AOS

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

ABSTRACTS

OF

COMMUNICATIONS PRESENTED

AT THE

TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY FOURTH MEETING

Chicago, IL

March 22–25, 2023

Shaheer Ahmed, Emory University

Reading the Akbarian School in 19th century South Asia

The pervasive influence of Ibn 'Arabī in Indian subcontinent is well-documented in the literature on South Asian Sufism. While there has seen an increased interest in studying the influence of the Akbarian school in the early modern South Asia in recent years, the engagement of modern South Asian ulama with the works of Ibn 'Arabi remains understudied. The paper examines the reception history of the Akbarian school in 18th and 19th century South Asia through an analysis of the Farangi Mahalli scholar 'Abd al-'Alī Lakhnawī (d. 1225/1810)'s *Risāla waḥdat al-wujūd wa shuhūd al-ḥaqq fī kull mawjūd*. Through a careful reading of the four centuries of commentaries from Sadr al-Dīn al-Qunawī (d.1274) to Muḥibullāh Ilahabadī (d.1648) and mystical poetry of Hafez and Rumi, he presents a layered analysis of *wahdat al-wujud* (Oneness of Being). I will investigate how he mines the works in the Akbarian school in his analysis of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and *waḥdat al-shuhūd* debate. I argue that not only does his account betray an intimate familiarity with the Akbarian school, but also demonstrates the continued influence of Ibn 'Arabī's ideas in the 18th and 19th century.

Tanuja Ajotikar, The Sanskrit Library

Nāgeśabhaṭṭaparyālocitabhāṣyasammatāṣṭādhyāyīpāṭha and Non-pāṇinian grammars: A comparative study of variations in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* rules

There are variations in the *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Ajotikar T. et. al. (2021) discussed a rare Sanskrit work entitled *Nāgeśabhaṭṭaparyālocitabhāṣyasammatāṣṭādhyāyīpāṭha* (*NPBhSAP*) (CE. 1828) which lists more than 100 cases of variations of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtras*. Until now, Kielhorn's two articles (CE. 1885, 1887) were well-known as the first account of variations of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī sūtras*. Ajotikar T. et. al. (2021) provide a detailed survey of works that are based on Kielhorn's articles including Oberlies's (2006) which compares Kielhorn's data with *Cāndra* and *Jainendra* grammars. In this paper, variations are compared with the *Kātantra*, *Cāndra*, *Jainendra* and *Śākaṭāyana* grammars. This comparative study aims to present new evidence for the debate regarding the chronology of the *Cāndra, Jainendra* and *Kāśikāvr̥tti* (Brokhorst 1983 and 2004, Oberlies 2006, Bhate 2011, Aussant 2011). Some scholars discuss the possibility of a source, other than the *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya,* which the *Kāśikāvr̥tti* might have access to. Sharon Ben-Dor (2019) investigates the same issue. The comparison of cases provided by *NPBhSAP* with the non-*pāṇinian* grammars helps understand inter-relations among *pāṇinian* and non-*pāṇinian* grammatical traditions. This study reveals that the *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* influenced non-*pāṇinian* grammars immensely. It shows how some of the conclusions previously drawn regarding the relation between *pāṇinian* and non-*pāṇinian* grammars are based on limited evidence. It once again points out the need for critical editions of prominent grammatical texts.

Mohamed Allehbi, Harvard University

The Origins of Islamic Discretionary Punishment: Nakāl, an Umayyad Precursor to Taʿzīr?

Nakāl (exemplary punishment) was a term Umayyad caliphs and officials used to refer to severe punishments used on rebels, insubordinate officials, and other challengers to state authority. However, two Umayyad jurists, Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 124/741–2) and ʿAtā b. Rabāḥ, classified *nakāl* as a discretionary punishment akin to *taʿzīr*. These jurists viewed *nakāl* as the discretionary punishment for non-prescribed and prescribed offenses when there was reasonable doubt or a lack of evidence, strongly paralleling the later legal framework of *taʿzīr*. Therefore, *nakāl*'s shift from exemplary to discretionary punishment indicates a broader evolution in the nature and scope of punishment in the first century of Islam. I examine the formation of this critical aspect of Islamic criminal law, by tracing the administrative and jurisprudential genealogy of *nakāl,* in the Hadith collection of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī (d. 211/827), together with various legal, administrative, and literary sources.

Isa Almisry, City Colleges of Chicago

Did 'Umar's Letter Put John's Paraclete on Isaiah's Camel as the Muslims' Prophet?

