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RUSHAIN ABBASI, Stanford University and **ORIT MALKA**, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

"Bear Witness, For I Am with You among Those Who Bear Witness" (Q.3:81): The Concept of *Shahāda* in the Quran and Its Biblical Subtext

Despite the centrality of the *shahāda* to the Islamic faith, very little work has been done on investigating the origins and nature of this literary formula in early Islam. Particularly striking in this regard is the lack of attention given to the frequent appearances of the root *sh-h-d* throughout the Quran, which appear in distinctly theological contexts. In this paper, we argue that the Quran engages deeply with the biblical covenantal subtext of the covenantal oath structure in its frequent references to the act of *shahāda* or "bearing witness." By employing an inner-Quranic and intertextual analysis, we demonstrate that when the Quran uses variations of the root *sh-h-d* in a theological context this clearly indicates the taking of an oath (or the imposition of an oath) through which one individuals or communities enter into a covenant with Allah. The Quran here follows clear precedents in biblical literature which developed a standard formula by which the Israelites affirm their fealty to God. The Quran thus engages deeply with this biblical theme of the covenantal oath by developing a systematic vocabulary which expands the mechanism of the covenantal undertaking into an entire theological structure embedded at the very heart of its revelatory message.

MANASICHA AKEPIYAPORNCHAI, The University of Texas at Austin

Settling the Debate: Rāmānuja's *Gadyatraya*

This paper aims to solve one of the ongoing debates in the scholarship of South-Indian based religious community of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and its philosophical counterpart of Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta: Rāmānuja's authorship of the ritual and devotional Sanskrit prose, the *Gadyatraya*. Rāmānuja (11th century), one of the most influential intellectual figures of Indian religious and philosophical history, was, among many things, the main expounder of Viśiṣṭādvaita Vedānta and a member and leader of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas. Unlike Rāmānuja's other works, which focus on hermeneutics and philosophical arguments on non-duality between God and the soul, the *Gadyatraya* comprises various characteristics that seem to differ from those found elsewhere. One of them is the description of the devotee's experience of supreme devotion (*parabhakti*), supreme knowledge (*parajñāna*), and utmost devotion (*paramabhakti*). These aspects of the devotee's experience have long puzzled the scholars in the field and enabled some, such as Pandit Agnihotram and Robert Lester, to conclude that Rāmānuja did not compose the *Gadyatraya*. I argue otherwise: these aspects are hermeneutical and theological parallels to what we see in other significant works of Rāmānuja, especially the *Śrībhāṣya*, *Vedārthasaṃgraha*, and *Gītābhāṣya*. Importantly, they show that Rāmānuja proposed only the doctrine of meditative devotion (*bhakti*) as the

soteriological doctrine for his community as in the *Gadyatraya* and the other texts mentioned. Based on my terminological analysis of these aspects and their supporting sources across different texts, I conclude that Rāmānuja definitely composed the *Gadyatraya* and instructed meditative devotion as the primary path to liberation in the form of the threefold paradigm of supreme devotion, supreme knowledge, and utmost devotion. Moreover, the devotional features in the *Gadyatraya*, which are more evident than what we find in the other works, suggest that this work might have a different source of influence like the pre-Rāmānuja Śrīvaiṣṇava Tamil devotional corpus, especially Nammāḻvār's *Tiruvāymoḻi*.

BELAL ALABBAS, University of Exeter

Rationalising the Akhbār of the Imāms? Al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) and Early Theories of Twelver Hadith Criticism

In his pioneering work, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy*, Devin Stewart has argued that Twelver Shīʿī legal theory developed in response to the institutionalisation of Sunni legal schools and was particularly in conversation with Shāfiʿī legal thinking. In this paper, I test Stewart's theory by focusing on hadith criticism as an integral part of legal theory. I examine early Imāmī approaches to hadith criticism with special attention to Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifa al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) and his context in comparison with Shāfiʿī principles of hadith criticism from al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/ 820) until al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071). My findings highlight a significant overlap in the principles of hadith criticism between both traditions, particularly concerning harmonising conflicting reports, thus substantiating Stewart's conclusions.

OMAR ANCHASSI, University of Bern

Against Ptolemy? Cosmography in Early *Kalām*

This paper explores how *mutakallimūn* engaged with competing visions of the cosmos, Aristotelian-Ptolemaic and traditionalist, to the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century. Notwithstanding their many disagreements, Aristotle (d. 322 BCE) and Ptolemy (d. c. 170 CE) are usually understood to have taught that the cosmos is comprised of a series of concentric orbs or spheres, at the centre of which rests an immobile, spherical earth. The Islamic "traditionalist" cosmography, typified by works like *al-Hayʾa al-sunniyya* of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), on the other hand, depicts the cosmos as a series of seven heavens and plate-like earths (usually) separated by a distance of five hundred years' travel, above which is the vaulted or dome-like throne (*ʿarsh*) of God, among other features. Drawing on works of *kalām*, Qurʾān commentary, *ḥadīth* and items from other genres, I demonstrate that the *mutakallimūn* remained fundamentally divided on such questions as the shape of the earth and the relationship between the celestial bodies and the heavens to the end of the period in question. These disagreements,

moreover, cannot be explained in terms of school affiliation: one finds that Baṣran Muʿtazilites sometimes upheld traditionalist cosmographical doctrines and sometimes opposed them, for example. Based on a comprehensive examination of published sources, I argue that cosmographical opinion among the *mutakallimūn* was a function of exposure to Late Ancient learning, intellectual formation and personal inclination more than doctrinal commitment, with a few important exceptions. I draw on the existing scholarly literature (e.g. van Bladel 2007; Janos 2012; Tesei 2015; Tabatabaʾi and Mirsadri 2016 , etc) to frame the Qurʾānic cosmography in its Late Ancient context, and to explicate the views of specific theologians accordingly. This paper is based overwhelmingly on a survey of primary sources which have only been rarely discussed in this analytical context.

DAVID BALDI, Yale University
        Ibn Buṭlān (d. 1066 CE) and Ibn Jazla (d. 1100 CE) on the Diseases of the Head and Brain

Ibn Buṭlān's *Kunnāsh al-adyira wa-l-ruhbān* ("A Medical Compendium for Monks and Monasteries") is a peculiar work of medieval medical scholarship, and particularly on account of its presumed audience. Taking up questions first raised by Samira Youssef Jadon's 1968 study and edition of the text, this paper will explore how Ibn Buṭlān's "Medical Compendium for Monks and Monasteries" gestures towards legibility as a scholarly product as well as practical utility as a medical handbook. As a point of entry, I compare Ibn Buṭlān's chapter on "Diseases of the Head and Brain" with an account of the same in Ibn Jazla's *Taqwīm al-abdān*. Where Ibn Buṭlān restricts himself to only referencing ingredients that would have been readily available in a monastic pharmacy or refectory, Ibn Jazla divides his treatment of mental health into three distinct tiers: an easily-accessible tier (*tadbīr al-sahl al-wujūd*), responding to the constraints of an average person living far from the city; a royal tier (*tadbīr al-malakī*), focusing on simple remedies but assuming full access to the best possible ingredients; and a comprehensive tier (*tadbīr al-ʿām*), representing the best-case treatment scenario. This triangulation of therapeutic approaches thus provides an opportunity to view the viability of Ibn Buṭlān's stated constraint from a different perspective. Initial comparison suggests that Ibn Buṭlān's approach to monastic mental health care might not have been particularly monastic, nor especially defined by the constraints of limited availability, but rather written with the view of articulating a distinct theoretical approach to the diseases of the head and brain. This brings the treatise more in line with his other late-career writing on the state of medical instruction, and challenges Jadon's account of the treatise's intended use.

MUSTAFA BANISTER,Utah State University

Ibn ʿArabshah and the 'Turkmen Question': Fifteenth-Century Realignments of Power between Cairo and Eastern Anatolia

In explaining the troubled creation of sultan Jaqmaq's political order in Cairo in 1438 against a backdrop of rebellions in Syria and other obstacles, the fifteenth-century litterateur-historian Aḥmad ibn ʿArabshāh (791–854/1389–1450) occasionally reached for examples and analogies from recent decades of contemporary history. In two chapters on kingly virtues in his panegyric devoted to the new sultan, the *Taʾlīf al-ṭāhir fī shiyam al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, Ibn ʿArabshāh included observations on changing power relations between the sultanate of Cairo, eastern Anatolia, Asia Minor, and Greater Iran between larger established polities such as the Timurids and Ottomans, as well as the Turkmen tribal configurations of the Aqqoyunlu and Dulqadirid dynasties down to his time of writing in late 1439/early 1440.

This paper argues that in Ibn ʿArabshāh's assessment of the sultanate's disastrous military forays against the Dulqadirid and Aqqoyunlu Turkmen tribal principalities, the author sought to attach meaning to the recent past that was valuable to the present and future. In the context of the 1438-1439 revolts against Jaqmaq by rogue governors (*nāʾibs*) in the major cities of Greater Syria (Bilād al-Shām), the governor of Aleppo, Taghrī Birmish, himself of Turkmen stock with access to networks of Turkmen supporters, presented a dangerous threat to the sultan. Thus in his explication of previous and existing power hierarchies of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Ibn ʿArabshāh underscored the role of Turkmen clans in regard to the delicate situation north of Aleppo shortly after the revolt of Taghrī Birmish.

The paper concludes with Ibn ʿArabshāh's perspective as a scholar thoroughly immersed in this world and moves toward an understanding of his aims with his text, which look back at the decades since Tamerlane's invasion to point out mistakes made by previous sultans to better recommend himself as a capable advisor to the incumbent sultan Jaqmaq.

STEFAN BAUMS, University of Munich

Commendable Qualities of Buddhas and Monks: **prāśaṃsyasthāna* in a Gāndhārī Manuscript

One manuscript in the co-called Bajaur collection of first- or second-century-CE Gāndhārī manuscripts contains a collection of commendable qualities of the Buddha that is calls *praśaśaṭhana* (Skt. **prāśaṃsyasthāna)* and arranges in groups of two, three or four items. The term was previously only attested in Pali as *pāsaṃsaṭṭhāna* (as compound or in two words), where it occurs in three different canonical discourses. The first of these (Dhammadāyādasutta, M I 15) enumerates three such commendable qualities of monks (solitariness, abandonment, and modest living), while the second (A V 129–130) gives an expanded list of ten such items. Only the third discourse (Devadahasutta, M II 227)

lists ten *pāsaṃsaṭṭhāna* with reference to a tathāgata, as part of a refutation of Jain views of the origins of pleasure and pain. The *praśaśaṭhana* of a sugada in the Gāndhārī manuscript are, however, different even from the third Pali list. They include items such as *viśudhi prato* "purity has been obtained," *prahina gratha* "the bonds have been abandoned," and *viñanaṭhidiṣ[u] aṣaṭhida* "he does not rest in the steadinesses of consciousness." This paper will introduce the Gāndhārī manuscript, propose a reconstruction of its text, and discuss its position in Buddhist literature between canonical enumerations of salvific qualities such as the various Pali *pāsaṃsaṭṭhāna* on the one hand, and the genres of Buddhist stotra ant abhidharma on the other.

STEFAN BAUMS, Ludwig Maximilians Universität, München; **ADAM BENKATO**, University of California, Berkeley; and **DIEGO LOUKOTA**, University of California, Los Angeles
> The State of the Field of the Lexicography of Inner Asian Languages: Gāndhārī, Sogdian, Khotanese, Tocharian

As a place of encounter for different ancient and modern peoples and as the geographical core of the fabled Silk Road, Inner Asia bears witness to an astounding linguistic diversity: some ancient sites in the region have yielded documents in more than thirty different languages. These ancient languages remain, however, mostly half-deciphered and full of lacunae in our understanding of their vocabulary, making lexicographical work vital. This panel presentation aims to act both as a guide to a non-specialized audience on existing and developing resources as well as a survey of the current state of the field in the lexicography of some crucial Inner Asian languages.

SHAHANAZ BEGUM, University of Exeter
> Meaning Making in the Formative Period: Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shaybānī and the Role of Language in Law

Absent of extant works of systematic legal theory yet filled with reports of legal debates and rulings, the formative period has often been regarded as devoid of legal theory proper, let alone conceptualisations of legal hermeneutics. This paper aims to demonstrate that early legal works display a coherent and consistent concern for legal language, indicating their wider theoretical underpinnings.

Through a close textual reading of legal arguments in the *Kitāb al-Ḥujja ʿalā Ahl al-Medīna* by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d.189/804), I will draw out the role language plays in al-Shaybānī's legal system and the linguistic principles that shaped his process of law making. This will be corroborated by further examples from *al-Aṣl* and *al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghīr* – prominent works of substantive law attributed to al-Shaybānī.

As a seminal figure of the formative period, al-Shaybānī's works provide a plethora of legal arguments on which one can draw to better understand legal theoretical considerations in this early stage of Islamic law. Questions of continuity will also be addressed through a comparison of these findings with early works of Hanafi legal theory, namely those of al-Jaṣṣāṣ, al-Dabūsī and al-Sarakhsī. Here I will highlight evidence of similarities in approach between the way in which al-Shaybānī dealt with the language of Quran and hadith reports, and the way later Hanafi legal theorists articulated their understanding of the legal language of scripture. Key distinctive features will also be presented throughout the paper, marking apparent points of departure in these various conceptualisations. The aim of this paper is then to also highlight al-Shaybānī's contributions to legal hermeneutics and his overall legacy in the field of Islamic law and legal theory.

THOMAS BENFEY, University of Oxford

Newly-Discovered Fragments from an Arabic Historical Work Focused on the Samanid Dynasty

This presentation will focus on two fragments from a medieval historical text in Arabic, which is largely focused on the Samanid dynasty of 10th-century Central Asia. These fragments come from Afghanistan, and were recently acquired by the National Library of Israel. They are two bifolios with writing on both sides, which would have been bound consecutively in the same quire. The fragments include a series of *akhbār* sharing a focus on the career of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marwazī, a figure mostly known for his military achievements and failed rebellions in the early 10th century CE, around Sīstān and Herāt. Among other things, the text includes an interesting excursus focusing on Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Jayhānī's role in supporting the Samanid amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad in the wake of Naṣr's father Aḥmad b. Ismāʿīl's murder in 301/914. The first-person narration in the text and the textual sources and individuals cited would seem to imply that its author was active in the 10th or early 11th century CE. The fragments' contents do not correspond to any previously known work (including al-Sallāmī's *Taʾrīkh wulāt Khurāsān*), nor does the text seem to be a polished, final draft—the pages differ in the number of lines they include. Aside from the valuable new information these fragments furnish about Samanid history, they also accordingly constitute an unusually direct witness to the production of history writing in the medieval Islamic world. The presentation will introduce these fragments and their form and contents, and zero in on a few passages of special significance.

ADAM BENKATO, University of California, Berkeley

New Perspectives on the Sogdian Slave-Sale Contract from 7th-century Turfan

While the economic and social activities of Sogdian merchants are well-known particularly from Chinese sources and archaeological remains, there are surprisingly few extant textual records. Some, such as the epitaphs of Nanaivande and Kekan in Ye and Shi Jun in Xi'an are of a ceremonial, rather than economic,

nature. Between the famed Ancient Letters, written by a group of Sogdians near Dunhuang and sent back to Samarkand in the early 300s CE, and the Khotan fragments, containing correspondence and economic records from perhaps the 9th century CE, there is only one Sogdian mercantile text. This is a contract for the sale of an enslaved woman by a Sogdian to a Chinese monk in Turfan dating to 639 CE. This talk will present new research on the document, including revised arguments for the identities of the Chinese buyer and the enslaved woman, as well as demonstration of how it reflects structural norms known from contemporary contracts in Bactrian, Prakrit, and other languages.

JAMES W. BENSON, JOHN J. LOWE, ADRIANA MOLINA-MUÑOZ & YIMING SHEN, University of Oxford

Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa on *samāsaśakti*

The analysis of compounds is an important topic within the Indian grammatical tradition, and has even influenced modern Western linguistic approaches to compounds, particularly in terms of the major compound categories established by Pāṇini such as *bahuvrīhi*, *dvandva*, etc. Patañjali devoted an entire *āhnika* of the *Mahābhāṣya* to just the first Pāṇinian rule on compounding (Aṣṭ. 2.1.1, treated in the *Samārthāhnika*, on which see Joshi, 1968); Bhartṛhari's *Vṛttisamuddeśa*, the fourteenth and last of the *samuddeśas* in the third book of the *Vākyapadīya*, is more than 600 verses long, approximately 30% of the entire length of the *Vākyapadīya*.

While Patañjali's discussion of compounding ad Aṣṭ. 2.1.1 has been translated and analysed by Joshi (1968), the later developments of the grammarians' theory of compounding remain understudied. We present a detailed summary and analysis of the theory of compounding presented by Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa in his *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra*, which comments on the *Kārikās* (28-35) of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. We draw out in particular the points of innovation in the later tradition relative to the treatment of Patañjali, and where appropriate compare parallel discussions in other works by Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa and by Nāgeśa, as well as competing analyses formulated in other śāstric traditions.

ØYVIND BJØRU and **NA'AMA PAT-EL**, The University of Texas, Austin

Existential Angst: Non-existential *ibašši* in Neo-Assyrian

The verb *ibašši*, the 3ms durative of *bašā'um*, functions as an intransitive existential predicate in all dialects of Akkadian. It typically has a nominal subject and frequently an adverbial complement. While the vast majority of this form's attestations are as an existential, in Neo-Assyrian it also appears in non-existential and non-predicative functions, and it is generally treated in the secondary literature as a modal adverb (e.g., Hämeen-Anttila 2000: 109).

UNᴹᴱˢ-*ia i-ba-áš-ši* *šá ina* UGU Aᴹᴱˢ ⌜*kam*⌝-[*mu-su*]-*ni*

ina ŠÀ PIᴵᴵ·ᴹᴱˢ-*šú-nu e-tar-bu*

'the people of mine who live along the water heard about it'

(SAA 21 122 o 11-12)

In this paper we will explore the non-existential function(s) of *ibašši* in Neo-Assyrian. We will argue that it is a focus particle which may stand after any constituent in the sentence, except the predicate. We trace the development of this function of *ibašši* in Assyrian and suggest a diachronic process by which an existential marker becomes a focus particle.

KEVIN BLANKINSHIP, Brigham Young University

Organic Unity in the 'Personified Letter' of Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434)

Does classical Arabic literature have "organic unity"? Do poems or prose hang together with integrity and wholeness, or are they "orient pearls at random strung," in the words of Sir William Jones's notorious rendering of Hāfiẓ's "Shīrāzī Turk" ghazal? Once hotly debated in the 20th century, the question of unity has in the last two decades subsided, that is, except for Qurʾānic Studies, where evidence of unity within a given *sūra* continues to mount. In literature, scholars have moved to questions of power and social context, while setting aside the issue of unity. This paper brings that issue back by focusing not on whether we moderns think there is unity in premodern Arabic *belles lettres*, but on whether premodern Arabs thought so.

Specifically, I explore the section on *ḥusn al-khitām*, "appropriate endings," from *Khizānat al-adab wa-ghāyat al-arab*, a poetic commentary-plus-literary anthology by Mamluk poet, essayist, and state secretary Ibn Ḥijja al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434). Therein, one finds what Ibn Ḥijja calls a *risāla mujassada*, a "personified letter," which is full of puns on human body parts and which emulates a brief section from "al-Maqāma al-Baghdādiyya" by Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1122). Ibn Ḥijja describes his letter using the word *mujassada*, "personified" or "incorporated," in a strikingly modern way that is rare for classical Arabic. Moreover, the letter is supposed to show, by invoking the biological integrity of the human body and structuring the letter explicitly around such a body, how the best kind of ending in a text connects naturally to its beginning. Therefore this letter, which to my knowledge is unstudied and untranslated, is one of the clearest examples that premodern Arabic critics had some concept, albeit unstated, of organic literary unity.

JOEL P. BRERETON, The University of Texas at Austin

   Hybrid and Other Vernacular Verbs in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*

The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* has a striking number of hybrid verbs (e.g., 4.4.1 *vivatsyāmi* and 4.10.2 *paricacārīt*), as well as other vernacular (e.g., 4.11.2 *bhuñjāmaḥ*) or unexpected (e.g., 5.15.2 *vyaśīryat*) verb forms in addition to unusual nominal forms (e.g., 4.10.3 *nānātyaya-*). This paper will add to the collection of already recognized hybrid forms, but more centrally it tries to explain why they occur. It will argue that such forms, appearing as they do in dialogue, can serve determinable literary and thematic purposes in the Upaniṣad.

DAVID BRICK, University of Michigan

   The History of a Widow's Right to Adopt in Dharmaśāstra

The great importance placed upon a man acquiring sons within Brahmanical Hinduism is well-known. As a result of it, the Hindu legal tradition at various points during its history prescribed a number of means by which a man who failed to beget a son upon his wife might, nevertheless, acquire a son. One of these means was adoption, which Dharmaśāstra texts widely allow. There is, however, the problem that these texts generally lay down rules for a man to adopt a son and leave it unclear whether a woman is similarly entitled to adopt, specifically a woman whose husband has died. It is perhaps partly for this reason that the issue of a Hindu widow's right to adopt a son became a significant point of legal disputation during the colonial period. Nevertheless, the foundational Dharmaśāstra texts are virtually silent on the topic, suggesting that, unlike *niyoga* (levirate), adoption was not a common strategy whereby a Brahmanical widow might obtain a son in the ancient and early medieval periods. In this paper, I will show that it was only during the fifteenth century that the Dharmaśāstra tradition first considered the possibility of a widow adopting a son; that the earliest Hindu jurists to address the issue—Rudradhara, Vācaspati Miśra, and Nandapaṇḍita—all deny a widow the right to adopt; and that later jurists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries overwhelmingly support a widow's right to adopt. I will then conclude by arguing that Hindu jurists came to supports widows' rights of adoption, because adoption serves as a means whereby they could deprive widows of their inherited wealth, while insuring that that wealth stayed within their families.

DAVID BUCHTA, Brown University

   Unknown Like *L̥*: Complications in Sanskrit "Alphabet" Stotras

A common feature of the Sanskrit *virudāvalī* (contrasted with its Andhra antecedent, the *birudāvalī*, discussed by Jamal Jones) style of *stotra* (praise poem) is the inclusion of an "alphabet poem," i.e. a

poem contructed with a string of epithets beginning with each of the sounds of the Sanskrit language (the *varṇa-krama*) in order. Poets composing such works run into the challenging of coining epithets beginning with sounds that are exceedingly rare (or merely theoretical) or which do not typically exist in word initial position, such as the long vocalic *ḹ*, the anusvāra and visarga, and the guttural and palatal nasals (*ṅ* and *ñ*). This paper will examine examples of *virudāvalī* poems starting from Rūpa Gosvāmin's 16th century *Govindavirudāvalī* to identify the strategies poets would employ to construct such epithets, taking recourse to the many available linguistic tools, including parallels to the use of abundant lexicons as Yigal Bronner has discussed regarding śleṣa-kāvya.

LUCREZIA CARNESALE, University of Pavia-Bergamo

The Semantic-Syntactic Interplay in Hindi: The Case of the Expression of Perceptions and Bodily Sensations

The aim of the paper is to apply the concept of linguistic *iconicity* to Hindi experiential constructions. I here use the term *iconicity* to indicate a language tendency to use morphological cases to express semantic roles and not to mark core arguments or grammatical relations (Malchukov 2005, for literature on case see also Comrie 1989; de Hoop, Narasimhan 2005). As some scholars noted before (Montaut 2004), Hindi tends to use its syntactic alignments on the basis of specific semantic properties, for this reason it fits well in the definition of iconic languages.

Hindi has more than one construction for the encoding of experiential events: transitive patterns and intransitive ones can be used for the encoding of an experience, with the dative pattern as the prototypical experiential construction (Kachru 1990, Verma & Mohanan 1990). Some examples are given in (1), (2) and (3). In this paper, I offer an onomasiological description of Hindi experiential constructions, analyzing their syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties. I also try to give an account of the frequency and distribution of each pattern, in order to evaluate possible semantic constraints of each construction. My purpose is to show that the high iconicity of this language accounts for its large variety of experiential constructions: the broadest aim is to deepen our understanding of the semantic-syntactic interplay in Hindi.

Linguistic data will be extracted from a specifically collected corpus consisting of Hindi literary texts of the 20th century, which will be interrogated through Sketch Engine[1]. The investigation will focus on the

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[1] https://www.sketchengine.eu

expression of perceptions and bodily sensations: these are the two most semantically different experiential event types, laying at the opposite extremes of the transitivity hierarchy (Malchukov 2005, Tsunoda 2015, Luraghi 2020).

(1) Transitive construction: "Jamadar looked at him up and down."

Jamādār ne   use   sir   se   pāṁv tak   dekhā
Jamādār.ERG   3SG.ACC   head   from   foot   to   to look at.PRF.M.SG

(2) Dative construction: "He is hungry."

Use   bhūkh   lagī   hai.
3SG.DAT   hunger.NOM.F.SG   adhere.PRT.PRF.F   to be.PRS.3SG

(3) Locative construction: "Dhaniya had a headache."

