibility of conversion and the role of women in the priesthood.

In this communication, I will demonstrate that Meryey emerges first at the boundaries of what would become delineated as Judaism and Mandäanism, and that adherents of the latter tradition skilfully employed the ambiguity of her name to build bridges such as the ones mentioned above, as a kind of figura in the Auerbachian sense, resulting in the inherent duality of her representations across Mandäan literature. In this way, Meryey serves as an escape from the Cartesian fiction of unidirectional knowledge production that characterizes previous scholarship on the subject of Mandäan texts, and into a broader universe of discourse.

123. ARAFAT A. RAZZAQUE, Harvard University

Pietist Condemnation of Preachers: An Islamic Eschatological Motif and Its Late Antique Sources

A brief hadith concerning the Prophet Muḥammad’s “Night Journey” portrays a typically graphic scene of otherworldly punishment said to await khutabāʾ (orators) who do not practice what they preach: their lips are cut repeatedly by scissors of fire. As Christian Lange (2016) already points out, this parallels a scene in the Apocalypse of Paul, a Christian text from around 400 ce circulated widely in the medieval Near East and Europe. But the motif also appears in the so-called Liber Requiei or Obssequies of the Holy Virgin in Ethiopic—which, as argued by Shoemaker (2004), includes an earlier account of four types of clerical sinners. In these texts, the infernal torture of the lips and tongue is designated for the delinquent lector of the church, while the
Christian-Arabic translations describe a *shammās* (deacon) “who read the book to people but did not act according to it.” The ḥadīth under consideration echoes this by paraphrasing Q 2:44, addressing those who “enjoin people to piety but forget themselves, and who recite the Book but do not understand.” The remarkably faithful yet creative Islamic re-appropriation of a Christian apocalyptic tradition speaks to the ethical function of eschatology and the distinct role of the preacher in early Muslim society. Recorded in several major 3rd/9th century Sunnī compilations (notably *Musnad Ahmad*, among others) but not in the canonical Six Books, the ḥadīth found appeal in the *zuhd* movement for renunciant piety, given its deep concern with the ethics of speech and its relationship to action. Although the roles of *qusṣāṣ* and *khutabār* (as recently examined at length by Armstrong 2017 and Qutbuddin 2019 respectively) were occasionally synonymous, and the *qusṣāṣ* in particular would be later criticized, this ḥadīth reveals how the *khutabār* and their powerful tongues were no less a source of anxiety for pious Muslims.

**H. South and Southeast Asia VIII: Literary and Philosophical Traditions of Śaivism.** ELIZABETH A. CECIL, Florida State University, Chair (1:00 p.m.–2:20 p.m.) King *

124. FLORINDA DE SIMINI, University of Naples “L’Orientale”

Śaivasiddhānta in 16th century Chidambaram—Part 2: The Sanskrit works of Vedajñāna II

This paper focuses on the Sanskrit *production* of Vedajñāna II (Tamil: Maṟaiṉāṉa Tēcikar), a Śaivasiddhānta teacher who was active in the 16th century in Chidambaram, a pupil of Vedajñāna I (Tamil: Maṟaiṉāṉa Campanṭañ). Unlike his predecessor, who only wrote in Tamil, the surviving works of Vedajñāna II are both in Tamil and Sanskrit. In Tamil he was the author, among other things, of a commentary on his teacher’s Tamil translation of the Śivadharmaṭṭā, as well as a commentary on the Civaṉaṉacittiyār, the Tamil adaptation of the Śivajñānasiddhi. On the other hand, Vedajñāna’s works in Sanskrit are mostly written in the style of “anthologies” of quotations from authoritative Śaiva scriptures selected and arranged in thematic units. A model for this type of composition can be found both in the Dharmaśāstric tradition of the Dharmanibandhas, and in Śaivasiddhānta anthological works such as the Saṭaratnasamgraha by Umāpati, active in Chidambaram in the 14th century. By selecting and quoting from the scriptures of the Śaivasiddhānta, the author accomplishes the double aim of establishing a canon for the texts of such scriptures, and devising a method to navigate their overwhelming contents.

The historical importance of the Sanskrit works of Vedajñāna II lies not only in its relevance for the understanding of Śaiva beliefs and practices in 16th century Chidambaram, but also, as has been observed by Sanderson and Goodall, in the circumstance that it is in the work of this author that, for the first time, the majority of the scriptures of the Siddhānta have been quoted, and the text of these quotations can also be traced in the original sources. By giving special attention to selected chapters from two of his ritualistic works, namely the *Dīkṣādārsā* (“Illustration of Initiations”) and the *Ātmārthapūjapaddhati* (“Manual of Private Worship”), I will examine the criteria used by Vedajñāna II in selecting, splitting and re-arranging
the texts of his canonical scriptures, and how he furthermore connects the scriptural authorities of his school to the actual ritual practices that his works are meant to prescribe.

125. Michael Gollner, McGill University

Initiation by Knowledge: The Influence of Vedānta and Bhakti on Non-Ritual Initiation in Śaiva Siddhānta

This paper discusses the development of ‘initiation by knowledge’ (jñānadikṣā) and related non-ritual forms of initiation in Śaiva Siddhānta sources of the early second millennium. As is well known, before the 12th century, Śaiva Siddhānta was a predominantly dualist tradition that emphasized the importance of ritual initiation as a key component of its soteriological vision. After the 12th century, however, the importance of Saiddhāntika ritual initiation diminished, concomitant with a broader transformation in the tradition that saw Vedānta, Bhakti, and local Tamil expressions of Śaiva Siddhānta become increasingly important. To date, however, only a few works have looked at how Vedānta and Bhakti came to reshape Śaiva Siddhānta. In this paper, I discuss two 13th-century Saiddhāntika works that reflect the declining status of ritual initiation and that demonstrate the growing importance of non-ritual forms of initiation. The first is the Siddhāntaśekhara, a Sanskrit Saiddhāntika ritual work composed in Vārānasi by a certain Viśvanātha; the second is the CivaṉṆacittiyār, a Tamil Saiddhāntika theological work composed in South India by a certain Arunantti Civācāriyar. In discussing select passages from these works, I draw attention to influences from Vedānta and Bhakti, and I highlight elements of intertextuality between the Siddhāntaśekhara and CivaṉṆacittiyār that suggest an element of dialogue between Sanskrit and Tamil sources in North and South India. The main contributions of the paper consist in drawing attention to specific lines of influence from Vedānta and Bhakti on Śaiva Siddhānta in the 13th century, and in arguing for a more nuanced understanding of the relationship between Sanskrit and Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta.

126. Margherita Trento, University of Naples “L’Orientale”

Śaivasiddhānta in Sixteenth-Century Chidambaram. Part I. Tamil Poetry and Religious Belonging in the Civatarumottaram

MaṟaiṇāṆa Campantar and his disciple MaṟaiṇāṆa Tēcikar (in Sanskrit, VedajiṆāna I and II), both active in Chidambaram in the sixteenth century, are little-studied yet central figures in the development of Tamil Śaivasiddhānta. MaṟaiṇāṆa Campantar’s magnum opus is the Civatarumottaram, a poetical transposition of the Śivadharmottara into Tamil, on which MaṟaiṇāṆa Tēcikar wrote a lengthy prose commentary. Focusing on the second chapter on “the gift of the knowledge of Śiva” (CivaṉṆatṆaṆaviyai), my paper explores how the Civatarumottaram articulates the relationship between Śaivasiddhānta and the realm of Tamil language and literature vis à vis Sanskrit as its source language and the language of the āgamas. The paper further explores this connection between Tamil literature and Saivasiddhānta in the context of strategies of inclusion and exclusion prompted by sectarian debates within sixteenth-century Tamil Śaivism (Steinschneider 2016, Fisher 2017).

Both axes of analysis point to the theological and political dimensions already present in the second chapter of the Śivadharmottara almost a millennium earlier
(De Simini 2016). These are re-articulated by Maraiñña Campanitar in the context of sixteenth-century Tamilakam—How to make Tamil Saivasiddhānta central to local public life? How to understand the role of Tamil poetry, and accompanying forms of religious practice and belief, in the path towards salvation? Delving into these questions, the paper will consider the language, meter, and style of the Civatarumottāram together with the reflection on language and scripture in the Civañañatāpaviyāl, and analyze the clues they offer as to what were the circumstances, and who were the readers of the poem. It will further explore the question of readership by examining the relationship between the verses and their commentary, which shows one mode of reading the Civatarumottāram in a maṭam classroom of sixteenth-century Chidambaram.

127. MATTHEW LEVEILLE, University of Virginia

Praise-poem, Pedagogy, or Personal Meditation? Thoughts on Approaching Appayya Dikṣita’s Varadarājastava

Appayya Dikṣita’s poem, the Varadarājastava (VRS), is an erudite and challenging example of stotra literature from southern India during the Vijayanagara period. Both Yigal Bronner and Ajay Rao have written helpful articles on the pedagogical qualities of the VRS and the importance of personal meditation on or within the heart (dāharavidya) respectively; however, this poem is not strictly pedagogical or meditative. Rao, in particular is right to examine Appayya’s relationship with Vedānta Deśika and the VRS with Deśika’s poem, the Varadarājapaścāt (VRP); however, his characterization of the VRS as “an example of a new form” of stotra in comparison to the VRP in that it “incorporates modes of Tamil devotional lyric, such as liturgical imagery and descriptions of the god’s iconography,” seems incorrect if one studies Steven Hopkins’ treatment of the VRP in his book, Singing the Body of God. Furthermore, the VRS is a unique boundary-crossing work written by a Śaiva intellectual in praise of not only Viṣṇu, but his embodiment as Varadarāja, his temple in Kāñci, and his devotees. Nonetheless, in my reading it seems Appayya does not commit the crucial act of self-surrender (prapatti) to Varadarāja/Viṣṇu as Deśika does in the VRP (and as Appayya himself does to Śiva in the Ātmāpanastuti), so he ultimately retains his Śaiva identity while praising a seemingly rival divinity. Along with this, questions of place, space, immediacy, and distance are constantly at play. Viṣṇu/Varadarāja bears up and pervades the entire earth, for example, but he is simultaneously and fully present at the temple in Kāñci and within the hearts of his devotees. As Yigal Bronner has said elsewhere, Appayya is indeed a free-thinking and provocative intellectual, and the VRS exemplifies this along with the flexibility and depth of stotra literature.

I. South and Southeast Asia IX: On Travelers, Messengers, and their Texts.
TIMOTHY LUBIN, Washington and Lee University, Chair (2:25 p.m.–3:25 p.m.)

128. ROSANE ROCHER, University of Pennsylvania

A Sanskritist’s Visit to pre-AOS Boston

In December 1831, an obscure English Sanskritist embarked with his wife and children for New York. His goal was to introduce Sanskrit in North America, publish a manual of Sanskrit grammar, and establish himself as a teacher of oriental languages.
In the course of his unsuccessful forays to find a suitable place of residence, he visited Boston, where he was welcomed by the eminent lawyer John Pickering and the congregational minister William Jenks, whose library was reputed the best in New England. He has left an account of that visit among a litany of derogatory recollections of learning and education in America. Cleared of his prejudices, this encounter offers a picture of the intellectual yearning that motivated Jenks and Pickering to found the AOS a decade later.

129. Shuheng Zhang, University of Pennsylvania
A Format Study of the 9th-Century Tōyō Bunko Manuscript of the “Thousand-Character-Text” in Sanskrit

I propose to examine a ninth-century manuscript of the “Thousand-Character-Text in Sanskrit” (abbr. TCTS), corresponding to the text as it appears in Taishō Tripitaka 2133A and attributed to the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yijing (635–713). Also called the “Sacred Garland of Words in One Thousand Chinese Characters,” this text is a bilingual Sino-Indic lexicon of one thousand non-repetitive words in both Sanskrit and Chinese. The manuscript became trilingual in the tenth century with a Japanese hand glossing a number of words on the original manuscript in the katakana syllabary in red. The Indic portion of the text appears to be primarily composed in Sanskrit, written in the Siddham script, and next to each word is juxtaposed its Chinese equivalent.

The TCTS was the fruit of the newly prevalent trend of Siddham-Chinese lexicographical compositions in the seventh century amid increasing pilgrimages from China to India. What sets this text apart from its bilingual lexicographical contemporaries is that it is the only glossary in which the Chinese language portion of the text is coherent by itself. This is because the author, in his preface, states that the text’s purpose is to help Chinese people who wish to go to India to study Buddhist scholarship equip themselves with the requisite Indic-Chinese translational ability. Thus, it serves the double purpose as a tool for teaching Sanskrit lexicon as well as a basic encyclopedic introduction to a wide variety of knowledge about India. This presentation will introduce the structural and codicological, calligraphic, and layout features of the manuscript during the two strata of its transmission from China to Japan.

130. Signe Cohen, University of Missouri
Interpolations in the Uttaramegha?

This paper investigates the curious metrical and stylistic differences between the two parts (the Pārvamegha and the Uttaramegha) of Kālidāsa’s Meghadūta. Many of the characteristics of Kālidāsa’s style, such as his use of “Sperrung” (the poetic suspension of grammatical completeness), vocabulary and meter found in the first part of the poem are absent in portions of the second part. I discuss whether the subtle shifts in meter and style between the Pārvamegha and the latter parts of the Uttaramegha serve a greater literary purpose, or whether they suggest that portions of the second half of the poem may be later additions to the author’s original text.
Kashi Gomez, University of California, Berkeley

_kaṇeḥ pramādaḥ kṣantavyaḥ_—The Poet’s ‘Mistake’ Ought to be Permitted

To critique Kālidāsa is almost unforgivable. Such an offense is the dark cloud that hangs over the reputation of Ghanasyāma, and by extension his co-wives, Sundarī and Kamalā. A prolific eighteenth-century commentator and poet, Ghanasyāma is widely cast as ‘vain,’ ‘overconfident,’ and ‘conceited.’ His co-wives, who authored a joint commentary to supplement that of Ghanasyāma on Rājaśekhara’s play, the _Viddhāśālabhanājikā_, are alternately cast as Ghanasyāma masquerading as his wives or adept stylistic imitators. Examining the stylistic particularities of this commentarial trio, this paper takes up the question of how we interpret critique and criticism in relation to _kāvya_, positing an alternate reading of such critique which is based not in ethics but in socio-linguistic concerns.

Eschewing more practical commentarial functions, this commentarial trio regularly deploys a set of unique commentarial expressions calling attention to Rājaśekhara’s apparent linguistic mistakes. Rather than reading these critiques of Rājaśekhara as a sign of vanity in a decadent period of decline, which is implicit in the rhetoric surrounding Ghanasyāma, I argue that these commentarial interpolations, which rely heavily on literary precedent and the validity of local usage, reorient our reference point for linguistic authority. Sometimes, no reconciliation is offered by the commentators for an incorrect usage, and sometimes we are asked to exercise forbearance or compassion towards a particular usage that stretches grammatical conventions. The critiques and criticisms of the commentators ask us to reconsider the stake we put in linguistic regulations.

Adheesh Sathaye, University of British Columbia

_Humor and Vulgarity in the Bhānas_

Writing shortly after the publication of the _Caturbhāṇa_ (“Quartet of Bhāṇas,” 1922), S. K. De (1926) argued that the bhāṇa, a form of Sanskrit monological theatre, had undergone numerous generic changes from its early examples within the _Caturbhāṇa_ (c. 500 CE) to versions produced in medieval times (1200–1600). In particular, De maintained that while the early bhāṇas were interested in satirical humor, the medieval examples demonstrate an “exclusive tendency towards the erotic” (84); likewise, while the language of the early bhāṇas would veer into the domain of “natural vulgarity,” the medieval bhāṇas exhibit a “polished and factitious indecency” (86). This paper intends to assess De’s argument by comparing evidence from the _Caturbhāṇa_ and select medieval bhāṇas, and will ask how Sanskrit humor, vulgarity, or “artistic indecency” might be successfully translated into modern English—or indeed, whether it is valuable to do so.
A “Secret Doctrine” of Sanskrit Poetics: Disambiguating the Pun

Yigal Bronner’s *Extreme Poetry* (2010) has provided an important foundation for the study of dual- and multi-meaning Sanskrit poetry. As Bronner details, this mode of poetic composition had been much maligned by previous generations of modern scholars, leading to a shortage of serious academic writing on the topic. Bronner also addresses critiques of the poetic ornament known as śleṣa within the alaṅkārika tradition. This paper argues that the alaṅkārika tradition develop multiple categories of analysis for what might broadly be called a pun, with an especially important distinction between śleṣa and abhidhāma vyaṇjanā (suggestion based on denotation). This distinction has important bearings on the evaluation of double-meaning poetry, suggesting that the traditional evaluation of double-meaning poetry may not be as negative as it has been portrayed. This paper will focus on comments made by late theorists, including Śrīvatsālāchāra (16th century) and Baladeva Vidyabhūṣaṇa (18th century), each of whom presented part of their literary theoretical writing in the form of interpretations of the *Kavyaprakāśa*. Special consideration will be given to the question of whether the fine distinctions made by these later thinkers are, in fact, implicit in earlier authors, and to the evaluative implications of this distinction.