The sources on the rise of Islam record a clash in correspondence between Roman Emperor Leo III and Caliph 'Umar II, titans who moved the course of Christianity and Islam: Jeffrey published Leo's purported letter, while Gaudeul pieced together the text of 'Umar's. However, Gaudeul dated it to the end of the 9th century, and most, if not all, subsequent scholars on the text have tacitly followed this dating, and recently Polombo has added the identification of it as a Christian strawman, not a Musli apologist nor polemicist. Consequently, *'Umar* has been largely overlooked in treatment of texts by Layth, Ibn Qutaybah, al-Tabari etc—although, as the present analysis shows—the texts are interrelated with *'Umar*. Focusing on *'Umar*'s seeming original grasping at the threads of Isaiah 21 and John 15 knotted through Zechariah 9 and weaving it into a mantle to don Muhammad as Christ's successor, this paper reconstructs *'Umar*'s Arabic Vorlage, placing the use of prooftexts in *'Umar* in the context of the trends of developing Islam (canonizing Quranic text, producing the ḥadīth corpus, refining Arabic epistolography, etc.) and argues for a Muslim author and milieu, with a dating towards the beginning of Muslim-Christian relations, rather than the end of the new religion's formative period. It reveals misquotations in *'Umar* re-appearing as classical ḥadīth, so the epistle gives us a glimpse into when and how nascent Islam was taking the Judeo-Christian stock and assimilating into their sources, indicating *'Umar* originated identification of Muhamamd with the Paraclete as a leitmotif of Muslim prophetology.

Nuha Alshaar, American University of Sharjah/The Institute of Ismaili Studies

From al-Jāḥiẓ to al-Tawḥīdī and the Brethren of Purity: Aesthetics, and the Ethical Approach to Language

In the ninth and tenth centuries, discussions about language, especially *'arabyya,* eloquence (*balāgha*), aesthetic, and the art of writing were major preoccupations to practitioners of *adab* as well as philosophers. This paper will outline an ethical theory of language (i.e. ʿ*arabiyya*) and eloquence running from al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 868) to Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (ca. 315-414/927-1023) and his contemporaries Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (the Brethren of Purity).

The paper will then focus on how al-Tawḥīdī and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' viewed the art of writing and aesthetics, whether there is a discourse specific to them, and the elements of this discourse that include imaginary aspects from a variety of cultural contexts that all find their forms of expression in Arabic. Al-Tawḥīdī perceives the art of writing as a simulation of nature, and therefore above art. The role of both the soul and the senses, especially hearing and vision, in the production of aesthetics and appreciation of beauty will be treated. How much is a person's ability to appreciate beauty the work of nature, and how much of it is the act of the soul or the intellect? The Ikhwān's views on eloquence, rational speech, and sound will be provided, and especially their appreciation of onomatopoeia in the Arabic language.

The need for the *adīb* (the littérateur) or an artist to train their innate disposition (*al-ṭab'*) to appreciate the nuances of language and the harmony between words (sound) and their meanings will be covered. The paper will also treat the links between theological, philosophical, political and literary concerns in the perception of language (i.e. *'arabiyya*) and eloquence. It will show that for these scholars, the discussion about *balāgha* in particular was more than a matter of a 'fine voice' or 'sweet discourse,' or 'purity of speech.' Rather, there is a serious ethical aspect that lies at the heart of their entire discussion of language and eloquence, which they view as a matter of justice and truth, and respect for spiritual realities both in a person's conduct and in society.

Nadir Ansari, University of Toronto

Naẓm in the Qur'an: From the Medieval to the Modernist Coherence-based Tafsīr

The paper studies four coherence-based tafsir (CBT) works from the pre-modern period – al-Nasafī (d. 1143), al-Rāzī (d. 1209), al-Mahāᵒimī (d. 1432), and al-Biqāᶜī (d. 1480) – comparing them with two modernist CBTs – Amritsarī (d. 1936) and Iṣlāḥī (d. 1997) – to argue that the modernist CBTs are significantly different from the medieval ones in terms of their aims, objectives, and conclusions and, therefore, do not constitute a unified school of exegesis. The contemporary scholarship has not studied fine distinctions in the understanding of the Qur'anic *coherence – cohaerentia, cohaesio, naẓm, munāsaba* – and have assumed a continuity between the pre-modern and modern practices. The paper challenges these assumptions. The pre-modern CBTs are part of the discourse on the miracle (inimitability) of the Qur'an (*Iᶜjāz al-Qurᵓān*) especially in formal terms, without any infatuation with the unveiling of 'new' substantive meanings; they remain traditional, and the notion of coherence remains undertheorized. They apply the concept of *naẓm*, selectively (not mechanically nor universally), and do not forsake the ḥadīth nor the exegetical tradition. The modernist CBTs too are cognizant of *iᶜjāz* of the Qur'an, are inconsistent in applying an all-embracing coherence, and are poorly theorized. Here the similarities end. The modernist CBTs are responding to the orientalist and Christian missionary accusations of lack of textual coherence in the Qur'an (Nöldeke, Carlyle) and are interested in discovering new, non-traditional meaning that reconciles the Qur'an to the condition of modernity, for which they can even jettison the ḥadīth. They seldom cite pre-modern CBTs and often explicitly dismiss them. Thus, the modern CBTs exhibit creativity: they do not discover coherence, they produce it. This opens up several avenues to analyze the modernist constructs of an 'integrated' Qur'an and "sūras as units" (Mīr, Neuwirth) and to interrogate whether coherence is a textual property, or the 'agility' of the reader's mind (Manfred Frank).