Dhaniyā   ke   sir   meṁ   dard   thā
Dhaniya   GEN   head   in   pain.SG.NOM   to be.IMPRF.SG.M

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CHANG CHE-CHIA, Academia Sinica

The Hidden Message between the Lines of the Kangxi Emperor's Linguistic Corrections in *Manchu Anatomy*

In the manuscript of *Ge ti ciowan lu bithe*, or *Manchu anatomy* which Dominique Parrenin sent back to France, there attached some appendix recording the Kangxi Emperor's linguistic corrections of his translation. This is the only version among all the available *Manchu anatomy* including such a section. In the past, scholars overlooked those chapters, only Giovanni Stary considered them as valuable Manchu linguistic material and wrote a paper discussed their features in grammar. However, it is weird why it is necessary for Parrenin to include such appendix. In the case of manuscript, when mistakes were found, it was easier to simply re-transcribe to make a correct version. There should be some particular reason for Parrenin to keep them in the manuscript. After comparing the corrections with the main texts in the version now reserved in the National Museum of Natural History (MHN) and the manuscript reserved in National Library of France (BnF), this essay tries to argue that the appendix is a device Parrenin intentionally left the clues to the French readers. It is the Kangxi Emperor's will to adjust the structure of the Western anatomy in *Manchu anatomy* to meet the Chinese readership. This discovery could explain why there exists a manifest gap of chapter orders between the MHN and BnF manuscript. It also shows a factual example of how the emperor's interference in the Jesuits' translation of Western knowledge.

MICHAEL CHAPIN, Johns Hopkins University

Kassite Naming Practices in the First Dynasty of the Sealand (ca. 1500 BCE)

The transition from the Old Babylonian to the Middle Babylonian period (ca. 1595-1450 BCE, according to the middle chronology) brought with it increased attestations of Kassite-named populations into Mesopotamia. This transition occurred during a so-called textual 'dark age,' so we have little insight into the chronology of the expansion of the use of Kassite names and the processes which drove it. However, the unprovenanced palatial archive dating to the First Dynasty of the Sealand (approximately 1500 BCE), a dynasty which ruled in southern Babylonia, offers a glimpse into this 'dark age.' Previous work on the Sealand I onomasticon has focused primarily on identifying linguistic etymologies (e.g., Dalley 2009; Zadok 2014). In this paper, I build upon this work, first, by comparing the spelling and structure of linguistically Kassite names in the Sealand I archive with the spelling and structure of linguistically Elamite names in the same archive. Next, I compare the Kassite names in the Sealand I archive with the spelling and structure of linguistically Kassite names in texts that date to later in the Middle Babylonian period,

including those from Nippur and Ur. I conclude that Sealand I scribes were less familiar with Kassite names than their Middle Babylonian counterparts, which suggests Kassite populations remained distinct in southern Babylonian society during the period of time documented by the Sealand I archive and that the broader integration of Kassite names into the Mesopotamian onomasticon did not occur until later in the Middle Babylonian period.

LIYAO CHEN, University of Washington
The Adaptation and Use of Sinograms in Korean *hyangka* Poems

This paper analyzes and summarizes the function and usage of Sinograms in *hyangka*향가 鄉歌, poems written in Old Korean dated to the Silla and Goryeo periods, based on some of the existing interpretations and studies of *hyangka*. The theoretical framework is the scheme of adaptation of a logographic script elaborated in Handel (2019). In theory, there are five possible types of adaptation: directly adapted logogram (DAL), semantically adapted logogram (SAL), phonetically adapted phonogram (PAP), semantically adapted phonogram (SAP), and phonetically adapted logogram (PAL). All the four types except PAL are used in *hyangka* as well as Sinographic writing in Korea in general. The purpose of this study is to examine the character use in *hyangka* under a systematic framework.

There are four sections in this paper. The first two sections are brief introductions to *hyangka* and Handel's framework of script adaptation. The third section is a summary of all characters in the *hyangka* corpus with a classification of their type of adaptation. It also discusses in more detail some common characters, especially phonograms, and some techniques of character adaptation not covered in the general framework, such as using a character to represent a single phoneme and using a character as a phonetic determinative for a sound in the preceding word or morpheme. The fourth section presents two specific poems, *Cheyongka*처용가 處容歌 ("Song of Cheyong") and *Anminka*안민가 安民歌 ("Song of Pacifying the People"), to show what *hyangka* looks like and how characters actually function. *Cheyongka* is the most well-known piece of *hyangka* and the uncertainties in its interpretation are relatively few, while *Anminka* is the poem with the most characters and includes some uncommon characters in *hyangka* and also some sequences difficult to understand.

JULIAN C. CHIKE, Baylor University
Innovation and Resignification in Ḫar.ra = *ḫubullu* 2: The Case of DI.KUD.GAL

The great lexical list, Ḫar.ra = *ḫubullu* (Hh), was one of the central pillars of Mesopotamia's lexical traditions. While the functional contexts of such lexical traditions pertained to matters of scribal education and scholarly study, they also functioned as a means of organizing knowledge and appropriating cultural heritage. These lexical lists reflect complex chains of transmission as new entries were incorporated based on the needs of each local textual community until the lists were canonized in the 1st millennium

BCE. Over the past century, several non-canonical manuscripts of Hh from the 17th to the 13th century BCE have been discovered in a wide array of geographic locales (i.e., Emar, Ugarit, Amarna, Hattuša, Hazor, Nippur). Although Benno Landsberger juxtaposed some of these manuscripts for comparison in *MSL V* (1957), there was minimal explanation to account for the variation between versions.

In this paper, I discuss specific scribal phenomena evinced among the manuscripts of Hh 2:15'–21' — namely, the emergence of the logogram DI.KUD.GAL and its variant Akkadian translations. When did DI.KUD.GAL get incorporated into Hh 2? Why do the lexical lists contain multiple entries for the same DI.KUD.GAL sign? How do we account for the variant Akkadian translations? Through triangulation of textual finds from the land known as "Ḫana" and the political history of the Middle Babylonian period, I offer the following propositions: 1) DI.KUD.GAL was incorporated into Hh 2 between the 15th and 13th century BCE; 2) DI.KUD.GAL reflects a Babylonian resignification of the Middle Euphratean term *šāpiṭu*; 3) Standard Babylonian manuscripts rendered *šāpiṭu* with a phonetically equivalent term *šapṣu*, since the localism *šāpiṭu* no longer made sense to the 1st millennium BCE scribes. In so doing, they added a third DI.KUD.GAL entry with the Akkadian translation *šāpirum*. This contextual assessment of Hh 2 across time contributes to our understanding of the transmissional and functional contexts for such lexical traditions.

JOHN CLAYTON & ALEX ROY, University of California, Los Angeles
        A Marriage of Conveyance: *urvárī-* 'bride' (AV) and Its Etymology

The rare Vedic word *urvárī-* (AVŚ X.4.21; AVP II.87) has received two major proposals for its meaning and etymology. Since at least Böhtlingk & Roth (1855), the word has been translated as a type of fibrous plant material used in weaving ('Werg', 'tow, oakum') and compared to Ved. *urvárā-* 'arable land' < *h_2rh_3-wér-eh₂* from the root *h_2erh_3-* 'to plow' (cf. Gr. *ároura* 'arable land' < *$h_2érh_3$-ur-ih₂-*). Burrow (1984) cogently rejects this translation and derivation on morphological and semantic grounds. He instead favors a meaning 'lady of choice, wife' (cf. Pāli *ubbarī-* 'wife') coming from *w_lh_1-wér-ih₂-* 'chosen woman' from the root *$welh_1$-* 'to choose, want' (> √*vr̥-* 'to choose'), and he compares OAv. *uruuānē* (Y 31.2), which he improbably translates 'to choose'. All the Old and Middle Indo-Aryan evidence supports the meaning 'wife' for *urvárī-*; this paper will assume the same semantics while arguing for a different etymology.

Given the absence of strong support for a *-wr̥ ~ *-wén-* heteroclite built to the verb *$welh_1$-* 'to choose, want', this paper proposes to derive *urvárī-* from *h_1lh_2-wér-ih₂-* 'driving woman, bride' from the root *h_1elh_2-* 'to drive', which also forms OAv. *uruuānē* 'to drive' < *h_1lh_2-wén-ey* and Gr. *elaúnō* 'to drive' < *$h_1(e)lh_2$-un-yé-*. With this new etymology, a new translation of AVP II.87 will be provided, framing it in the larger Indo-Aryan and Indo-European context of the matrimonial chariot ride home (cf. Ved. √*vah-* 'to

drive; marry'; *wed^h- 'to lead, drive' > Lt. vèsti 'to lead; marry' Eng. wed; L dūcō 'to lead; marry'; Gr. ágō 'to lead; marry') as well as that of weaving, the prototypical occupation of a wife: a context which is nevertheless etymologically unrelated to the formation of urvárī-.

MARK E. COHEN
Proposed Identification of Sumerian Animal Names

New identification for the names for some Sumerian mammals, reptiles, and insects are proposed, mainly based upon literary evidence. In addition, the relationship between the naming of birds and fish will be discussed.

TRACY COLEMAN, Colorado College
But Krishna Loves Women: Masculinity, Misogyny, and Radical Theology

In presentations at the AOS in 2009 and 2011, I suggested that in response to biographies of the Buddha such as Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* portrays Kṛṣṇa as a masculine exemplar of *yoga* and *dharma, gṛhasthadharma* in particular. As an exemplary *yogin*, blissful and dispassionate, moreover, I argued that Kṛṣṇa is desireless but desired by women, and thus the object of passionate *viraha-bhakti*. The paper now proposed will continue my reflections on masculinity and sacred biography, but will consider a more expansive range of Sanskrit sources in order to illustrate the contrast between Kṛṣṇa and other heroic masculine saviors such as Rāma and the Buddha. More specifically, I will argue that in contrast to misogynist models of masculinity, Kṛṣṇa as the ultimate male figure loves and respects women, enjoys their company, and acts for their welfare in the world. Beyond the intimate company of his own wives who are devoted *pativratās*, Kṛṣṇa extends his grace to adulteresses like Rādhā and the *gopīs*, to fiercely intelligent and outspoken critics like Draupadī, to working women who proposition him publicly, and to victims of abduction by arrogant, violent men. Whether epic, *purāṇa*, or *kāvya*, I will therefore argue that texts glorifying Kṛṣṇa purposely glorify a God who loves and actively honors women. Kṛṣṇa traditions thus present not only an alternative, authoritative masculinity, but also a radical theology portraying God as a fearless lover, protector, and savior of women -- *all women* – in sharp contrast to other masculine heroes whose misogynist *dharma* has informed social and religious norms for millennia.

DANIEL COYLE, Birmingham-Southern College
"Roaming Free in the Cage": Overcoming Boundaries with *Quan* 權"

The "Great Ancestral Teacher" chapter of the *Zhuangzi* "Inner Chapters" famously satirizes Confucius as "one who roams within the boundaries," and one who is a "public prisoner of *tian* 天." The text employs

these portrayals to tag "Confucian" cultures and contrast them from its own cultural visions of the "arts of *dao*" (*daoshu* 道術) embodied in "those who roam beyond the boundaries." The *Zhuangzi* "Outer Chapters" (especially 14) extend the divide to develop new philosophies of unobstructed living. Confucius would no doubt respond to these texts by noting that the Zhuangzian esteeming of living beyond the boundaries can lead to a dangerous social and political incoherence. Yet Confucius also stresses that he is not inflexible: "As exemplary persons proceed in the world, they are neither invariably for nor invariably against anything, their alignment is toward what is optimally appropriate" (*Analects* 4.10). In this paper I show that the *Zhuangzi*'s parodies often ignore the summit of Confucius' ethical teaching: *quan* 權: the rare and subtle "art of flexibility" (*Analects*, 9.30). I question the idea of Confucian insularity by engaging both Daoist and Confucian texts to argue that Confucius' use of the underexplored idea of *quan*, "flexibly changing according to circumstances," proves that he *is* willing to "roam beyond the boundaries" when necessary, and that Confucianism too can provide us with a contemporary vision of freedom beyond walls.

PATRICK T. CUMMINS, Cornell University
The Contested Referentiality of 'the Mud-born Lotus' (*paṅkaja*) and the Prābhākara-Naiyāyika Debate over Word-meaning

While the classical positions of the realist Mīmāṃsakas (Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, etc.) and the idealist Buddhist epistemologists (Diṅnāga, etc.) about word-meaning have received renewed scholarly attention in recent years (Pind 2015, McCrea 2020, Kataoka and Taber 2021), in marked contrast the conversation between the Naiyāyikas and post-Śālikanātha Prābhākaras (from c. 1150 to 1325CE) about word-meaning remains all but unstudied in the contemporary literature despite being equally complex and consequential. In this paper, I will attempt to explain the stakes of the debate while unraveling its intellectual history. The standard Mīmāṃsāka doctrine that nouns directly signify eternal, repeatable entities (class properties [*jāti*], etc.) stems from their institutional commitment that the Veda's authority derives from its eternality. Naiyāyikas, however, beginning with Vācaspati Miśra (fl. c. 950CE) advanced the new position that nouns directly signify individual entities qualified by class properties, etc. (*jātyādiviśiṣṭavyakti*) – a position which harmonizes with their epistemology of perception (*pratyakṣa*). The Naiyāyika Śaśadhara (fl. c. 1150CE?) first launched a direct critique of the Mīmāṃsā position with the case study of the noun 'the mud-born lotus' (*paṅkaja*), capitalizing upon the pre-existing Mīmāṃsā binary about how nouns reference objects: morphemic (*yaugika*) referentiality and stipulative (*rūḍha*) referentiality. Śaśadhara's point is that in the specific case of the noun *paṅkaja*, an individual entity (a "mud-born" [*paṅka-ja*] substance) is referenced at the level of the morphemes while a class property (lotus-ness) is simultaneously referenced by the sum noun, and therefore since we must accept that *this* noun directly signifies an individual qualified by a class properties (*jātyādiviśiṣṭavyakti*), we must accept such referentiality in *all* nouns. This provokes responses

from the Prābhākara Mīmāṃsakas, and this conversation reaches its zenith with Gaṅgeśa's *Tattvacintāmaṇi* (c. 1325CE). This paper is the first attempt to shed light on this debate within the field of philosophy of language in premodern South Asia.

VICTOR B. D'AVELLA, University of Oxford

The Rāmāyaṇa as a Means to Salvation: Vedāntadeśika's Abhayapradānasāra

In his Abhayapradānasāra, a work written in heavily Sanskritized Tamil or Manipravalam, Vedāntadeśika sets out to teach prapatti ("self-surrender") to Śrīvaiṣṇava devotees through the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. As may be expected, Vibhīṣaṇa's defection to Rāma's camp at the start of the Yuddhakāṇḍa serves as the pièce de résistance, but leading up to the episode, Deśika presents a justification for reading the Rāmāyaṇa as an explanatory augment (upabṛṃhaṇa) to the Vedas and containing their essence. In many ways the epic even surpasses the Vedas themselves since it is open to a much wider, uninitiated audience and provides examples for the supreme means to liberation, prapatti (also śaraṇāgati). Although Vedāntadeśika played an important role in establishing the northern and more Sanskritic variety of Śrīvaiṣṇavism, eventually termed vaṭakalai and associated with Kāñcīpuram, his Manipravalam works were intended to reach a more diverse Tamil speaking public and, by necessity, lacked specific quotations from Vedic works. In my presentation I will focus on the narrative Deśika devops in the Abhayapradānasāra from select passages of the Rāmāyaṇa in order to prove the epic's validity as an efficacious means to liberation. Furthermore, I will explore his methods of exegesis for Sanskrit passages, including a few from the Vedas, that allow them to be accessible in Tamil Manipravalam. I hope, thereby, to build on the small body of existing scholarship on the Abhayapradānasāra and to add to our understanding of the work's importance for establishing the Rāmāyaṇa as text that teaches prapatti through exemplification.

KAYLA DANG, Saint Louis University
Zoroastrian Priests in Ninth- and Tenth-Century Shīʿī Sectarian Politics

Scholars have long noted several features shared by Zoroastrianism and Shīʿism. These include apocalyptic and eschatological elements, such as notions about the saviour (*al-maḥdī*) and his occultation (*ghayba*), as well as various legal and moral aspects, in the formulations of several branches of Shīʿism as they developed in the early centuries of Islam. While these similarities may simply be the result of a common Iranian background, this paper explores evidence of interactions between elite Zoroastrians and the foremost Shīʿī theologians and sectarian leaders of the ninth and tenth centuries.

For example, various Arabic sources describe Zoroastrian *mōbed*s (chief priests) in religious disputations in the court of al-Maʾmūn (r. 813–33), and several of these episodes also feature Shīʿī scholars (sometimes one-on-one with the Zoroastrian *mōbed*). Some of these encounters may be literary inventions or elaborations, or the product of sectarian polemics. However, they may point to an historical reality in which Zoroastrian *mōbed*s became intricately involved with Muslim sectarian politics, particularly in the rebellion of Abū Ṭāhir al-Jannābī (d. 944) and the Qarmaṭīs of Bahrain. After stealing the black stone of the Kaʿba in his 930 conquest of Mecca, Abu Ṭāhir grew his revolution on the prophecies of a Persian holy man, and continued to harass pilgrims in the peninsula from his seat in Bahrain, until the caliph al-Rāḍī (r. 934–40) negotiated a settlement with him. In a passage that may be related, al-Masʿūdī tells us that al-Rāḍī also put to death a Zoroastrian *mōbed* named Isfāndiyār ibn Ēmēd in 936. Taking all of these Arabic references into account, the entanglements of Zoroastrian and Shīʿī figures in the ʿAbbāsid period offers a new perspective on the context of religious exchange—one in which, perhaps, individual Zoroastrians played an active role.

DONALD R. DAVIS, JR., The University of Texas at Austin
Hobbes, Not Machiavelli: Analogues for Kauṭilya

The usual analogue for Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya has long been Machiavelli's *The Prince* of Machiavelli. Olivelle and others have questioned the utility of the comparison, though it still provides a handy reference for non-specialists. In this communication, I suggest that Hobbes's *Leviathan* may provide a better analogue or point of comparison for the *Arthaśāstra*. If we compare the the works of Kauṭilya and Machiavelli, the focus tends to be on Realpolitik. By turning to Hobbes, we can ask different questions about human nature as the basis of the political, the collapse of the religious into the political, and the state as the necessary form for sovereignty. By examining parallels between the *Arthaśāstra* and *Leviathan*, I hope to suggest that the Arthaśāstra should be brought into conversation not only with *Leviathan*, but also with other political treatises.

YALIN DU, Princeton University
"Crow Nailed them Together": Reflection on the Themes of "Crows" in Chinese Poetry

"The Crow"—referring to both a poetry theme and relevant *yuefu* titles—has a long history in classic Chinese poetry. This paper is based on three Tang poems about the crow from the perspective of how this old imagery was transformed and reinterpreted within the bigger historical context of "resurrecting the past." Also, this paper includes an examination and discussion about the "original stories" (*benshi*) of Wu Ye Ti (Crows Crying at Nights), discussing how the circulation of narratives interplayed with the composition of poems, which is linked by an obsession with "*gu* (the old)." There has been a remarkable amount of scholarship regarding Tang poets' creative experiment with "*gu*." It has been acknowledged that Tang poets experimented literary innovation in the guise of revive the "*gu*," and most previous studies have laid their emphasis on the social function and aesthetic style of the "antiquity". Compared with them, this paper is an attempt to explore how Tang poets made use of "*gushi* (old stories)" as sources for poetry content.

This paper focuses on two literary genres—anecdotes and poems. What links them together is storytelling. In other words, they are both "narratives" in a broader sense. The theme of crows in this paper navigates across the boundaries of genres and nails poetry, history, anecdotes and even music altogether. The variations on the theme of "the crow" reveal that a theme-oriented perspective could help free us from the trap of conventional "genres" and find a broader and more flexible definition of "narrative." Also, the intricate relationship among poetry, anecdotes and music still invites further reflection on the role of "contextualization" in the reception and production of literature.

JONATHAN EDELMANN, University of Florida
Hierarchy and Goal in Jīva's *Six Essays* (Ṣaṭsandarbha)

When did "devotion" (*bhakti, ārādhana, preman*) become a goal of a person? Jñānêśvara (sometimes Jñāna Deva, c.1271-1293 ad) said *bhakti* is the chief (Marathi, *śirīm*) among the goals of a person, implying the subordinate character of the three goals of religion, wealth, and pleasure, plus the fourth goal of liberation from birth and death. Śrīnātha (c.1450-1550) called *preman* the greatest (Sanskrit, *mahān*) goal, but I do not know if Jīva (c. 1513-1598 ad) read either Jñānêśvara or Śrīnātha. Kṛṣṇa Dāsa (fl. c. 1550), who studied with Jīva, described *preman* as the greatest wealth (Bengali-Sanskrit, *mahā-dhana).* The focus of this paper is Jīva's *Essay on Devotion* (Prītisandarbha), the last of *Six Essays* on the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, wherein he argued that among the various forms of happiness described in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* (2.1), *bhakti* resulted in the best form of it. I argue that Jīva relied on his earlier essays to connect his happiness concept to a larger set of hierarchies in Indian scholasticism like ontology, ritual, and aesthetics.

RACHA EL OMARI, University of California Santa Barbara

Al-Balkhī's (al-Kaʿbī's) (d. 319/931) Doctrine of Nature in Light of a Chapter of *ʿUyūn al-Masāʾil wa-l-Jawābāt*

Reconstructing early Muʿtazilī theologies remains a tentative task not only because it is dependent on testimonies in external sources but also because these sources have competing theological priorities that hinder the recovery of the original arguments supporting them (Richard M. Frank, 1967; Hans Daiber, 1975; Josef van Ess, 1991-1997; David Bennett, 2011; Sabine Schmidtke, 2015). In the case of Abū l-Qāsim al-Balkhī/al-Kaʿbī (d. 931/391), who lived towards the end of early Muʿtazilī history and start of its scholastic (classical) phase, extensive testimonies of his theology survive. Yet the challenge of recovering the arguments underlying them remains the same as for his early Muʿtazilī predecessors. Indeed, it is magnified, and made all the more apparent, because of the extensive scope of these testimonies. One example of this challenge is elicited by testimonies that tie key components of al-Kaʿbī's theological choices, including his belief that God not only does the best for His servant's salvation (*al-aṣlaḥ fī l-dīn*) but the absolute best (*aṣlaḥ*), to his adoption of a doctrine of nature (*ṭabāʾiʿ*) (el Omari, 2016). This paper revisits these testimonies by examining them in the context of al-Kaʿbī's own accounts of polemics with proponents of the doctrine of nature as documented in a published chapter of his work *ʿUyūn al-masāʾil wa-l-jawābāt* (Ḥusayn Khanṣū 2014; Ḥusayn Khanṣū, Rājiḥ & ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Kurdī, 2018). The paper highlights that though al-Kaʿbī's accounts of these polemics do not directly resolve the issue of recovering his original arguments about the role of the doctrine of nature in informing his theological choices, they do present an additional perspective on testimonies that make claims about this role. This perspective corroborates what is already gleaned from testimonies alone about the adoption of the doctrine of nature across theological divides, among Muʿtazilīs and non-Muʿtazilīs, in the third/ninth century.

MICHAEL FIDEN, The University of Texas at Austin

Rudra as Indra: Disentangling Divine Roles in the R̥gveda and Atharvaveda

There are scarce mentions of Rudra in the R̥gveda, as opposed to his prominent place in the Atharvaveda. What hymns we do have dedicated to him are as enigmatic as they are intriguing. His prominence as Śiva in the later tradition has encouraged no lack of speculation from scholars, such as Doniger, on his origins, identity, and development. The boundaries between the gods in the early period are blurry and permeable, but the resonance between Rudra and Indra seems to be especially emphasized by the composers. Scholars such as Selva and Das have noted these numerous similarities between Indra and Rudra, such as wielding the *vajra* and an association with the Maruts. I explain these parallels by arguing that Rudra fulfills the role of Indra in the context of rites later codified and crystallized in the collection of the Atharvaveda, and explore the possibility that Rudra and Indra are different sides to the same divine being.

Descriptions of Rudra mirror descriptions of Atharvavedic rites, for example being able to heal as well as injure. I argue that the authors of the Ṛgveda were actively participating in these more domestically oriented rites, and that the codification and canonization of the Atharvaveda as a separate opposing tradition is an artifact of the necessity of priestly specialization under a rapidly developing and complex ritual system. It is in this context that Rudra is divorced from his original closeness with Indra, as priests themselves are divided into limited roles. Taking Rudra in this way helps to decipher some of the more puzzling hymns, and assists in building a bridge
between his early and later manifestations.

CHRISTOPHER T. FLEMING, University of Oxford
Deities as Legal Agents in Two Medieval Sanskrit Inscriptions

My paper examines two untranslated Sanskrit inscriptions (EI 19 #7 & EI 32 #5) with an eye towards dating the emergence of Hindu temple deities' active legal agency to the late 9th and early 10th centuries of the Common Era. The first inscription, dated to the reign of the Gurjāra-Pratihāra, Mihira Bhoja (c. 836–885 CE), records a series of transactions wherein the goddess Kañcanadevī of a temple in Ahar, UP, loaned her funds at interest to various parties as an investment – a divine bank, so to speak. The second inscription, dated to the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Kṛṣṇa III (c. 939-967 CE), records a legal settlement (vyavasthā) made between two deities over a disputed parcel of land in Chinchani, Gujarat.