Vamśīdhara on *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 5.20.38: A Purānic Commentator’s Discussion of Siddhāntic Cosmology

It is well known that the Indian astronomers who authored the Siddhāntas engaged with ideas from Purānic cosmography since early times. However, it is not until late that commentators on the Purāṇas take up discussions of Siddhāntic cosmography. A in-depth discussion of Siddhāntic cosmography is found in a late commentary on the Bhāgavatapurāṇa by Vamśīdhara, a Vaishnava. Drawing on earlier sources, Vamśīdhara attempts to reconcile the enormous earth described in the Purāṇas with the small earth described in the Siddhāntas. We will analyse Vamśīdhara’s commentary for earlier sources, scientific ideas, and ultimately the answer provided to the problem of the different dimensions of the earth given in the two cosmographies.

Recitation and Ritual Kinship in the Lotus Sutra

In a previous talk, I demonstrated that the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, also known as the Lotus Sutra, reveals a conceptualization of recitation as a practice self-transformation. I explored how recitation from the 1st person perspective of an imagined original reciter constituted a kind of impersonation, and an attempt on the reciter’s part to become like the original speaker. I compared performative assertions in the Rigveda when the poet asserts himself to be Indra with performatives in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, in which the dharmabhāṇaka asserts he has become his paragon: the Buddha.
In this talk, I want to explore a different aspect of this recitation-mediated transformation. The self the reciter becomes is a self in a succession of selves. That is, I claim that recitation plays a role beyond paragon emulation; it plays a crucial social role in the creation and renewal of a religious lineage. I trace this use of the recitation back to the use of Vedic recitation to conceive of *prajāpatantu* ‘line of progeny,’ which might have been historically biological families, but are presented by the texts as ritually-enacted kinship. I argue this participates in Vedic notions of kingship. In the Rājasūya rite, the *yajamāna* does not inherit his sovereignty biologically, but must be ritually transformed into the suzerain of the Vedic clans through speech act. I will show certain formal similarities between the speech of the Vedic king and the dharmabhāṇaka of the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra*.

This talk serves as a prolegomenon to future work on the early history of monasticism in South Asia, as it suggests that Vedic models of ritual families, enacted by textual memorization and recitation, were adapted to early communities of celibate renouncers from which distinct Buddhist, Jain, and Hindu ascetic traditions could arise.

136. **Joseph LaRose**, Rangjung Yeshe Institute

*Follow the Animals: Buddhist Bad Paths in the Kotikaṃvadāna*

The *Kotikaṃvadāna*—the story of Śrōṇa Koṭiκaṃa and his twelve years of wandering, is the opening *avadāna* (“instructional tale”) of the *Divyavādāna*. I focus on this *avadāna* in order to explore this question: Where do the Buddhist authors of this text imagine that Śrōṇa Koṭiκaṃa is after he is left behind by his caravan? Although this question may not seem to be a particularly difficult one, a full answer is not found in the existing scholarship. Prior scholarship has either glossed over the question or provided incomplete answers. Nalinaksha Dutt, in his edition of this *avadāna*, incorrectly states that Śrōṇa Koṭiκaṃa “passed twelve years among the pretas” (Dutt 1939–59 3:4, xviii). Joel Tatelman simply states that Śrōṇa Koṭiκaṃa “encounters those from his own city, now reborn as hungry ghosts” (Tatelman 2005, 21). Andy Rotman, in both his translation (Rotman 2008, 31) and study of the *Kotikaṃvadāna* (Rotman 2009, 24ff.), takes a similar position—Śrōṇa Koṭiκaṃa spends twelve years wandering among the hungry ghosts.

All of the above scholars have missed an important aspect of the protagonist’s journey. Śrōṇa does not encounter just different groups of hungry ghosts. Instead, he experiences all three of the *durgatis*—the negative forms of rebirth in Buddhism: birth as an animal, as a preta, and as a hell being. After he is separated from his caravan, Śrōṇa’s encounters begin not with the first city of the pretas, but with the two donkeys that are also left behind by the caravan. Once we recognize that his journey starts there, and not with his subsequent encounters with hungry ghosts, the full extent of his wandering becomes clear. It is only when we understand the full extent of Śrōṇa’s wandering that we can fully understand the structure of the text as it was imagined by its Buddhist authors, and the implications that this structure has for our understandings of Buddhist conceptions of the *durgatis*, especially of the hells, in the Buddhist genre of the *avadāna*. 

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Works Cited


137. CLAIRE MAES, University of Texas at Austin

Gossips and Town Halls. Examining Roots of Normativity within the Early Buddhist Monastic Community

This paper examines the power of gossips and the role of town hall meetings in the creation of normative ideals within the early Buddhist monastic community. Lay supporters talk. They talk to one another, to Buddhist monks, and to other ascetics. To use an expression of the Buddha, they talk “worldly talk”. However “worldly” it may be, their conversations about others disseminate, sometimes distort, knowledge and ideas about these others. In this paper, I discuss stories from the Pāli canon set in the public sphere. I examine interactions between lay people and Buddhist monks, and between lay people and other ascetics. In particular, I focus on encounters that take place in a sabbā (“hall”). By doing so, I demonstrate that the role of lay supporters in the development of the Buddhist monastic community exceeds the mere financial and material support. Drawing on the vocabulary of social network theory, I argue that lay people should be considered to have been important information hubs and powerful influencers. In particular, I show how their gossips were vital in constructing and spreading normative ideas of Buddhist monastic life.

A. Ancient Near East VI: Societies in Contact. GARY BECKMAN, University of Michigan, Chair (8:30 a.m.–10:00 a.m.) Alcott *

138. Seth Richardson, University of Chicago–The Oriental Institute and Kathryn Morgan, University of Chicago

Pots of Wine by the Boatful: A Babylonian Vessel Name No Longer Misunderstood

This paper argues that a particular vessel name found only in Late Old Babylonian texts likely refers to a specific type of decorated globular flask recovered from MB archaeological contexts in Anatolia, north Syria, and Babylonia—everywhere from Kültepe to Zincirli to Haradum to Tell ed-Der. This proposed identification clears up specific misunderstandings about the vessel’s function and the etymology of its (probably non-Akkadian) name. More consequentially, the combined textual and archaeological evidence brings to light a regional trading system of the 17th c. BC operating between Babylonia and Syria which flourished in the years between the end of the kārum Kaneš Ib and the Syrian raids of Ḥattušili I, centered on the standardized

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bottling and shipping of Syrian wine. The paper will also give attention to the broad
evidence for Babylonian participation in this trade down to the end of Samsuditana’s
reign, and the specific role played by the kārum of Sippar-Amnānum.

139. FEDERICO ZANGANI, Brown University

The Rabû of Kumidi and the “Big Eye” of the Egyptian Government in Syria-
Palestine

The town of Kumidi (present-day Kamid el-Loz, Lebanon) was a wealthy settlement
located in the southern Beqaa valley, at the intersection of major geopolitical and eco-
nomic networks across the Levant. Starting already during the Middle Bronze Age, its
local elite not only had access to foreign products from the Eastern Mediterranean,
but also appropriated and emulated Egyptian material culture and inscribed objects.
Following the Levantine campaigns of the early 18th Dynasty, Kumidi became a center
of the Egyptian imperial administration in Syria-Palestine, as is documented by the
presence of a governmental official, usually designated with the generic term of rabû
(“the great one”) in cuneiform sources. This paper sets out to analyze the evidence
from the Egyptian inscriptions, the Amarna letters, and the archive of cuneiform
tablets from Kamid el-Loz and investigate the strategic significance of Kumidi in the
geopolitical scheme of Syria-Palestine under Egyptian control. Contrary to some pre-
vious scholarship, which attempted to force the history of Kumidi into the established
narratives of Egyptian and Hittite imperialism in the Levant, this paper focuses specif-
ically on the role of the rabû, who appears to have acted as an intermediary between
the pharaonic court and the local centers of power, with jurisdiction over an area
stretching from Damascus and Qadesh to the Mediterranean coast. His role entailed
not only the protection and security of the territories within the Egyptian sphere
of influence, but also “intelligence” data gathering for the pharaonic court: both the
Amarna letters and the Kumidi texts indicate that the local rulers constantly supplied
him with first-hand information about security threats and shifting alliances, and the
Egyptian administration must have relied upon this for the successful planning of its
imperial strategy in Syria-Palestine.

140. DAVID DANTZIG, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University

Identity Development in an Interethnic Context: Interactions between Egyptians
and Iranians in Achaemenid Central Babylonia

Throughout the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, migrants to Babylonia are recorded as
participating in its agricultural economy, paying taxes, and building lives of all sorts.
In this new context, some of these communities of migrants maintain and foster their
ethnic identities, some compromise as needed, and others assimilate. While Egyptians
migrated to Babylonia mainly in the wake of military invasions, Iranians immigrated
in large part due to their imperial administration of Babylonia. Even so, persons of
both origins are found in all levels of Babylonian society. Previous studies have focused
on the social status of Egyptians in Babylonia (Hackl & Jursa 2015), their activities
and social organization (Huber 2006), Iranian immigrants in Babylonia (Zadok 1977),
and the Iranian imperial administration of Babylonia (Dandamayev 1992). But, even
though some have noted a special relationship between the Iranian and Egyptian
cultures in the Achaemenid emulation of Egyptian culture, little investigation of the
relationships between Egyptians and Iranians has been undertaken outside of the context of the administration of Egypt as a great satrapy of the Achaemenid Empire. In order to delve into this example of interethnic contact between two migrant communities, I examine the interactions of Egyptians and Iranians attested in central Babylonia in the Yahudi and Murashu text corpora. Through this study I develop a baseline of the types of attested contacts between Egyptians and Iranians in urban and rural contexts. On this basis, I place their interactions into the context of the separate distributions of their social and economic activities in order to develop a better understanding of the impact of their ethnic identities on one another and on the development of their individual ethnic identities in Babylonia.

References


B. Ancient Near East VII: Language and Linguistics II.

Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee, University of Chicago, Chair (10:30 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) Alocott *

141. Gaëlle Chantrain, Yale University

Visualizing and Understanding Metaphors for Character, Emotions and Social Interactions in Ancient Egyptian

The presence of metaphors is very common in words and (idiomatic) expressions for feelings, emotions and/or personal characteristics in ancient Egyptian. The transfer is often made between emotional world and physical world through the following paths: emotional state = physical state, emotional state = action of the heart, emotion = taste, emotion = colour, emotion = temperature, emotion = situation (up, down, inside, outside). Conceptual metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 2008) can be actualized on several levels in the Egyptian language: through linguistic metaphors (according to the MIPVU criteria, see Steen & al. 2010) and through the use of semantic classifiers, which are elements of the written language only and, by their inherent iconicity (Goldwasser 2005; Kammerzell 2015), add a visual dimension. The metaphorical processes behind the use of classifiers in the Egyptian hieroglyphic script have been addressed in a series of earlier studies (e.g., Goldwasser 1995 and 2002, David 2000; Chantrain & Di Biase-Dyson 2017). I intend here to illustrate cases in which they can reflect an underlying initial metaphor (whether there is semantic change or not on the lexical
level) and make it explicit on the visual level. The role of metaphor usage in semantic change will also be treated, in the perspective of highlighting recurring patterns.

The final aims of this paper will be: 1) to show the conceptual similarities and dissimilarities between linguistic and visual metaphors found in ancient Egyptian and to compare them with the results of cross-linguistic studies in other ancient and modern languages (Soriano 2015, Chantrain & Di Biase-Dyson, forthcoming), 2) to address the difficulty of metaphor interpretation in case of cross-cultural, -linguistic and -temporal studies and 3) to propose a methodological framework for the identification of metaphors on a large corpus for dead languages.

Selected references:


142. Adrianne Spunaugle, University of Michigan

“šušbutu”: Another Kind of Neo-Assyrian Deportation

Assyrian deportation practices followed different formats, of which only one has previously been included under the term “deportation”: the relocation of captives from defeated tribes, cities, and lands. While this restriction reflects the interests of scholars in tracing the relocated Israelites and Judeans, it distorts our perception of lived reality. Limiting the definition of “deportation” to this meaning alone implies this was the only form of imperially forced movement and emphasizes the shock value of the Assyrians’ “calculated frightfulness”. This is not the case.
Oded (Mass deportations and deportees in the Neo-Assyrian Empire, 1979) noted that “deportation” is demarcated in the Assyrian royal inscriptions primarily through the use of specific phrases. According to further investigations of these phrases, Assyrian deportation schemes followed several formats: four more than originally expected. Of the five types of deportation, “šušbutu” provides one of the most interesting specializations, in that it is used for a specific duration of time and pertains only to the (re-)installation of Assyrian subjects in their own or former homes. Additionally, the usage of “šušbutu” supports the notion that not all deportations were a punishment or negative experience for the people moved.

143. DAVID MUSGRAVE, Amridge University

The Verb us. sipam-ma in a Harran Inscription of Nabonidus

This paper will propose that the verb us. sipam-ma in one of the Harran inscriptions of Nabonidus (VAB 4 292 ii 24, 25) derives from the verb esēpum, in this passage translated “interwoven,” rather than the conventionally understood asēbūm, translated “added, multiplied.” It appears in the phrase MU.AN.NA.MEš.tūb libbi us. sipam-ma, “having interwoven long days (and) years of contentment.” This understanding is based on the form of the verb as a (factive) D-stem, combined with its accompanying complex (asyndetic) direct object. This combination produces a synergistic result, and is in contrast to an understanding that the two elements of the direct object are in apposition or epexegetical. The two elements of the direct object are rather best understood with the second element thereof as ancillary to the first. The thesis is further illustrated by two passages (En. el. IV 29 and Hymn of Ağusaya iv 5, 6) which contain a similar form of the verb and a complex direct object, these three being the only extant passages containing these elements.

C. East Asia VII: Early Japanese Literature. JEONGSOO SHIN, Yale University, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:00 a.m.) Holmes-Brandeis*

144. MALGORZATA KAROLINA CITKO, Florida State University

Instability of Knowledge and Texts in Early Medieval Japan: A Case Study of “Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves” (Man’yōshū, 759–785)

What happens to knowledge when we gain access to new information? It updates and changes, which is why I focus on the instability of “knowledge,” a concept which was much less authoritative in premodern societies than we currently believe; early medieval (11–12th c.) Japan is one of them. World historians often compare medieval Japan to medieval Europe and look for similarities in their historical patterns. Thus, we hear of shifts in central authority and feudal political structure, multiple wars and invasions, as well as prominence of religion and societal transformations. In medieval Japan some of those features were manifested in, for example, the formation of a military government (shogunate) in 1185 with headquarters in Kanakura City, Mongol invasions of 1274 and 1281, and increased impact of Buddhism on all classes of Japanese society. At the same time, we observe changes in Japanese culture, and especially in the accessibility of knowledge about the old and newly produced literature. With an increased significance of patronage for the development of many forms of art, a trend to collect and hand-copy various manuscripts, professionalization of

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poetic practice and criticism, and creation of national literature which would be transmitted to members of lower social classes, medieval era in Japan emerges not as the time of backwardness but rather diversification of power, accessibility and fluidity of the transmitted knowledge and texts.