Sean W. Anthony, The Ohio State University

Muḥammad the Sabian: The Semantics of *ṣabaʾa* and *ṣābiʾ* in the ḥadīth Corpus and the Qurʾanic Ṣābiʾūn

The Qurʾan refers to a group called the Sabians (*al-ṣābiʾūn*) alongside the "Believers" and Jews and Christians on three separate occasions (Q. 2:62, 5:69, 21:17). Whom exactly the Qurʾan intends by this designation has divided scholarly opinion, medieval and modern alike. Various approaches have been taken to resolve the problem – some etymological and other heresiological – leading scholars to propose varied, and often incompatible, theses. The qurʾanic Sabians have thus been identified with such widely divergent groups as the Manichaeans, the Mandaeans, and, mostly recently, Samaritan sectarians. In this paper, I explore what answers the ḥadīth corpus might offer for who "the Sabians" might be and evaluate their cogency and relevance for understanding the qurʾanic lexicon. I evaluate a series of ḥadīth traditions where either Muḥammad or his followers and sympathizers are called "Sabians" by their enemies and naysayers and consider whether or

not these *ḥadīth* might convey better, or at least hitherto underappreciated, insights into whom and what sort of group the Qurʾan calls "the Sabians".

Shubham Arora, University of British Columbia

The Śāstra-fication of Dāmodaragupta's *Kuṭṭanīmata* in the *Nāgarasarvasva* of Padmaśrī

This paper delves into the intellectual pursuits of Padmaśrī, the author of the *Nāgarasarvasva* or

"Everything About the Man-About-Town" (c. 1200 CE), a Sanskrit text belonging to the ideological and authoritative system of erotics (*kāmaśāstra*). The objective is to explore how Padmaśrī engaged with Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and how he placed himself within this tradition of premodern *kāmaśāstra*, elucidating his interventions in the world of erotics and his intentions in doing so. Scholars have examined how *kāmaśāstra* texts in the second millennium CE, including the *Nāgarasarvasva*, integrated new notions of the body and pleasure, as well as how new sets of *kāma* practices and implements were introduced. It has been suggested that *kāmaśāstra* was in dialogue with other prevalent branches of intellectual pursuits such as aesthetics, astrology, tantra, and medicine, and the exchange of thoughts was bidirectional. This paper contributes to this ongoing discussion by analyzing Chapter Thirty-seven of the *Nāgarasarvasva*. In this chapter, Padmaśrī replaced Book Six of the *Kāmasūtra*, which deals with prostitution (*vaiśika*), with the *Kuṭṭanīmata* of Dāmodaragupta (c. 900 CE), a Sanskrit poem structured as a conversation between a senior bawd and a young aspiring courtesan. Padmaśrī selected verses from the latter and incorporated them into his work. However, he did not simply borrow them. Instead, he did what I call the "śāstra-fication" of the *Kuṭṭanīmata*'s poetic verses by altering their meter and grammar to fit his śāstric treatise. Additionally, Padmaśrī removed the prostitution backdrop from these verses. This paper argues that Padmaśrī's intervention implies that the cultural context of prostitution had changed in the second millennium, rendering the *Kāmasūtra*'s Book Six obsolete. Furthermore, since Padmaśrī's text concludes with Chapter Thirty-Eight, which offers instruction on conceiving a son, it indicates his concern was with guiding sexual relationships within a marital context for both pleasure and procreation.

Jean Arzoumanov, University of Chicago

Sanskrit Astrological Procedures in North-Indian Persian Texts

This talk will investigate the practice of Sanskrit catarchic astrology (*muhūrtaśāstra*) amongst Indian Muslim Persophone astronomer-astrologers in North India during the 17th and 18th centuries. Sanskrit catarchic astrology, still practiced in India today, offered a system to determine auspicious and inauspicious moments (*muhūrta*) to perform a given action. Traditionally, Arabic and Persian astrological treatises also described their own system of catarchic astrology named *iḫtiyārāt*, following procedures which are notably different from the ones found in Sanskrit texts. In