In recent decades, scholars have fleshed out Günther Dietz-Sontheimer's skeletal, if seminal, 1965 survey of the juridical personality of Hindu deities. Epigraphic records reveal that, by the 5th or 6th Century C.E., Buddhists (see Schopen), Jains (see Bisschop), and Hindus (see Willis and Sanderson) established religious institutions in which the deity (or Jina or Buddha) owned and benefited from endowments. The deities in these early records are, however, largely passive beneficiaries of something akin to purpose trusts. Contemporary Hindu law (and Indian legal records from the second millennium C.E.), in contrast, recognizes the tutelary deity of a temple as a legal person who, with the assistance of their fiduciary 'friends', may file suit and be sued, execute contracts, and engage in a wide array of commercial activities (including financial mischief) that one often associates with limited liability companies.

The brace of epigraphs discussed in my paper suggests that deities shifted from being passive beneficiaries of temple endowments to being active agents in legal activities several hundred years after the emergence of divine temple endowments.

GRANT FRAME, The University of Pennsylvania and Penn Museum

Hermann Hilprecht and the Babylonian Section of the Penn Museum

The Babylonian Section of the Penn Museum has approximately 26,000–27,000 items in its collection of cuneiform materials and approximately eighty percent of these are registered as coming from the site of Nippur. Of these, by far the largest number had been excavated by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania and were officially given to the University of Pennsylvania by Professor Hermann Vollrat(h) Hilprecht, who had acquired them from "His Imperial Majesty, The Sultan of Turkey, as a mark of personal favour, and in recognition of the services rendered by him ... to the Imperial Ottoman Museum." These items were graciously accepted by the University's trustees at a meeting on December 2, 1902, where it was stated that the items would be called the "Mrs. Hilprecht Collection." In the registration book of the Babylonian Section (then the Babylonian and General Semitics Section of the Free Museum of Science and Art), however, most of the items were recorded by Professor Hilprecht as being part of the "H.V.H." collection, although the very first item entered (CBS 1, a terracotta vase purchased in Syria) was given by Mrs. Hilprecht and said to be part of her collection. This Mrs. Hilprecht was Professor Hilprecht's first wife (Ida Hilprecht, born Haufe, died 1902). The collection also includes a few items which once belonged to Hilprecht's second wife (Sallie Lewis Hilprecht, born Crozer, 1856–1929), who married him in 1903. Pieces from the various Hilprecht collections are registered in the Babylonian Section's CBS (earlier CBM), UM, N, and L collections. The talk will examine the three registration books created by Hilprecht.

MOHAMMAD GHARAIBEH, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

When Intellectual and Political Collide: The Rise and Fall of the *Muqaddima* of Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (d. 643/1245) in Cairo under the Mamluks

The *Muqaddima* of Ibn al-Salah (d. 643/1245), a treatise on the *hadith* science, owes much of its "canonical" status to its reception history and the high number of its commentaries. With 43 commentaries, abridgements and versifications written by 34 authors the *Muqaddima* received apparently high scholarly attention. Moreover, the fact that most of the commentarial literature was produced during the Mamluk period (1250–1517) in either Damascus or Cairo emphasizes the regional concentration of its reception.

The paper will focus on the reception history and the production of commentaries in Cairo. It is striking but also surprising that the number of commentaries produced in Cairo are actually higher than in Damascus, the city in which Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ authored his *Muqaddima*. By analyzing the scholarly networks in which the *Muqaddima* was read, taught, and commented on, the paper will argue that its reception in Cairo took place in different intellectual circles that were competing over social capital. Shāfiʿī scholars in Cairo, on

the one hand, approached the text as part of their school's identity – Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ himself was a Shāfiʿī too –, so that they maintained an intellectual loyalty to the text, explaining it and defending it against criticism. Ḥanafī scholars, on the other hand, treated the text as a means to gain social status by criticizing it. Depending on the author's position within this complex network, the format (*sharḥ*, *nukat*, *mukhtaṣar*), the function and the content (educating, defending, explaining, criticizing) of commentaries differ. The paper will bring examples demonstrating the politics behind complex commentarial practice and explaining the rise and fall of the production of commentaries in Cairo.

PETRA GOEDEGEBUURE, The University of Chicago,

The Luwian Word for 'city' and the ʾa5-la-nu 'Oaks' from Armi

The variety of Luwian spoken in Hatti and later the polities of southern Anatolia and northern Syria (mid-14th to 7th c. BCE), was written in Anatolian Hieroglyphs, a logosyllabic writing system. In logosyllabic writing systems some words are never fully spelled out. One such lexeme is the Luwian word urbs (fig. 1) 'city, town'. All that the texts show us is that urbs may be followed by the complement -*mi-na/i-* (Trameri 2019). The Luwian lexeme for 'city' is therefore not cognate with Hittite *ḫappir(iy)a-*, nor Lycian A *teteri* and Carian *qrd*. I argue that the full spelling is in fact attested, in the 12th century BCE KARAHÖYÜK inscription from Elbistan: against the current consensus *a-la-mi-ní* in § 1 is not the dative-locative of /alaman-/ 'name' (so Bauer, Sasseville, Steer 2022) but of 'city'.

Fig. 1

URBS

a-la-mi-rⁱ, which I read as /allamminna-/, can be morphologically dissected as follows: the form is a substantivized -*mi* participle, 'fortification', of the verb *allā-* 'to strengthen', denominative of *allā-* 'strength' (which is also the base of Luwian /allummi/ 'strongly'), followed by the denominal possessive morpheme -*(V)nna-*. In other words, a city is a settlement that has fortifications. We can now also understand what the symbol for 'city' depicts: a merlon, a uniquely identifying visual element of a city's fortifications.

I will furthermore argue that *allā-* 'strength' originally meant 'oak', and that the word ultimately derives from a color term: Luwian *allā-* 'oak > strength' < Proto-Anatolian *ĕl-aH- < Proto-Indo-European *h_1ĕl-eh2 'reddishness, brownness, grayness', compare PIE *$h_1$rewdʰ- 'red' > Latin *rōbur* 'oak > strength' (as in English *robust*). I also argue that Akkadian *allānu* 'oak' is a borrowing from Luwian *allā-* 'oak', with the typical suffix -*n(n)-* found in Anatolian loanwords in Old Assyrian and Akkadian (Dercksen 2007). Support for this claim is provided by a new reading in an Ebla text (24th c. BCE), which shows that the ʾa5-

la-nu tree had to be imported from Armi (Winters 2019: 235), a polity that was inhabited by speakers of an Anatolian language. This implies that **allā-*, borrowed as *allānu*, has broken the record for being the oldest known Indo-European stem in a contemporaneous source, and that Luwian was already fully distinct from Hittite by the mid-third millennium BCE.

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ROBERT P. GOLDMAN, University of California, Berkeley
Guardians of Truth: Commentarial Interventions in Support of the Heroes of the *Mahābhārata*

Some studies of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* have recently shifted toward the often-neglected commentaries on and purāṇic re-imaginings of the poems. The commentaries, composed between the twelfth and eighteenth centuries, provide valuable insight into how the commentators, the earliest audiences of the poems to whom we have access, read and interpreted them according to their various philosophical, theological, and literary-critical schools in light of the developing *bhakti* movements. One particular area of interest to the commentators, however, is the defense of the epic heroes as exemplars of the norms of righteous conduct. One such fundamental norm along with those of deference to familial, brahmanical and royal authority, *ānṛśaṃsya*, and adherence to the code of *varṇadharma*, is *satyavāditva*, the obligation to speak only the truth and to hew to one's spoken word regardless of consequences. Both poems present numerous cautionary tales of failures to adhere to this code. I believe that no passage in the works presents as great a challenge to the idea of the truthfulness of the poem's *avatāra*-heroes as the *Pāṇḍavapraveśaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*'s *Virāṭaparvan* or presents the epic commentators with a more sustained and complex challenge than the apparent falsehoods the Pāṇḍava brothers and their wife

tell to King Virāta in their efforts to secure employment his court while concealing their true identities. Eight commentators I have consulted devote enormous learning, ingenuity, and effort in attempting to show that all five of these figures' false accounts of themselves are in fact true. Due to the constraints of time, I will confine myself to the comments of just two commentators, Nīlakaṇṭha and Arjunamiśra, on the tales that two of the Pāṇḍavas Arjuna and Bhīma tell.

RAASHID S. GOYAL, Cornell University
Blackness in the Jāhiliyya and Islam: An Onomastic Inquiry

Caricatures of black Ethiopians and black slaves are of regular occurrence in the classical Islamic sources. A prophetic tradition on the authority of Anas orders believers to "Hear and obey, even if an Ethiopian with a head like a raisin be appointed [as your leader]." However, when Ibrāhīm b. ʿArabī al-Laythī, described as a black man, was governor of al-Yamāma during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Malik b. Marwān, he was ridiculed by poets as "the black king" and as the likeness of "three black crows." Against this background of the common deprecation of blackness, we find the prevalence of names that signify blackness, such as Aswad and Sawda. As observed by M.J. Kister, unpleasant names such as Ẓālim, "oppressor," and Ghurāb, "crow," were given to boys of noble, Arabian lineage, while delightful names, such as Saʿīd, "happy," were generally reserved for slaves and *mawālī* ("The names of our slaves are for us, while our names are for our foes"). Could the name Sawda, attested for Qurashī women from as early as a 3rd-century CE Ḥaḍramī inscription, have also been intended to inspire awe in opponents? Or was blackness perhaps viewed as appealing and beautiful, and hence appropriate for a newborn daughter? In this paper, I examine the changing perceptions of blackness in *jāhilī* and early Islamic given names, as may be ascertained from the Arabian onomasticon, and address several problems of interpretation posed by the literary and epigraphic sources.

SAMUEL M. GRIMES, University of California, Berkeley
The Mystery of the "Sanskrit" calla Names on the Dullu kīrtistambha

This paper examines three allegedly Sanskrit names that appear on a 15th-century *kīrtistambha* inscription at Dullu in the Jumlā region of west Nepal. The inscription records the matrilineage and patrilineage of the king Pṛthivīmalla. These three names, all with the dynastic name *calla* attached, are Krāśicalla, Krādhicalla and Krācalla. A fourth *calla* name that also appears in the regnal list, Aśokacalla, is plainly Sanskritic. These figures feature in several Tibetan annals, but are they are given Tibetan names, rather than phonetic renderings or Tibetan translation of these "Sanskrit" names, with the exception of Aśokacalla (Tib. a sog lde). Previous scholarship (e.g. Tucci, Petech) largely dismissed the three as obscure Sanskrit names, and provided no firm explanation regarding their Tibetic representation in Tibetan annals. I consider the possibility that the three linguistically obscure names appearing on the

Dullu inscription are actually Indic renderings of Tibetan names, and that the *calla* dynasty members themselves were culturally Tibetan stranger kings, with Aśokacalla representing a shift towards a more Indic representation of their dynasty.

ANN GUINAN, The Babylonian Section of the Penn Museum
Turning Old Tricks for a Dirty Dog: An Interpretation of the World's First Bar Joke

Last year a Sumerian "bar joke" was the subject of long threads on Reddit and Twitter.
"A dog walks into a bar and says, 'I cannot see a thing. I'll open this one.'"

The Joke is a Sumerian Proverb, SP 5.77. It was the subject of a WBUR Endless Thread Podcast *What Makes the World's First Bar Joke Funny? No One Knows* (https://www.wbur.org/endlessthread/2022/08/05). The podcasters wanted to know why this joke was funny. They were interested in universality of humor, so they went to the oldest source. The Podcast was recorded at the Babylonian Section, Penn Museum and featured Philip Jones Associate Keeper and Curator and included background comments by Gonzalo Rubio. Jones and Rubio provided examples of proverbs which were actually funny, but the podcasters were ultimately unsatisfied by their interpretation of proverb 5.77. " …. Are we laughing? Mmm…" The podcast ended by asking, …Why does any of this matter? Why do so many scholars, Redditors, Twitterers, Tweeters — why do we all care about figuring this joke out?

I argue that three omens from the SB Omen series, Šumma ālu provide evidence for an interpretation of proverb 5.77 that is actually funny.

CHARLES G. HÄBERL, Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey
"Some Orthographico-Phonetic Problems" of Mandaic Revisited

Mandaic, first attested sometime around or after the 6th century CE, evidently shares numerous Canaanisms with Achaemenid Aramaic (ca. 550–330 BCE), despite the graphic dissimilarities between these scripts and the innovative and otherwise thoroughgoingly phonemic nature of Mandaic orthography. Scholars of Mandaic have long recognized the conservative and even archaizing nature of its literary form, generally attributing them to direct or indirect literary influence from Achaemenid Aramaic, but the gap of nearly a millennium between the floruits of these two languages obliges us to consider alternative and/or intermediary sources for these Canaanisms.

The conservative nature of the Mandaic lexicon may explain some of the forms, e.g., the frequent verb *ktr* 'to detain (d)', which means 'to remain' elsewhere in Aramaic but cf. Hebrew *ktr* 'to surround (d)' and Gəʕəz *ktr* 'curtain off; bar (d)'. Another rich source of such forms in Aramaic more generally is Akkadian, e.g., the Mandaic doublet *ʾbṭ* 'hold fast, fetter (d)' and *ṣbt* 'grab jointly (g)', of which the first represents the authentic Aramaic reflex of ps *ʾʾbṭ*, presumably 'to grasp', cf. Arabic *ḍbṭ* 'grab, seize, hold (g)' and Gəʕəz *ḍbṭ* 'grasp, take hold of, lay hands on (g)', and the second is an indirect reflex of the same root via Akkadian *ṣbt* 'seize, take, hold' with the characteristic dissimilation of emphatics *à la Geers*, despite its somewhat Canaanite-looking appearance, cf. Hebrew *ṣĕḇāṭîm* 'bundles' and the post-biblical Hebrew root *ṣbt* 'join'. A third, more intriguing explanation, entails the same process by which Achaemenid Aramaic initially came by its Canaanisms, namely on the model of a Canaanite language, cf. the Mandaic couplets **zahba** and **dahba** 'gold' or **ziqna** and **diqna** 'beard'. The former forms recall Hebrew *zāhāḇ* 'gold' and *zāqān* 'beard', but the latter reflect the common and expected Aramaic forms *dahḇā* and *daqnā* id.

ARSHAD M. HADJIRIN, University of Cambridge

Ibn al-Khaṭīb and a Novelty in the Art of Writing Preambles

In the Arabic literary tradition, the art of introducing a work of composition through a laudatory preamble developed over many centuries. The process may have started after the early interventions of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/749), who served in the chancery of Banū Umayya at Damascus. However, in the course of time, many individual authors proceeded to evolve an entire convention by which they might compose elaborate preambles consisting of multi-fold praises to God (*al-taḥmīda*), to Muḥammad, the Messenger of God (*al-taṣliyya*), and to his Companions (*al-taraḍḍiyy*). While such preambles continued to be embellished through the use of rhetorical devices, they remained totally disconnected from the main body of their respective works. In this area, the famous vizier of Gharnāṭa, namely Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1374), can be regarded as a pioneer, for he completely re-imagined the purpose of such preambles. In this communication, I shall present an argument, through my study of his compositions, on how he was able to demonstrate—for the first time—that a preamble incorporating the fundamental elements of praise might be adapted, systematically, to convey the chief object of a given work. Thus, it will be shown as to how Ibn al-Khaṭīb offered a subtle, yet important, critique of a long tradition of writing preambles, which had become formulaic during his milieu, and which is likely to have appeared to him as an obsolete artefact of ritualistic expression that could not serve a meaningful purpose in advancing a work of composition. This aspect of preliminaries to a work of composition in the Arabic tradition has not been studied previously, and my work can shed light on how Ibn al-Khaṭīb was at the forefront of reviving the arts.

SOOJUNG HAN, Southwestern University

An Integrated Empire: The "Great Liao" in the Tenth Century

Song dynastic records designated the Kitan's conquest of Later Jin in 947 as an interregnum or "absence of lord in the Central Plain" (*zhongyuan wuzhu* 中原無主), depicting Liao Taizong's ascension as the ruler of the "Middle Kingdom" as inconsequential and illegitimate. This portrayal has become widely accepted with modern historians maintaining the perspective of the Song literati in broadly painting the period between Tang and Song as an interregnum. Should Liao's occupation of North China be considered an interregnum? Why was Liao's occupation of North China so short-lived? In this paper, I explore Taizong's conquest of the Middle Kingdom in three distinct parts. First, I explore the Song records concerning Taizong's motivation behind his conquest of North China by analyzing a conversation between Taizong and his mother, Emperor Dowager Shulü. Second, I examine the process of Taizong's ascension to the throne and his reception by the peoples of North China. Lastly, I reveal his will to continue ruling over the Middle Kingdom following his conquest. By scrutinizing these three main elements of his conquest, I argue that the characterization of Liao Taizong's rule over North China as an interregnum should be reconsidered as he was recognized as a legitimate ruler over the Middle Kingdom, having been accepted as ruler by both Han and non-Han peoples. Although the Taizong's rule over North China was cut short due to his untimely death, this brief rule of the Kitans over the Middle Kingdom marks a watershed eating a precedent for the rule of Steppe peoples over China.

NAOMI HARRIS, The University of Chicago

Literary Devices in the *Ten Year* and *Extensive Annals* of Muršili II

In this paper, my focus is on the rhetoric and literary style of Muršili II's *Ten Year Annals* (CTH 61.I) and the passages in the *Extensive Annals* (CTH 61.II) which recount the same time period and events. Although often used for historical construction, these texts are also ideal for a study of literary features of Hittite historiography. Unlike Cancik, whose comparison of the two texts focuses on differences in reported speech and subject matter, my analysis hinges on how the two annals describe the same historical event in stylistically different ways. Fundamental to the notion of literary style is that composers choose how to convey content through different formal devices, such as metaphor, imagery, and syntax, which create different rhetorical effects in the text. Because the *Ten Year Annals* and the *Extensive Annals* recount the same events in different ways, juxtaposing these two annalistic works offers us an almost unique opportunity to identify with certainty what stylistic choices were made. Muršili II's *Ten Year* and *Extensive Annals* are literarily distinct texts; the literary character of the *Ten Year Annals* is built by repetition, while the *Extensive Annals* use extended literary description. Asking these questions may bring us closer to a future understanding the relationship between these two annals.

ANAHITA HOOSE, University of California, Los Angeles

Bringing the Wind to Earth: A Jain Conception of Hanumān

Whereas in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* Hanumān is the son of the wind by an *apsaras* cursed to live as a monkey, the Jain authors Svayaṃbhūdeva, Raviṣena and Vimalasūri make him the child of human parents separated through his father's pride and passion. Some discussion of the versions found in Vimalasūri's *Paumacariyam* and Raviṣena's *Padmapurāṇa* appears in Chandra (1970) and Clines (2022), but despite the importance of Svayaṃbhūdeva's *Paumacariu* as the oldest extant work in Apabhraṃśa, I know of no existing scholarly analysis of the self-contained narrative of Hanumān's conception that takes up two of its chapters. My presentation will fill this gap and add to the work on this episode produced by Chandra and Clines. I will explore the story's role within the structure of the wider narrative, noting how the innocent suffering of the wrongly accused Añjanā, Hanumān's mother, echoes that of Sītā, while the devastation produced by the intemperateness of his father Pavanañjaya foreshadows the tragedy of Rāvaṇa. I will also discuss how, in contrast to the otherworldly union that produces Vālmīki's Hanumān, the Jain story reflects the social reality of young brides' domination by their mothers-in-law, as Añjanā is cast out into the wild after Pavanañjaya's mother becomes convinced of her unchastity. Chandra, who lists this episode among those through which "the *Paumacariyam* reveals that the members of the family constituted the nucleus of the society in which all were bound by mutual affection and love" (1970: 336), seems to see the text through very rose-tinted glasses indeed.

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GIANNI IZZO, University of Arizona

Mystical Dispatches and Their Decoders: Tafsīr al-ʿAskarī and Early Shīʿī Imāmī Exegesis

This paper addresses the only *tafsīr* purported to have been conveyed directly by a Shīʿī Imām. Despite this distinction, *al-Tafsīr al-mansūb ilā al-Imām al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī*, known popularly as *al-Tafsīr al-ʿAskarī*, remains a contested work. Its transmission chains, relevant *rijāl* information, and the mystical narrative of its provenance, have been met with widespread skepticism by Shīʿī scholars. Meir M. Bar-Asher, the only other secondary source commentator of the text, has surveyed *al-Tafsīr al-ʿAskarī* as part of a larger study on the development and dating of early Imāmī works. However, arguments over authenticity have obscured the *Tafsīr*'s hagiographic and gnostical value in the larger Shīʿī canon. I aim to

avoid the convoluted debates over the *Tafsīr*'s transmission and chronology, and concentrate instead on continuities with, and points of departure from, antecedent Shīʿī collections, as well as Jewish sacred texts. I present the earliest collection of Imāmate traditions, *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays*, as prefiguring the *Tafsīr* in terms of origination, reception, and content, and I offer comparison with a Jewish precedent, the *Sefer Ha-Bahir*, in regard to these same categories. I analyze several of the *Tafsīr*'s allegorical and mystical interpretations that illuminate this relation to its scriptural forebearers, including 1) understanding of the Qurʾān earned through the *wilāya* of the Prophet's Household, 2) the thaumaturgical abilities of ʿAlīd intimates, 3) the story of Adam's transgression and the tree of knowledge, and 4) the equation of the sacred ground of Masjid al-Aqṣā in Jerusalem with the Masjid al-Ḥarām and Masjid al-Kūfa. These idiosyncratic features, some indicating a heterodox or "exaggerated" (*ghuluww*) character, resuscitate Jewish connections and betoken early Shīʿī exegesis, distant from *al-Tafsīr al-ʿAskarī*'s predecessors and abandoned by the post-classical period.

STEPHANIE W. JAMISON, University of California, Los Angeles
"Overslaughing" in Vedic and Dharma Literature: Ritual, Mythological, and Legal Continuities and Disjunctions

The practice of marriage out of order (called "overslaughing" by William Dwight Whitney in his Atharva Veda translation) -- younger siblings marrying before their older siblings, especially younger brothers before older ones, but also younger sisters before older ones -- merits surprisingly severe condemnation in various dharma texts (e.g., ĀpDS II.12.22, VDS I.188, MDŚ III.171–73, XI.61, etc.). These provisions are often found in association with seemingly unrelated provisions: e.g., against sleeping after sunrise or having bad nails or black teeth. As always, such apparently ill-assorted lists in the dharma texts invite investigation into their possible sources and the reasons for the association of their elements, and in this case these sources can be identified deep in the Veda, with mythological narratives incorporating these elements already in Black Yajur Veda prose (KS XXXI.7, etc.) and penances prescribed for such offenses already in the Atharva Veda (esp. AVP IX.32.7). This presentation will explore the continuities between the Vedic and dharmic treatments and also the changes in terminology and conception between these textual strata.

YUANQIU JIANG, Rutgers University
Discovering a Voice: Revisiting the Vocality of *Yuefu* Poetry'

The term *yuefu*—referring to both the Music Bureau, a Han (202 BC – 220 AD) institution according to most historical records, and Music Bureau poetry (*yuefu shi*), which is often assumed to have existed along with the institution—has been a mainstay for many iterations of Chinese literary history. The current view of how Classical Chinese poetry developed would not be complete if one does not account for the

role of *yuefu*, often credited as one of the origins of pentasyllabic poetry. In the past three decades, however, scholars have challenged many long-held views on *yuefu* poetry. In particular, various critics have suggested a departure from *yuefu*'s oral association and urged us to treat the genre in the form of how it survived: writing.

This paper examines a set of *yuefu* poems under the collective title "Ever Since You Left," which flourished in the Southern Dynasties (420-589). These poems were inspired by two conversational couplets in Xu Gan's (171-218) "Chamber Thoughts." However, Xu's work is not conventionally categorized as *yuefu*. The later poets singled out the most conversational, yet most evocative, lines in Xu Gan's poem; in this light, they discovered a powerful lyrical voice that already existed in Xu Gan's composition and was sustained by their own rewritings. Perhaps it is also this conspicuous lyrical voice that contributes to the generic status of these rewritings as *yuefu* poems, in contrast to the generic affiliation of Xu Gan's original. The genre's association with vocality, a trait often presumed to have existed before the poems' written forms, therefore, becomes a *post hoc* criterion, based on which pieces of writing could be selected.

DAVID JONES, Independent Researcher
    Decoding China's Earliest Documents

The elite aristocracy of early China considered their bronze ritual vessels to be their prized possessions. Our team includes Dr. Kirk Edney, Agriculture professor at Texas A&M, Tony Cavell President of American Association for Geodetic Surveying, Bob Pratt, Yale University and Bruce Jones Taiwan National University, retired Independent Researcher. We have used high resolution photography to decode over sixty symbols on the bronzes of the Shang and Western Zhou Dynasties, specifically the *gui, ding, due, jia,* and *zun,* revealing that they were maps used to document land grants from emperors. Our focus is on the bronzes that fall into Max Loehr's Styles I-IV and on to the era around King Mu of the Western Zhou. This information has given us insight into the land management practices that incorporated sustainable and highly productive agriculture in early China. The bronzes document information several hundred years before any surviving written documents.