My research showcases the processes described above in regard to the reception of the first extant collection of Japanese poetry, *Man'yōshū* (Collection of Ten Thousand Leaves, 759–785), in early medieval Japan, when it existed in multiple manuscripts of different shapes. Since there was no one definitive text of the collection, *Man'yōshū* became a convenient site of contestation. This enabled poets to provide alternative information about it both orally and in writing, which implies that the common knowledge about *Man'yōshū* was much more indefinite than presented in its widely circulated modern definitions. Thus, I see “*Man'yōshū*” as a concept, not a singular or multitude of texts, over which early medieval poets attempted to gain power through knowledge by legitimizing their line of knowledge transmission. Ultimately, the lack of any fixed consistency in the transmission of poetic knowledge about the collection in the medieval era serves as evidence that what we today call “knowledge,” “information,” “authorship” or “identity” were in premodern Japan less than authoritative concepts always subject to negotiation.

145. YANG YUANZHENG, The University of Hong Kong and Harvard-Yenching Institute

**Japonifying the Qin: Ogyō Sorai’s *Yūranfushō***

The treatise *Yūranfushō*, compiled by the Tokugawa political thinker Ogyō Sorai (1666–1728) in the early eighteenth century, is a conflation of the texts and music preserved in the two oldest sources of Chinese *qin* music: manuscripts Hikone-jō V633 and Tōkyō Hakubutsukan TB1393. By way of textual criticism and historical analysis, this paper seeks to examine the motives that informed its preparation and the reasons for its continuing influence across the eighteenth century. Comprising merely four sections, *Yūranfushō* has been looked upon as a short introductory essay prepared for Japanese literati with interests in exploring *qin* music; however, by rearranging the texts concerned without acknowledging the authors of the originals, his compilation gives the impression that the Hikone manuscript is only an explanation of the notation that the Tōkyō manuscript employed. As a result, Sorai’s compilation carefully conceals the identity of these texts as Chinese works composed between the Northern Wei (386–534) and early Tang (618–906) dynasties, all periods that are too late to support Sorai’s premise that the Japanese had inherited the music of a China no later than the Han period (206 BCE–220 BCE). It is the same intention that directed him to set the lyric *Yilan*, a poem that is ascribed to Confucius (551–479 BCE), to the melody *Yūran* preserved in the Tōkyō manuscript. In Sorai’s eyes, the verses of the pre-Qin Sage Master represented the cultural orthodoxy. Sorai’s editing, which manipulates the facts behind a mask of naiveté, is an emotional and ideological force to be reckoned with. His studies of music were not intended solely for academic purposes. Rather, they can be viewed as a manifestation of de-Sinification, for Sorai treated *qin* music as preserved in the two manuscripts as a cultural “trophy” and thus claimed for Japan the role of privileged repository of Confucian orthodoxy.
146. **Jeongsoo Shin**, Yale University  

Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn (b. 857) and Diasporic Literature in Korea

I demonstrate that Korean Diaspora literature begins with the Silla (ca. fourth century-935) emigrants to Tang China (618–907). A large number of Buddhist monks and Confucian students moved to China either on an intellectual quest or as a result of the subaltern status at home. A wide range of sentiments are expressed in their lyrical writings and narratives of journeys: a desire to live in the empire, a memory of their homeland, and friendship and friction with the local Chinese. They also should be viewed as one of “minority” communities assimilated to multicultural Tang China. I view these Korean expatriates as the beginning of Korean Diaspora and will challenge the conventional boundaries of Korean and Chinese literature by reconsidering the scope of Sino-Korean literature.

Of particular interest is Ch’oe Ch’iwŏn (b. 857) who passed the civil service examination for foreigners in 874 and acquired literary fame in China. I compare his public and private writings to show the gulf between his dream of success and his status as an alien in China. His public documents are faithfully in line with the Chinese government; his private writings, however, express a sense of loss, solitude and alienation. Such feelings were not alleviated even when he returned to his homeland in 884, because he was not fully accepted by the aristocratic society. I regard his religious devotion and eremitism as an attempt to overcome the double barriers he encountered: foreigner in China and marginalized citizen at home.

147. **Soyun Lee**, Academy of Korean Studies  

Æsthetic Sense and Moral Virtues Mediated Through Floriculture: Botanical Narrative of Kang Hŭian (1418–1464)

Scholars of early Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910) displayed a notable change in their aesthetic sense to view plants in their gardens. Compared with their predecessors in the Koryŏ period (918–1392), whose love for peony in amoral sense is evidenced in literature and history, the perspective of scholar officials of a new dynasty shifted towards the value of flowers and trees that could inspire the Confucius virtue. The first botanical monograph of Korea, Yanghwa sorok (A Little Treatise on Korean Floriculture) written by Kang Hŭian (1418–1464) attests this new development of artistic sensitivity among scholar officials in 15th century. This book presents botanical knowledge and floricultural lore of sixteen kinds of plants. In my presentation, I will examine the aesthetic sense of literati in relation to floriculture. I will read the first two chapters “Old Pines” and “Ten-thousand Year Pines” to investigate the treatment of pines considering the placement in the book contents and contextualize the perception of flowering plants by analyzing cited texts on plant physiology, cultivation, and the lore of native sorts. Then, I will move to the chapter 15 “Tangerine Trees” to analyze the author’s narrative on floriculture to discuss good governance. This study will help to understand how elite officials investigate things in nature, develop new aesthetics, and draw moral lessons through personification of flora. It will also show how the ethos and aesthetics of scholar officials could influence later gardeners and flower lovers in
the floriculture and literary tradition. Lastly, my textual analysis from comparative perspective will contribute to understanding of the regional floriculture in shared but differentiated botanical traditions.

148. Lidan Liu, Arizona State University

The Life and “Afterlife” of a Poetry Collection—the Circulation of the Condemned Book *Kukcho sisan*

Although many people considered it the best poetry collection of the Chosŏn dynasty, for a long time, nobody dared to publish *Kukcho sisan* [Selected poems of the Chosŏn Dynasty] due to its compiler, Hŏ Kyun’s (1569–1618) dishonorable death with the accusation of treason. Eighty-eight years after its compilation, the collection was finally published with woodblocks, but before long the blocks of the entire collection were burned under a royal order because of a problematic poem included in it. While the book did not die away with the execution of its compiler years ago, was it the end of it this time? After the death of its official life in the fire, was it still in circulation? How did its contemporary and later people take the book?

By tracing the history of *Kukcho sisan*, this paper examines various forms of the book—its manuscript, the woodblock imprints and hand copies—in different stages of its life and “afterlife,” so as to show the preservation and circulation of a condemned book in the Chosŏn dynasty. From the dramatic life of *Kukcho sisan*, we can see how vulnerable a book is in front of waves in the history, while at the same time how tenacious it can be to survive through the strikes it suffered over and over and again.

149. Jinsook You, Academy of Korean Studies

Establishing an Online Reference Pool for a Complete Translation of *Samguk sagi*, the Oldest Extant Official Historical Record of Ancient Korea

*Samguk sagi*, or the *Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms*, documents the official history of Silla, Koguryŏ, and Paekche. It is the oldest extant history of ancient Korea, serving as valuable historical material for scholars of ancient Korean history. Despite its academic value, however, a considerable part remains untranslated into English until now. To make matters worse, the already translated components, the three annals, have their own shortcomings that limit their value as historical materials for western scholars of Korean studies. As translated by different translators at different times, each of the annals have critical differences in their translation that make them incoherent: in its style, use of annotations, rendering of terms, and expected readership. If the text is to better serve academia, it should be translated into English in a more consistent and systematic manner. For future translations of ancient historical records, this study aims to make glossaries and bibliographies for easy access via an online platform that also enables ongoing updates of the established reference pool. In gathering and organizing resources, the author will consult the English translation project of Sima Qian’s *Shiji* (*Records of the Grand Historian*), which has been carried out over twenty years by an interdisciplinary team led by William H. Nienhauser Jr. The team has published a total of seven books to date, which are highly regarded by scholars of the field, due to their precise translation, scholarly annotations, and excellent readability. The outcome of this study will facilitate the full English translation
of *Samguk sagi*, which, in turn, will serve as a valuable primary source for scholars of Korean studies in particular, and more broadly for those of East-Asian studies.

**E. Islamic Near East XI: Literature I.** BEATRICE GRUENDLER, Freie Universität Berlin, Chair (8:30 a.m.–10:30 a.m.) Kennedy *

150. KEVIN BLANKINSHIP, Brigham Young University

Al-Ma’arri’s Anxious Menagerie: The Epistle of the Horse and the Mule

*The Epistle of the Horse and the Mule* is a long narrative work placed in the mouths of animals by the blind poet and philologist Abu al-‘Ala’ al-Ma’arri (d. AD 1058). It ostensibly pleads with ‘Aziz al-Dawlah, then governor of Aleppo, to pardon a land tax owed by al-Ma’arri’s relatives. This conceit is mirrored in the epistle’s narrative frame. The main characters—the mule, the horse, the dove, the camel, the hyena, and the fox—try and ultimately fail to deliver a message to ‘Aziz al-Dawlah on behalf of the mule.

It is clear that the linguistic sign itself is on trial in *The Horse and the Mule*, since the animals, try as they might, cannot get language to do its job. At another level, the animals themselves partake of such ambiguity, inasmuch as they argue about the merits of individual creatures to convey the message. Taken as wisdom or virtue objects in their own right—unlike much Arabic literature, in which they primarily symbolize human relations—al-Ma’arri’s animals constitute battlegrounds for meaning. It is a conundrum that extends to al-Ma’arri himself. Where can he be found in the text? Does a single character represent his views, or many? Ultimately the author, like the animal characters and the very language they speak, accrues signification, slipping and sliding, and then overflows into an escaped menagerie.

151. JENNIFER TOBarkin, George Washington University

A Man of Our Times: Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd al-Īsfahānī’s Pioneering Vision of Male Love in `Abbasid Poetry

The only surviving work by the Zāhirite judge Muḥammad ibn Dāwūd al-Īsfahānī (d. 297/910) is *Kitāb al-Zahra*, an anthology of poetry which includes nearly ten thousand lines of poetry, including more than 500 lines of love poetry attributed to “a Man of Our Times,” a pseudonym Ibn Dāwūd used for his own poetry. When read together, the Man of Our Times poems resemble a set of related episodes in which the narrator constantly appeals to a friend, usually addressed as “brother,” to forgive him for any slights and to reciprocate his kindness, patience, and fidelity, as this is what justice and friendship would dictate. The poems sometimes represent the Man of Our Times and the Brother as characters in a ‘udhri love story, among other references to the poetic canon. The Man of Our Times frequently appeals to the Brother’s sense of reason, by using logical arguments and by defining terms such as “love” and “brotherhood.” The use of legal terms and the Man of Our Times’ refusal of wine drinking and other sinful behavior allude to his identity as the poetic alter ego of Ibn Dāwūd the pious judge.

Earlier scholarship on Ibn Dāwūd focuses on his legal views and his literary criticism, but not his poetry. Ibn Dāwūd is an early example of a poet who almost exclusively wrote homoerotic *ghazal*. His view of male love, however, has stronger moral
and intellectual underpinnings than that of his predecessors, such as Abū Nuwās, al-Khālīfī, Abū Tammām, and Khālid al-Kātib. The Man of Our Times poems never refer to the beloved's physical beauty. They reflect a worldview that embraces the intellectual refinement of the zarif ethos but explicitly commends virtue and eschews hedonism.

152. SUZANNE PINCKNEY STETKEVYCH, Georgetown University

Poetic Capital and Imperial Capital: Nostalgia for Baghdad in al-MAʾARRĪʾs Ayniyyah: Saqṭ al-Zand

Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-MAʾARRĪʾ (d. 1058 CE) addresses his magisterial āyniyyah (Greetings of Kisrā and Tubbaʾ), composed after his return to MAʾARRAT al-Nūmān, to his erstwhile Baghdādī friend, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-ʾAṣbābī, the director of the Dār al-Kutub in Baghdād, whose Friday literary sessions he had regularly attended during his 18-month sojourn in the ʿAbbāsid capital. The poem is in a heightened rhetorical style evidently intended as a tour-de-force not only for its explicit addressee, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, but for the Baghdādī literary establishment in general. It serves as a counterpart to Saqṭ al-Zand 58 in that, while that earlier poem expresses the poet’s feelings of longing and nostalgia for Syria and his sense of disappointment and failure in Baghdād, SZ66 expresses his yearning and nostalgia for Baghdād, now that he has returned to provincial Syria. If the earlier poem performed the poet’s cutting of bonds (qatʿ al-asbāb) with his Baghdādī acquaintances and proclaimed his intention to depart, this poem can be understood as an attempt at reconciliation, at re-establishing those bonds in the (poetically impossible) hope of returning to what is now for al-MAʾARRĪʾ the irrevocable past. From a more pragmatic performative angle, we might consider SZ66 a veiled plea for his former Baghdādī acquaintances to arrange for or facilitate his return. This would explain the strikingly intense rhetorical texture of the poem: it is intended as a display of al-MAʾARRĪʾ’s poetic worth, his ‘poetic capital’. Through the poem he hopes to convince his Baghdādī colleagues to secure a position or livelihood for him that would enable his return to Baghdād; or at least, inasmuch as he claims that he has withdrawn from society, to ensure that his poetry and poetic reputation will not be forgotten in the imperial capital.

153. JEANNIE MILLER, University of Toronto

Paratext and Commentary on al-JAHĪZʾs Manuscripts

This talk will complement Pellat’s reception history of al-JAHĪZʾs work, “al-JAHĪZ jugé par la posterité,” using as evidence the paratexts and commentary on extant manuscripts. This is a thin slice of the history of the shifting interests of Arabic philology from the 12th to the 18th centuries, and shows how certain historical figures understood the structure and purpose of al-JAHĪZʾs large-scale works: the Andalusi philologist Musāb b. Muḥammad Abū Dharr d. 1208, the Ottoman judge and literary historian Nevizade Atai, d. 1635, and the Ottoman philologist, mathematician, and librarian al-Shirwānī d. 1723, among others. In identifying these figures, I draw on the work of Mahmūd al-Sayyid al-Dughaym and Boris Liebrenz. Although the comments are often laconic, sometimes consisting of only a single word indexing a topic, they were valuable enough to be copied by later scribes. Especially in the case of Kitāb al-Hayawān, different readers often perceived the text structure quite differently. My
talk will also briefly discuss the utility of these notes for editorial purposes, adding to the stemma of Kitab al-Hayawan offered by Ritter in his 1948 review of Harun’s edition.

F. Islamic Near East XII: Literature II. SuzANNE PInCKNEY STETKEVYCH, Georgetown University, Chair (10:45 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) Kennedy *

154. Bilal ORFALI, American University of Beirut, and Maurice Pomerantz, New York University-Abu Dhabi


Appearance before judges was a common type of story in Arabic literature. With its focus on the complex relationship between language, truth and reality, it is not surprising to find that writers of the maqama genre often set stories in and around the testimony of witnesses before judges. The beginning of this association between the forensic drama and the maqama was Badir al-Zamani al-Hamadi (d. 398/1008) the inventor of the maqama genre in his al-maqama al-shamiyya. Al-maqama al-shamiyya suffered a curious fate in Arabic literature. Muhammad Abd al-Aziz considered the topic of the maqama to be in conflict with the sensibilities of his own day and left the entire maqama out of his edition.

In this article, we offer a new critical edition of the Shamiyya based on the oldest surviving manuscripts and an English translation of the text. We explore some of the historical/social/legal questions raised by this maqama and discuss the historical context of the maqama. We then suggest that al-Hamadi may have drawn upon earlier historical akhbâr for some of the themes of the Shamiyya, particularly one account from al-Dabbi’s al-Wafadat min al-niswi which appears to be a close parallel in its structure and ideas to Hamadi’s work. Finally, we consider how the forensic background of the court afforded al-Hamadi a space to reflect on a myriad of issues that relate to many concerns of his maqama collection and the place of adab writing in the fourth/tenth century.