HUREYRE KAM, Yale University

The System of "Dual Epistemology" in Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī's (d. 333/944)
Kitāb al-Tawḥīd

It is a well known conception that al-Māturīdī, in his epistemological framework, draws from three wells in his search for knowledge. These are: a) sense perception (*ʿiyān/ḥawāss*), b) testimony/reports (*samʿ/akhbār*), and c) reason (*ʿaql/naẓar*). We learn this from his introduction to the *Kitāb al-Tawḥīd* ('The Book of Unity'), where he lays out his epistemological system, which functions as a programmatic framework to his arguments and the theological system put forward in his book.

While the majority of scholars hold the opinion that al-Māturīdī presents only one epistemology for all questions and interpret the differences in his terminology for the different sources – *ʿiyān/ḥawāss*, *samʿ/akhbār*, *ʿaql/naẓar* – as synonyms, I disagree. I hold the position that the usage of differing terminologies refers to two distinct epistemological frameworks, in which he differentiates between the means to gain knowledge of the *true religion* (first part of his introduction: two sources of knowledge) and the ways to gain knowledge in general and in sciences (second part of his introduction: three sources). I call this twofold approach of his 'The dual epistemology'.

TYNAN KELLY, University of Chicago

Did the Prophet Speak Prose? The Position of *Ḥadīth* in Arabic Literary Criticism

Arabic literary critics of the 3rd/9th-5th/11th centuries consistently place poetry above prose in terms of aesthetics. If the semantics are equal, these critics say, then the constraints of rhyme and meter not only make the composition of a line of poetry more admirable but make the content of the poetry more striking and moving for the listeners. However, this attitude quickly runs up against the principle of the Qurʾān's inimitability and the Prophet's supreme eloquence: if humankind is incapable of producing its like or something superior, how can poetry be superior to prose if prose includes the Qurʾān and the Prophet's speech (*ḥadīth*, in Arabic)? In this paper, I examine several prominent works of literary criticism from this period to show that, rather than attempting to categorize the Qurʾān and the Prophet's speech as prose (which would require poetry to be demoted), these critics established a special category for the Qurʾān and *ḥadīth* that could be structurally and aesthetically separated from the rest of Arabic prose. This category, in turn, wielded significant influence on the ethical outlook of Arabic literary criticism. Ultimately, I argue that the existence of this category established a set of theological and aesthetic parameters

against which much of Arabic literature was compared and evaluated, whether in a "secular" or Islamic setting. By acknowledging the extent of *ḥadīth's* influence in Arabic literary criticism in particular, we are better able to evaluate the theological and ethical dimensions of Arabic literature, whether in a secular or religious context.

MARTIN KERN, Princeton University

The Anhui University *Guofeng* Manuscript: What It Tells Us and What It Doesn't

The looted bamboo manuscript dated to around 300 BCE that in 2015 came into the possession of Anhui University and was published in 2019 contains fifty-seven poems known from six of the fifteen *Guofeng* sections in the received *Maoshi* version of the *Shijing* (*Classic of Poetry*). Soon after the scholars from Anhui had published the edited and transcribed text, scholars noted the various ways in which it matches the received *Shijing* versions of the poems. Since then, hundreds of studies—most of them in Chinese, but a few also in English—have been published on various aspects of individual poems, the overall manuscript, and questions of *Shijing* transmission in Warring States China. No few scholars have taken the manuscript as "proof" for the early existence and consistently written transmission of the received *Maoshi* since at least the fourth century BCE. Challenging such a conclusion and its underlying methodology, the present communication succinctly revisits specific phenomena of the manuscript: paleographic and phonological aspects, textual arrangement and lexical variants, punctuation, and other details. As an alternative to existing scholarship, the analysis of these textual aspects will lead to questions about the actual practices of textual production, its materiality and social context, and matters of scribal agency and audience—altogether, the sociology of text.

ALEXANDER KEY, Stanford University

Two Problems with the *Dalāʾil al-Iʿjāz* of ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī

This paper will address two of contemporary scholarship's problems with ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's famous work on syntax in poetry and Quranic inimitability: *Dalāʾil al-Iʿjāz*. The first problem is the manuscripts. Investigation of the quire structure and transmission options for the Bursa witness Hüseyin Çelebi 913 makes it appear possible that this witness is later than its colophon claims, while other witnesses in Istanbul and Tehran have later dates but may well be earlier. What does this mean for our understanding of the text, the cohesion of the work, and the debates about its reception? In the presentation I will propose a tentative stemma and briefly display the key witnesses, none of which were used in the existing standard printed editions. I will explain how the sustained scholarly interest in the work across centuries means that, despite this revised stemma, both Rashīd Riḍā and Muḥammad Shākir's editions can be used and should be respected.

The second problem faced by the field is translation. The process of translating al-Jurjānī's ideas about how poetry works into our dominant language of scholarship, English, requires us to translate the poetry itself. How should this be done? As a field, we have tended to privilege attempts to capture the full conceptual range of the images in Arabic poetry, which has required parentheses, brackets, and extended paraphrase. This has a cost, however, when the text under consideration combines poetry with literary critical analysis that keeps telling the reader how beautiful and impactful the lines being quoted are. A conscientious translator of poetry risks making the critic look foolish if the translator is unable to replicate the affect claimed for the lines in question. I will explore some alternative solutions, argue in favor of latitude, and consider the relationship between philology, trust, and authority.

DIVYA KUMAR-DUMAS, New York University, & RHYNE KING, Freie Universität Berlin

Roads, Seals, and Authenticity in the Indus River Valley from the Persepolis Fortification Archive to Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*

Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* describes a carefully monitored road system on which travelers needed authorizations from a governor sealed by the governor's administrative staff. The security of the sealing system was paramount, with great lengths made to protect its authenticity described in detail. This paper will argue, based on documents from the Persepolis Fortification Archive (509-493 BCE), that this system, as described in the *Arthaśāstra*, was inherited from the Achaemenid imperial road system. The Achaemenid road system was strikingly similar to the system described in the *Arthaśāstra*. In particular, the measures imperial authorities took to guarantee the authenticity of travelers' documentation resemble practices outlined in this Sanskrit work.

Archaeologists have found increasing evidence of the Achaemenid impact in the Indus River valley in recent years. Still, studies of the afterlife of Achaemenid institutions in South Asia have only just begun. Based on recorded trips between Persepolis and the Indus River valley, we argue that practices implanted into the region from the late sixth to fourth century BCE continued into the period of the *Arthaśāstra* (dating disagreements notwithstanding). In this paper, we will first describe the evidence for the Achaemenid road system of the Indus valley in the Persepolis Fortification Archive. Second, we will compare this evidence to the road system described in the *Arthaśāstra*. Aspects of Achaemenid institutions were maintained under Mauryan rule, and the road system, as described by the *Arthaśāstra*, is one of the clearest examples.

JACOB HALEVI LASSNER, Northwestern University

Did Maimonides Describe Muhammad as "Madman"? An Arcane Note on Muslim Polemics and Jewish Apologetics

In the 12th century CE the great Jewish philosopher, scientist, and legal scholar Maimonides (Musa Maimuni) received word from the Jews of Yemen requesting a responsum concerning a matter that seriously concerned them. A member of the community declared himself to be the long-awaited Messiah who would, according to Jewish tradition initiate the redemption of the Jews after a long period of subjugation to foreign rule going back to Graeco-Roman times. The local Yemenites were no doubt driven by concerns as to the authenticity of the claims and possible repercussions with the Muslim authorities.

Maimonides replied in a Judeo-Arabic document labeled "The Epistle to the Jews of Yemen (*Risala ila Yahud al-Yaman*)---in its various Hebrew translations as the *Iggeret Taymon*. in reviewing the qualifications required of the genuine Messiah, Maimonides mentions the Muslim prophet Muhammad and describes him as a *m-s[sh]-g[j]*–which the Hebrew translators of the time understood to be a "madman" based on biblical and rabbinic sources. Is it possible that Maimonides would have been so bold as to refer directly to Muhmmad as mad even in a Judeo-Arabic text, or is the expression *m-s[sh]-g[j]*, 'a clever play on words linked to the rules of Jewish responses to Muslim polemics.

EVAN LEBARRE, The University of Texas at Austin
The *brahmacārín* (student) as a Kuru Educational Innovation

The *brahmacārín*, the student of ancient South Asian sacrificial poetry and ritual, is first attested in the late *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda*. This paper attempts to situate these attestations within the Kuru dynasty. During Kuru rule, there was a political consolidation of power among previously disparate clans. The compilation of the *Ṛgveda* was a product of this time, and there were attempts to make drastic social and economic changes to solidify the new political consolidation. In order to make the *Ṛgveda* into the common property of the consolidated clans, there was also an attempt to replace the old intra-clan educational model by one that was not governed by clan boundaries. I argue that the *brahmacārín* was the Kuru innovation designed to establish a class-based inter-clan model of education. I examine the sources for evidence of both the Kuru political consolidation and tensions in divergent models of education.

This paper places Michael Witzel's and Theodore Proferes's work on the Kurus and Proferes's work on the poetic tropes of royalty in conversation with Mieko Kajihara's, Walter Kaelber's, and Jan Gonda's work on the *brahmacārín*. It also builds on Stephanie Jamison's work on *Ṛgveda* 10.109 by highlighting the role of *brahmacārín* in the hymn and its Kuru connections. I conclude that the *brahmacārín*'s qualities in the late *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda* are rhetorically inflected by Kuru strategies to effect social, economic, and educational transformations.

SHUO LIANG, Arizona State University

Reaching the Masses: Self-publishing *Exposition of Twenty-one Histories*

This paper examines Lü Fu's (1671-1742) self-publishing of *Exposition of Twenty-one Histories (Nianyi shi yanyi)*. Lü Fu renders historical events starting from the myth of Pangu to the fall of the Ming dynasty and the establishment of the Qing dynasty in the novel. He also weaves a variety of knowledge, including reign titles and reign periods of past dynasties, family precepts, anecdotes of ghosts and deities, weather prediction, printing technology, and information on foreign lands, into the last four chapters. Lü Fu not only compiled but also self-published the novel. Rather than using woodblocks to print his book, Lü Fu used clay blocks (*niban*). In the novel, he even included a thorough, in-depth introduction to his printing technology, which he claimed to have invented. Building upon previous studies of technological aspects of Lü Fu's printing technology, such as how inventive it was and how it operated, this paper explores the motivation at work in printing a novel on history using the clay block printing technique. As demonstrated in this paper, Lü Fu's printing endeavor reveals his agenda of educating the general public. He adopts the *yanyi* genre to compile his novel. He considers his novel a popular exposition (*tongsu yanyi*), a novel that can "reach the masses" (*tongsu*). By unpacking the ideas of *yanyi* and *tongsu*, this paper shows Lü Fu expects his readers, the general public, to learn specific moral knowledge and become a moral person from reading his book. This paper aims to expand our understanding of self-publishing during the High Qing by situating Lü Fu's printing of his novel in the context of book culture. Self-publishing is a way for Lü Fu to educate and shape individuals in a society with desirable qualities.

HAN HSIEN LIEW, Arizona State University

"The Caliphate Will Last for Thirty Years": Mamluk-Era Political Discourses on a Prophetic Hadith

The hadith, "The caliphate will last for thirty years, followed by kingship," forms the crux of Muslim debates over the distinction between a legitimate caliphate and worldly kingship. Regarding its origins, Muhammad Qasim Zaman has argued that the hadith began to be circulated in the eighth century to legitimize the position of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib as one of the four Rāshidūn caliphs, bringing the Rāshidūn period to thirty years.

Examining chronicles, theological writings, and hadith commentaries, my paper is less concerned with the hadith's provenance and more with how Sunni thinkers during the Mamluk period (c. 1260–1517) invoked it when addressing political and historical questions after the extinction of the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad in 1258. Some theologians used it for polemical purposes in defending the collective reign of the four Rāshidūn caliphs against Shīʿī claims that ʿAlī was the rightful immediate successor to Muḥammad. The historian Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373) mustered it in support of his argument that al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī (d. 670) was a true caliph, whereas Muʿāwiya (d. 680) was only a king, even though al-Ḥasan did not hold effective power. Other scholars such as Ibn Taymiyya (d. 1328), al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390), and al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418) struggled with the hadith's literal meaning but hesitated to draw a clear demarcating line between the Rāshidūn and post-Rāshidūn caliphs. My paper argues that these discussions often alluded to debates concerning the qualifications an ideal caliph ought to possess: justice, piety, and the consensus of the Muslim community. Indeed, the Mamluk-era political discourses that emerged out of the "thirty-years hadith" show that Sunni thinkers continued to hold diverse opinions about the nature of the caliphate during a time when an effective caliph had ceased to exist in the Islamic world.

I-CHIN LIN, Arizona State University
> Wine Shop and Pleasure: The Urban Space and Literary Writings towards the Northern Song Period

During the Northern Song Dynasty (960-1127), many large-scale wine shops started appearing in the flourishing capital of Kaifeng due to the development of commerce and material prosperity. These wine shops became essential city landmarks, symbolized the city's wealth, and connected to the development of commercial consumption. Among wine shops, the most well-known and sumptuous was the Wineshop of Pan's Loft, depicted in the *biji* material *Record of the Splendor of the Capital* (*Dongjing meng Hua lu*) written by Meng Yuanlao (1090-1150). Like the Wineshop of Pan's Loft, the wine shop presented the audience with a full spectrum of metropolis life and the flow of activity between food and performance; most importantly, they created a significant public space and social area for public life and mass communication. Citizens from different regions wandered a much broader reach, remembering the city through food, spectacled and sensual pleasures. In the Song literati's daily accounts and Liu Yong's (984-1053) *ci*, they recorded the close relationship between the intelligentsia and singsong girls, which reflected an interest in the valorization of material emblems of success and aesthetic taste of pursuing the ideal affection. Moreover, under the consuming public space, the wine shops inspired a new writing style that literati not merely created literary writings for self-entertainment but for commercial purposes. This paper will thus examine how the Wineshop of Pan's Loft became a new public cultural space and influenced new urban literary creations in the Kaifeng of the Northern Song period.

MI LIU, Arizona State University

The Order of Agrarian Society Will Stand: A Theatrical Representation of the Buffer Zone between Central Land and Nomadic Culture in Yuan *Zaju* Play *Zhang Zhong*'s *Pastoral Joy Hall at the Estuary*

Pastoral Joy Hall unfolds against a background of the north China under Jurchen rule, and it is a common story of a husband's partiality: a Jurchen official's concubine commits adultery with steward and plots to murder him, but when the conspiracy is exposed, the official attempts to bribe the judge to exonerate the concubine who he favors and make a scapegoat of his wife. What is unusual about the play is that, while the leading actor or actress often plays the same character throughout a Yuan *zaju* play, the *Pastoral Joy Hall* male lead plays three widely different characters: the official's father-in-law, the official's stable boy and the lower-level court clerk. From witnessing the adulterers to trying the case, they are involved in different phases of the case, but one of coherent elements is that they are all against the official favoring his concubine. I argue that, with its elaborate character setting, the play is actually a rare theatrical representation of the buffer zone between the Central Land and the nomadic land, where the Central Land social order is staged to stand on its agrarian foundation despite the impact of nomadic culture. I will interpret that the three characters are spotlighted to be respectively native Hebei (where the story happens), Shanxi and Shanxi, which areas form the north margin of the agrarian Central Land. Crucially, although their language and lifestyle show many nomadic customs, they still appreciate farming and uphold the system that sustains an agrarian society. The key evidence is that the justice they achieve in the legal case is very much of preventing the official from severing the proper marital tie with his wife and keeping the unfaithful concubine who has the same surname as his and will certainly mess up his clan in one way or another.

YUNXIN LI, Simmons University

Negotiating Family-State Boundaries: Reexamining the *Gong-si* Discourses in the Han

The concepts of *gong* and *si*, often roughly translated as "public" and "private", were deeply entangled with family-state relations in early imperial China. Whereas previous scholars like Ogata Isamu consider the state as *gong* and the family as *si*, I argue that *gong-si* did not neatly correspond with state-family or public-private. While *gong* often denoted one's duties to the state, to all the people and to moral righteousness, it was also used to characterize the duties owed to one's lineage and to older generations in a family. *Si* usually contained a derogatory connotation, meaning personal desires, connections based on emotional attachment, collusion between cliques, actions against the law, etc.. Since *gong* and *si* were relational terms, they cannot be equated to fixed entities or spatial units. Thus, the *gong-si* discourse in the Han varied by context, applied asymmetrically to different groups, and changed over time. Given their

flexible implications, different political actors–emperors, palace women, imperial affines, literati and bureaucrats–were able to utilize the *gong-si* framework to negotiate the boundaries among the state, the family, and the individual, thus advancing their respective political goals.

LIYAO CHEN, University of Washington

The Adaptation and Use of Sinograms in Korean *hyangka* Poems

This paper examines the reception of vernacular Chinese literature, especially novels and short stories produced in the Míng明 (1368-1644) and Qīng清 (1644-1911) periods, in Japan from a linguistic perspective. Different from previous studies, this paper focuses on the linguistic aspect of the process of rendering vernacular Chinese texts into Japanese. There are two major parts in this paper, and each part can be further divided into two sections. The first part provides the broad theoretical and historical background of this topic. It first discusses the issue of *kundoku*訓讀 ('reading by gloss'), the traditional Japanese way of approaching texts written in the language of Classical Chinese (*wényán*文言) as opposed to vernacular Chinese (*báihuà*白話). This is a critical phenomenon in Japanese literary history, and there have been numerous discussions on the characterization of *kundoku* and its relationship with "translation" in the way it is generally understood in the modern world. This part then outlines the history of vernacular Chinese literature in Japan. The second part is the linguistic analysis and comparison of specific texts from Chinese vernacular works and their corresponding Japanese editions. It first draws examples cited in previous studies to show the various ways in which the source texts were rendered. After that, the focus shifts to the novel *The Water Margin*水滸傳 (C. *Shuǐhǔzhuàn* / J. *Suikoden*). The language of this novel is vernacular in general, especially in its narrative part, but it also contains classical-language elements, such as chapter titles and proses. Correspondingly, in the Japanese editions, the latter is usually rendered in the *kundoku* style and the former shows more tendency to be rendered in more flexible translation.

NICHOLAS KYLE LONGWORTH, University of Chicago

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and Cultural Capital in Action

ʿAbd al-Hamid (d. 750) was an administrator for the final Umayyad Caliph, but his legacy far outshines his bureaucratic aptitude. Medieval and contemporary scholars recognize ʿAbd al- Hamid as a vanguard in the Arabic epistolary genre and influential example of Arabic eloquence. In modern scholarship, his letters have been studied as examples of early Arabic *adab* and an effort to demarcate a professional identity for scribes in the Islamic chancellery. These readings have approached ʿAbd al-Hamid's "Letter to the Secretaries" (*risāla ilā al-kuttāb*) as a type of handbook for future aspiring administrators, one which champions the values and skills that would facilitate a career within the bureaucracy. In my paper, in contrast, I focus on reading the letter as an effort to articulate the scribe as an existing member of the

elite, not an aspiring one. As a result, the methods 'Abd al-Hamid employs to do so provide a unique window into boarder culture of elites in the late Umayyad period, and not only an educational blueprint for aspiring secretaries.

In the paper, I explore how this culture was put into "action" by highlighting instances of the values and educational priorities espoused in 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's private letters that are mobilized in his letters intended for public audiences. The connection between abstract educational maxims and concrete examples of the scribal craft in action demonstrates an important aspect about the late Umayyad "elite" culture: namely, that it was neither hegemonic nor exclusive. Rather, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's emphasis on studying the Qur'ān and Arabic was not simply an effort to legitimize the privileged position of administrators in society—they had real world application. Thus, we are able both to recognize administrators as members of the elite and appreciate the wide range of actors in Umayyad society that helped shape the cultural and political ethos of the period.

TIMOTHY LORNDALE, University of Toronto, Mississauga
> The Making of a *Mahābhārata* Tradition among Digambara Jains in Medieval Karṇāṭaka

As early as the 8th century, whenever telling the story of Neminātha, the 22nd *Tīrthaṅkara*, works of *kāvya* interwove the Kuruvaṃśa into the larger narrative. In the so-called Jaina *Mahābhārata*s, the war between the Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas is reframed within the epic struggle between Kṛṣṇa and Jarāsandha, two of the *Vāsudeva*s and *Prativāsudeva*s found in Jain universal history. In Digambara literary culture, this story became very popular in the medieval and early modern periods. Many versions of it were composed in Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa, as well as in regional languages like Kannada. While over the last 30 years there has been a rise in research on the Jain versions of the *Mahābhārata* in Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa (Cort; de Clercq; Geen; Jaini), with the exception of T.V. Venkatachala Sastry's dissertation and a survey-chapter by Robert Zydenbos, scholarship has yet to map the growth and development of the *Mahābhārata* epic among Jains in the Kannada speaking regions of South India.

In this presentation, I will report some initial findings that stem from a new research project on the Jain *Mahābhārata*s composed in old and middle Kannada. I explore a corpus of six works from the 12th to the 16th centuries, written in the wake of Pampa's *Vikramārjunavijaya* and Ranna's *Sāhasabhīmavijaya*. I contend that these works expand beyond the confines of archetypal works like those of Punnāṭa Jinasena (783 CE) and Guṇabhadra (897 CE) to create full-fledged tellings of the epic within a Jain milieu. I argue that these Kannada materials draw on themes and narratives that are unique to the *Mahābhārata*s of Pampa and Ranna, the earliest tellings of the epic in the language. In order to demonstrate this, I highlight the unique take of the Kannada Jain tradition on Aśvatthāman's nightraid on the Pāṇḍava camp.

DIEGO LOUKOTA, University of California, Los Angeles
Khādalik Revisited, or Trying to Make Sense of a Myriad Tiny Paper Scraps

The ancient site of Khādalik, near Khotan, was visited by early explorers of the Tarim basin such as Ellsworth Huntington (1876–1947) and Aurel Stein (1862–1943). We owe the best report of the site to Stein, who found a shrine with a triple circumambulation path scattered with small fragments of sacred Buddhist books in Sanskrit, Khotanese, Chinese, and Tibetan. Stein alone brought about 2500 of those fragments to the collection of the British Library; other collections also possess manuscript fragments from the Khādalik shrine. Although the Sanskrit and Khotanese fragments have been partially studied and edited, they have been considered separately, while the less numerous Chinese and Tibetan fragments have received little attention. All in all, the fragments have not been considered as a textual corpus that can tell us about the circulation of Buddhist literature in Khotan, and questions such as its chronological range remain very much in the air. Furthermore, Stein's suggestion that the books were deposited as offerings in the layered circumambulation path of the shrine has not been evaluated in recent times. This paper attempts to present a survey and characterization of the corpus, lending corroboration to Stein's interpretation of the archeological evidence.

TIMOTHY LUBIN, Washington and Lee University
Hellenistic Precedents for Immunity Clauses in Indian Grant Charters?

The religious endowment charters for Buddhist and Brahmin beneficiaries that "suddenly" began to appear in western India in the first century CE by Indian and Indo-Scythian kings have tended to be seen as a wholly novel development, though I have argued that the fiscal privileges mentioned in the Emperor Asoka's inscription at Lumbini constitutes a forerunner three centuries earlier. No one has noted the parallels with immunities granted to temples (and the surrounding city in the case of urban temples) by Greek and Hellenistic rulers. The terms of used differ of course, but the telltale clue is the fact that, across all these regions, the granted privileges frequently combine jurisdictional privilege, immunities to taxation and compulsory provision of labor, goods, and services, and/or other privileges of autonomy - in Greek, *hikesia, osylio, ateleia,* and/or *autonomia.* I hypothesize that, besides developing an Indic epigraphic practice initially inspired by Achaemenid and Hellenistic models, Indian rulers may also have adapted some of the conventions of religious grants from the same sources. Interestingly, Indian and later European grant charters seem subsequently to have followed a wholly independent but partly parallel development from this shared basis. Although one aspect of juridical immunity - the right to provide asylum - is hard to identify in the South Asian records, I have found traces of it in some Buddhist grants, and a seeming revival (or local analogue) in Old Javanese charters. I close by reflecting on the implications of such charters for religion-and-state relations.

SCOTT LUCAS, University of Arizona

Unveiling *al-Kashshāf*: Insights from the Islamic Manuscripts Collection of the Princeton University Library

Mahmud al-Zamakhsharī's Qur'an commentary, *al-Kashshāf*, is one of the most famous and controversial works of Qur'anic exegesis. Most Western research on *al-Kashshāf* has focused on its Muʿtazili content, ignoring the question of which structural features distinguish it from other commentaries. This paper draws upon my examination of 21 manuscripts of *al-Kashshāf* held in the Islamic Manuscripts collection of the Princeton University Library. This corpus of *Kashshāf* manuscripts, which was not discussed by Andrew Lane in his 2006 monograph on *al-Kashshāf*, contains several early codices, such as a volume copied at the Mustanṣiriyya Madrasa in Baghdad in 652/1255 and a complete, four volume copy made in Mosul in 732-3/1331-3.

After introducing this fascinating unstudied corpus of Princeton *Kashshāf* manuscripts, I argue that these manuscripts highlight two central features of *al-Kashshāf*: its extremely minimalist citation of the Qur'an text; and the centrality of its question-and-answer format. I argue that *al-Kashshāf* should be considered an early example of a *mamzūj* commentary, in which the Qur'anic passages are nearly invisible, as they are woven into al-Zamakhsharī's text. This contrasts with the extensive citation of the Qur'an in most mid-length *tafsīr* works. This core aspect of *al-Kashshāf* is concealed by modern print editions of it, in which editors reinsert the missing Qur'anic text. The premodern copyists also frequently enlarge the words *fa-in qult/qultu* throughout *al-Kashshāf*, which draws the reader's attention to al-Zamakhsharī's creative solutions to thousands of questions the Qur'an text raises. It was these proposed solutions that stimulated centuries of exegetical debate, which helped render *al-Kashshāf* indispensable for all serious scholars.

LUYAO LI, University of Chicago

Individualistic Harmony in the *Zhuangzi*

Harmony (he 和) is one of the most cherished values in Chinese culture, not only in Confucianism but also in Daoism. This paper will argue that in contrast to Confucian holistic harmony, Zhuangzian harmony is an individualistic harmony. Chenyang Li proposes that Confucian harmony is holistic harmony. It allows certain types of sacrifice at lower levels to achieve harmonies at higher levels. Therefore, it carries an inherent risk of sacrificing individuals and smaller units for the sake of the larger and the whole. If unchecked, it could lead to a rather totalitarian philosophy.[2] Faced with this deficiency of holistic harmony, Zhuangzi's individualistic philosophy can provide an alternative solution.

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[2] Chenyang Li, *The Confucian Philosophy of Harmony*, 2104, p14.

This essay focus on exploring the individualistic characteristic of Zhuangzian harmony and tries to illustrate how it works. It first interprets the problem of holistic harmony in Confucianism and the possible way for Zhuangzi to deal with it. Then, it proposes analysis of individual harmony and its distinctive features of the individuals there. Finally, this study explores responding as a way for individuals to harmonize in the *Zhuangzi*.

In conclusion, Zhuangzian individual harmony can avoid the deficiency brought by the holistic harmony. Individuals are no longer divided in different rankings in the ritual system and can be scarified when needed. In this case, individuals are not merely the objects and can be the subject to harmonize with others. Even though, they will not harmonize in a domaining way but a responding way, which following others but not loss themselves in the process. This kind of harmonizing is not limited to several individuals and opens the door for all them. Individuals can harmonize with each other in the society without leading by the rituals or the lord.

PETER MACHINIST, Harvard University

Philology: Past, Present, Prospects (2021 Presidential Address)

Arguably no word more appropriately characterizes the work of the American Oriental Society since its founding in 1842 than "philology". "Philology" bespeaks the orientation, the methods, the visions of the Society–and so what may be the ties that bind the Society's diverse fields and interests together. It is the aim of this paper to trace, however briefly, something of the history of this word–its sundry definitions, usages, and practices, its moments of dominance and triumphs, and its moments of decline and even rejection–in order to see whether the word can still offer value and guidance not only for the Society, but for scholarship, especially humanistic scholarship, in general.

ALICE MANDELL, Johns Hopkins University

From Speech Communities to Script Communities: New Directions in the Study of the Amarna Letters

Scholars have proposed different sociolinguistic contexts for the unique use of cuneiform in the Canaanite Amarna Letters. Much analysis has focused upon classifying the language of these letters as arising from a particular contact situation between Akkadian and Canaanite speakers and writers, and/or situating its unique forms in contexts of scribal education. Canaano- or Canaanite Akkadian has been analyzed as a mixed language; a logographic system used to write Canaanite; and a stabilized, scribal interlanguage. Yet, the forms of language in the letters are just one facet of the unique literacy practices manifest in these letters. The present paper will argue for an approach complementary to the linguistic study of the

tablets, which situates them in cuneiform "script communities." Approaching cuneiform tablets as scribal artifacts—things made by and for scribes—highlights the varied semiotic modes through which the letters communicated. A more holistic approach, that examines their layout and design, and the scribes' use of organizational and rhetorical strategies paves the way for a more nuanced understanding of the diversity in Canaanite scribalism during the Amarna Period. Additionally, this approach enables us to reconstruct moments of contact between scribes, and to begin to reconstruct their professional networks.

THOMAS J. MAZANEC, University of California, Santa Barbara
Constructing Yao Chong (651–721) in Medieval Literary Allusions

The Tang statesman Yao Chong (651–721) has long been highly regarded for his remarkable official career as chancellor under four emperors. What is less well known is how his reputation as the paradigmatic capable Tang minister came to be established. This presentation—which builds upon my 2022 Western Branch presentation—will trace this process, starting with the fragmentary "spirit-path stele" (*shendaobei*) written for him by Cui Mian (673–739), and moving through allusions in poetry, popular ditties, literati letters, and official documents over three centuries, culminating with his two official biographies in the *Old* and *New Tang History*. This paper finds that, while Yao Chong was held in high esteem from soon after his death, it was mainly during times of political crisis—such as the post-An Lushan restoration in the late eighth century, the reign of child-emperor Jingzong in the 820s, and the collapse of the Tang in the late ninth century—that his capable governance during the early reign of Emperor Xuanzong was upheld as a model, in contrast to the present. Having been established as *the* exemplary minister, his reputation further narrowed with the rise of *guwen* in the Northern Song, when he was made to fit a procrustean, Neo-Confucian model of official service. This process has implications not only for historiography (as explored by Charles Hartman, Anna Shields, and others), but also for literary studies, since Yao Chong represented an alternative model for how a critic might conduct a biographical reading of poetry.

MARK MCCLISH, Northwestern University
Two Registers of Religion in the *Arthaśāstra*

Although religious policy in the *Arthaśāstra* has been explored in a number of studies (e.g., DIKSHITAR 1929; NARAIN 1983; MABBETT 2010), no one to my knowledge has recgonized the presence of two distinct registers through which the constituents of the religious milieu are represented in the text. This paper will attempt to demonstrate the existence of, and relationship between, these two independent registers of religion in the *Arthaśāstra*.

The first is based on the distinction between two Vedic religious figures, the *tapasvin* (ascetic) and *śrotriya* (learned Brahmin), a pair that recur together throughout the *Arthaśāstra*. To this pair is added a third, namely the *pāṣaṇḍa*, which I argue does, indeed, refer in the *Arthaśāstra* to non- Vedic religious communities (KANGLE 1965). The elements of this triad are most often deployed collectively or in pairs, usually in instances where the (differential) rights of religious communities are advised. The second register, largely independent of the first, is expressed in forms of the verb *pra+vraj*, such as *pravrajita*, the religious practitioner who has "gone forth" from domestic life. This register tends to elide differences between religious communities, used when conceptualizing them collectively for the purposes of policy.

Together, I argue, these two registers exhibit a shared (though not identical) sense of what constitutes a "religious" figure or community, albeit one that is not expressed through an abstract conception thereof, as is found in Aśoka's use of the term *pāṣaṇḍa* (FREIBERGER 2013; MAES 2015; BRERETON 2019). Instead, these two registers give us a sense of the multiple modes through which the constituents of the religious milieu came into recognition for the composers of the *Arthaśāstra* as well as the kinds of engagements therewith that each might have afforded. I will also reflect on the origins of these representational modes as well as their implication for our understanding of religious pluralism in ancient India.

JAMES MCHUGH, University of Southern California
> Alcoholic Drinks in the *Kulārṇava Tantra* – a Close Reading and Analysis

This paper presents translations and analysis of some of the most extensive surviving Sanskrit recipes for alcoholic drinks. The *Kulārṇava Tantra* (circa 1200-1400 CE; henceforth KT), teaches the cult of Ardhanārīśvara (half Śiva and half the Goddess). In Chapter Five there are several recipes—with ingredients and techniques—for brewing ritual alcoholic drinks, along with instructions on which drinks to use for various ritual ends. These recipes, and particularly the described techniques, are unusually detailed for the period. Although the KT was prominent in the West as one of the earliest translated Tantras, previous scholars have not explored these materials on drinks in the light of recent research on the complex and varied history of alcohol in South Asia, and this paper is the first to do so.

The paper first explores the classification and terminology of drinks and brewing processes in the KT, comparing this to other premodern South Asian materials (i.e. legal, medical). Then the paper will compare the drinks themselves with other known early drinks in the region. Are these drinks typical for the period, or are they specialized archaic, ritualized recipes? How do the drinks in the KT compare to those in other Tantric texts? Conversely, what might we learn about drinks and brewing methods in this period from these recipes? Moreover, do the ritual uses of various drinks, such as for destroying enemies, relate

to, or even reveal, any cultural connotations of these substances? In conclusion the paper will summarize what we learn about alcohol in South Asia from this text, along with providing some reflections on what exactly these drinks might have been like in practice.

MEIHUI LIU, Princeton University

Examining the Repetitions Within and Between Chapters in the Xunzi 荀子: Traces of Liu Xiang's 劉向 Editorial Work

Although "the composite nature" has been widely acknowledged in the formation of early Chinese texts, the *Xunzi* 荀子 (Master Xun) somehow remains immune to this theory. Many scholars believed that a strong authorial voice was presented in this text, which led them to regard chapters in the *Xunzi* as treatises written by the historical figure, Xunzi 荀子 (ca. 313–238 BCE). However, many chapters of the *Xunzi* exhibit unusually high rates of repetition within and

between chapters compared to some other contemporary argumentative texts. Though some repetitions within sections can be explained by the preferred language style of the writer(s), other meaningful parallels across sections indicate the existence of a skillful compiler who determined the current appearance of chapters. I suggest that Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BCE) was probably this influential editor. According to his prefaces, he did not simply delete all the duplicate versions but integrated some sections from them into his definitive version. Thus, some parallels in the *Xunzi* are actually variations on the same topic. After Liu, a *pian* 篇 (chapter) was no longer the same thing as its pre-Han ancestor, and it became much longer and comprehensive, but unlike our modern understanding, it was still not a meaning unit with a clear boundary.

JOHN MELLISON, The University of Texas, Austin

The Development of T-stems in Semitic

Semitic languages have verbal forms with either a prefixed or infixed morpheme {t} (cf. Arabic *taqattala* vs. Akkadian *uqtattil*). However, it has been difficult to determine why the {t} is prefixed in certain languages and verbal stems, and infixed in others. The general consensus is that Proto-Semitic originally prefixed {t} to all verbal roots and then several subsequent phonological developments caused the {t} to be infixed in certain verbal stems and in certain languages (W. Diem, S. Lieberman).

In this paper, I argue that this reconstruction and the proposed phonological developments that explain it are problematic and ultimately unconvincing. Instead, I argue that the puzzling distribution of prefixed and infixed forms suggests that Proto-Semitic originally had the infixed

{t} in one verbal stem (the G stem, e.g. *CtCC*) and prefixed in another (the D stem, e.g. *tCCC*). The

perplexing distribution of forms in the daughter languages can be understood as a levelling of Proto-Semitic's heterogeneous system (i.e. some languages prefix the {t} in both stems and other languages infix the {t} in both stems). This explanation easily accounts for all the attested t-stem systems in Semitic, including the especially enigmatic situation in Old South Arabian. I use Northwest Semitic inscriptions to show that the heterogeneous system of t-stems levels to a homogeneous system over the course of a few hundred years.

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CHRIS MEZGER, Yale University

"It Was They Who Dug the Rivers": Aramaic and Aramaeans in Early Arabic Texts

After the Islamic conquests, the Aramaic-speaking people of Iraq and Syria/Palestine, originally the majority of the population, slowly shifted to Arabic over a few centuries, and this shift constitutes a major portion of the social upheaval and realignment of the early Islamic period. Descriptions in Arabic texts of the Aramaic language and its speakers provide a valuable external witness to the effects of this language shift on shrinking Aramaean populations. This paper traces and unpacks the meanings of Arabic terms for Aramaic, primarily *al-suryānī* and *al-nabaṭ*, and especially in historical and geographical works, to illuminate how Arabic authors portrayed their Aramaean neighbors at different times. Previous scholarship like that of J.-M. Fiey has begun to answer this question, but without paying any attention to how (the social relations between) the two language groups changed as the Aramaic-speaking population dwindled over the centuries. These changing demographics matter because social factors are directly correlated with the linguistic outcomes of language contact. We cannot fully understand the history of Aramaic-Arabic language contact, and thus the history of the early Islamic Near East, without understanding the social groups involved and how they changed over time. Arabic accounts that mention, describe, or even attempt to explain Aramaic speakers help historicize our understanding of the long period of language contact between Arabic and Aramaic.

CHRISTOPHER MINKOWSKI, University of Oxford
"Drink Poison, O King": Appendices to Vimalabodha's Commentary on the *Udyogaparvan*

Vimalabodha's commentary on the *Mahābhārata* concludes with three items that might best be called appendices. The first, also the longest, cites and comments on a tricky verse (viṣaṃ bhuṅkṣva sahāmātyaiḥ etc.), which carries a double meaning: a blessing that masquerades as a curse, inverting the usual format of such courtly verses, where flattery masks insult. The verse requires explanation, which Vimalabodha provides, in the course of which he introduces several authorities' explanations of the White Crow Policy (śvetakākīya upāya). The verse was probably not part of Vimala's text of the MBh, but a piece of accompanying material. It is attested in only one of the CE's manuscripts, where it was probably drawn from Vimala's commentary.

The latter two appendices are a prose discussion at some length of where to place the events of the great battles of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas in the lunisolar calendar, and a verse from late in the parvan, glossed simply by another verse, which eventually found its way into some of the epic's manuscript traditions.

This talk will present the contents of these appended elements, discuss their treatment in the manuscript tradition and the implications for understanding the textual history of Vimala's commentary. The treatment of this passage also tells us something about the relationship of this commentary to those of later authors, Sarvajña Nārāyaṇa and Arjunamiśra. Finally, the paper will discuss the general implications of adding an excursus or appendix to an epic commentary, and the relationship of the *Mahābhārata* to its penumbral or dependent literature.

SARAH MOKH, New York University
The Sacred Power of Obedience: The Ramifications of Taymiyyan Thought on *Baraka*

This paper examines the views of Ibn Taymiyya on *baraka*, on which he speaks explicitly in a number of *fatwas,* and situates them in the context of his *fatwas* on *baraka*-adjacent practices. It compares his approach with that of key Ḥanbalī figures, among them Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn al-Jawzī, and argues that Ibn Taymiyya's views on *baraka* were radical compared to the Muslim mainstream and the Ḥanbalī scholarly tradition to which he adhered. I argue that the limitations placed on the power of *baraka* by Ibn Taymiyya stem not only from a strict adherence to textual precedent, but to concerns about limiting the power of Sufi *shuyūkh* in his time and thus his beliefs on authority. This paper will also suggest that the space Ibn Taymiyya occupies in the Western academic tradition may, in part, account for the relatively small space afforded to critical engagement with *baraka.*

Baraka is an elusive term in academic Islamic studies. It is often translated as "blessing," though scholars have also referred to it as "spiritual power," "mana" or the "essence of prophetic charisma", among other definitions. Relatively little space has been dedicated to conceptually engaging with *baraka* outside of its associations with "popular practice" because of its centrality in practices that have traditionally been associated with those categories. In the most recent edition of the Encylopaedia of Islam, it takes up but 300 words, and only half that space in the first edition, where it is described as playing an "important part in Muhammadan superstitions." *Baraka* is a crucial concept among both scholars and lay practitioners in Islamic history. The usage of the term in both intellectual and devotional texts reveals not only differing social and political priorities, but differing ontologies of the authors. Ibn Taymiyya is an important case study.

MOHAMED A. MOUSTAFA, University of Arizona

> Practicing Taḥqīq in Persia: Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's (d. 1311) Critical Engagement with al-Zamakhsharī's *Kashshāf*

This paper examines the practices of verification (*taḥqīq*) in relation to Qurʾānic exegesis. It primarily focuses on the gloss (*ḥāshiya*) of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's (d. 710/1311) *Intiṣāf ʿalā al-Kashshāf* (in manuscript), which is one of the earliest glosses to have been written on the *Kashshāf* in Persia. Unlike the contextual glosses written by al-Ṭībī (d. 743/1343) and al-Jārabardī (d. 746/1346), *Intiṣāf* does not comment on the entirety of the *Kashshāf*. It rather discusses certain issues in response to a number of preceding glossers whom al-Quṭb al-Shīrāzī does not identify. It also subjects al-Fālī's (d. 756/1355) *Taqrīb al-tafsīr* (a contextual abridgement of the *Kashshāf*) to a sustained criticism. Al-Quṭb's practice of *taḥqīq* involves detailed discussions of philological, rhetorical, theological, and other problems. Al-Quṭb takes his interlocuters to task for misunderstanding and mispresenting the *Kashshāf*. A distinct feature of his gloss is that it does not discuss *Anwār al-tanzīl*, the noted Qurʾān commentary that al-Qāḍī al-Bayḍāwī (d. 691/1292) produced using the *Kashshāf* and other sources. My hypothesis, based on comparative analysis, is that al-Bayḍāwī met the verification standards that some of his contemporaries like al-Fālī missed. This paper reconstructs the dimensions of *taḥqīq* from al-Quṭb al-Shīrāzī's critical engagement with the *Kashshāf* and the contextual sources. It traces the fourteenth-century roots of *taḥqīq* that Khaled El-Rouayheb and Ahmed El Shamsy discussed in later historical contexts.

ANTONIO MUSTO, New York University

The Author Formerly Known as Ibn Yazdānyār (d. 472/1079): A New Look at the *Rawḍat al-Murīdīn* and Its Place in the Broader Sufi Tradition

The *Rawḍat al-murīdīn* was first studied by John Alden Williams, who published a hand-written edition and a typed translation of the text for his PhD dissertation in 1957. Since then, only one small study, carried out by Arin Salamah-Qudsi in 2020, has been written on the *Rawḍah*. Both she and Williams identified the author as Ibn Yazdānyār (d. 472/1079) and both wonder why the author and his text seem to have left no trace on the later Sufi tradition. Furthermore, given the paucity of information about the author and his socio-intellectual networks, only cursory and speculative remarks could be made about him in prior studies. This presentation will serve as a corrective to these previous conclusions through an identification of the author, who was known not as Ibn Yazdānyār, but Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṣūfī. An analysis of Abū Jaʿfar, the scholarly and Sufi networks in Hamadhān, and the broader legacy of the *Rawḍah* will also complicate the predominant understanding of the Sufi tradition in the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. Traditional scholarly accounts of the spread of Sufism have focused on the Baghdad to Nishapur "pipeline" culminating in the Sūfī-Shāfiʿī-Ashʿarī synthesis best represented by al-Qushayrī (d. 465/1072) and his work. This Nishapuri trajectory has been cast as *the* Sufi tradition, yet it is now clear that Sufism's spread was neither unidirectional to Nishapur nor monolithic in its nature. By decentering Nishapur and focusing on the spread of Sufism to other locales, one can see that Sufism's emergence was comprised of multiple trajectories each of which had its own concerns, its own engagement with past Sufi personas and concepts, and its own community.

ARJUN NAIR, University of Southern California

Approaching the Intellectual History of Akbarian Sufi Tafsir: The Case of Pharaoh's Faith

New theoretical foundations in the study of tafsir offer promising directions in the study of "post-classical" Sufi Quran commentary. It is becoming increasingly clear that the category distinctions of premodern Muslim scholar-exegetes in their presentations of different types of Quran commentary (*tafsīr bi-ʾl-raʾy*, *maʾthūr*, etc.) are limiting for contemporary historians, and new operative assumptions—that of the genealogical nature of different types and sub-types of commentary, the participation of commentators in the curation of exegetical opinions through genealogical modes of creativity and verification, the pedagogical contexts around the production of glosses, or the relationship of "tafsir-adjacent" discourses to tafsir proper—allow historians to study the tradition of post-classical Quran commentary in more productive ways (Salih, 2004; Görke and Pink, 2014). Moreover, discoveries around the presence of and interest in Sufi forms of commentary, particularly among Ottoman scholars but also beyond, give new impetus to efforts to show how Sufi commentary operated vis-à-vis encyclopedic or madrasa-style forms

of commentary (Ahmed and Filipovic 2004; Goudarzi, 2019). In this paper, I adumbrate two distinct but related modes of Akbarian Sufi exegesis in post-classical Quran commentary (across multiple texts and glosses) through the exegetical case study of "Pharaoh's faith". I argue that Akbarian Sufi exegesis of central verses of this Quran story follows two main trajectories of verification (*taḥqīq*), both drawing from tafsir-adjacent discourses in the fields of jurisprudence, theology, philosophy, and Akbarian Sufism that enter to one degree or another into the larger tradition of Quran commentary. I suggest that these two trajectories are related to efforts by Akbarians to (1) distinguish *tafsir* from *taʾwīl* and (2) to mark out a path whereby verifying exegetes could move from *tafsir* to *taʾwīl* in their hermeneutic engagement with the Quran.

PRIYA NAMBRATH, University of Pennsylvania
New Vocabularies in Vernacular Indian Mathematics

My paper focuses on the Kerala school of mathematics whose practitioners composed their treatises in both Sanskrit and Malayalam. Previous scholarship on these works has tended to focus on their mathematical contents and to prioritize establishing equivalences with the methods and results of modern mathematics. My paper examines the 16th century vernacular Malayalam text, the *Gaṇita Yuktibhāṣā* of Jyeṣṭhadeva, notable for its explication of mathematical rationales and for its unique formulations of several infinite series expansions that predate their discovery in Europe by over a century. The Malayalam original of this text and its Sanskrit translation of uncertain authorship differ from each other noticeably, but there has not yet been any systematic study examining these divergences in any detail. My paper aims to explore one aspect of this issue by focusing on the construction of new and advanced mathematical vocabularies in the vernacular, as seen in the Malayalam original of the *Yuktibhāṣā*. The importation of pre-existing Sanskrit vocabulary into this Malayalam text is seen to be restricted and selective, with several instances of Malayalam words recruited into performing a technical mathematical function even when such vocabularies are already available in existing Sanskritic mathematical literature. I situate this phenomenon in the context of the emergence of Malayalam as a distinct vernacular language around the 15th century. My conclusions, which are somewhat tentative at this point, seek to show that within this small circle of practitioners which included both expert mathematicians and linguistic and literary innovators, this newly emergent language served to nourish the requirements of a vernacular mathematical tradition just as much as the *Yuktibhāṣā* itself may have contributed to establishing a regional linguistic identity.

JESON NG, University of Chicago

Arab Roots in a Persian Land: Genealogies of Descent, Literary Tradition, and Place in Eleventh-Century Saljuq Poetry

By the eleventh century, Persian literature and culture had begun to hold sway in courtly environments as a medium of public discourse and patronage, functions that had hitherto been reserved for Arabic. The Saljuqs, Turkic nomadic warriors who settled in Iran as its new sultans, adopted Persian and Persianate mores and established themselves as one of two poles of power in relation to the Arabophone caliphs in Baghdad. Situated in between the old Arabization and a new Persianization of the Islamicate, eleventh-century litterateurs in the service of caliph and sultan were no longer compelled like their forebears to choose Arabic over Persian. Yet, they were also inheritors of the great Arabic literary traditions of the past. How did they take advantage of these emerging opportunities? What negotiations were possible following the valorization of a previously secondary ethnic Persian identity?

Studies on the Arabic-Persian interface of earlier centuries have highlighted in turn aspects of foreignness and humor brought by Persian insertions in Arabic poetry (Harb 2019) and the negotiation between old Persian wisdom and the prestige of Arabic poetry through the transmission of proverbs (Key 2016). Underlying the intimate and complex Perso-Arabic connection is the bilingualism of the poets themselves, if not their audiences. Moving into the inflectional period of the eleventh century, I explore how the Saljuq panegyrists al-Ṭughrā'ī (d. 1121) and al-Abīwardī (d. 1113) projected their multiple literary and ethnic identities in relation to that of their multilingual patrons. Specifically, I develop the concept of rootedness, which undergirds notions of genealogy, literary tradition, and place in the poets' negotiation of Arabness and Persianness in themselves and their masters. Although Arabness and the Arabic poetic tradition seemed to continue to take precedence, it was no longer possible, or even expedient, to do away with Persianness as a source of legitimacy.

AVIGAIL NOY, University of Texas at Austin

Al-Jurjānī's Idea of Metaphorical Predication Revisited

A famous innovation that ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 1078 or 1081) introduced into Arabic-Islamic poetic theory was the idea of metaphorical predication (*majāz fī l-ithbāt*, later *majāz ʿaqlī*). According to al-Jurjānī, just as a word may be metaphorical or figurative (*majāz*), so can the predication on the sentence level (spring sprouting vegetation is the prototypical example). Scholars have struggled to reconcile metaphorical predication with the poetic metaphor (*istiʿārah*), which, too, may exhibit cases in which an action is not predicated of its true doer (death sinking its claws is one example). Modern scholars have offered varying solutions, from fully reconciling the poetic metaphor with metaphorical predication (K. Abu Deeb, 1979) to partial harmonization (A. Hussein, 2018) to the complete exclusion of *istiʿārah* from the

realm of *majāz* (M. Larkin, 2006). In fact, several medieval Arabic scholars falsely attributed the latter position to the polymath Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210) in the late 1200s. In this paper I revisit key passages in al-Jurjānī's *Asrār al-balāghah* and *Dalāʾil al-iʿjāz* and examine them in light of the traditions of grammar and lexicography, which are (by definition?) antithetical to the poetic idiom. I argue that although al-Jurjānī's views evolved in his later work, *Dalāʾil al-iʿjāz*, the basic incompatibility between metaphorical predication and *istiʿārah* persisted. Further studies I rely on include H. Ritter (1959), A. Key (2018), L. Harb (2020), and A. Hussein (2022).