155. Michael Payne, Brown University

Muwallad Poets, Animal Breeding, and the Cosmology of al-Jahiz

In my paper, I argue that the muwallad poets of al-Jahiz’s (d. 255) corpus should be understood as an extension of his meditations on animal breeding and taxonomy. There has been substantial disagreement about how to translate the Arabic term “muwallad” in texts about poetry and language. The word has been used to describe both poets and examples of linguistic usage. A century ago, various scholars translated muwallad as “slave-born,” “half-caste,” and other similar renderings that emphasized enslavement or race. In the last 40 years, however, several scholars have moved away from this understanding of muwallad. According to their interpretations of al-Jahiz and his texts, we should understand muwallad as “new,” “new generation,” or “modern.” This shift has been justified by gesturing toward how muwallad was used by Ibn Rashiq (d. 456 or 463) and al-Suyuti (d. 911). I contend that this shift has collapsed different usages from discrete moments in history into a single muddled meaning. I argue that in al-Jahiz’s corpus, we should translate muwallad as “half-breed.” By focusing on how the word was used by al-Jahiz, I argue that we can better understand
the relationship that he articulated between language, nature, and breeding. Al-Jahiz posits that nature—as a cosmological and biological reality—participates in the determination of behavior. Al-Jahiz further holds that natures were held in common by members of racialized groups that he described using the vocabulary of animal taxonomy. The terminology and concepts of animal breeding were thus applied to poets, because poetry was understood to be a demonstration of one’s nature.

156. AILIN QIAN, Southern University of Science and Technology

Deserted Encampments and Castles in Arabic Literature [Withdrawn]

The atlāl, or deserted encampment, had been a long-lasting trademark of classical Arabic poetry. Usually a poet started his monorhymed distich with tears shed over the ruins of his beloved’s encampment. Such a pre-Islamic practice of nomadic life lingered on even when the Arabs conquered and settled down in Syria and Iraq, lands previously owned by the Byzantines and Iranians.

While poets with Persian ancestry laughed at the incongruity of nomadic atlāl with sedentary life, Arabs held some negative reviews of palaces and castles built by pre-Islamic sedentary people. Iram with Pillars of the Ad tribe, mentioned in Q 89:7, is such an example. Its sudden destruction symbolizes the wrath of Allah towards the unbelievers. Nevertheless, Iram serves as a source of inspiration for storytellers of the 1001 Nights and modern litterateurs like Khalil Gibran and Adonis.

This paper aims at analyzing the two types of ruins in Arabic literature, and remarks on the reason behind Arabs’ different attitudes towards them.

157. FATME CHEHOURI, American University of Beirut


Classification is an essential component of writing any dictionary. Naturally, the classification serves the interests and aims of the lexicographers. In his Asās al-balāgha, Abū l-Qāsim Maḥmūd b. ‘Umar al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1144) was the first to author a lexicon concerned with rhetoric, thus distinguishing between “veridical” (ḥaqīqa) and “tropical” (majāz) usages. Scholars usually agree that al-Zamakhsharī did not fully commit to the approach he outlined in his introduction: the alphabetical arrangement and the distinction between the veridical and the tropical usages. They also generally agree that he did not differentiate between the tropical usages introduced in the second part of the lemma: “of trope” (wa-min al-majāz), “of metonymy” (wa-min al-kināya), and/or “of metaphor” (wa-min al-mustaʿār). This paper focuses on al-Zamakhsharī’s approach, the case of ḥaqīqa and majāz, and the accuracy of his tropical usages by conducting case studies from the lexicon. It questions the scholars who tend to agree on al-Zamakhsharī’s misuse of the tropical usages without conducting detailed case studies on the lexicon itself, to demonstrate that al-Zamakhsharī had a different understanding of these usages.
158. JASON NEELIS, Wilfrid Laurier University,

Return to Hunza-Haldeikish: Results from Epigraphical Field Research in Northern Pakistan

The site of Haldeikish on the Hunza River in Gilgit-Baltistan (northern Pakistan) is remarkable for rock drawings of countless capridi (particularly the namesake ibex, haldén in Burushaski) as well as almost 150 graffiti inscriptions in Kharoshthi, Brahmi, Sogdian, Bactrian, Chinese, and Tibetan. The range of writing systems reflects its location at a multicultural crossroads within a network of capillary routes belonging to a transit zone connecting the Upper Indus region in the borderlands of South Asia with the southern Tarim Basin in Central Asia. While inscriptions written on the ‘Sacred Rock of Hunza’ have previously been studied (Dani 1985, 1987; Neelis 2000, 2001, 2006), a research team from Lahore University of Management Sciences and Wilfrid Laurier University applied digital imaging techniques, including Reflectance Transformation Imagery (RTI), during a visit in June/July 2019 to shed new light on the readings. In this presentation, results from epigraphical field research will be shared with the purpose of illustrating the use of RTI and other techniques to more effectively document inscriptions and petroglyphs. Initial efforts to integrate the images with texts of the inscriptions using robust tools for epigraphical analysis available through Research Environment for Ancient Documents (READ) will also be demonstrated. “Work in progress” and “proofs of concept” are intended to provide updates on recent developments of promising technologies for advancing the study of South Asian epigraphy.

159. LUTHER OBROCK, University of Toronto

Bilingual Sanskrit-Persian Donative Inscriptions in Sultanate Period

While bilingual inscriptions have been a touchstone to understand the formation, administration, and ideology of many premodern states, the sizable corpus of bilingual Persian-Sanskrit inscriptions from the pre-Mughal sultanate period in North India has been only sporadically studied. Although a number of bilingual inscriptions have been noticed in various reports and volumes, often these bilingual inscriptions are not seen in their totality, rather they sit uncomfortably divided between volumes dedicated to Sanskrit (and therefore Hindu) or Persian (and therefore Muslim). In this presentation, I will present close readings of bilingual (Persian and Sanskrit) inscriptions from North India from the pre-Mughal Delhi Sultanate. I specifically highlight bilingual texts that commemorate the donations of wells. Here, I will interrogate three short bilingual inscriptions from the Tughluq and Lodi Sultans to investigate the “division of labor” between the Sanskrit and Persian epigraphical sources, and the complementary languages of public piety.

Two bilingual well inscriptions from 1447 CE and 1448 CE (ASR XX pp. 78–9, 83–4)
A Tamil Mosque Inscription at Kilakarai, Tamilnadu

Kilakarai is today a small sleepy town on the southeastern coast of Tamilnadu, in current Ramanathapuram district. In earlier times, however, it rivalled the nearby trading entrepot of Kayalpattanam, approximately 140kms to the southwest. There has been almost no scholarship on either of these ports, as well as a string of other ‘pattinam towns’ along the coast that today are predominantly Muslim and contain old mosques. This paper is part of an epigraphic survey of these sites and will examine an unpublished Tamil inscription built into the eastern inner wall at the Palaiaaya Kutba Palli in Kilakarai. This inscription gives us a clue to the antiquity of this monument, which, as its name suggests, is the older Jumma mosque of the town.

Did Indian Buddhists Perform Śrāddha?

The Shinkot reliquary inscription (Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions no. 176, https://gandhari.org/a_inscription.php?catid=CKI0176), probably the oldest (second/first century BCE) Buddhist reliquary inscription, contains a sentence (D1, na śadho na piṇḍoya ke yī pītri grīṇayati) which explicitly refers to the offering of rice balls (piṇḍa) and water (oya = uda[ka]?) to ancestors (pītri = pītr-) in connection with the śrāddha (śadho) ceremony. This reference to the archetypally “Hindu” śrāddha ritual has provoked considerable discussion and doubts over the years, including a theory that the portion of the inscription containing this sentence is a modern forgery, on the grounds that its composer “uses terms like śrāddha and piṇḍa, something a Buddhist would never do” (H. Falk). However, an important recently discovered Gandhāran relic deposit inscription, the first century CE copper plates of Helaiita (= Helagupta?) (Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions no. 564, https://gandhari.org/a_inscription.php?catid=CKI0564), includes a definition of jñātis as “ancestors back to the seventh generation” which matches almost exactly the corresponding definition in the Dharmaskandha, an early Sanskrit abhidharma text, and which also resembles Brahmanical definitions of sapinḍas or persons with common obligations to perform śrāddha. Moreover, the Dharmaskandha itself explicitly refers to the performance of śrāddha: puttra bhavisyaṁti pauttra va te 'smakaṁ mṛtyuṁ kalagataṁ śrāddham anupradasyanti, “We shall have sons or grandsons; they will offer śrāddha for us when we are dead”.

Thus there can be no doubt that at least some ancient Buddhists performed śrāddha rites for their ancestors. The resistance to this idea seems to arise from an arbitrary and artificial distinction between Buddhist and “Hindu” religious practices in antiquity.
The Field of the Kurus in the Land of the Khmer: The Vat Luang Kao Stele Inscription (c. 5th century CE)

In early Southeast Asia prominent landscape features 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 temple complex of Vat Phou at the base of the Liṅgaparvata in Southwest Laos. To show how the transformation of the mountain into the center of a political landscape was initiated, I contextualize and analyze the earliest inscription from the area: a 5th century Sanskrit inscription (K365) found at an ancient settlement site called Vat Luang Kao on the western bank of the Mekong River. The text, in Sanskrit language and Brahmi script, is carved on the four faces of a massive stone boundary marker used to demarcate sanctified areas. The agent behind this inscription is Devānīka, an otherwise unknown ruler whose inscription evokes the epic landscape of the Mahābhārata to support his political aspirations. In constructing the persona of this king, Devānīka’s poets portray him as anointed by the gods themselves (Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Brahmā) and model him on the heroes of the Sanskrit epic. In addition to expressing Devānīka’s political aspirations, the inscription designates the site it marks as Kurukṣetra, named after the site of the battle in the epic. The introduction of the epic geography via the monumental stone inscription initiates the transformation of a vernacular landscape into a boundaried geography and, I argue, the center of what becomes the early Khmer polity.

Epigraphs of Power: Copper-plate Inscriptions in Early South Asia

Copper-plate inscriptions have long been an important source for writing histories of early South Asia. Through copper-plate inscriptions, scholars have outlined transformations in political structures, economic processes, and social relations. For a source-category so central to the history of South Asia, surprisingly little attention has been paid to material forms of copper-plate records, the institutional contexts of their production, and circuits of circulation and reception. This paper draws out connections between documentary forms and the exercise of power in early South Asia.

In this paper, I focus on inscriptions from the Vākāṭaka kingdom (ca. 4th–5th centuries CE) and outline the emergence of a standard form and format of the copper-plate land-grant that included royal eulogistic genealogies as an intrinsic element. This form and format of copper-plate land-grants, with variations, emerged as the hallmark of political power in South Asia in successive centuries. I highlight the courtly contexts of the production of Vākāṭaka copper-plate land-grants, modes of authentication, their publication, and reception. I also point to how articulations of power within Vākāṭaka inscriptions were necessarily gendered as well as to the central importance of networks of descent and marriage for expressions of power within the Vākāṭaka kingdom.
164. LAURA GRESTENBERGER, University of Vienna

Voices, Argument Structure, and *Aktionsart* in Indo-Iranian Denominal and Deadjectival verbs

Denominal and deadjectival verbs in Indo-Iranian (and Indo-European) exhibit a great deal of variation with respect to their voice morphology, telicity, and *Aktionsart*. The aim of this paper is to discuss Indo-Iranian denominal and deadjectival *(a)ya*-stems and provide some preliminary conclusions as to the expected 1) argument structure, 2) voice morphology, and 3) *Aktionsart* of the different discernible subclasses, with a focus on Vedic formations. Denominal and deadjectival verbs have been discussed in, e.g., Jamison 1983, Tucker 1988, 1990, 2004, Rau 2009, but the relationship between voice morphology, *Aktionsart*, and argument structure has not been addressed systematically up until now. While some generalizations have emerged, e.g., that causative-factive denominal and deadjectival verbs alternate between active and middle like primary formations (in line with cross-linguistic observations, e.g., on Modern Greek, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2004), other verb classes are far less clear. In particular, the behavior of the “act like”-class and of denominal/deadjectival experiencer verbs is not well understood: the former tend to surface with middle morphology in related languages (cf. Xu et al. 2007 on the Latin denominal “deponent” class) and in Indo-Iranian itself, e.g., Ved. *indrayante* ‘they act like Indra’, *vṛṣāyate* ‘acts like a bull’, *vīrāyate* ‘acts like a hero’, while some derivationally and semantically similar denominal verbs like *bhisajyā*- ‘heal’ (*bhis. ā*- ‘healer’) take active morphology. In addition to these issues, I will address the variation between Vedic and Avestan in the treatment of these classes, and comment on the theoretical implications and the comparative reconstruction of these verbs and their voice morphology.

165. IAN HOLLENBAUGH, University of California, Los Angeles

Hymn-initial Injunctives in the *Rgveda*

In Vedic Sanskrit, the augmentless past tenses, called “injunctive,” are generally assumed to be indifferent to tense (Hoffmann 1967) and mood (Kiparsky 2005) and to receive such specifications pragmatically. Hoffmann claims that the injunctive is used for “mentioning” information that is old in the discourse, whereas the (augmented) indicative is used for discourse-new information. Kiparsky (1968) suggests that the use of the injunctive may be characterized by “conjunction reduction,” claiming that the injunctive is unspecified for tense/mood features and “picks up” these features from a preceding indicative. In both accounts, pragmatics and discourse coherence license the use of the injunctive, the tacit prediction being that injunctives do not occur discourse initially.

Unfortunately, this prediction is not borne out in the data. Instead, we find multiple *Rgvedic* hymns where an injunctive occurs in the first line or *pāda* (e.g., *RV* II.18, II.31) with no preceding indicative to license its “memorative” or “underspecified” features. We even find strings of several injunctives at the beginning of a hymn (e.g., *RV* I.68, I.173), which may contain both injunctives and indicatives interlaced in no obvious order (e.g., *RV* V.45).
This paper investigates occurrences of hymn-initial injunctives in the *Rgveda*, in order to discover (a) what licenses their use at what is (presumably) the beginning of a discourse and (b) what their possible meanings in such contexts are and how these meanings differ from or resemble the (range of) meanings available to injunctives in more canonical positions in the discourse. I conclude that the injunctive does not require special pragmatic licensing. Under the assumption that the augment marks not tense, per se, but indicative mood (Hollenbaugh 2019, AOS), the prediction is that, hymn-initially, the injunctive’s non-indicative meanings will be drawn out in contrast to the augmented forms. This prediction is clearly borne out in the data.

166. **RICCARDO GINEVRA**, Center for Hellenic Studies, Harvard University

Indic and Greek Reflexes of Indo-European Poetics and Myth: Cyavana, the Wounded Sun, and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*

In a myth which is briefly mentioned in the RV (+), but extensively attested in later texts (e.g., *JB* 3.120–128, *Mahābhārata* 3.122–125), the old seer Cyavana desires and is blinded by the princess Sukanyā, who is then forced to marry him as a reparation. In a Vedic myth analyzed and reconstructed by Stephanie Jamison (1991:133–303), the Sun or Father Sky’s desire for Dawn leads to her rape (RV 10.61.7) and to his wounding *tāmasā* ‘with darkness’ (5.40.5b) by the demon Svarbhūm. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, the goddess Korē is kidnapped and forcefully married by Aīdēs, Lord of the Dead, causing catastrophic distress to her mother Dēmētēr.

The aim of this paper is to make the case for a series of systematic correspondences in the onomastics, phraseology, and themes of all these narratives, possibly reflecting Indo-European heritage and including (among various others):

- the use of the marked verbal root *VYADH* ‘pierce’ (Jamison 1991:299–300) for both Cyavana’s blinding (*MBh*. 122.13b *viddhe netre*) and the Sun’s (the divine eye, Macdonell 1897:30) wounding with darkness (RV 5.40.5b *tāmasāvīdhyaḥ*)—both blindness and darkness parallel the original meaning of Aīdēs as ‘the Unseen One’ (*n ṣ-u ṣ id-; Beekes 1998:17–9);

- Cyavana’s exclusive knowledge of the brāhmaṇa of Ļastupa- (stressed in *JB* 3.120) which matches the birth of Ļastos pāti- as a consequence of Dawn’s rape (RV 10.61.7), both being (rare) names of Rudra;

- Su-kanyā-, meaning ‘Good-maiden’ and compared to “the daughter of the king of the gods” (*MBh*. 3.123.2 *devarajasutām iva*), parallels Dawn’s characterisation as both *kanaḥ* ‘maid’ and *divō duhitār* ‘Sky’s daughter’ (RV 10.61), the latter being an exact etymological match for the epithet *Diōs tʰ ugdēr* ‘Zeus’s daughter’ of the Greek goddess Körē ‘Maiden’.