Author's Note: I submitted a similar abstract on this topic in 2022 but was unable to attend the conference in person due to Covid. The reason I am resubmitting it is because I think feedback on this piece from the AOS folk would be indispensable prior to publication.

LUTHER OBROCK, University of California, Berkeley
Mercantile Poetics: Sanskrit Literature and Political Self-Presentation in the *Jagaḍūcarita*

This talk will concentrate on the often cited but little read Sanskrit historical *mahākāvya*, the *Jagaḍūcarita*. The text concentrates on the life and exploits of the Jain merchant Jagaḍū who becomes the de facto ruler of Bṛghukaccha in Western India. Merchant histories are often overlooked in medieval South Asia. Most work on the early Islamic period has utilized Persian and Arabic sources, and most has concentrated on the military and political history of the early Sultanate rulers. Irfan Habib's seminal "Economic History of the Delhi Sultanate—An Essay in Interpretation," have done much to sketch economic shifts that occurred with the formation of the first Islamic polities in North India. While he quotes Baranī's famous description of Hindu Multanī and Śāhī merchants, the concentration on agrarian economies and the extractive mechanisms of the sultanate elite elides the importance of commercial structures, merchant actors, and routes between growing urban centers.

The mercantile class was especially active at the intersections of communities, as the agents of the exchange goods and money at their edges. I see the *Jagaḍūcarita* as a describing and taking part in the larger shifts in polity in Sultanate South Asia. The poem speaks etworks connecting the city to the hinterland, other urban hubs and trading destinations were dominated by a diverse set of actors, including agents of administration and revenue collection, religious orders (Hindu, Muslim, and Jain), and merchant families. The *Jagaḍūcarita* then not surprisingly utilize the language of politics, piety, and commerce to make itself legible in the sultanate context.

JAMIE O'CONNELL, Princeton University

Cooperation and Competition in the Composition Process of the Zoroastrian Persian Rivāyats

Among the most important yet least-studied sources for late medieval and early modern Zoroastrianism is a varied corpus of texts known as the Persian Rivāyats. These consist of letters, religious responsa and other materials composed by Zoroastrian communities in Iran in response to queries from Indian Zoroastrians beginning in the late fifteenth century. By 1773, approximately thirty Rivāyats had been exchanged that touch on virtually all aspects of Zoroastrian ritual, theology and daily life, along with dozens of manuscripts containing texts in Avestan, Pahlavi and Persian. The Iranian Zoroastrians and their Indian correspondents were religious and lay community leaders, local priests, and other notables, some of whom are known from contemporary documents and manuscript colophons. Most we know nothing about, except for the fact that they were considered worthy signatories or addressees of these letters.

Using information provided by a group of Rivāyats composed during a particularly turbulent period in Iran in the 1620s and 30s, I will reconstruct the complex process by which members of often far-flung Iranian Zoroastrian communities participated in the composition of individual Rivāyats. I will demonstrate that within these texts, one can glean distinct and occasionally even discordant voices from what is often presented both in the later Zoroastrian tradition and in scholarship as a population bound together by a singular religious orthodoxy. While such discordance is often evident during this period among members of the Indian Zoroastrian community (due to a greater abundance of primary source material), for the Iranian community we must rely largely on hints offered in the Rivāyats. The texts of this corpus, however few, thus allow us to complicate our understanding of how Iranian Zoroastrian religious authority was perceived and negotiated during the Rivāyat exchange period.

J. PATRICK OLIVELLE, The University of Texas at Austin

ā √arj: An Unnoticed Verbal Form in Sanskrit

This paper investigates the use of the compound verbal from ā √arj, especially in the past participle ārjita, in medieval texts, principally Dharmaśāstric commentaries and Nibandhas. This verbal form is unnoticed in any Sanskrit dictionary, including the Vācaspatya and the Śabdakalpadruma. The verbal prefix ā- appears to have a meaning similar to its other uses to refer to a movement toward the agent, such as ā √dā and ā √gam. In the contexts in which the verb and it derivatives are used, they have the meaning of someone who earns or acquires some form of wealth or property for themselves. Its meaning is not very

different from that of the simple verb √*arj,* but the compound appears to place emphasis on the agents acquiring the property for themselves. The paper will also explore the texts and authors that use this form regularly. It will also point out the difficulty of identifying this form when Sandhi makes the initial *ā-* combine with a preceding vowel, making it impossible to determine whether the form is *ārjita* or *arjita.*

ANDREW OLLETT, University of Chicago
　　　References to Books and Writing in Early Jain Commentarial Literature

We still know very little about how manuscript culture began and spread in South Asia. Sources are especially scarce when it comes to the critical period of the 3rd c. BCE to 3rd c. CE. Manuscripts are mentioned relatively often, however, in Jain commentarial literature. Although this literature is itself difficult to date, we can discern two important shifts: from complete ignorance of writing in the earliest canonical literature to graphophobia in the earliest commentaries (ca. 2nd c. CE); and from graphophobia to graphophilia in the later commentaries (ca. 8th c. CE). This paper will focus on the early commentaries, above all the *niryukti* and the later *bhāṣya* on the *Bṛhatkalpa*, which provide critical information on the material form of manuscripts, including their categorization into five formats, as well as their use, from *aides-mémoire* for monks to love letters, and rationales for restricting their possession and use. This data corroborates a general picture wherein Jain monks and nuns saw manuscript culture as a feature of the ambient society that they integrated into their own lives with extreme reluctance, which bears comparison to the very different uptake of manuscript culture in Buddhist traditions.

SARA OMAR, Georgetown University
　　　Liwāṭ and The Formation of a Qurʾānic Subtext

While many Muslims assume that the qurʾānic Lot narrative is both explicit and clear, this was not always historically the case. Indeed, the Lot narrative was not always read as a narrative that specifically condemns what we would call "homosexuality." Instead, most early Muslim exegetes of the first three centuries, like the *quṣṣāṣ* and historians of the same time period, read the qurʾānic verses pertaining to Lot and his people as a narrative about an inhospitable people who sexually assaulted foreign visitors in order to humiliate and repel them from seeking their cities. In the subsequent century, we begin to see discernable seeds planted for a counter narrative, where Lot's people were believed to have engaged in voluntary sex with one another. Some exegetes attempted to reconcile both of these readings by including both, side-by-side, as acts of Lot's people. Nonetheless, the earlier reading of Lot's people's sexual abuse of foreign visitors was eventually supplanted with a reading that centers voluntary sex between males and has been sustained well into the modern period. This paper traces and outlines these various interpretative shifts and developments, underlining the ways the qurʾānic Lot narrative was

transformed into an amalgamated narrative of a people who not only were hostile to guests and sexually assaulted them, but as a result, grew to enjoy sex with males, as a voluntary practice. In this way, the qurʾānic verses warning against men approaching other men with desire were effortlessly incorporated into a later legal framework and served as the underlying subtext to naturally support the condemnation of male-male anal sex.

RICCARDO PAREDI, American University of Beirut
Al-Thaʿālibī's Topographical Clichés in his "Book on Specificities of Lands

The paper analyzes excerpts dealing with attributes of lands (*khaṣāʾiṣ al-buldān*) by Abū Manṣūr al-Thaʿālibī (d. 429/1038), a prolific author, critic, poet, lexicographer, and anthologist of the late fourth/tenth early fifth/eleventh century from Nishapur.

I first explore al-Thaʿālibī's firsthand geographical knowledge (his travels and sojourns in the Eastern Islamicate world) and secondhand geographical acquaintance (his geographical sources and the worldviews that they foster, in particular al-Jāḥiẓ's "geographical determinism" and "interdependence of civilizations" and Ibn al-Faqīh's focus on cities and smaller geographical units).

In the second part of my paper, after illustrating the importance of geography as a criterion to organize *adab* material, I focus on a lost book of al-Thaʿālibī that both pre-modern and modern biographers mention, concerned with "attributes of lands", of which I provide a preliminary edition and translation based on the unique surviving manuscript (Berlin State Library - MS 8451). The research contextualizes this text in light of al-Thaʿālibī's oeuvre and analyzes the litterateur's treatment of the theme in its content, style, and authorial intention.

JONATHAN R. PETERSON, Stanford University
The Poetics of Interreligious Love in Mughal Banaras

This paper examines an unstudied "historical poem" (*aitihāsikakāvya*) written by Nīlakaṇṭha Śukla, a seventeenth century Sanskrit poet, grammarian, and protégé of the redoubtable Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. The poem uses the ornaments and flourishes of Sanskrit *kāvya* to recount a love affair between a Brahman tutor and the Muslim wife of Illah Verdi Khan, an Afghan émigré and courtier to the Mughal emperors Jahangir and Shah Jahan. The paper does several things: 1) by looking to Persian courtly records, epigraphy, and other documentary evidence, I contextualize the historical personages of Nīlakaṇṭha's poem and the networks of information and hearsay through which the poem may have taken shape; 2) a selective reading of several passages from the poem allows me to show how Nīlakaṇṭha's poetics were

shaped by the aesthetics of Indo-Persian courtly life; and 3) by looking to the poem's circulation, loss, and recovery in the mid-20th century, the paper asks what the text might reveal about the politics of intimacy and difference in contemporary India.

JONATHAN PRICE, Brown University

"In the Reign of Your Father…": Measuring Up to Past Rulers in the Neo-Assyrian Scholarly Correspondence

References to past kings in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions present a fascinating dichotomy. On one hand, Neo-Assyrian rulers celebrated their connection to a deep dynastic tradition. On the other hand, in order to distinguish their own legacy from that of their ancestors, Neo-Assyrian kings consistently claimed that their deeds exceeded those of the rulers who came before them. While this interplay between ancestral connections and royal self-aggrandizement has long been recognized in modern scholarship of the Neo-Assyrian period, there has been little discussion of how the advisors of Neo-Assyrian rulers navigated these distinct yet intersecting priorities. In particular, the scholars of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, themselves already thoroughly interested in the past, found that presenting their sovereign with the laudable deeds of former kings could strengthen scholars' appeals for continued royal support. This paper examines a number of references to past rulers in the Neo-Assyrian state correspondence, focusing especially on the correspondence from royal scholars and priests. I argue that former rulers were typically presented as models for contemporary kings to emulate, rather than as simply benchmarks of greatness to surpass. Through this emphasis on specific acts of benevolence or justice, scholars sought to inspire the king to live up to his official claims while avoiding a direct critique of his performance. By considering the variety and use of references to past kings in the Neo-Assyrian state correspondence, this paper not only further expands our understanding of Neo-Assyrian scholarly rhetoric, but also demonstrates the relevance of letters as a source for cultural memory and historical consciousness in ancient Mesopotamia.

QIRAN JIN, Princeton University

Reorganization of Philological Information: A Study on the Trans-Genre of the *Shuowen jiezi* in the Print Era

This presentation will focus on the phenomena of trans-genre of philological works in the print era with the *Shuowen jiezi* (hereafter *Shuowen*) as a focus. By examining the textual history of the *Shuowen,* this presentation will uncover the well-ignored plot of the *Shuowen jiezi wuyin yunpu* (hereafter *Wuyin yunpu*) being mistaken as the *Shuowen* itself. In this case, the *Wuyin yunpu* will be understood as the reorganization of the philological information of the *Shuowen* and its competitor in philological knowledge

processing in the Southern Song (1127–1279). The Ming Dynasty (1368–1644) witnessed hundreds of years of triumph of the *Wuyin yunpu*, whereas in Qing (1636–1911), because of the change of philological paradigm, the *Shuowen* overtook the *Wuyin yunpu* and was canonized in the end. The rise and fall of the two texts will be understood as the result of the competition of phonological and graphical paradigms in philology and the change of fashions of knowledge and information management in the broad intellectual world. Based on bibliographical and philological methods, this presentation will correct the long-term misunderstanding of the two philological works from the discourses in the Ming to the secondary scholarship today and move from there to the construction of the theory of trans-genre in philology, textual criticism, and book history. Furthermore, this presentation will compare the *Shuowen* case with other phenomena of trans-genre in Medieval China on the one side and the European tradition on the other and explain how trans-genre provides a particular angle to understand the textual history and information management in the ancient world.

JAWAD ANWAR QURESHI, Zaytuna College.

> Between Glossator and Verifier: Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 1390) on the
> Māturīdī Doctrine of *al-Takwīn* in His Commentary on the Creed of Abū Ḥafṣ
> al-Nasafī (d. 1142)

Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī's commentary on the creed of Abū Ḥafṣ al-Nasafī is one of the most popular manuals of Islamic theology from the time of its authorship in the Timurid period, receiving particular attention in the Mughal and Ottoman empires. It brings together a base text (*matn*) that represents the early mode of Sunni *kalām* following the school of Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 944) with a commentary that comes from a later mode of Sunni *kalām*, one characterized by an engagement with Avicennian thought and dominated by Ashʿarism. The doctrine of *takwīn* (existentiation) distinguishes the Māturīdī school from their fellow Sunni rivals the Ashʿarīs. This doctrine maintains that God creates not as a function of His power (*qudra*) but rather another attribute, the aforementioned *takwīn*. This paper demonstrates how Taftāzānī carries out the duties of both a glossator and those of a verifier (*muḥaqqiq*), as delineated by Khaled El-Rouayheb (2006) and Robert Wisnovsky (2013). Following the duties a glossator, Taftāzānī remains loyal to the text and expounds the text according to the Māturīdī creed, but at the same time following the duties of a verifier, he champions the Ashʿarī position and defends the latter from criticisms of Māturīdīs.

ANUSHA RAO, University of Toronto
Why Thou Art Not That: Vādirāja on *tat tvam asi*

The Upaniṣadic passage culminating in the statement *'tat tvam asi'* (usually translated as 'You are that') has a rich history of exegesis and interpretation in Vedānta schools. Madhva's thirteenth- century commentary, radically reparsing the statement to assert *'atat tvam asi'* ('You are not that'), inaugurates an era of dualist Vedāntic engagement with the passage. As Edwin Gerow and BNK Sharma have shown, these engagements, led by Viṣṇudāsācārya (15th cent. CE) and followed soon thereafter by Vyāsatīrtha (16th cent. CE), reject the monistic understanding of the passage and offer twenty-odd alternate interpretations that are conducive to dualist Vedānta.

My paper focuses on the exegesis of Vādirāja (16th cent. CE), an important intellectual and monastic head of dualist Vedānta from coastal Karnataka, and a later contemporary of Vyāsatīrtha. I use Vādirāja's readings of the *'tat tvam asi'* passage from his *Yuktimallikā* and *Śrutitattvaprakāśa* to understand his approach to doing Vedānta—he draws from his immediate predecessors, but unlike them, avoids a deep engagement with Mīmāṃsā or Vedic hermeneutics, preferring explanations based on worldly speech and literary and narrative texts.

By comparing Vādirāja's analysis of the passage with that of Vyāsatīrtha, I argue that we can see two distinct visions of dualist Vedānta in early modern South India, each emphasising different parts of the scriptural canon and using different modes of polemics. This distinction maps onto two sets of institutional lineages that traced their intellectual commitments to Madhva's dualist Vedānta—the lineage of disciples belonging to the religious institutions (*maṭha*s) located to the north, near the Vijayanagara capital, represented by Vyāsatīrtha, and the lineage of disciples belonging to the *maṭha*s located in coastal Karnataka near Udupi, represented by Vādirāja. The paper also presents some important, previously untranslated sections of Vādirāja's arguments.

MICHAEL A. RAPOPORT, Florida Atlantic University
The Celestial Soul or 'On the Proof of Prophecy'? The Dual Life of an Avicennan (?) Treatise on the Soul

The Celestial Soul (*al-Nafs al-falakiyya*) may hold the answer to a debate about a fundamental aspect of Avicenna's prophetology: Which faculty of the soul acquires information about future events from the celestial realm? Is it the practical intellect (*al-ʿaql al-ʿamalī*), as Gutas argues? Or is it, as recent

studies propose (Sebti 2021, 2012; Noble 2021), the purview of the Imagination (*al- taḫayyul*) or Estimation (*al-wahm*)? *The Celestial Soul* is the only Avicennan text which provides a clear answer to this question, explicitly attributing this function to the practical intellect. But is this really an Avicennan text?

The Celestial Soul has lived a dual life as an independent treatise and a chapter embedded in the larger *Lesser Destination* (*al-Maʿād al-aṣġar*). This dual life is reflected in its multiple titles: As an independent treatise, it is known as *The Celestial Soul*; while as Chapter XIII in the *Lesser Destination*, it bears the title "On the Proof of Prophecy" (*fī iṯbāt al-nubuwwa*). Its duality extends to scholarly analyses of it: To Michot (1985) and Gutas (2014), this is an authentically Avicennan text that forms an original part of the *Lesser Destination*. To Sebti (2012), on the other hand, it first appeared to be a poorly argued addition to the *Lesser Destination* by someone other than Avicenna. More recently (2021), she has acknowledged it as an authentic testimony of Avicennan doctrine, even if at times it departs from his better-known works.

This paper will present preliminary results of a critical edition and translation of *The Celestial Soul*/"On the Proof of Prophecy." It will address questions of the treatise/chapter's authorship, composition, and transmission, and how these have shaped our understanding of Avicenna's theories of the intellect and prophecy. This will be the first assessment of the authenticity of this treatise/chapter based primarily on the manuscript evidence.

TᴙʟᴇR M. RɪᴄʜᴀRᴅ, The University of Texas at Austin
            Towards a Pathology of *kutūhala* in Sanskrit Literature

The past few years have witnessed the rise of curiosity studies, an interdisciplinary field of scholarly inquiry dedicated—as the name implies—to the comparative study of curiosity as a human phenomenon. Despite curiosity's ubiquity in Sanskrit literature—particularly in genres like *itihāsa*, *kathā*, and *kāvya*— little attention has been paid to the feeling's role in the imaginative life of premodern South Asia. This paper seeks to address this longstanding neglect by presenting a preliminary study of the most commonly-used word for "curiosity" in Sanskrit—*kutūhala*. I begin with a survey of precolonial and colonial Sanskrit lexicons, using them to map *kutūhala*'s semantic field while also identifying a network of interrelated concepts. In particular, I identify three different meanings for *kutūhala*: (1) something unprecedented (*apūrva*); (2) a desire to witness (*didṛkṣā*) or a desire to know (*jijñāsā*); and (3) behavior (*ceṣṭā*) involved in the satisfaction of said desire. These three meanings, I argue, combine into a rough-and-ready theory of *kutūhala* that not only anticipates recent "praxiological" formulations of curiosity but also tracks remarkably well with the feeling's portrayal in canonical works of Sanskrit literature. In order to demonstrate the latter, I turn to the works of Kālidāsa (c. 375 CE) and Bāṇa (c. 625 CE), using them to

construct a "pathology" of curiosity's causes and physiological and psychological effects. Ultimately, this study seeks to lay a foundation for future studies of curiosity in both Sanskrit as well as other premodern South Asian literary cultures.

ANTJE RICHTER, University of Colorado, Boulder
Narrative Structure and Silence in a Medieval Chinese Buddhist Scripture

The silence of Vimalakirti is a famous moment in Mahayana Buddhism. The householder's decision to respond with "thundering silence" when asked to explain his understanding of non-duality forms the doctrinal and narrative culmination of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, a text that mostly consists of a lively and occasionally even humorous back and forth in conversation in front of various audiences. The "Scripture of the Teaching of Vimalakirti" emerged in India in the first or second century CE and gained immense literary, religious, and cultural currency in East Asia through Chinese translations that started circulating since the late second century. This talk takes a narrative perspective and analyzes Vimalakirti's silence against two foils that the sutra itself sets up. The first foil is one of non-silence: the conversational pattern that underlies the sutra's narrative and discursive progression. Turn-taking in this text is both highly formalized and open to surprising twists, not least because the setting of the conversation moves several times, both in this world and to alternative universes, along with the composition of the internal audience. The second foil is one of silence, because Vimalakirti's celebrated silence is by no means the only occasion on which a protagonist of the text chooses not to answer a question asked of him. Both foils contribute to the performative effect of Vimalakirti's silence, in narrative as well as doctrinal terms. The talk embeds reflections on the narrative role of silence in the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* into native Chinese notions of speaking and not speaking, which both precede and postdate the introduction of the sutra in China. This talk hopes to contribute to the development of narrative approaches to medieval Chinese Buddhist scriptures.

MOHAMMAD SAGHA, Harvard University
> Apocalyptic Literatures and the *Mahdī* in Early Islam: *Kitāb al-Malāḥim*, Bloodlines, and the Question of Sovereign Leadership in Early Islam

This study investigates the question of the lineage and genealogy of the *mahdī* end-times savior within the early Islamic period by exploring the production of relevant primary sources in the socio-political context of post-Abbasid imperial consolidation and waning of the 4th Hijri/10th CE century. It covers the intersection of the genre of eschatological literature (*malāhim wa-l fitan*) and mainstream texts within the Sunni and Shiʿi canonical hadith literature such as *Ṣaḥīh al-Muslim* and *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* alongside *Kitāb al-Kāfī* and other sources. The study pays particular focus on the important and relevant, yet

understudied, work of Ibn al-Munādī (d. 336/947-8) entitled *Kitāb al-Malāḥim* and situates it between canonical Sunni and Shiʿi works covering the *mahdī* while exploring the role that sectarian identities of authors played in the collation of *hadith* compilations within their particular political context and their reception of historical memory. Most of the contemporary secondary literature has largely ignored Ibn al-Munādī's work which this study hopes to contribute in helping to rectify. Ibn al-Munādī's work is also approached as a means of helping us to think about the relationship between sectarian identity, scholarly culture, and political loyalties in the early Islamic period and the ways in which early Islamic authors interpreted the development of legitimate political sovereignty and genealogy. This study argues that *Kitāb al-Malāḥim* can help enrich many mainstream understandings of the relationship between eschatological literature, sovereignty, and the *mahdī* by pluralizing the ways in which the concept of the *mahdī* was approached that do not fit neatly into any one sectarian box and shed light on developing multivalent conceptions of political sovereignty and leadership in the early Islamic period.

ADHEESH SATHAYE, University of British Columbia
> Vernacular Sanskrit Poetics in Śivadāsa's *Vetāla* Anthology

Śivadāsa's version of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* ("Twenty-Five Tales of the Animated Corpse") is a typical example of prose narrative literature (*kathā*) that is peppered with hundreds of popular verses (*subhāṣitas*) drawn from a common pool of 'public domain' poetry on topics ranging from good conduct and religiosity to sexual positions, physical features of pearls, or symptoms of snakebites. It's clear that these *subhāṣitas* constitute a tradition of popular or folk wisdom, and their inclusion served as a space where copyists, could gain agency by adding and deleting verses according to their inclinations. But what would have been the aesthetic or cultural value of these verses, beyond the ideas they communicated? This paper argues for the presence of a "Vernacular Sanskrit Poetics" at play in Śivadāsa's anthology through the analysis of textural and figurative elements of key Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa, and mixed language poems found in Śivadāsa's anthology.

JENS OLE SCHMITT, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München
> Ibn Abī l-Ashʿath's *Epistle on Sleeping and Wakefulness*

At least one manuscript known so far (Ṭalʿat 594) transmits the hitherto neglected short *Epistle on Sleeping and Wakefulness* (*R. fī l-nawm wa-l-yaqaẓ*) by the Arabic zoologist and physician Ibn Abī l-Ashʿath (10th ct. CE, Iraq), who is primarily known for his *Book on Animals*.
Even though al-Kindī is mentioned several times in the *Animals* and also wrote an epistle on that topic, which is influenced by the *Parva Naturalia* tradition, the indebtedness to al-Kindī is here less than

expected. Rather, Ibn Abī l-Ashʿath refers to Galen and Hippocrates by name as well as even to Aristotle's treatise of the same title. The paper will compare the text of Ibn Abī l-Ashʿath's epistle with these authors in terms of structure and content and look for its possible sources. However, the ps.-Galenic treatise of the same title, which is preserved in Arabic, could not be identified as a source.

The main topics discussed in the text are especially the relation between sleep and the brain (rather than the soul), the role of different kinds of spirit, that is, pneuma, for sleeping and awakening, sleep's specific relation with the rational (rather than the animal) soul, sleep's distinction from death, its connection with certain humoral qualities, certain degrees of sleep that are connected with positions of the sleeper, and the process of dreaming, which is treated only in passing and more briefly than in Aristotle or al-Kindī.

The paper will further try to show that Ibn Abī l-Ashʿath made important contributions by a shift toward a centrality of the brain under the influence of Galen, similarly with, though independently from, Avicenna, and in opposition to the traditional Aristotelian scheme, even though he shows an awareness of Aristotle's treatise that is not solely explicable by the extant Arabic version.

ROEY SCHNEIDER, Universität Leipzig
The Akkadian Sibilants

The Akkadian sibilant sounds (and especially s and š) have been a controversial subject ever since Akkadian was first deciphered. Evidence from transcriptions into different languages and orthographies was considered inconclusive and confusing, and ad-hoc diachronic propositions were made that lacked linguistic rigor, such as a perfect bilateral shift, in which two phonemes have replaced their phonetic realization, posited by many to Middle Assyrian. In my talk, I will present findings on the Akkadian sibilants, including new analyses of diachronic chain shifts which are the most suitable to describe the existing evidence. These involve a reconstruction of Sumerian <Š> as [θ], Old and Middle Babylonian <Š> as [ɬ] (as already proposed by Streck in his 2006 article), and as known from loanwords and transcriptions, Neo-Babylonian <Š> as [ʃ]. In my analysis, I propose two push-chain shifts, one which has affected (Proto-)Old Babylonian following the deaffrication of "Samekh", and a second one which has affected Neo-Assyrian following the shift of *[ɬ] to [s], which coincided with the same shift in Aramaic (approximately in the first half of the 1st millennium BCE). From all this and more, I have compiled a full reconstruction of the realization of the sibilants in each time period and dialect, and the different diachronic processes they had undergone.

JASON SCHWARTZ, University of California, Santa Barbara

Pregnant with Possibilities: Hemādri's Re-enchantment of the *Śrāddha* Ritual

This presentation documents the emergence within the domain of Dharmaśāstra of a new conceptual vocabulary for thinking about *śrāddha* rituals through a close reading of the *Śrāddhavidhiphalapraśaṃsāprakaraṇa* of the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* of Hemādri (c.1260 CE). Whereas in earlier commentarial literature analysis of the feeding of the ancestors is almost exclusively confined to the parsing of the internal logical structure of the ritual using the analytic models provided by Pūrva Mīmāṃsā, in the CVC there is a shift of focus that centers the affect responses of the dead themselves along with the twice-borns who serve as their on the ground surrogates par excellence.

Through dialoguing passages in the *Śrāddhavidhiphalapraśaṃsāprakaraṇa* with its intertexts, I will highlight the agonistic relationship of this emphatically theistic deliberate re-enchantment of ritual worlds with the markedly different accounts of the nature and purpose of ritual presented within prior works of Dharmaśāstra, particularly the *Mitākṣarā* of Vijñāneśvara and *Manubhāṣya* of Medhātithi. In particular, we will see that the Smārta position championed by Hemādri is virtually identical with one of the Pūrvapakṣas Medhātithi treats with naked contempt and identifies as falling outside of the domain of Vedic normativity.

JOANN SCURLOCK, Elmhurst College

The Stoltikoff Plate: Who is the Lady in the Middle?

The Stoltikoff plate is a Bactrian Silver plate now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Inv. 56.366). The alignment of the Stoltikoff plate's iconography with the calendar has been ably performed by Franz Grenet and it is revealed as a cycle of the seasons in a calendar originally beginning in Spring and continuing round to the next Spring following the trajectory of the sun. But a number of problems remain including not only the exact identification of the figures round the edges of the plate but also any viable suggestion as to the identity of the female figure in the center of the plate. Several suggestions have been made: Anahita (the traditional interpretation), Spandarmad or Spenta Armaiti (Boris Marshak), and most recently Nanaya (Judith Lerner). She is, I will argue none of the above, but instead another goddess altogether, who is depicted on Kushan coins and in a sculpture found in Ghandara.

ISHAAN SHARMA, University of California, Berkeley

Narrating Statecraft through Mythology: The *Indravijayopākhyāna* in the *Udyogaparva* of the *Mahābhārata*

Occurring near the beginning of the *Udyogaparva*, the *Indravijayopākhyānam* is narrated by *Śalya* to *Yudhiṣṭhira* (MB 5.9-22). The extended *Upākhyāna* recounts the slaying of the sage *Triśiras* by *Indra*, the birth and destruction of *Vṛtra* and Indra's subsequent guilt and fear, leading to the deity relinquishing his throne and hiding in the stalk of a lotus flower in the ocean. The latter part of the *Upākhyāna* covers *Nahuṣa's* ascension to Indra's throne and his eventual dethronement and fall from heaven. The narrative concludes by describing Indra's expiation ritual and the deity's reinstatement in his former position.
I argue that this putatively mythological *Upākhyāna* derives its narrative and didactic salience in the *Udyogaparva* by serving as an instruction on statecraft to Yudhiṣṭhira. Specifically, I will argue that it is geared towards accomplishing the following ends: (i) justifying the slaying of enemies through underhand means, (ii) providing the rationale and expiatory rituals to be carried out after the slaying of a Brahmin, and (iii) foreshadowing the inevitable and necessary victory of the Pāṇḍavas over the Kauravas. Further, I will demonstrate that each of these didactic lessons provides instruction to Yudhiṣṭhira to confront several pivotal events and moral questions that the king will face preceding, during and after the *Bhārata* war.

Lastly, I will argue that even though some of the events in the *Indravijayopākhyāna* are also covered elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata*, this does not make the text susceptible to the *doṣa* (fault) of *punarokti* (repetition), since the repetitions are rendered with subtle differences and serve distinct didactic purposes depending on the narrative context of the Epic.

VISHAL SHARMA, University of Oxford

Polemic Philology—Reading the Sanskrit Epics in the 17th-20th c.

Appayya Dīkṣita's Bhārata and Rāmāyaṇasārasaṃgraha are well-known polemical works declaring the supremacy of Śiva in the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. This paper will look at the controversy that this work generated in its publication, and how this affected the reading of the epics well into the early 20th century.
The paper will pay attention to strategies for interpreting the epic that emerged in response to Appayya's Bhārata and Rāmāyaṇasārasaṃgrahastotra, specifically arguments for interpolations and scribal errors in the epics. It will, situate these developments within the context of Appayya Dīkṣita's legacy as both a 'hater' of Viṣṇu and as someone who subverted the traditional reading of the epics.

DANIEL SHEFFIELD, Princeton University

A Late Pahlavi Account of the Rise of Islam: The *Letter of Mahdī son of Furūh son of Sāsān*

Though most extant Pahlavi (Zoroastrian Middle Persian) texts were redacted during the Abbasid period, references to the historical events which led to the establishment of Islamic rule in the former realm of the Sasanian kings are few. Less well known however is a corpus of later compositions in Pahlavi, reflecting the continued need of the community for seemingly archaic texts produced within the epistemological framework of Pahlavi literature. In this talk, I will present the previously unstudied late Pahlavi text entitled *The Letter of Mahdī son of Furūh son of Sāsān.* Likely a composition of the eighteenth century CE, the *Letter of Mahdī* claims to transmit a report sent by the younger brother of Salmān al-Fārisī to Bāduspān, the legendary ruler of Rūyān on the Caspian coast. Our understanding of the text is complicated by the fact that all surviving manuscripts of the *Letter* have reportedly been transcribed first from Pahlavi into Avestan script (Pazand) and subsequently into Perso-Arabic characters. The text presents an account of the early years of Islam down to the reign of Yazīd I, viewed from a Zoroastrian perspective, claiming among other things that Salmān had provided the prophet Muḥammad with commentaries on the *Avesta* and that ʿAlī had granted special protections to the Zoroastrian community. I will investigate the sources of this singular text, arguing that the narrative of the Persian-language *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* (completed 1330 CE) is likely the immediate source of the historical context depicted in the letter, albeit there reported in the third- rather than in the first-person. Ultimately, I consider the question of why Zoroastrians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries would compose and copy new texts in an archaic language.

OJASWINI SHEKHAWAT, Yale University

The Play of Universalities and Particularities: *arthāntaranyāsa* in Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*

Scholars of Sanskrit literary theory have engaged at length with certain glamorous *alaṃkāras* (ornaments) like the *yamaka* or *śleṣa*. Yet, despite being acknowledged as Kālidāsa's 'favorite figure',the *arthāntaranyāsa* (corroboration), one of the *arthālaṃkāras*, remains largely unexamined by present scholarship. On the other hand, Sanskrit rhetoricians such as Mammaṭa clearly demonstrated the centrality of the *arthāntaranyāsa* in establishing both universal and particular paradigms in verse in four directions. Using the Meghadūta as the basis for statistical and literary analysis of the *arthāntaranyāsa*, this paper will argue that, a) the frequent use of the *arthāntaranyāsa* is neither purely decorative nor rhetorical but brings the reader into the world of the *kāvya* while also projecting the *kāvya* into the lived experiences of readers by drawing both universal and particular conclusions within verses, and b) punctuates the audience's experience of the *viraha* and *śṛṅgār rasas* by generating added layers of meaning. Taking a cue from Richard Salomon's argument about the internal coherence produced by concatenation in the works of Kālidāsa, this paper argues that the *arthāntaranyāsa* seems to be playing the opposite function by interrupting the narrative, productively, to expand the scope of the *khaṇḍakāvya*.

YIMING SHEN, University of Oxford

An Edition and Preliminary Study of the *Anvayakalikā*

Slaje in his article 1992 has, for the first time, conceptualised and talked about a Samanvaya school of the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. This grammatical school is local to Kashmir and focuses on samanvaya/anvaya 'connection, connection of words or sentences', a concept roughly equivalent to the Western linguistic concept of syntax. At least three texts are known to be extant in this school, the foundation text Samanvayadiś (possibly c. 1100 AD), its metrical adaptation Samanvayapradīpa (possibly c. 1300 AD), and the latter's auto-commentary Samanvayapradīpasaṃketa (possibly c. 1300 AD).

In that same article, Slaje (1992: 108) mentions a fourth Sanskrit text, the unpublished Anvayakalikā, which he suspects may also belong to the Samanvaya school but could not confirm this until a closer investigation of its manuscript is carried out. As far as I am aware, only one manuscript of this text is extant, the one preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Based on this manuscript, I make an edition of the Anvayakalikā; I then carry out a preliminary study and try to shed light on its content and in particular its relation to the Samanvaya school. This will contribute to our understanding of the history of linguistic thoughts, especially the non-Pāṇinian grammatical schools, in ancient India.

[Reference]
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KARLENE SHIPPELHOUTE, Johns Hopkins University

Shaping Communication: Affordances and Tablet Shape in the Amarna Correspondence

Studies of the materiality of tablets benefit from approaches derived from the fields of Diplomatics, which examines the written document in conjunction with its intellectual messaging to understand the purposes of its creation and the interpretive consequences of its reception, and Affordance Theory, which studies the material properties of an object that shape human interactions with it. In this paper, I argue that tablet shape affected human-tablet interactions in the Amarna Correspondence system.

The fourteenth-century BCE Amarna tablets (382 letters and scribal exercises) record diplomatic affairs between the Pharaoh of Egypt and the Great kings in Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Anatolia, and the Egyptian vassal states in the Levant. Both the Great King and Vassal letters are relatively uniform in their content, greeting formula, body, and closing remarks, with subtle variations based on regional preferences including changes in greeting formula and tablet layout. These differences have long been

noted and studied; however, scholars have neglected to acknowledge the importance of the clay medium (tablet) on which the letters are inscribed. I argue a systematic analysis of tablet shape is necessary, because, unlike the content of the letters, tablet shape varies dramatically in the Amarna corpus.

Tablet makers, scribes, and readers' experiences are all bound by their interaction with the tablet's physical form. The surfaces, sides, edges, and corners of a tablet all cumulatively dictate how an individual can act with a tablet and its content. Analyzing these features as affordances allows us to reconstruct human-tablet interactions that would remain invisible if we ignore the physicality of the tablet. As a case study, I will specifically examine tablets from the vassal King Abi-Milku. The th, width, and shape of his amygdaloid tablets are unique compared to others in the Amarna corpus.

COLTON SIEGMUND, The University of Chicago
Additional Support for the Language-Internal Origin of the Sumerian Prefix of Anteriority {u}

It is generally agreed upon by modern Sumerologists that clauses with predicates marked with the prefix {u} in the first agglutinative slot denote a situation that has occurred prior to a main event described in a following clause (ex., "After *{u}-verb*, …*X*."). Given this, {u} has been called the "Prefix of Anteriority." Regarding this morpheme's shape and historical origin, scholars such as Miguel Civil have asserted that it is likely of Semitic origin. Civil and others contend this prefix is probably cognate with the Akkadian conjunction *u* (wr. *ù*) due to similarities in spelling and function shared between the two. Sumerian indisputably loaned this Akkadian conjunction into its lexicon, and one cannot discount that it might have grammaticalized said conjunction into this verbal morpheme. What is open to debate, however, is whether there is an alternative etymology for {u} based on internal morphosyntactic processes within Sumerian. Without dismissing the possibility of the Akkadian origin hypothesis, this lecture will advocate for the less considered hypothesis that {u} as a morpheme might have grammaticalized from the noun ud "sun, day," specifically in its capacity to serve as the head of temporal nominal constructions. In separate articles, Miguel Civil and Mamoru Yoshikawa have both noted this possibility briefly in passing, but both shy away from this hypothesis for reasons this lecture aims to counter. Evidence supporting this potential etymology will be cited from general linguistics as well as Sumerian compositions (including a learned scribal play in an Old Babylonian exemplar of the lament *Edena Usagake ("In the Steppe in the Early Grass")*).

RICHARD VAN NESS SIMMONS, The University of Hong Kong

How Original is Robert Morrison's Phonology of Mandarin?

This communication explores the relationship of the southern Mandarin phonology as presented in Robert Morrison's (1782-1834) dictionary to earlier Mandarin phonologies outlined by missionaries who came before Morrison, particularly those of Francisco Varo (1627-1687) and Basilio da Glemona (1648–1704). Robert Morrison was the first Protestant missionary to work in China and was also the first to compile a Chinese-English dictionary and grammar. W. South Coblin has provided us with a detailed study of the phonetics of Morrison's Mandarin as outlined in his dictionary (2003). But it remains to be determined precisely whether or not the phonological distinctions and categories represented in Morrison's Mandarin are a result of his own observations or are an adoption of distinctions previously identified by earlier missionaries. While Morrison did indeed develop his own Romanization for his Mandarin dictionary, Morrison had consulted earlier missionary works when he was first learning Mandarin and most likely continued to do so as he compiled his dictionary. Through a close examination of Morrison's Mandarin phonology in juxtaposition to the phonologies of Varo and da Glemona this study seeks to determine whether or not Morrison adopted subtle but important characteristic Mandarin distinctions from the work of his predecessors.

DOMINIQUE SIRGY, Yale University

The Hermetic *Rebuke of the Soul*: Evidence for the Authorship of Bābā Afẓāl al-Kāshānī

The *Rebuke of the Soul* is an aphoristic exhortation to the soul to turn towards divine things. In the early 1200s, Afẓal al-dīn Kāshānī produced the earliest surviving attestation of the *Rebuke of the Soul* and attributed it to Hermes. The Hermetic attribution lent authority to the *Rebuke* in the early medieval cultural environment in which it circulated, where prominent Islamic scholars frequently portrayed Hermes as a source of philosophical and prophetic knowledge. With remarkable haste, the text enjoyed a widespread dissemination in both Christian and Islamic manuscript traditions. The *Rebuke* melded gnomic and ethical genres, along with a Neoplatonic cosmology reminiscent of Pseudo-Aristotle's *Theology*.
In his book *The Arabic Hermes*, Kevin Van Bladel identifies Bābā Afẓāl al-Kāshānī as the true author of the Hermetic treatise. The earliest textual witnesses for the treatise follow those that Bābā Afẓāl composed in the thirteenth century. This paper builds upon Van Bladel's position and argues for the authorship of Bābā Afẓāl based on the close alignment between Bābā Afẓāl's philosophy and the ideas prevalent in the *Rebuke of the Soul*. The presentation focuses on two themes: the indescribability of God,

and the salvific value of self-knowledge. Finally, the paper compares the *Rebuke* with the works of al-Ghazālī and Ibn Sīnā. This comparison exposes the limited influence exerted by the two philosophers on the *Rebuke*, and displays the conformity of the treatise to Bābā Afẓāl's thought.

PHILLIP W. STOKES, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville
'Dialectal Tanwīn' and a Historical Typology of Arabic Dialectal Features

Numerous Arabic dialects, both pre-modern and modern, across the Arabic-speaking world attest a morpheme -Vn (realized phonetically as /ən/, /in/, or /an/), often called 'dialectal *tanwīn*', suffixed to morphologically indefinite nouns that precede attributive adjectives and adjectival clauses:

> Bahraini Arabic
> *bint-in zēna*
> girl-DT beautiful
> "a beautiful girl" (Holes 2016: 131).

This morpheme is most parsimoniously derived from the combination of frozen case vowel + nasalization (Arabic *tanwīn*). Based on comparative evidence from pre-Islamic epigraphica, as well as close study of early Islamic texts, Stokes (2020) suggested that dialects which lack the feature could descend from dialects similar to Old Hijazi (on which, see Al-Jallad 2020), whereas those that retain this 'dialectal tanwīn' morpheme descend from a different ancient dialect group. Certainly the peculiarities of its distribution across geographically disparate Arabic varieties suggests a shared retention. In this talk, I will expound on this suggestion by integrating the modern dialectal data with attestations of the morpheme in the medieval corpora, working backwards into the pre- and early Islamic periods. The primary goal of the talk is two-fold. First, I aim to provide a diachronic account of its evolution and distribution that is sensitive to the latest historical evidence, and which takes the medieval corpora as serious witnesses to living Arabic. Second, I argue that attempts to study the history of the modern dialects should move away from attempts to reconstruct the history of modern dialects as they are currently configured, and instead work to create a historical typology of features, as it is likely that the modern dialectal distribution of many salient features is of shallow time depth.

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MATTHEW W. STOLPER, The University of Chicago

      Ghee at Persepolis

Among Elamite-language administrative records of the Persepolis Fortification Archive (c. 509-493 BC), some accounts of sheep/goats and cattle in a standard line-by-line format have addenda that correlate amounts of "oil" (^{GIŠ}ÌMEŠ) with numbers of lambs, kids, and calves in regular arithmetic relationships. The addenda also indicate amounts delivered and amounts outstanding. The correlations confirm that in Fortification texts, "oil" connected with livestock is butter-oil, ghee (Henkelman 2010: 738f.) Other consequences include:

-- Grounds for interpreting other Persepolis Fortification records of "oil," including memoranda of ghee delivered to treasuries and tabular accounts of outstanding balances of sheep/goats and ghee, reducing the apparent isolation of the animal accounts from the general information flow of the Fortification Archive.

--Grounds for translating terms for sheep (rams, ewes, lambs) and goats (bucks, does, kids) in a way that reverses the considered choices of the first editor, Richard T. Hallock (1969, p. 16), posing a general problem of understanding the realities of sheep/goat herding around Persepolis.

-- Grounds for contrast or complementarity with Late Babylonian archival records of livestock, where dairy products are all but absent, and comparison with older Mesopotamian administrative records of dairy products.

-- Grounds for understanding Fortification texts less as peripheral oddities and more as products of general practices also reflected in contemporary Mesopotamian texts.

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HANNAH STORK, Yale University

Grumpy Grammarians and Language Lost: Ear1y Syriac Grammars and the Shift to Arabic

This paper will examine the contents of the first Syriac grammars written by authors in contact with the social presence of Islam. Rather than engaging directly with modem scholarly debates concerning whether–and to what degree–the Syriac grammatical tradition may have influenced the Arab grammarians, it will instead consider the evidence for Arabicizatlon and language change presented by these early Syriac grammars. The first traces of a linguistic shift towards Arabic in Mesopotamia and the Levant offer priceless historical insights into the broader landscape of continuity and change throughout the region following the appearance of Islam.

Within the first centuries of Islamic rule, how quickly was evidence of widespread language shift seen? In what geographies were early indications of such a shift seen–and certainly as importantly where were they not seen? What aspects of the language were the first to change, and what does this tell us about the nature of social contact between speakers of the two languages? And finally, how was this shift in idiom received by those who first consciously noted it? There is perhaps no source better to provide insights into these questions than the peeved pedants pursuing linguistic purity in their grammatical prescriptions. Ultimately this paper concludes that the testimony to language change seen in early Syriac grammatical works should constitute a critical component of our comprehension of the onset of Arabicization.

DANIEL M. STUART, University of South Carolina

The Pāriyātraka Tree as the Tree of Dharma: Reflections on a Ritual Episode in the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna*(*sūtra*)

This paper is an analysis of a narrative episode—which is also a *yogic* vision—found in the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna(sūtra)*. The episode, which occurs in the context of a description of a vision of a particular realm (*bhūmi*) of the Heaven of the Thirty-three—the realm of the deities who dwell in the vicinity of the Pāriyātraka tree (*Pāriyātrakanivāsinī bhūmiḥ*)—provides evidence of a vision of cosmic relationality relevant to understanding the development of public ritual cultures at the time of the composition of the *Saddharmasmṛtyupasthāna(sūtra)*. The episode depicts a public procession of an image of the Buddha (*buddhapratimā*) and its worship led by *Śakra*—in the vicinity of the Pāriyātraka tree—and stands out as a relatively early textual source evidencing the doctrinal and cosmological underpinnings of many of the public rites of image worship that become central to South Asian practice from the Gupta period onward. I suggest that this episode is one example of how the text cultivates an ideal audience of householder practitioners modeled on an ascetically oriented community of deities,

represented in the text by the deities of the Heaven of the Thirty-three. I also suggest that this episode might be read as historical evidence of a dialogically articulated perspective within the Buddhist tradition on the role of public image worship for the maintenance of intertwined cosmic and social orders.

SALLY J. SUTHERLAND GOLDMAN, University of California, Berkeley
Demonic Demise: Demons, Dismemberment, and Decapitation in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*

Audiences the world over from time immemorial have demanded two things from their entertainment—sex and violence, the two being often so intwined that they are impossible to separate. The mediums and the expressions of entertainments that manifest these themes are varied and ever-changing, but the underlying voyeuristic pleasures derived are not. The Sanskrit epics are no exception and reflect cultural ideologies that are fixated on both. This paper focuses on the latter, violence, which is often expressed in the language of revenge. While violence in the epics and in the traditional world reflected by those epics has been the focus of several recent and important studies such as Raj Balkaran's and A. Walter Dorn's 2012 article, "Violence in 'Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa' ", Upinder Singh's 2017 book, *Political Violence in Ancient India,* and Robert P Goldman's 2018 article, *"Ā Garbhāt*: Murderous Rage and Collective Punishment as Thematic Elements in Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata*,"[3] this study looks to one specific aspect of that violence, one in which the mechanism and depiction is especially gruesome and one that has been largely neglected in scholarly discourse, decapitation. Indeed, both epics depict scenes in which enemies are literally beheaded—such as that of the Cedi king Śiśupāla and the *śūdra* ascetic Śambuka. And, not unexpectedly, both epics use decapitation as means to an enemy's final defeat in battle. However, Vālmīki's epic stands out in its repeated and systematic use of this motif in its battle scenes. Such scenes are often accompanied by a graphic and detailed inventory of dismemberment. The victims of such battles are invariably *rākṣasa*s. My paper will examine the multiple episodes in Vālmīki's epic that depict this particularly gruesome trope and how—symbolically, structurally, and poetically—such episodes are integral to the monumental poem.

ELI TADMOR, Yale University
More than a Single Truth: Gilgamesh's Dreams of the Meteorite and the Axe

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[3] Raj Balkaran and A. Walter Dorn, "Violence in the 'Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa': Just War Criteria in an Ancient Indian Epic,"*Journal of the American Academy of Religions*, 80.3: 659–90; Upinder Singh, *Political Violence in Ancient India*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017; Robert P. Goldman, "*Ā Garbhāt*: Murderous Rage and Collective Punishment as Thematic Elements in Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata,*" in *Many Mahābhāratas*, Sohini Pillai and Nell Hawley, eds. Albany: SUNY Press. 2021. pp. 37–52.

In the first tablet of the Gilgamesh epic, Gilgamesh has two dreams. The first centers around what seems to be a meteorite, the second around an axe. The goddess Ninsun, Gilgamesh's mother, interprets these dreams, telling him that they herald the coming of Enkidu into his life, and the mighty friendship he and Gilgamesh will strike. Yet Ninsun's interpretation does not fully explain the significance of the elements found in each dream: why a meteorite, why an axe? Several scholars, most notably Anne Draffkorn Kilmer and Martin Worthington, have sought to answer these questions. The former proposed that these objects hint, via word play, at the sexual dimension the relationship Gilgamesh and Enkidu will have, and the latter that they symbolically reflect the humanization of Enkidu, as well as the method of his creation and his future bond with Gilgamesh. This paper proposes that these dreams also anticipate the two adventures Gilgamesh and Enkidu will share, though in reverse, or chiastic, order: the axe-dream symbolizes the expedition to the Cedar Forest and the felling of its trees, and the dream of the meteorite—called *kiṣru ša Anim*, "a lump of Anu"—prefigures the battle with the bull of heaven, given by Anu to his daughter Ishtar for her to unleash upon Uruk. I will explore the ways in which the two dreams anticipate the two adventures, and suggest that their polyvalence coheres with the duplicity of Ea's message to Ūta-napišti in tablet XI of the epic, and also with ideas concerning the meaning of dreams formulated in Sigmund Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*, whereby each element of a dream symbolizes several things simultaneously.