**References**


Twentieth-century etymologists struggle to account for the shape of the Sanskrit stems jihvā- and juhū- ‘tongue’ in their attempts to trace inheritance from a Proto-Indo-European *dhnguh2- ∼ *dhnguh2-, By regular sound change the expected forms in early Indo-Aryan would be roughly *dahvā- ∼ *dahū-, whose two initial segments present a striking mismatch with the attested form ($da^r$ ≠ ji, ju). Previous resolutions have resorted to irregular phonological developments such as long-distance assimilation (Chantraine, Mayrhofer: PIE *d-ghu̯- > Proto-Indo-Aryan *j̯h-∫j̯-'), or an opacified reduplication of an independent PIE stem (Hилмарсон: PIE *djehubh2- ‘fish,’ ‘muscular body part’ > PIA j̯h j̯h ‘tongue’).

I propose here that a contribution to the problem has been hiding in plain sight: namely, in Yāska’s Nirukta. This ancient work explains the form jihvā- as derivative of the verb root √hvā (hū, √hvē) ‘call, invoke.’ Such a connection is not isolated to antiquity; Whitney and Monier-Williams each proposed in the nineteenth century, if tentatively, a cognate relationship between jihvā- and √hvā. While a regular pattern yielding jihvā- or juhū- from √hvā seems difficult to defend within the bounds of Sanskrit derivational morphology, the intuition reflected in Yāska, Whitney, et al. may be the same intuition motivating analogical modifications in early Indo-Aryan speech communities. (At the very least the segment sequences jih- and juh- conform to regular reduplication templates attested in a wealth of inflected verbal forms.)

Lexical analogy could then account for the attested jihvā- and juhū- as distortions of some earlier form rather like the expected *dahvā-. The reshaping is reflected throughout later Indo-Aryan; moreover, cognates in several other far-flung Indo-European languages have undergone similar renovation based on verbs meaning ‘lick,’ suggesting that unmodified reflexes of the stem *dhnguh2- were particularly prone to folk etymologization.

The Copper Snake

The Copper Snake: The Avestan Vendidad (1.1) states the evil spirit created the aži- *rauðvīta- to afflict the homeland of the Iranians. What is this snake? The Pahlavi commentary glossed Av. ažim-ca rauðvītam with až-iz i rōdi ‘and the fluvial snake’ But this is clearly fanciful, as Phil. rōd ‘river’ derives from OIr. *rautah-. This led Darmesteter to his ‘le serpent de riviére’. Bartholomae correctly saw that this was a color word to which he found the OInd. cognate rōhita- ‘red(dish); thus, the ‘reddish snake’. However, OInd. knew a lohitāhi- (Vājasaneyī Sāṅhitā 24.31 and Taittariyā Sāṅhitā 5.5.14) for which the PW gave ‘eine rothe Schlange’, repeated by M-W. The firm attestation of a lohita-ahi in Vedic shows that the Av. rauðvīta aži is the same snake. But what color? OInd. lohā- adj, can be both ‘reddish’ and ‘copper’ and m. ‘copper’. The adjective lōhita- has the same general ambiguity of color. Is our Indo-Iranian snake red or copper colored? Given the color range of poisonous snakes in Iran, this is much more likely to be a copper colored one. MPers. and NPers. rōy ‘copper, brass’, rōyēn ‘made of copper, brazen’ derive from OIr. *rauðvīta-. There is an account given in Numbers 21.4–9 of a standard topped by a ‘copper snake’ nē ḫaš nē ḫoṣet,
as an antidote for snake-bite. Although an obvious play on words, since sympathetic magic is at play the color of the copper snake should have approximated the color of the actual snake. The Indo-Iranian evidence suggests that this represented, in fact, an actual species of poisonous, copper colored snake that was common to both cultural areas. The most likely candidate would be the Macrovipera lebetina, varieties of which are found from the Levant to the Punjab and southern Central Asia.

B. East Asia IX: Pleasures Withheld: Playing with the Senses in Late Imperial China. Antje Richter, University of Colorado, Boulder, Chair (1:00 p.m.–2:15 p.m.) Holmes-Brandes *

169. Michael J. Hatch, Miami University

Fragrant Visions, Absent Bodies—Plum Blossom Painting in Early Nineteenth-Century China

How could a visual artform such as painting evoke the sense of smell in viewers? This paper describes images of blossoming plums produced within a small network of early nineteenth-century literati in order to understand painting’s capacity to convey multisensory experiences to its audiences. Blossoming plum branches had faint and elusive fragrances. They were shared by friends at the start of spring, and their brief duration at a time when little else bloomed made them useful metaphors for the ideal reclusive scholar. Literati painters often specialized in images of these plants, and by the early nineteenth century a cannon of past plum blossom painters could be visually cited by painters such as Qian Du (1763–1844) and Gai Qi (1774–1829). Through close readings of paintings, inscriptions, poems, printed books, and carved objects that included blossoming plums, this paper reveals a shared aesthetic vocabulary among different media that focused on the barely perceptible or not-yet-visible. Paintings of blossoming plums in particular alluded to the faint fragrances of their distinctive blossoms by teasing at the limits of visual perception.

The paper will conclude by imagining the ways in which this one example of multisensory viewing reveals something fundamental about literati painting—its ability to secure the fleeting bodily experiences of literati culture within a spectrum of shared past experiences and memories.

170. Jiayi Chen, University of Chicago

(Re)Constructing the Hidden: Guessing Game in the Late Imperial Literary Cultures

This paper focuses on guessing game (usually known as shefu, meaning “shooting and hiding,” or caimei, meaning “guessing the number”) both as a theme of literary representations and an embedded mechanism of reading fictional writings in late imperial China. The rule of the game was simple that participants were asked to guess the identity of the hidden thing(s) or their amount. Yet, within the literary worlds of the sixteenth-century fiction Journey to the West and the seventeenth century zaju play Rambling with Magicians, readers who were unable to participate directly in the guessing game on paper were rather invited to peep into where the things were concealed, secretly transformed, and textually reconstructed. The game’s “backstage”
was thus turned into a “stage” on which the invisible became visible. Such a mechanism further offers a fresh perspective to reexamine a series of detailed ekphrastic descriptions of supernatural beings, powerful weapons, and fancied surroundings in works like *Journey to the West*, a fiction that has been frequently interpreted from religious standpoints. Readers then, as themselves the participants of the “guessing game” of reading, attempted to visualize the virtual realms based on these textual clues. By exploring the guessing game in this way, this paper hopes to shed new light on the multiple relationships between words and things, reality and imagination, as well as literature’s power of constructing fictionality in the late imperial literary cultures.

171. Wenting Ji, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Now or Later?—The Issue of Immediacy and Delay in Li Yu’s (1610–1680) Writings of Bodily Senses

As a prolific writer in late imperial China, Li Yu (1610–1680) is renowned for setting up ingenious plots in his fictional writings and pronouncing personal statements on connoisseurship and taste cultivation in his essays. While he enjoyed creating a vivid multisensory milieu for his characters, Li Yu also intentionally immersed himself in daily sensory stimulations and invented his own ways to embrace them. Unlike existing scholarship which pays attention to the visual modernity in Li’s works, this paper examines his writings about the bodily senses, predominantly touch, to investigate the issues of “immediacy” and “delay.” Based on close readings of Li Yu’s story collections *Silent Opera* and *Twelve Structures/Priceless Jade*, and the essay collection *Casual Expressions of Idle Feeling*, this paper argues that bodily senses felt by the skin are essential to Li’s understanding of pleasure, which reveals the dual character of sensory experience: immediacy and delay. Sensory immediacy is the base of pleasure but can be dangerous and threatening, whereas sensory delay often works as a tactic to maximize pleasure, though it also has the potential to become annoying and thus should be moderated. As to the tension between the two, Li highlights the importance of taking control: the idea of “stepping back” deliberately appropriates delay in order to tackle the negative immediacy of pleasure; and introducing new technologies or magical transfigurations could resolve the annoying delay, thus restoring the immediate everyday satisfaction of the senses.
172. A. L. Castonguay, University of Notre Dame

Medina, Madhab, and Memory in Pre-modern Morocco: The Case of Fez

The city of Fez is synonymous with the Maliki madhab in Morocco. Due to an early association with Muslim communities from Tunisia and al-Andalus, numerous medieval institutions of religious education, intellectual luminaries, and saints, the city’s history presents the image of a deep and longstanding affiliation between its Muslim inhabitants and the Maliki madhab. The city’s image as the religious heart of modern Morocco enhances the depth of this connection, while the Moroccan Crown promotes that same image to the world through tourism and various festivals. At the same time, there exist deep lacunae within present historiography on the precise contours of the city’s association with Maliki madhab, such as when it began and how its development in Fez was connected to the process of Sunnizatation and Malikization that unfolded across the kingdom. In the absence of concrete historical studies, contemporary historians have left this association between Fez and the Maliki madhab relatively undisturbed.

Despite these hurdles, it is possible to assess the historical association between Fez and the Maliki madhab through a chronological examination of written sources attesting to such a relationship. In particular, tabaqat (biographical collections of noteworthy figures), historical chronicles, and fatwa collections provide concrete historical points, figures, and locations which can then be plotted chronologically to illuminate Fez’s importance vis-a-vis the Maliki madhab within historical memory. In turn, this information reveals two crucial points while altering our collective understanding of Moroccan history. First, it verifies the historicity of the relationship between Fez and the Maliki madhab but only as it pertains to the latter half of the medieval period. Second, situating references within a chronology allows historians to pinpoint instances where contemporary realities were back-projected into the past, thereby refining their ability to read and interpret historical texts.

173. Arshad M. Hadjurin, University of Cambridge

Travelling East, Travelling to Egypt: Journeys from Al-Andalus in Search of Knowledge and Fortune

In historical records there are numerous reports of people who travelled from al-Andalus to al-mashriq (the east). In particular, the travels of few men, such as al-Idrisi (d. 560/1165), Ibn Jubayr (d. 614/1217), and Ibn Battuta (d. 779/1377), have become famous due to their long journeys and on account of their colourful descriptions of places they visited. However, journeys of many who went to the east are not so well known as of those who documented theirs in travelogues and geographical compendia. An important stratum of record of such obscure journeys can be found in biographical collections of the wider maghrib (the west), which are thin in detail and do not lend to analysis easily. However, through systematic classification of such biographical data, it has been possible to extract new information concerning those journeys. For instance, we learn that many who travelled eastwards did so for mundane purposes of pilgrimage, for undertaking further studies and, in some cases, for trade. A curious finding we make in this regard is that the vast majority of such travellers never
actually ventured to the famed cities of al-mashriq, namely Baghdad, Kūfa, Isfahān, Samarkand, and Bukhāra. Rather, they went only so far as Makka and al-Madīna, and their key destination en route to those cities was Egypt, where they also met their educational needs. Very few made detours into al-Sham (Levant). In this communication, I chart this phenomenon in some detail by tracing routes of journeys from al-Andalus, through land and via sea, up until the eighth/fourteenth century. In support of my findings, I also produce extensive statistical data. Through analysis of those in historical context, I then advance several causes that can explain why Egypt stood as one of the meeting points for travellers from al-Andalus and for those coming from further east.

174. NIZAR F. HERMES, University of Virginia

A Blind Poet’s Search of a ville perdue: al-Ḥuṣrī’s (d. 1095) Crippling Nostalgia for Qayrawan

It might seem odd that the poet who once penned the most imitated Arabic poem of all times is largely unstudied, if recognizable at all, in the western academy. Indeed, like most of the Maghribi poets I am working on in my forthcoming monograph Of Lost Cities and the Poetic Imagination: The Premodern and Precolonial Maghrib, 9th to 19th Centuries AD (McGill University Press), western scholars haven’t been generous with the Maghrīb’s most intensely tragic blind poet. In this context, one can only remember the lack of a single study in English, or as matter of fact any European language, devoted to al-Ḥuṣrī’s outstanding poetry or his tragic life, both Marriyaneseque in several aspects. The 1057 Hilālī invasion and sacking of Qayrawan forced three of its greatest poets of all times to flee, live, and ultimately die in exile; Ibn Rashiq (d. 1071?), Ibn Sharaf (d. 1067), and ‘Alī al-Ḥuṣrī al-Ḍarīr (the Blind). If Sicily was the initial destination of Ibn Rashiq and Ibn Sharaf, ‘Alī al-Ḥuṣrī opted for Morocco. But like his two older compatriots, al-Ḥuṣrī spent a long period of his life-long exile in al-Andalus. More importantly, al-Ḥuṣrī left his beloved home city of Qayrawan not knowing that he would never return to, except of course for his nostalgically charged poetic journeys via which he used to fly back to his nest, as romantically painted and captured in a plethora of verses from his Qayrawaniyyāt (poems on Qayrawan.)

Indeed, after fleeing Qayrawān, al-Ḥuṣrī had to spend the remainder of his life in forced exile between Morocco and al-Andalus. In comparison to those of Ibn Rashiq and Ibn Sharaf, al-Ḥuṣrī’s Qayrawaniyyāt, or the poems he composed in exile to nostalgize about his ‘lost’ city lend themselves to shīr al-ḥānīn ilā al-awṭān (poetry of longing for one’s homeland) and ghurba (estrangement) more than rithā‘ al-mudūn (city-elegy.) Literally speaking, the former means agonizingly yearning for one’s homeland especially in the more specific aspect of one’s birth or youth place (mawṭīn or masqaf al-res). The theme of al-ḥānīn ilā al-awṭān if often translated as homesickness and in some aspects, the classical Arabic corpus of al-ḥānīn ilā al-awṭān match in several aspects the western concept of nostalgia in its spatio-temporal connotations.

In my talk, I will briefly explore the poet’s life giving special attention to his exilic experience as well as the three most tragic events of his life: his blindness, loss of his son, and the betrayal and elopement of his younger wife. These, I will show through arguments and examples, were instrumental in fashioning his melancholic
poetic self and in intensifying his existential anxiety and pathological depression that are drowning his nostalgic city-poetry.

D. South and Southeast Asia XV: On Men, Cattle, and Marriage in the Veda. Caley Charles Smith, Young Harris College, Chair (1:30 p.m.–2:30 p.m.)

King ∗

175. Barbora Sojkova, University of Oxford

“With my own skin I may flourish”: Brāhmaṇa Prose on the Corporeal Relationship between Men and Cattle

This paper will explore the relationship between cattle and men in the middle Vedic prose, looking at a number of parallel passages from the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa (JB) and both recensions of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (ŚB).

In the first part of the paper, I will present the core narrative of my presentation: the Brāhmaṇa passage stating that a hide which now covers the body of a cow was originally the skin of a man. This passage, found in three Brāhmaṇas (JB 2.182–183, ŚBM 3.1.2.13–17, ŚBK 4.1.2.8–9), is introduced within the discussion of two rituals: viśva(j)īt (JB), the one-day soma sacrifice and dīkṣā (ŚB), the consecration of a sacrificer. The only previous interpretation of the myth, that of Wendy Doniger, focussed exclusively on the JB version of the myth. In this paper, I will explore the myth’s ritual context and argue that this myth is crucial for our understanding of the relationship between humans and animals in ancient India. I will argue that both the ritual actions during the viśva(j)īt and dīkṣā and the mythical narrative serve to remind the sacrificer of his relatedness to cattle.

In the second part of the paper, I will use this mythical and ritual material to discuss the Vedic “relational ontology”—that is, the notional relationship between animals and humans in the middle Vedic thought—more broadly. Based on a number of JB and ŚB passages about the evolution of animals and the reciprocal relationship between humans and other beings, both in this world and the next, I will suggest that unlike the ancient Greeks, the Vedic people did not perceive “animal” and “human” as opposing categories. I will argue that even though the Brāhmaṇa texts classify animals into categories (mrīga, wild and paśu, domestic), there exists no separate category for human animals as such.

176. Michael Brattus Jones, Western Washington University

On the Compound yogakṣemā and the Early Vedic Cycle of Semi-Nomadic Pastoralism [Withdrawn]

There is little scholarship devoted to the early Vedic yogakṣemā cycle of semi-nomadic pastoralism, and little to the history of this compound as such, which over time acquires meanings quite distant from its origin. Both aspects are historically significant. It is relatively well-known is that the Sanskrit compound (or its Pali equivalent, yogakkhema) is used to stand for mokṣa in Hindu and Buddhist tradition, while other, more mundane, meanings approximating “security of acquisition” still remain current in NIA.

Norman (1961 and 1993) traces these developments to a tatpurusa interpretation of the compound as “rest from exertion,” which in turn develops from a more ancient
dvandva in early Vedic, when the semi-nomadic referents were easily comprehensible. A recent article by Pontillo and Neri (2019) argues against Norman that even in early Vedic the compound is to be analyzed as a tatpurusa, specifically raising the issues of the grammatical number and gender for the compound.

This paper first evaluates the arguments of Pontillo and Neri regarding the Vedic evidence in particular, and then proceeds to clarify certain aspects of the yogakṣerā cycle itself, as a mode of subsistence, such as crop and timing. This clarification combines the ancient textual evidence with modern ethnographic accounts to synthesize a plausible account of the early Vedic pattern of semi-nomadic pastoralism. Although ethnographic evidence cannot merely be projected into the distant past, accounts of modern semi-nomadic tribes who produce an annual crop in the same regions do provide important examples of how this lifestyle likely manifested.

177. KRISTEN DE JOSEPH, Leiden University

The Vivāha-Sukta in the Royal Context of the Paippalāda-Saṃhitā

“The Atharvan moves in social extremes,” as Maurice Bloomfield has noted (1899); indeed, the scope of its mantras fluctuates from the plebeian to the royal. Absent specific contextual indicators, it would be easy to mischaracterize the “ideal users” of certain Atharvanic rites. Paippalāda-Saṃhitā (PS) kāṇḍa 18 is a book that presents particular difficulties in this respect, with a diversity of content that makes it seem almost desultory in character. The book corresponds to substantial portions of at least six kāṇḍas of the Śaunaka-Saṃhitā (ŚS): the nuptial hymns of ŚS 14 (about a third of which further overlaps with Rgveda 10.85); the Rohita hymns of ŚS 13; the vrātyakāṇḍa of ŚS 15; the varied prose matter of ŚS 16; a praise of Indra and the sun from ŚS 17; and the funerary verses of ŚS 18.

This paper is an attempt to recontextualize the first section of this vast kāṇḍa, namely the vivāha rite of PS 18.1–14, and attempt to tie its content to the broader sociopolitical aims of the Atharvanic “royal chaplains.” Based chiefly on textual evidence—but with a nod toward the contemporary socio-political scenario—I contend that this rite, much like the more explicit rājakarmāṇi, was intended to represent a royal sacrament, albeit one that was later co-opted as a model for nonroyal devotees. Not only expressions that fit uneasily into nonroyal contexts, but also elements of the overall constitution of kāṇḍa 18 can be resolved more satisfactorily if we assume that this vivāha was more properly intended for a queen.

E. Plenary Session: Philology. PAUL E. WALKER, University of Chicago, Chair (2:45 p.m.–4:45 p.m.) Alcott *

178. ECKART FraHM, Yale University


No Abstract Submitted
David Prager Branner, Independent Scholar

_East Asia: Applied Shêngyûn without Karlgren—Why and How Literature People Should Care_

Karlgren began publishing his reconstruction of medieval Chinese, “Chinois ancien,” in 1915. Chinese historical phonology has several applications, and in each of them the utility of that reconstruction comes to an end, yet Western sinologists continue to use it, often unwittingly. Today I review the problems in Karlgren’s work and the fallacies in its application, especially to literature. I propose tactics for replacing it with tools more appropriate for each kind of task. And I offer an approach for eliminating the last major vestige of Karlgren’s symbology, the freighted jod contrast that often gets push back into the reconstruction of Old Chinese, and survives in the *-Y- of Baxter and Sagart.

Ahmed El Shamsy, University of Chicago

_Islamic Near East: Arabic Philologies, Indigenous and Orientalist_

No Abstract Submitted

Donald R. Davis, Jr., University of Texas at Austin

_South and Southeast Asia: Philology in All Directions: Śāstrakāravijñāyāh_

In this presentation, I examine the ways in which philological methods are both effective and necessary for a comprehensive and ethical study of classical and medieval India. From the top down, I start with elite nature of the textual sources from early India, exploring the possibilities and the limits of that perspective. From the bottom up, I claim that philology also holds the key to transgressive readings of elite texts, a way of recovering voices and perspectives that are ideologically suppressed. From the inside out, I discuss the practice of philology in Indian intellectual traditions themselves and the debt owed by modern philologists to that heritage. From the outside in, I conclude with the application of philological methods to the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that structure contemporary academic discourse, a reflexive philology that questions the origin, genealogy, and use of our own words.

A. Ancient Near East VIII: Sasanian Studies. Charles G. Hâberl, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, Chair (9:00 a.m.–10:00 a.m.) Alcott *

Delphine Poinsot, University of Chicago

_Animals of the Iranian Plateau: Permanences and Evolutions of Animal Figuration in the Glyptic of Classical and Late Antiquity_

This paper will discuss the use of animal figuration in sealing practices on the Iranian plateau in classical and late antiquity. Drawing on the rich corpus of Persepolis tablets, the aim will be to understand how the bestiary of Achæmenid glyptic is preserved up to the Sassanian period and how it is reinterpreted in sealing practices specific to late antiquity. The iconography of Achæmenian glyptic as evidenced by the tablets of Persepolis is increasingly well known to us, in particular thanks to Mark Garrison’s studies. These have shown the importance of older traditions, particularly Elamite and Babylonian (“Beyond Auranazdā and the Winged Symbol”, 2017), in
Achæmenid iconography. Here, the Achæmenian glyptic will be the starting point and the Persepolis tablets the testimony of an influence throughout Antiquity. That the Sassanian glyptic retains older traditions is well known from the work of Nils Ritter (Die altorientalischen Traditionen der sasanidischen Glyptik, 2010) who showed that many specific iconographic types had an almost exact correspondence in the traditions of the ancient Near East. The study presented here focuses on a broader theme, animal figuration, and we will seek to understand its permanencies and evolutions, to question beyond the permanencies and evolutions in man’s relationship to his natural and cultural environment.

If iconographic types are found in almost identical ways, for example the lion attacking a bull, we see more widely a form of conservatism in the glyptic of the Iranian plateau since some modalities of representation are transmitted until the Sassanian period, for example the big-horn sheep which is always represented with frontal horns. Finally, beyond the iconography, there is a link in the way animals were used in sealing practices, with some animals (the big-horn sheep, the lion) being reserved for certain, perhaps more important, types of seals.

183. Kayla Dang, Yale University

Zoroastrianism as a “State Religion”: Magi in the Sasanian Administration

Zoroastrianism has often been called the “state religion” of the Sasanids, but this expression is rarely explained. Rather than debating political theory and terminology, however, this paper examines instead the nature of both “state” and “religion” through the role of religious authorities in the Sasanian administrative system. Who were the Zoroastrian priests, or magi, and what was their role in Sasanian social, political, and religious life?

First, this paper offers some preliminary conclusions on the presence of the magi in late-Sasanian seals and seal impressions, as part of the larger administrative network of Sasanian Persia, then compares these findings to narrative descriptions of the role and function of Zoroastrian priests in a selection of Syriac and Armenian martyrological texts. Many of the later martyrs were Zoroastrians or even Zoroastrian priests before their conversion to Christianity, and although these martyr acts bear the usual stereotypes against Zoroastrians as well as the tropes and motifs common to Christian hagiography, they also bear a remarkable level of detailed knowledge about Zoroastrians and their religious customs. Whereas extant Zoroastrian texts from the Sasanian period, like the Madayan i Hazâr Dâdestân and the Herbedestân, illustrate an idealized or prescriptive picture of Sasanian legal and religious practices, the martyrological texts offer a descriptive, even incidental view of the Sasanian legal administration in practice. If there was, indeed, a Sasanian “state religion,” then it is precisely in the literary output of the broader constituency of the Sasanian empire that we should expect to find evidence of it.

By exploring points of corroboration between these literary sources and the material record, as well as points of departure, we can come to a better picture of the judicial and administrative role of individual magi, as well as the scope of the Zoroastrian priesthood as a Sasanian institution.
184. STEVEN GARFINKLE, Western Washington University

Who’s the Boss? Reflections on Mercantile Activity under the Third Dynasty of Ur

The role of merchants in the early Mesopotamian economy is well established and frequently discussed in modern scholarly literature. The growth of centralized power in the nascent territorial states in Mesopotamia led to increased reliance on, and opportunities for, the merchants (Sumerian dam-gar₃). Merchant activity was especially well documented in the administrative records of the Ur III state. This wealth of documentation provides an opportunity to weigh in on the ongoing debate about whether the work of the merchants was entrepreneurial in nature or state directed. In this paper, I will examine the ongoing theoretical debates about the “private” or “public” nature of the early Mesopotamian economy; and I will highlight the cooperation between state institutions and individual households to reinforce the inadequacy of our presumed tension between “private” and “public.”

185. AMI HUANG, University of Chicago

The Temple and State at Kassite Nippur: A View from the Accounts

The nature of the relationship between the šandabakku (i.e., the governor) and the temples of Nippur is, if not the subject of some debate, then one of very far-reaching claims in the field of Middle Babylonian studies, with many arguing that the šandabakku stood at the head of a highly centralized provincial administration that controlled not only the provinces but also administered and managed the finances of the city’s temples. In this paper, I show that this characterization can be traced back to uncritical assumptions made about the archaeological contexts of the Nippur corpus. By reanalyzing a group of balanced accounts, I further argue that the temples were not mere dependents of the state but functioned as semi-autonomous and economically independent households that enjoyed a mutually beneficial relationship with the central government.

186. EDWARD STRATFORD, Brigham Young University

“Winter has caught you in Uršu”: Struggling across the Taurus in the Old Assyrian Trade

The most difficult obstacle Old Assyrian transporters faced on their journeys to and from Anatolia was the Taurus Mountains. As winter approached, the crossing certainly became more difficult. A new analysis of one crossing offers some increased insight into wintertime and mountain travel. One transporter, Damiq-pî-Aššur, attempted to cross the Taurus Mountains as winter approached, as reconstructed from correspondence in the archive of Šalim-Aššur (AKT 6b and AKT 6c). Damiq-pî-Aššur’s attempt provides a window into the variability of conditions in different parts of the Taurus Mountains as well as an indication of the lengths to which owners and transporters were willing to go to ensure delivery. Despite initially finding one path through the mountains toward Anatolia closed off by snow, Damiq-pî-Aššur sought out another
path and possibly made it through late in the season. The presentation will review the basis for reconstructing Damiq-pi-Aṣṣur’s journey from several dozen letters and discuss the implications of the reconstruction, including geographical and lexical considerations, and further evidence for an impressive regime of communication among the Old Assyrian merchants.

187. Tonia Sharlach, Oklahoma State University

Tax Time: When Revenue was Collected by the Ur III State

In a monetary economy, having taxes due on one day is not problematic. But when taxes could take the form of grain, foodstuffs, live animals and labor, staggering the payments through the calendar year was crucial. This paper re-examines how the government attempted to time not just the provincial taxes (bala), but also other payments such as the ginn and the mašdarīa. The extensive attempts at a regularly-spaced timing, perhaps underpinned by economic forecast tablets, seems to have worked more often than not. But, particularly toward the end of the Ur III period, taxes often went unpaid, and we will attempt to trace the consequences for non-payment through the Ur III archives.

C. East Asia X: Islam in Chinese Translation. Iqbal Akhtar, Florida International University (9:30 a.m.–10:45 a.m.) Holmes-Brandeis *

The academic development of Islamic Studies in China has been disconnected from the global academic study of Islam because of both language and social constraints. The Chinese Academy has translated Western works on Islam into Chinese, but older translations of Islamic texts into Chinese are not widely known to a Western and even Chinese scholarly audience. This panel seeks to introduce the 19th century translation movement of Arabic texts into Chinese, particularly the first complete translation of the Quran into Chinese and the Qasidat al-Burda (The Mantle Ode) to the Prophet Muhammad.

These translations were written by Hui Muslims. Unlike translation into languages like Urdu where Arabic and Persian terminology were adopted whole, Chinese translations of Islamic texts resemble the Tamil approach in using local belief structures and classical forms of the language and literature to translate the Islamic sacred into the vernacular. Chinese Muslim scholars used Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucian terms to explain their Sufi understanding of Islam as equally integrated into Sinic civilization. Bouts of liberalism from the late Ching until today led to cycles of extensive publications as well as preservation of private collections of manuscripts through contractions, such as the Cultural Revolution. This panel will explore the intellectual connections between the Turkic, Persian, and Sinic worlds through mercantile connections, an exploration of translation methods, an overview of extant corpora of Muslim Chinese archives, and future possibilities for research collaboration between the Chinese and American academies on the rich Chinese Islamic textual heritage.

188. Khan Shairani, University of Notre Dame

The Tianfang Shijing: The Qasida Burdah in China

The Qasidah al-Burdah, or the Mantle Ode, is one of the most widely read works of poetry in the Islamic world. This paper deals with the reception of this poem in
China during the 19th century. The Chinese text of the poem, the Tianfang Shijing, is a commentary on the Mantle Ode, and was produced as an imprint in Nanjing in 1866. The text uses Arabic material for its commentary, drawing on sources such as Al-Ghazzali and Ibn Al-Rawandi. However, what are the motivations for producing this work in Chinese? It seems that the Qasidah Burdah gained renewed life in the 19th century. As a reaction of Muslims to modernity, a reevaluation of the role of the Prophet Muhammad in Islamic tradition produced a variety of translations and commentaries in the 19th century. With works on the poem in Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Chinese, and ranging from the Middle East to China, the material reality of the Qasidah Burdah connects different parts of the Islamic world through the figure of the Prophet Muhammad. The driver for the production of these texts was probably a combination of the availability of printing as a technology, an attempt to re-center discourse around the figure of the Prophet, and a growing sense of a Muslim identity on the part of Muslims themselves as well as colonial administrators.

189. SU TAO, Ningxia University

Cataloguing the Modern Hui Language by Yi Ma Zongrong (1890–1949)

Professor Yi Ma Zongrong (1890–1949) was an important Hui professor and prolific translator at Sichuan University. His early education was in Japan and completed graduate studies at the University of Lyon in 1919. He returned to China in 1931 after the Japanese invasion of Manchuria and taught at Shanghai Fudan University, Guangxi University, and Fudan University before finally settling in at Sichuan University.

His contribution to Hui literature and the community’s national consciousness was to examine Hui language as a unique contribution to Chinese civilization; a community nourished both by Han and Islamic civilizations and bridge between the two. He catalogued early 20th century Hui dialects of cities and villages in nearby provinces and collected Hui manuscripts ranging from the Yuan to Qing dynasties in Ningxia Guyuan, Wu Zhong, Tongxin, Gansu Lin, Qinghai Xining, and Xinjiang Yili. He concluded that lexical borrowing from Persian and Arabic changed their Chinese pronunciation, intonation, and syntax of about 20% of an average Hui's vocabulary as well as grammatical shifts in about a quarter of conversations. In addition to this research, he helped to translate numerous Chinese works into Arabic, such as The Analects. Like G. A. Grierson’s Linguistic Survey of India in the early 20th century, Zongrong’s meticulous research and cataloging of primary materials is a window into the cross pollination of the modern Hui language by the winds of Islamicate and Sinic civilizations.