KEXIN TANG, Arizona State University

      Poetry as Incantation: Recontextualization of Religion and Ritual in Shen Yazhi's Prayers

During the mid-Tang period (766-835), literati like Han Yu (768-824) attempted to reform the culture by returning to orthodox Confucian principles. However, at the same time, these same writers were mainly working as officials in various regions away from the capital, where they encountered local culture and religion that was remote from their stated principles. Thus, during his service in the Min region (modern Fujian province), Shen Yazhi (781-832), the mid Tang poet and pupil of Han Yu, revised prayers originally written by Min shamans who beseeched local deities to give blessings to Xu Hui, Shen Yazhi's supervisor suffering from disease at that time. The *Chuci* style prayers, later entitled *Polished Prayer*s, were said to be written in response to the request of locals who believed that their original version might not articulate themselves "properly." The set of prayers is only one of his attempts to sacralize literati's writing by turning it into the medium between local deities and officials. For instance, the emphasis of Shen Yazhi's another prayer shifts to how the construction by local government employs the power of local spirits and thus grants Xu Hui strength and benefit. This paper aims to explore how the ritual of praying and elements of local religion were recontextualized and transformed into a literary act in Shen Yazhi's prayers. The treatment also provides us with new insight into mid-Tang poetry and its relationship to regional cultures which are often exoticized in literary conventions.

RAMONA TEEPE, Yale University
Describing Coptic in Arabic: The Arabic *Muqaddimāt* on the Coptic Language

In the 13th century, the first known Coptic grammar was composed by the bishop Yuḥannā al-Samannūdī (in office 1235-1257). This work was followed by a brief but productive period of Coptic grammatical activity in the 14th century to which we can ascribe the bulk of known Coptic grammatical surveys. As Coptic was on the verge of disappearing from nearly all linguistic domains, except liturgy, there was a need to preserve enough knowledge about it to enable clerics to interpret the Scriptures and other religious works in Coptic. In this domain, Coptic survives until today.

To describe the Coptic language, the authors of the *muqaddimāt* turned to the Arabic tradition and described the Coptic language in Arabic applying Arabic grammatical terminology.
This presentation will survey the extant Coptic grammatical corpus paying specific attention to how authors engaged with the Arabic tradition and applied its terminology to Coptic. Based on this, I situate these texts in 13th-14th century intellectual networks in Egypt and beyond.

While these Coptic grammars have received some scholarly attention, they have not been studied comprehensively and most of them remain unedited. However, they provide valuable insights into language contact and the comparative study of linguistic traditions, as well as education in Egypt in the Middle Ages.

Situating the Coptic grammatical tradition in the context of contemporary views on the Arabic language reveals a shift in the perception and use of Coptic directly prior to the composition of these grammars. In tracing linguistic contact processes, attention is often directed to beginnings. Here, I propose the opposite: to approach linguistic change in Egypt "from the end" to see how at that time the course was set for the future survival of Coptic as a liturgical language.

ALEKSANDAR USKOKOV, Yale University
Word and Sentence Context: On *anvaya-vyatireka* and the three *lakṣaṇā*s in Advaita Vedānta

Sengaku Mayeda had argued that: (1) the Vedāntin philosopher Śaṅkara (700-750 C.E) and his immediate student Sureśvara used the method of *anvaya-vyatireka* (positive and negative concomitance), commonly used by the Grammarians to establish the meaning of words and smaller linguistic units, as a way of interpreting the Upaniṣadic identity statements (for instance, *tat tvam asi*) and as a kind of meditation for the purpose of discovering the true *ātman*; and (2) that later Advaitins starting with

Sarvajñātman (ca. 10th century C.E) replaced Śaṅkara's method with that of three kinds of *lakṣaṇā*s or secondary signification functions (*jahal-lakṣaṇā, ajahal-lakṣaṇā,* and *jahad-ajahal- lakṣaṇā*, classed on the basis of how much of the primary word meaning is given up or retained), occasioning thus a "discontinuance of Śaṅkara's method."

George Cardona had rightly rejected Mayeda's argument that *anvaya-vyatireka* for the two Vedāntins was a form of meditation. He showed that Śaṅkara and Sureśvara used the method to establish the meaning of *tat* and *tvam*, in a way entirely resembling that of the grammarians.

In my presentation I will do two things: (1) I will show that there is a profound misunderstanding on Mayeda's part concerning the *anvaya-vyatireka* method: whereas he presents it as a means to establish the sentence meaning, it was a means to establish the meaning of individual words: sentence and word meanings are quite separate matters in Advaita Vedānta—its entire soteriology hinges in this distinctions—and the three *lakṣaṇa*s of Sarvajñātman function in the context of sentence meaning; and (2) I will suggest that Sarvajñātman may have formalized the three *lakṣaṇā*s by drawing on the (now lost) pre-Śaṅkara commentary on the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad* of Bhartṛprapañca, either directly or as it was discussed by Sureśvara in his *Bṛhad-āraṇyakupaniṣad-bhāṣya-vārttika*.

KEVIN VAN BLADEL, Yale University
    The Beginnings of the Neopersification of Iran

Historians offer a regular argument to explain why Iran, unlike other countries colonized by Arabian peoples in the wake of the conquests of the seventh century, did not become an Arab country. They claim that it is because Iranians or Persians maintained a strong sense of national or ethnic *identity*. The people of Iran accepted Islam but resisted Arabicization, keeping their language and, to a degree, their distinctive Persian culture. This assumption seems obvious because the inhabitants of the Islamic Republic of Iran today are mostly Muslims who mostly speak Persian. Nevertheless, the events between the seventh century and today are more complex, and the explanation must be based on study of the use of languages in different historical populations, not on irrelevant factors such as confidence in one's putative national identity or on modern circumstances projected into the distant past.

This presentation proposes an alternative to the narrative of Persian national continuity. It argues instead that New Persian was brought westward to Iran in the eleventh century from Central Asia, the region in which it had evolved since the end of the seventh century. It focuses on three arguments. First, Arabic reports from the tenth century make it clear that Iranian languages other than New Persian were spoken in western Iran before the coming of the Seljuqs. This corresponds with the present existence of many different Iranian languages still spoken in the region today, although dwindling in use as Iranians have been shifting to the use of New Persian for generations. Second, the bio- bibliographical information on

Early New Persian poets corroborates the geography of New Persian usage. Only a few New Persian poets traveled westward from Khurasan in the late tenth century. With exceedingly few exceptions, all the early New Persian poets were from the domain ruled by the Saffarids and Samanids until the advent of Seljuqs. Third, when New Persian was adopted more widely to the west of Central Asia by inhabitants of the country today known as Iran—a process that began in the eleventh century—sometimes its new users complained about the strange and parochial character of the variety of Persian language now current in the circles of the powerful. Their statements, often misunderstood out of context, demonstrate that New Persian was an eastern import into their world and that it required adjustment on the part of the locals. Altogether, these three kinds of data make it clear that New Persian was not generally used in Iran until the eleventh century. That is because it originated in Central Asia, not in Iran. It becomes clear that the Seljuqs inadvertently initiated the Neopersification of Iran.

BRUCE WELLS, The University of Texas at Austin
> The Neo-Babylonian Judicial Oath: Weak or Strong?

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 the 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.

JARROD WHITAKER, Wake Forest University

The Meaning of *yātú* and *yātudhā́na* in the *R̥gveda*

For the past five years, I have presented several papers on the use of the terms *yātú* and *yātudhāna* at national and international conferences. At the 233rd meeting of the AOS, I will present my settled views on the meaning of the terms and their importance for understanding early Vedic ritual culture. At *R̥gveda* 7.104.1-25 (cf. *Atharvaveda* ŚS.8.4.1-25/PS.16.9-11), the family priest Vasiṣṭha vociferously counters an accusation leveled at him of being a *yātudhā́na* or "sorcerer," and by implication a *rakṣás* or "demon." For various reasons, the language of sorcery fails to explain the meaning of *yātú* and *yātudhāna* adequately and should be discarded. This paper argues that the term *yātú* and its derivatives appear in a narrow semantic context that consistently describes the disruptions caused by animals—insects, snakes, dogs, birds, etc.—to ritual performances since such creatures pester poet-priests *as they are performing their rituals*. Consequently, the key to understanding *yātú* relates to the behavior of animals. Their disruptive nature comes sharply into focus when we foreground the animalistic behavior underlying the use of the terms *rákṣas* ("beastly threat") and *rakṣás* ("beast"), with which *yātú* is closely associated. In early Vedic discourse the enemy-other is often coded as the animal-other, and this insulting tactic can readily be applied to human rivals. These associations allow us to draw a reasonable conclusion about the meaning of *yātú*, which denotes "disruption, trouble, strife," or "discord." The compound *yātudhā́na* can thus be translated as "strife-sack, bag of trouble" or "discord-sower." For Vasiṣṭha, it is the worst thing a priest could be accused of doing; namely, disrupting the performance of a ritual in the manner of a wild animal and sowing discord among his fellow ritualists during a ritual proceeding. Indeed, the priest appears to beg forgiveness from god Varuṇa at R̥V.7.86 for such an offense, which occurred due to "liquor, anger, dice, and thoughtlessness." In terms of ritual culture, *yātú* and *yātudhā́na* are part of a larger discursive formation—priestly hate speech—that at its heart is exclusionary, designating insider from outsider, truth from untruth, order from chaos, and sacred liturgical speech from falsehoods, lies, slander, and aberrant practices.

KEVIN WILSON, University of California, Riverside

Withered Leaves and Traces of Dialogue between Li Shangyin (813-858) and *Hongloumeng* (Dream of the Red Chamber)

The influence of the Tang poet Li Shangyin (813-858) on the poetic universe depicted in the classic novel *Hongloumeng* continues to present remarkable interpretative difficulties, especially as explicit reference to the poet in the novel is of surprisingly ambiguous valence. In this paper, I develop methodological tools for deciphering and reinterpreting those moments in *Hongloumeng* when Li Shangyin is either directly or indirectly referenced, and for conceptualizing how to relate these referential connections to the aesthetic and thematic sensibilities of the novel's own poetry. This paper considers which poetic formulations most clearly evidence Li Shangyin's influence, and illuminates the unique conceptual space Li Shangyin occupies in the novel. Secondary literature exploring connections between *Hongloumeng* and Li Shangyin is brought into dialogue with new developments in liminality studies and new conceptual work being performed on philosophical desire, self-reference, and identity. Distinguishing this work from previous secondary scholarship is a new comparative apparatus that relates questions of intergender desire and identity in *Hongloumeng* to questions of intergender voices and gender-ambiguous speakers in Li Shangyin's work.

RYAN D. WINTERS, The University of Chicago

Putting Together the Pieces of the Puzzle: Work in Progress on the Map of Ebla's International Relations in the Early Bronze Age

The texts from Early Bronze Age Ebla (ca. 2350 BCE) reveal a complex network of contacts with distant political centers. But the placement of many of these centers on the map, and the drawing of conclusions as to the exact nature of Ebla's relations with them, is a process fraught with uncertainties and controversy. This talk provides an overview as to the current state of research on this topic, including recent progress and problems remaining to be solved. While only the slim chance of a future textual-archaeological discovery can offer certainty as to the identification of a toponym attested in the Ebla archives with a specific site or region, a methodology will be outlined by which a degree of security can be achieved. Rather than approaching each problematic toponym in isolation, Ebla's geopolitical and trade relations should be treated comprehensively, with each individual data point having implications for the entire set, strengthening the plausibility of the overall picture thereby reconstructed. Ebla's contacts in the east, with Babylonia (Kish), the Middle Euphrates (Mari), and the Habur region (Nagar) rest on geographically secure grounds (even if our understanding of the nature of these relations remains in flux), but those in the west and south remain hotly debated. The recent proposal to identify the Ebla toponym

Du-gu₂-ra-su^{ki} with Egypt, and the center which acted as an intermediary between Ebla and this putative Egypt, DU-*lu*^{ki}, with Byblos, has in turn implications for the debate concerning *Ar-mi*^{ki} and its potential identification as a major power located in Anatolia.

XIAOSHAN YANG, University of Notre Dame
> Poetry Clubs and the Rise of the Plebian Poets in the Song Period

Poetry clubs (*shishe*) flourished as predominantly a form of urban culture in the Song period. This presentation focuses on one aspect of this phenomenon that has not attracted sufficient scholarly attention, i.e., the roles played by the city dwellers of non-literati classes in the formation and operation of these clubs. The presentation has three goals. First, it situates the increasing formation of poetry clubs in the burgeoning of various professional, cultural, and religious clubs and societies (*shehui*) in Song cities. Second, the presentation traces the process where the plebeian participation in poetry clubs developed from a curiosity in the late Northern Song to a prominent cultural entity in the late Southern Song. The third part of the presentation examines samples of verses composed by the plebeian poets to illustrate the blurring of the boundary between literati and non-literati classes in matters of poetic taste.

ANTHONY D. YATES, The University of California, Los Angeles
> How to Talk about Dragon-slaying in Hittite

This paper is concerned with the Hittite verbs 'kill' and 'cut' in (1–2), which feature prominently in the "Song of Ullikummi" (CTH 345.I; Güterbock 1951, 1952) and the "Myth of Illuyanka" (CTH 321; Beckman 1982), the latter thought to be a direct reflex of the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) dragon-slaying myth (Watkins 1995:321–3, 448–51). Both are also clearly inherited from PIE, since they have exact word equations in Vedic Sanskrit (thus already Hrozný 1919:73 for (1); cf. LIV²: 218–19, 391–2).

(1)   a. Hitt. *kuēnzi* 'kills'   = Ved. *hánti* 'kills'   <   PIE   *g^{wh}én-ti* 'kills'

   b. Hitt. *kunanzi* 'they kill'   = Ved. *ghnánti* 'they kill'   <   PIE   *g^{wh}n-énti* 'they kill'

   (2)   a. Hitt. *kuērta* 'cut'   = Ved. *kár* 'made'   <   PIE   *k^wér-t* 'cut'

b. Hitt. *kurante[š]* 'cut (by)'   = Ved. *krántas* 'making'   <   PIE   *k^wr-ónt-es* 'cutting'

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More specifically, this paper addresses the phonological interpretation of the "**weak**" **forms** of these verbs, consistently spelled *kun–* (⟨*ku-un-*⟩) and *kur–* (⟨*ku-ur-*⟩) in Hittite and thus orthographically ambiguous. The standard view is that these verb forms were pronounced with word-initial consonant clus- ters, [k^wn-] and [k^wr-], just like their cognates in Vedic and their PIE congenitors (<u>Kimball</u> <u>1999</u>:266–7, <u>Kloekhorst</u> <u>2014</u>:667–8, i.a.). I challenge this view, arguing rather that they were pronounced with a real vowel in the root: [k^wun-] (or [k^won-]) for 'kill' in (<u>1</u>); [k^wor-] for 'cut' in (<u>2</u>) ([ur] is phonotactically illicit in Hittite; cf. <u>Rieken</u> <u>2005</u>:540–2). Crucial evidence for this claim comes from their derivatives in (3):

(3)   a. ⟨***ku-ra**-aš-kán-zi*⟩ ([k^wor-sk:-ántsi]) 'they cut' (KUB 53.11 ii 4)

        b. ⟨*ku-**uk-kur**-aš-ká[n-zi]*⟩ ([k^wo-k^wor-sk:-ántsi]) 'they mutilate' (KBo 6.3 iv 56)

        c. ⟨*ku-un-**ku-n**u-zi-iš*⟩ ([k^wun-k^wun-ūtsi-s]) `(epithet of Ullikummi)' (e.g., KBo 26.65 i 22)

(<u>3a</u>) is an imperfective verbal stem of 'cut' and (<u>3b</u>) a partially reduplicated derivative thereof. In (<u>3a</u>) the **root** can only have been pronounced [k^wor-], since a word-initial consonant cluster [k^wrsk:-] is phonotactically impossible. Similarly, the reduplicant in (<u>3b</u>) must have been [k^wo-], since [$k^w k^w$:-] is impossible, and its vowel can only be copied from the **root**, thus also [k^wor-]. Finally, (<u>3c</u>) is a derivative (with "tool"-suffix *–uzzi–*) of a verbal stem *kunkun–** (cf. <u>Carruthers</u> <u>1933</u>, <u>Puhvel</u> <u>1997</u>:251–4, <u>Kloekhorst</u> <u>2008</u>:494), which was derived from 'kill' in (<u>1</u>) by full reduplication (see Dempsey <u>2015</u>:314–7). Again, the reduplicant must be [k^wun-], since a word-initial cluster [k^wnk^w-] is impossible, and must have copied its vowel from the **root**, thus [k^wun-].

This analysis gives rise to two questions: (i) when did a vowel develop in the root?; (ii) how did a vowel develop in the root? With respect to (i), I argue for a Proto-Anatolian (PA) development, since derivatives of the Luwian verb cognate with (<u>2</u>) contain a root *u*-vowel, necessarily real since it is spelled plene (e.g., INF CLuw. ⟨*ku-ú-ru-na*⟩ 'to cut'; KUB 25.38: 11). With respect to (ii), I argue that simple phonological epenthesis is untenable and intraparadigmatic leveling unlikely. I propose instead that it is related to the root *a*-vowel in the weak stem of ablauting *–mi*-verbs like 'be' and 'eat' (3PL *ašanzi*, *adanzi*), which per <u>Melchert</u> (<u>1994</u>:66–7) developed a root-internal *$\ast\partial$(-like) vowel in PA by morphophonological analogy to roots of the shape *$\ast TeT$*. I suggest that *$\ast\partial$ likewise emerged in 'kill' and 'cut' and was then rounded by the preceding labiovelar obstruent, whence [k^wun-]/[k^won-] and [k^wor-] in Hittite.

KUN YOU, University of Colorado at Boulder

> Creating a Critical Edition in the Era of Manuscript: Reconsidering Liu Xiang's (79–8 BCE) Role in Compiling the *Xunzi* Based on the Excavated Manuscript Evidence from the Warring States Period (453–221 BCE)

As the earliest widely known bibliographer who left editorial reports of his work, Liu Xiang's significant contribution to preserving the transmitted Warring States texts has been widely recognized. However, our knowledge regarding to what extent he edited and compiled these texts that he inherited from at least two centuries before his time lacks nuance. On the one hand, he is depicted as a meticulous editor who preserved as much original text as possible. On the other hand, he appears to play a more authorial role in organizing and naming the texts. The former understanding is mostly based on Liu Xiang's editorial reports, while the latter on a more realistic understanding of the Warring States textual culture that we have gained through the growing number of excavated manuscripts in recent decades.

I argue that Liu Xiang's editorial role can be better understood if we acknowledge that his recension was not only revising the content, but more importantly, regulating the *format* of the writings that were attributed to the Warring States masters. According to Liu Xiang's report about the recension of the *Xunzi*, it is commonly assumed that he collated 322 *pian* (the traditional classifier of writings) of texts that were attributed to Xunzi, that he deleted 290 *pian*, which he considered as "duplicate and repetition," resulting in the 32 *pian* known to us. My research shows that the possibility is low that there had been a critical edition of the *Xunzi* that is close to the transmitted version before Liu Xiang's recension. Based on the titling practices discovered in excavated manuscripts, I identify dozens of passages in the *Xunzi* as copied from a previous independent text. These passages highlight the fact that Liu Xiang combined some smaller textual units to form the larger compilation we see in the transmitted version.

AMEENA YOVAN, University of Chicago

> "Three Thousand Coin, a Maidservant, a Manservant": Qaṭām and Narrative Tension in ʿAlī's Assassination

While the role of martyrdom in Shiʿi literature has become current in modern scholarship, less attention is paid to the "villains" and the role they play. Qaṭām, a Khārijī proto-*femme fatale* who is said to motivate Ibn Muljam's assassination of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, appears as a shadowy figure in poetry, histories, martyrologies, and modern fiction–without any critical attention in scholarly literature. In all narrative forms, Qaṭām is the temptress who instigates the assassination; her dower *is* ʿAlī's murder. However, Qaṭām's early narrative role is fragmentary at best, as she is present only in the first half of the narrative and simply vanishes from the early sources when her narrative utility ends. As the story of the

assassination develops into the modern period, Qaṭām's character moves beyond simple narrative function and becomes fully realized–ending violently. With narrative development comes the attitudes and anxieties of each age towards women in public and religious life, and Qaṭām's narrative becomes a useful tool in examining shifting gender roles and communal relations.

In this paper, I focus on Qaṭām's presence as a vehicle for the changing role of women, especially in mourning and revenge, and the development of sectarian divisions. I trace her presence in poetry, histories, and martyrologies, in comparison with other vengeful women in the early Islamic period (especially Hind b. ʿUtba and Āʾisha b. Abū Bakr). I then turn to modern developments to her character in novels and on screen. While at first glance Qaṭām is simply the woman blamed as the cause of the murder, her role is more nuanced; as her role expands, her story must fit in to certain narrative tropes. Either she must disappear, or she must be punished for the evil she has wrought.

PARKER ZANE, Yale University
      Clouds and Cloud Formations in the Mesopotamian Astral Sciences

Meteorological phenomena were an important part of the astral sciences in Mesopotamia, yet until recently they have been overlooked in Assyriological research in deference to astronomical phenomena. This talk will provide an in-depth discussion of one specific meteorological phenomenon: clouds. After treating the terminology for clouds in Akkadian, the paper will look at how they were recorded and interpreted by scholars in astronomical and astrological texts written in first-millennium Assyria and Babylonia. Clouds and cloud formations make up a section of *Enūma Anu Enlil*, they are one of the most common meteorological phenomena in the Astronomical Diaries, and they appear in Goal-Year Texts. However, cloud formations are not distributed evenly across these genres. A synthesis of all available references to clouds and cloud formations can elucidate the roles of cloud phenomena in Mesopotamian scholarship.

AMY ZHANG, Harvard University
      The Poetics of Co-creation: Yan Zhenqing's Linked Verse in Huzhou

"Linked verse" (*lianju*) is both a social practice and a unique art form that compels us to reconsider notions of authorship and even the traditional Chinese definition of poetry itself. Composed by two or more poets who take turns supplying "links" or segments of poetic lines and thereby expand on and respond to the previous poet's passage, this mode of collective authorship maps the contours of social bonding and literary community at the level of the poem itself. Yet this field has been little explored, with many fine works being largely ignored or dismissed as literary games. In this paper, I discuss the linked

verse composed by a circle of friends formed around statesman and calligrapher Yan Zhenqing (709–785) when he was serving as Governor of Huyaloin in the 770s. Yan and his group were the first major Tang practitioners of linked verse, with over two dozen pieces attributed to them and as many as twenty-nine participants recorded for a single linked-verse gathering. How did these poets negotiate their subjectivities and identities to produce something greater than the sum of its constituent parts? What is the significance of this practice, so far removed from the traditional notion of poetry as articulating the mind of a single poet and often written for entertainment? I argue that linked verse offers a different perspective on thinking about community by providing a dynamic arena of competing voices: it is an event, a performance, that occurred in real time, made possible by the circulation of a collective energy of transformation and co-creation.

LU ZHANG, University of Arizona

        A Recall from Centuries Ago: The Three Indian Translators in the Song Chan Historiography

Buddhapāla, Buddhayaśas, and Buddhabhadra, were three Indian translators active during the 4th-7th centuries. In a Chan historiography in the 12th century, however, they were venerated as Chan ideals. The section where the translators were compiled is entitled "Sages and Worthies as Buddhist Incarnations" (abbr: Incarnation section), which represents a tradition upholding non-Chan figures as Chan ideals. The three translators were portrayed in the *gong'an* stories, and their images were adapted to fit into the Chan context. My research questions thus include: within the Chan literature, how were they portrayed to be Chan ideals? Beyond the texts, why did they draw attention of the Chan compiler? In a broader picture, what was the significance of compiling non-Chan figures like the three translators to the Chan school? My investigations uncovered that the three translators to be recalled in the Song Chan literature was because they became core figures in the Pure Land Buddhism, a popular ideological trend at the time. By portraying them as typical Chan masters and making them advocate Chan values, the Chan compiler converted these Pure Land figures and expressed the superiority of the Chan Buddhism. This paper as a case study is linked with my research on other non-Chan figures in the Incarnation sections. My chronological survey on the Incarnation sections shows that the Chan compilers incorporated non-Chan figures from more and more diverse backgrounds, from Buddhist traditions beyond the Chan school to the ideologies beyond Buddhism. This all-embracing feature suggests that the Chan school in the Song dynasty was more open and inclusive than we thought. Differed from previous scholarship which often only focuses on lineages and masters in the Chan historiographies, my research examines an overlooked aspect of Chan historiographies and reveals the Chan school's reactions to and interactions with other ideologies.

ANDREW ZULKER, The University of Chicago

The Ugaritic *w* and *p* of Apodosis: Perspectives from Information Structure and Comparative Semitics on Two 'Pleonastic' Conjunctions

In Ugaritic, the coordinating conjunctions *w* and *p* are sometimes used in ways that cannot be rendered as "and" in English translation. When the conjunction is used between the protasis and the apodosis of a conditional sentence, a use with well-known parallels in many other Semitic languages, it has been called the "*w* (or *p*) of apodosis"; in some other syntactic contexts, it has simply been called "pleonastic." The nature of the phenomenon or phenomena represented by these uses of the conjunctions has been a subject of disagreement and confusion in the grammatical literature. In this presentation, I will set forth the results of a corpus study and build on proposals from Hawley (2003) and Burlingame (2021) to show that nearly all instances of the untranslatable *w* and *p* have a clear and unified pragmatic function at the level of information structure, namely, to mark a boundary between what I will term "Orientation" and "Predication." I will also present new findings on secondary, syntactic and genre-based aspects of their distribution, and, finally, discuss the Ugaritic situation in relation to other Semitic languages.