190. GENMING WANG, Ningxia University

The First Complete Chinese Translation of the Quran by Wang Jingzhai (1879–1949)

Wang Jingzhai, prolific writer and translator was an important modern Hui Islamic scholar. He is considered one of the ‘four great Imams’ for his intellectual contributions to Chinese Islam. He was the last generation of Hui scholars that had been trained in an indigenous Arabic and Chinese Islamic scholarship. From Tianjin, he continued
his Islamic education at al-Azhar university in Cairo, performed the hajj, and visited other cities of Islamic learning such as Istanbul and Mumbai.

His magnum opus was ‘The Interpretation of the Quran’, which was the first comprehensive translation of the Quran with commentary in Chinese. The text itself is understudied for one of its complexity and charts the history of modern Hui-state relationship to Islam. There are three versions of the text that exist, A, B, and C and possibly D versions that have gone through various reprints. There were only 60 first-edition A printings of which only 5 are known to exist. Subsequent printings include extra sections that helped to educate the community on religious values, such as a ‘Halal Dictionary’. Subsequent printings of later editions were undertaken by the quasi-state Ningxia People’s Press, community organizations such as The Hong Kong Islamic Youth Association and even pan-Islamic organizations like the World Islamic Association in Libya. There is an important social history to this text that mirrors the modern story of Hui Islam, from the writing of this Quranic translation and commentary to its continuous republishing around the globe until today.

D. Islamic Near East XIV: Hadith. Mariam Sheibani, Harvard University, Chair (8:30 a.m.–10:30 a.m.) Kennedy*

191. Garrett Davidson, College of Charleston

Where was Hadith Read in Medieval Damascus? Mapping the Hadith Geography of a City through Audition Notices

Historians of Islam have long been aware of the richness of audition notices (sama‘at) as a documentary source for medieval Islamic social and intellectual history. In the 1950’s Şalâh al-Munajjid first brought the wealth of information these notices contain to scholarly attention. Yet, the potential of audition notices as a source for historians of Islam has largely remained unrealized. This is no doubt in part due to the difficulty of working with audition notices, not to mention the problems of archival access. Since 2000, however, scholars have had access to a corpus of some 1,300 audition notices recorded in Damascus between the years 550–750/1135/1334 that were edited and published by al-Sawwâs, Leder, and al-Šâgharjî as Mu‘jam al-sama‘at al-Dimashqîyya. Yet this material too, has hardly been studied. This paper examines this corpus of audition notices to answer one of the more obvious questions the material poses, where was hadith read and heard in medieval Damascus? Answering this question sheds light not only on the hadith geography of Damascus and its sacred landscape, but numerous other aspects of the culture of medieval hadith scholars. Among other things, it contributes to our understanding of the roles played by institutions, public and private space, gender, and patronage in the hadith reading practices of medieval Damascus and the larger scholarly culture.

192. Lyall Armstrong, American University of Beirut

Death and Dying in the Works of Ibn Abî al-Dunyâ (d. 281/894)

The third Islamic century witnessed a proliferation of compilations of traditions of the Prophet and the early Islamic community on the topics of death and dying. Many traditions were recorded in hadith collections but a few authors devoted whole works to these traditions and, by doing so, helped establish a view of death and dying in the

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Islamic tradition that persists, in many ways, until today. This paper will evaluate the works of one of the most important compilers of death traditions during the third-century Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (d. 281/894). Ibn Abī al-Dunyā wrote at least four works specifically on death and touched on the topic in several of his other works which focused on piety, zuhd. I will examine the themes that are presented in his works, compare the traditions to Qur'ānic themes on death, discuss the sources of these traditions and explore the relationship of the traditions in Ibn Abī al-Dunyā to other well-known third-century authors on death, particularly al-Madā'inī (d. 228/843) and al-Mubarrad (d. 286/900). Ibn Abī al-Dunyā is a primary source for many later elaborations on death, such as that of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) in his Ḥiyāʾ ul-ilm al-dīn, among other medieval writers. This paper will focus on death and dying and not specifically on the afterlife. Several studies have been devoted to the nature of paradise and hell-fire while much still needs to be explored on the early Islamic view of death and dying.

193. ANTONIO MUSTO, New York University

Sūfī ‘Arbaʾīnāt: The Role of Ḥadīth Works in the Codification and Normalization of Sūfī Beliefs and Practices during the 4th/10th and 5th/11th Centuries

The 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries witnessed significant developments in the formation and codification of Sufism out of the somewhat disparate intellectual production and pious practices of various figures. When explaining this process, scholars often point to the compendia and biographical dictionaries (tabaqāt) produced by scholars of the late 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries such as Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988), al-Kalābdhī (ca. 380/990), Abū Tālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), Abū ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), and others. The literary production of these figures has been understood to represent not solely a consolidation and normalization of Sufism, but also a project of legitimization. Under the auspices of these authors, the intellectual and pious genealogy of Sufism was stretched back to the earliest generations of Muslims and they affirmed the place of Sufism as a legitimate science (iḥlām) alongside ḥadīth and fiqh. While the majority of scholarly focus has fallen on these two genres, scholars have paid little to no attention to the Sufi production of Arbaʾīnāt, a subgenre of ḥadīth works wherein one finds forty or more ḥadīth, often organized topically. In light of this, this presentation will look at five Sufi-themed Arbaʾīnāt texts written by Sufis who died in the early-mid 5th/11th centuries: Abū Saʿīd al-Mālinī (d. 412/1021), Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), Abū Muṣṭur al-Iṣfahānī (d. 418/1027), Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038), and Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072). It will shed light on the way in which a different genre apart from tabaqāt works and compendia aided the Sufis in their goals of codification and normalization. Furthermore, it will highlight the role that ḥadīth played in this formative period of Sufism both in terms of the importance of their transmission as well as the way in which ḥadīth were leveraged and interpreted to legitimize certain Sufi beliefs and practices.

194. TYNAN KELLY, University of Chicago

Intersection of Law and Linguistics in the Maʾānī l-Qurʾān

To date, scholars have examined works within the linguistic-exegetical genre of maʾānī l-Qurʾān (meanings of the Quran), with an eye towards two tasks: 1) to study
the development of Arabic philology and its relation to the various readings (qirâ‘ât) of the Qur'an; and 2) understand its influence on the linguistic hermeneutics of the subsequent exegetical tradition. In other words, the focus has been on Arabic philology’s contribution to Islamic religious scholarship. What has been missed, however, is how authors writing in this genre incorporated aspects of Islamic religious scholarship into their philological endeavors, forming the interdisciplinary scaffolding of Qur’anic exegesis upon which the later tradition was built.

My paper identifies this intersection of religion and philology in the ma‘ānī l-Qur‘ān through the study of citation of the Prophet Muhammad’s speech (ḥadîth). Contrary to the predominant position of modern scholarship (that the Prophet’s speech did not play a significant role in Arabic philology outside of lexicography), I show that it was cited frequently for a variety of reasons, grammatical and non-grammatical alike. These citations utilize the hermeneutic agency of the Prophet’s custom (sunnah), historical writings of his life (tārikh and asbâb al-nuzûl), criticism of the transmission of his speech, and contemporary exegetical practice (tafsîr). Though usually considered within the purview of religious scholarship, grammarians were able to use these tools to complement their linguistic analysis of the Qur‘ān and, in some cases, inform their theory of the Arabic language. This study of the ma‘ānī l-Qur‘ān shows that the development of Arabic philology and Islamic religious scholarship was built upon a reciprocal relationship, one which was not limited to the exchange of terminology but one that shared similar religious and linguistic goals and methodology.

195. RANA MIKATI, College of Charleston

The Old Lady and the Sea: The Life of the Umm Ḥarrām Hadith

When the Prophet used to visit Qubā‘, a settlement south of Medina, he would go to eat at the house of Umm Ḥarrām bint Milhān. On one of these visits, after serving him food and grooming his hair, the prophet fell asleep. He woke up from his nap laughing. Curious about the source of amusement, Umm Ḥarrām asked: what made you laugh? He answered: I saw a group from my community fighting in the path of God riding the sea like kings on thrones. Umm Ḥarrām then asked him to pray that she be one of them. He did. In a postscript to this report, the transmitters narrate that Umm Ḥarrām had her wish granted: she was one of the women who participated in the first Muslim naval campaign against Cyprus.

The recent translation of Picard’s The Sea of the Caliphs has brought to an English-speaking audience the only general monograph written on the Mediterranean in the Early Islamic period. Despite its wide-ranging coverage, this seminal work however does not address the impact of the interaction of Muslims with the sea on the hadith tradition. This paper addresses this gap in the scholarship by analyzing the hadith corpus dealing with themes of seafaring and naval activity. It will take as its starting point the Umm Ḥarrām hadith that clearly intimates Muḥammad’s prediction and blessing of naval undertakings.

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Once More on Noah’s Drowned Son in the Qurʾān: The Enochic Connection

In its retelling of the story of Noah and the Deluge, the Qurʾān mentions a detail that has no obvious parallel in the Bible or the later Judeo-Christian literature: one of Noah’s sons is drowned even though God guaranteed to Noah that all his family would be saved. Noah’s complaint to God about his son’s death receives the following answer from God: “He is not from your family. He is an unrighteous conduct” (Q 11:45–46). This response of God puzzled scholars of classical and contemporary times alike leading to various explanations as to why this passage exists in the first place and what the Qurʾān means by Noah’s son not being part of his family. Equally troublesome for the exegetes was another passage that referred to Noah’s wife as a disobedient woman implying that Noah’s wife was unfaithful to him. I argue in this paper the Qurʾānic exegetical motif of Noah’s unfaithful wife reflects an Enochic tradition concerning the fallen angels and the offspring that they produced on earth with earthly women. 1 Enoch 106, the passage I will argue as a parallel to Q 11:45–46, talks about Methuselah’s anxiety over his newborn son Noah who appears to be an angel rather than a human being. Methuselah worries that the baby might be the result of his wife’s infidelity and asks his father Lamech to inquire the matter. Lamech, in turn, speaks to Enoch, who is now in the heavens and has knowledge of the heavenly tablets on things that will transpire on earth. Enoch tells Lamech that Noah is, indeed, Methuselah’s son and that he and his sons will be saved from the catastrophe that will take place in the age of unrighteousness. I argue that the Qurʾān’s idea of Noah having an unfaithful wife must be understood in the context of the same anxiety appearing in the Book of Enoch.

Evaluating the Verse Numbering Systems of the Qurʾān

This paper compares the various verse numbering systems, or ways of dividing the Qurʾānic text with markers and counting of verses. Though the seven canonical systems (Medina I, Medina II, Mecca, Damascus, Hims, Basra, Kufa) agree on most verses, they differ regarding a small percentage—these verses I analyze in this paper. By way of background, it will be noted that since the publication of the Royal Cairo Qurʾān in 1924, the Kufan system has been standard in all printed Qurʾāns. The paper addresses the question as to whether, based on quantitative and literary factors, this choice is justified.

Methodologically, the study follows 2004 research by Michael Cook on the stemma of the regional codices. It looks at patterns of difference between the canonical systems to see how often each one occurs with the majority, based on the premise that a stem system should typically take a central position with others rather than occur isolated. Furthermore, the paper incorporates work of Nicolai Sinai from The Qurʾān: A Historical-Critical Introduction (2017). Sinai measures the mean verse lengths for all the suras based on the standard Kufan system, and he determines the coefficients of variation. This study, in turn, looks at the coefficients of variation for all systems.
The operating principle here is that a stem system is likely to be characterized by individual suras with verses similar in length (smaller coefficients of variation)—insofar as suras should constituteunities—rather than by suras showing more deviation. Lastly, this paper looks at individual placement of verse endings from a literary perspective, evaluating the relative merits of the different systems. The three measures—two statistical and one literary—confirm each other, indicating a likely archetypal status for Medina I. The paper concludes by recommending its adoption in published Qur’ans.

198. Louise Gallorini, American University of Beirut

Angels in the Sufi Commentaries on the Qur’an

Angels in the Qur’an are pervasive yet elusive as characters, and a close study of their narrative in the quranic text reveals one of the major cosmological shifts brought by Islam in 7th century Arabia, while at the same time pointing to previous belief systems. In subsequent Arabic literature, angels as characters remain an understudied topic in both religious and literary studies (Burge, 2015). This paper explores this topic through a literary analysis of a thematic reading of a selection of “angel verses” in different Sufi commentaries on the Qur’an, highlighting several interesting aspects of the commentary genre which on both formal and content aspects, a genre that begins to attract scholarly attention (Görke & Pink, 2013). The commentaries used will be the tafsirs of al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), of al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072), of Rūzbihān Baqlī (d. 606/1209), and both of the commentaries written by Ibn Barrajān (d. 536/1141) at different times of his career.

Through the thematic lens of the Qur’an’s “angel verses”, this paper explores the roles and functions of the angels as characters, which might lead to a better understanding on how one commentary differ from another in its form and relationship with the text commented upon, and how individual commentators worked. Moreover, the focal point of angels will pin-point to the evolution of specific mental representations through time in some aspects of Islamic cosmology, underlying what could be one of the reasons of the commentaries’ existence, which is making the quranic text relevant and accessible to a specific readership within a given spatio-temporal context.

199. Shuaib Ally, University of Toronto

Marginal Indexing Notes to the Ḥāshiya of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī (1069/1659) on Baydāwī’s (719/1319) Anwār al-Tanzūl

Shihāb’s Ḥāshiya, ‘Ināyat al-Qāḍī wa Kifāyat al-Rāḍī, on Baydāwī’s Qur’ān commentary, was copied and made more readily available than contemporaneous (or most preceding) works; there are hundreds of codices of the work extant in libraries today (al-Fihrist al-shāmil, 1989). This speaks to the interest the work garnered in the scholarly community, and its centrality to the discipline of tafsīr from the mid-17th century onwards. Codices of the work carry a unique feature in tafsīr manuscripts, which my paper introduces, using Feyzullah 125, Feyzullah 129, and Feyzullah 133: marginal indexing notes of the sources used or responded to by Shihāb, or those the annotator thinks a reader ought to be aware of. My paper sheds light on this systematic indexing of the work in the late Ottoman Empire as a new technology in organizing knowledge. These notes render the work comprehensible, without which it is no longer clear that other works are being obliquely referenced. Their importance is seen when they are
removed in modern print editions, which are thus far less useful than Shihāb’s commentary in manuscript form. The notes also betray an alternate understanding of the trajectory of tafsīr. They thus demonstrate how little we know of the trajectory of the discipline; many of the sources used, with a focus on later supercommentaries, are unknown to us, while much of what we have traditionally attached importance to is absent. My paper argues for using these notes as the basis of an updated edition of the work, and a revised understanding of what it meant to practice tafsīr in the late Ottoman period.

F. South and Southeast Asia XVI: New Frontiers of Buddhist Textual Discoveries. JASON NEELIS, Wilfrid Laurier University, Chair (8:30 a.m.–9:30 a.m.)

200. DRAGOMIR DIMITROV, Philipps-Universität Marburg

On the Buddhist Indus Script and Scriptures of the Sāṃmitīyas

The script and scriptures which I would like to discuss briefly in this paper have nothing to do with the so-called “Indus script” of the Indus civilization. Yet, I recently came to the conclusion that it is justified to use the term “Saindhavī” or “one from [the region of] the Sindhu (= Indus) [river]” with regard to both the peculiar script and the poorly attested Middle Indian language used predominantly, if not exclusively, by representatives of the Sāṃmitīya Buddhist school.

For the lack of better alternatives, initially scholars described the Indian script under discussion simply as containing “arrow-headed” characters, and it later became known in scholarly literature under the name of “Bhaiksūkī” which was borrowed from al-Bīrūnī’s eleventh-century Kitāb al-Hind. Since the original canonical literature of the Sāṃmitīyas was considered to have been irretrievably lost a long time ago, the specific connection between the missing Sāṃmitīya scriptures and the script used in the few “Bhaiksūkī” inscriptions available to us could be neither properly established nor verified. However, the recent unexpected coming to light of several Indian palm-leaf manuscripts written with “arrow-headed” characters, on the one hand, and the renewed analysis of the codex unicus of the so-called “Patna Dharmapada” written in Old Bengali script, on the other hand, enabled me to prove that a number of canonical texts of the Sāṃmitīya and a few other post-canonical works by authors associated with the same Buddhist school have actually survived in their original Middle Indian language. The Sāṃmitīya texts identified until now, and the epigraphic records and manuscripts on which they have reached us most fortuitously bear witness to a very close link between the Sāṃmitīyas or the Saindhavas, the Saindhavī language, and the Saindhavi script. The better understanding of this link should permit us to fill some glaring gaps in Buddhist studies and Indian linguistics.

201. ADITYA BHATTACHARJEE and KATHERINE SCAHILL, University of Pennsylvania

Mae Chi Kitang’s Phra Malai Manuscript: Continuities and Interruptions in the Central Thai Samut Khoi Tradition

In this paper, we analyze a previously untranslated samut khoi illuminated concertina manuscript from central Thailand in order to understand its wider social and historical significance. Composed in 1911 under the curation of a mae chi (a female
ascetic or Buddhist nun) named Kitang, the manuscript follows conventions of the samut khoi tradition, such as the use of the khom script to render bilingual Thai and Pali-Sanskrit content that combines the legend of Phra Malai with excerpts from the Theravada Tripitaka. Such manuscripts were often sponsored on behalf of the deceased, and the Phra Malai narrative—the story of a Buddhist monk who journeys to teach dhamma to residents of the heavenly and hell realms—was considered especially appropriate for recitation at funerals. However, unlike many other examples from the tradition, this manuscript contains didactic passages from the Abhidhamma, which the author carefully combines into an instructive manual on jhāna meditation. Examining this combination of liturgical and pedagogical material, we suggest that Mae Chi Kitang’s selections point to the manuscript’s use beyond a funerary context, perhaps marking a divergence from the funerary manuscript tradition of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Moreover, we suggest that the hybrid nature of the manuscript’s contents challenges scholarly conventions for reading and categorizing samut khoi Thai Buddhist manuscripts. Through our translation and close reading of this manuscript, we hope to shed light upon both conventions and departures in the central Thai manuscript tradition and contribute to the study of Thai manuscripts and their social histories as material texts.

202. Matthew Milligan, Trinity University

Monastic Buddhist Property Holdings in Ancient Sri Lanka: Old Sinhalese Prakritic sagika and atani-samiya in Epigraphy

This paper explores the semantic histories of two words to connote property in ancient Sri Lanka from approximately the 2nd c. BCE until sometime in the 4th c. CE. The terms, sagika, (Skt. sāṃghika) and atani-samiya (Skt. ātmanisvāmya), are frequently used in early donative inscriptions to qualify the legal ownership of monastic capital assets like reservoirs and crop-bearing fields used by the Buddhist sāṃgha to generate income. Neither has been substantially studied within the context of history, especially vis-à-vis material cultural sources informing so-called monastic landlordism. Sāṃghika’s (= “property belonging to the monastic corporation”) Buddhistic semantic history is linked to its legal category as a type of property allowed by the Buddha, utilized in literature to distinguish between property belonging to the monastic corporation (sāṃghika), property belonging to the stūpa (staupika), and private property belonging to individuals (paudgalika). Generally, sāṃghika and its epigraphic attestation in Sri Lanka refer to immovable property acquired through dāna from the earliest inscriptions in the 2nd c. BCE until around the 2nd c. CE. On the other hand, the Old Sinhalese Prakritic version of ātmanisvāmya has no known parallels in the compound’s extant formulation. While svāmya, a common expression in the 2nd and 3rd c. CE and not after, appears in some medieval Indian inscriptions within the same context, for instance in inscriptions concerned with land tenure (as in the administrative technical term astabhogatejahsvāmya), the phenomenon of declaring in written records in permanent stone “self-ownership” is a puzzle in need of unravelling. This paper will attempt to provide some new insight into atanisamiya by comparing it with sagika diachronically and contextually. Such an investigation may reveal a nascent technical lexiicon that was rooted in older concepts but eventually modified, abandoned, or altogether rendered obsolete due to the increasing sophistication of monastic landlordism in ancient Sri Lanka.
The *Mahābhārata* as *Kṛṣṇacarita*: Transforming the Book of Effort in Two Epic Retellings

The fifteenth-century Tamil poet Villiputtūr and the seventeenth-century Bhasha (Old Hindi) poet Sabalsinha Cauhān both describe their regional *Mahābhārata* retellings as the *carita* or “life story” of Kṛṣṇa. While Kṛṣṇa does play a major role in the critical edition of the Sanskrit *Mahābhārata*, this epic primarily focuses on the Pāṇḍavas, not their divine advisor. The designation *kṛṣṇacarita* is typically used for texts that narrate Kṛṣṇa’s infancy, youth, and adulthood such as the *Harivamśa* and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. How does a poet present the tale of the cataclysmic war between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas as the life story of Kṛṣṇa?

In this presentation, I argue that the *Book of Effort* (*Udyogaparvan* in Sanskrit, *Utṭiyokaparuvam* in Tamil, and *Udyogaparva* in Bhasha) is central to Villi and Cauhān’s shared project of retelling the *Mahābhārata* as a *kṛṣṇacarita*. As Alf Hiltebeitel points out in *The Ritual of Battle: Krishna in the Mahābhārata* (1976), “nowhere is Krishna more conspicuous than in the *Udyogaparvan*” (114). The *Book of Effort* is the longest book of the eighteen books of Cauhān’s *Mahābhārat* and comprises nearly twenty percent of the entire Bhasha composition. The fourth chapter of the *Book of Effort* in Villi’s *Pārattam*, the *Kıṟṟuṭṭinaṅ Tūtu Carukkam* or the “Kṛṣṇa the Messenger Chapter,” is not only one of the lengthiest chapters in the text, but it is also the most popular chapter of the Tamil poem in terms of manuscript circulation history. Based on close readings of the Tamil *Pārattam* and the Bhasha *Mahābhārat*, I demonstrate how Villi and Cauahan use their respective extensive renderings of the *Book of Effort* in order to recast the *Mahābhārata* as a *bhakti* or “devotional” narrative centered on Kṛṣṇa.

The Lost Works of Guṇavarman and Their Place in the Literary History of Old Kannada

In the early history of Kannada literature, there is a gap of around 70 years between the two earliest available works of literature: the *Kavirājanārīga* of Śrivijaya (c. 875 C.E.) and the *Ādipurāṇa* of Pampa (941 C.E.). Our grasp of Kannada literature from this interim period is tenuous. Though the names of a few poets survive, none of their works do. Indeed, the little knowledge we have about these authors comes from later references to them found in *kavipraṇamsa* passages (praise poetry about earlier poets).

In this paper, I propose a tentative reconstruction of the literary œuvre of one such poet, Guṇavarman. He is believed to have been active around the end of 9th c., working at the court of the Western Gaṅgas. There are two works attributed to him, the *Harivamsa* and the *Śūdraka*. The former is believed to be a Jain *Mahābhārata*, and the latter, a narrative about the legendary king Śūdraka. While Guṇavarman’s works do not survive today, many stanzas from these two texts were preserved as...
examples in grammar and poetics texts, as well as subhāṣitas in literary anthologies from the 11th to the 17th centuries. In this paper, I will first present a brief reception history of Gunavarman I’s two works. I argue that despite the fact that his texts are now lost, his works appear to have been well known among Kannada literati up until the early modern period. Second, I will present a draft reconstruction of the surviving portions of Gunavarman’s second work, the Śūdraka.

205. JASON SMITH, Harvard University

Rethinking Parimēlalākara’s Legacy in Tamil Literary History

The Tirukkūṟṟal, a Tamil poem composed in the fifth century CE, has received more attention from commentators than any other text in Tamil literary history, with ten commentaries produced between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries. The commentary of Parimēlalākara, written around the late thirteenth century, is seen by many scholars today as the supreme example of the Tamil commentarial genre and a definitive interpretation of the Tirukkūṟṟal. Yet, despite the praise of his commentarial style and his vast knowledge of Tamil literature, Parimēlalākara has a checkered legacy in Tamil Nadu today. One narrative portrays Parimēlalākara as a hero of Tamil literature whose commentaries elucidated the deeper meaning of literary classics and forged a renaissance in the study of Tamil literature. Another narrative, in contrast, portrays Parimēlalākara as a villain who corrupted the study of Tamil literature with Brahminic values and ideas derived from Sanskrit texts. How, then, should we think of Parimēlalākara and his lasting influence on the study of the Tirukkūṟṟal? This paper argues that we need to read Parimēlalākara’s commentary in tandem with other medieval commentaries on the Tirukkūṟṟal in order to better understand his commentarial project and overall interpretive approach. By reading Parimēlalākara alongside his medieval counterparts, we can access new ways of thinking about his intellectual legacy and write a more nuanced account of his influence on Tamil literary history that falls somewhere in between the two narrative extremes that have dominated the study of his legacy thus far. This paper concludes that Parimēlalākara integrates tools from Sanskrit and Tamil literary theory in his interpretation of the Tirukkūṟṟal in order to show that these two literary traditions can in fact be synthesized harmoniously.

206. SOPHIA NASTI, Harvard University

Time and Temporality in the Theology of Māṇikkavācakar

Ninth-century Tamil Śaiva saint Māṇikkavācakar is the author of two works of different genres, Tiruvācakam and Tirukkōvaiyār. Due to significant formal differences, these works have yet to be addressed as related projects and pointed Śaiva literary interventions in their period. While Tiruvācakam has been studied extensively, Tirukkōvaiyār is largely absent in contemporary scholarship. This paper reintroduces Tirukkōvaiyār to discussions of Śaiva theology and sheds light on the nature of literary production amongst religious communities of premodern South India. To illustrate how these texts might be productively read together, this paper focuses on issues of temporality and verb tense use. In considering how pasts are layered and collapsed, Śiva’s actions are located in temporal relationship to those of the speaker, and cumulative use of tense contributes to the creation of greater narrative temporalities, a more robust understanding of Māṇikkavācakar’s theological vision is made possible. Applying a reading strategy that accounts for both texts simultaneously, I demonstrate that
despite disparate formal features, these texts contain mutually constitutive theological programs established through the use of shared rhetorical strategies. Ultimately, I argue that the approach to time in *Tiruvācakam* and *Tirukkōvaiyar* supports the bhakti endeavor of drawing Śiva nearer to the speaker and thus the reader. It has been suggested that by way of genre, *Tiruvācakam* and *Tirukkōvaiyar* were geared toward different audiences; bringing them into conversation with one another might help us to consider how literature facilitated religious communities' entrance into new discursive domains. Māṇikkavācakar, though unique amongst his Śaiva peers, was not alone in composing across genres; further investigation is necessary if we are to grasp the significance of genre for such authors and their projects in South Asian religious and literary history.

207. JULIE VIG, University of Toronto

Performing gurbilās Literature: the Use of the bhujaṅg prayāṭ Meter

Gurbilās literature refers to a wide collection of historical poems written in Braj-hasha and produced in the late seventeenth to nineteenth centuries about the lives of the Sikh Gurus. There has been a tendency in Sikh Studies to research premodern Sikh literature within the boundaries of Punjab and of the Sikh tradition which has kept the Sikh cultural production disconnected from its wider cultural and historical contexts. The authors of gurbilās imagined and located the Sikh Gurus and their communities in a world that extended beyond Punjab which is well reflected in gurbilās literature. This paper examines how notions of intertextuality and reception history unfold in a Sikh literary context by examining the formal and thematic interactions between three gurbilās texts produced at both ends of the eighteenth century: the Bacittar Nātaṅk (late seventeenth century, attributed to Guru Gobind Singh), Sainapati’s Gur Sobbā (ca. 1708), and Kuir Singh’s Gurbilās Patshāhī Das (late eighteenth century). It discusses what the use of certain patterns of rhythm and meters such as the bhujaṅg prayāṭ, the rasiaṅg, and the savaiya can tell us about the context of performance of gurbilās literature. In addition, a broad examination of how these texts portray the Guru’s martial activities illustrates how the various historical circumstances of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries shaped the modes and content of historical representation of the Sikh past at different points in time. The overall goal of this paper is to explore in broad terms the nature of the intertextuality that ties gurbilās texts together and how they relate to wider Braj cultural worlds in terms of martiality, meters, and performance.

H. South and Southeast Asia XVIII: Critical Studies of Sanskrit Grammar

ALEKSANDAR USKOKOV, Yale University, Chair (11:20 a.m.–12:00 p.m.) King *

208. JOHN J. LOWE, ADRIANA MOLINA-MUÑOZ, and ANTONIA RUPPEL, University of Oxford

The Pragmatics of the Sanskrit Passive Causative

Causatives in Sanskrit are a morphologically regular phenomenon, e.g., *harati* ‘he takes (something)’ → *hārayati* ‘he causes (someone) to take (something)’; *karoti* ‘he does (something)’ → *kārayati* ‘he causes (someone) to do (something)’. These can be passivized, as in *hāryate* ‘he is caused (by someone) to do (something)’. Active
and passive causatives each can have two different argument structures: accusative-
accusative in (1a) or instrument-accusative in (1b) in the active, and passivization on
the embedded subject, i.e., (2a), or on the embedded object, i.e., (2b).

(1)  a. \( \text{yaj\u011du}\text{datto devadattam vr\u011f\u0101m chdayati} \)
\( \text{Y.NOM D.ACC wood.ACC cut.CAUSS.PRS.3SG} \)
\( \text{‘Yaj\u011du datta has Devadatta cut the wood.’} \)

b. \( \text{yaj\u011du datto (devadattena) vr\u011f\u0101m chdayati} \)
\( \text{Y.NOM (D.INSTR) wood.ACC cut.CAUSS.PRS.3SG} \)
\( \text{‘Yaj\u011du datta has the wood cut (by Devadatta).’} \)

(2)  a. \( \text{devadatto vr\u011f\u0101m chedyate yaj\u011du dattenena} \)
\( \text{D.NOM wood.ACC cut.CAUSS.PASST.PRS.3SG Y.INSTR} \)
\( \text{‘Devadatta is made to cut the wood by Yaj\u011du datta.’} \)

b. \( \text{vr\u011f\u0101m devadattenena chedyate (yaj\u011du dattenena)} \)
\( \text{wood.NOM D.INSTR cut.CAUSS.PASST.PRS.3SG (Y.INSTR)} \)
\( \text{‘The wood is made to be cut by Devadatta (by Yaj\u011du datta).’} \)

Previous literature has focused on argument structure and on the question whether
causatives behave according to the grammarian Panini’s prescriptions (Speyer 1886,
Bubeník 1987). In this paper, we present and draw conclusions from a new large-scale
corpus search of late Vedic and post-Vedic Sanskrit texts (ca. 5 million words), and
investigate different pragmatic factors that have been overlooked or merely hinted
at in previous work. These include the implications of the frequent omission of the
embedded subject on the supposed function of the causative; the role of animacy
in argument structure and the change from inanimate to animate instruments (from
Vedic to post-Vedic). Our aim is to demonstrate how factors other than morphology
and syntax are relevant to how the Sanskrit causative functions.

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Re-Examining the Tense System of Epic Sanskrit

I present an overview of the tense system in Epic Sanskrit, based on a corpus
consisting of five passages from the Mah\u00b0abh\u00b0arata. The received opinion in previous
scholarship (e.g., Oberlies 2003: 216) is that the three finite past categories - perfect,
aorist and imperfect—had merged semantically, but Deo 2012: 9, fn. 8 notes that
this assumption “has not been substantiated through a close linguistic and statistical
study of the distribution of the three forms”. I fill this gap and also investigate the as-
pectual functions of old past passive participles, past-refferring presents and gerunds. I
conclude that the three finite past categories are indeed semantically indistinguishable
and all have neutral aspect, while the old past passive participle, the past-refferring
present and the gerund are associated respectively with perfective/anterior, imperfect-
ive and perfective aspect. The system that emerges is very similar to that identified
for the Middle Indic languages P\u0101li and Jaina-M\u00b0a\u017br\u0101\u017d\u0159tr\u017dri in Hoose (2019). I argue
that the similarities are due to influence of the vernacular spoken by the epic bards
upon the literary language.
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