the context of the ever-growing intellectual exchanges between Persian and Sanskrit scholars in early modern India, a range of different Persian texts produced in the 17th and 18th centuries started to include extensive descriptions of prognostication procedures that mirror closely the practice of Sanskrit *pañcāṅga* catarchic astrology. The importance of a shared scientific culture has been well established in the case of medical science for example, but still awaits a more detailed investigation for astral sciences. The corpus that will be presented has hitherto gone unnoticed and includes one translation from Sanskrit, one independent treatise on astrology, and several almanacs. These texts bear testimony to the fact that Indian experts in astral sciences shared a culture where Arabic-Persian and Sanskrit knowledge systems were communicating and even practiced alongside, often benefiting from the patronage of princes. Several imperial and local courts seem indeed to have relied as much on Muslim *munajjim*s as on Hindu *jyotiṣa*s, fostering a cohabitation which resulted in textual translations and shared practices.

Seth Auster-Rosen, University of Chicago Divinity School

Is Dolpopa's Zhentong Philosophy a "Theo-Logic"? Karmapa VIII Mikyo Dorje's CriQque and the Importance of Dolpopa's Epistemology to his Metaphysics

In his Middle Way (Skt. *Madhyamaka*, Tib. *Dbu ma*) philosophical treaQse, the *Praise to Dependent OriginaǏon (Rten 'brel bstod pa)*, Karmapa VIII Mikyö Dorje (1507-1554), the eighth hierarch of the Tibetan Buddhist Kagyü monasQc order, represents his posiQon as a "middle path" between what he considers the extreme views of Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen (1292-1361) and Tsongkhapa Losang Drakpa (1357-1419). In this talk, I focus on Mikyö Dorje's criQque of Dolpopa, a luminary of the Jonang order. At stake is whether Dolpopa's view adheres to the axiomaQc Buddhist teaching that everything is dependently arisen (*pra=tyasamutpāda*) in reliance upon causes and condiQons or whether he propounds a transcendent realm which, like the soul (*ātman*) in Vedic religion, has essenQal qualiQes. I agree with Duckworth (2015) that, when taken from a convenQonal epistemological perspecQve, Mikyö Dorje is right to call out the problemaQc nature of what Duckworth refers to as Dolpopa's ontologically dualisQc "theo- logic." However, against Duckworth, I argue that when it is understood from an ulQmate epistemological perspecQve, Dolpopa's view does not consQtute such a "theo-logic" and is in fact far closer to Mikyö Dorje's Middle Way posiQon than the laeer would like to admit. This conclusion impacts not only Mikyö Dorje's philosophical criQque but his hermeneuQc one as well, for Dolpopa characterizes his view as an unorthodox Great Middle Way (*Dbu ma chen po*) that takes texts of both the second and third dispensaQons of the Buddha's teachings to be definiQve rather than considering the third dispensaQon to be merely provisional as most Tibetan Mādhyamikas, including both Mikyö Dorje and Tsongkhapa, do. In addiQon to shedding light on their respecQve philosophical stances, understanding the similariQes between Dolpopa's and Mikyö Dorje's posiQons raises important quesQons about the actual impact that these Buddhist thinkers' hermeneuQcal frames have upon their philosophical views.

Mustafa Banister, Utah State University

Literarisierung and Textual Brokerage: Ibn 'Arabshah's '*adab*ization' of Contemporary Historical Narratives

The enigmatic *adīb* and poet-historian Ahmad ibn 'Arabshah (1389-1450), a native Syrian Arabophone religious scholar renowned for panegyrical and biographical works in the early fifteenth century, captivates researchers in fields such as Mamluk, Persianate, and Ottoman Studies. His journey commenced with his capture as a child by Tamerlane's victorious forces after the sack of Damascus in 1400, and ended with residencies in nearly a dozen courts across Central Asia and Asia Minor, until his return to his homeland in the so-called "Mamluk" Sultanate of Cairo in 1421. Among Ibn 'Arabshah's significant literary achievements during this reintegration period between Ottoman and Mamluk service, was his translation of Sa'd al-Din al-'Awfi's thirteenth-century *Compendium of Tales* (*Jami' al-hikayat*) from Persian to Turkic. This work of nearly 2,000 stories brimming with wisdom and wit, served the author as a rich source of anecdotes for other works. He subsequently incorporated a number of tales into his Arabic narratives of contemporary events of his own time in Cairo in the 1440s. Through an examination of noteworthy instances of Ibn 'Arabshah's references to tales from the *Jami' al-hikayat*, this paper examines how he employed these stories to infuse literary and didactic dimensions into contemporary historical narratives. Furthermore, it explores Ibn 'Arabshah's role as a transregional, transcultural, and translinguistic textual broker, striving to bridge cultural divides among the courts and rulers he served. This exploration unravels Ibn 'Arabshah's multifaceted persona and his construction of self through his works, enriching our comprehension of his significance within the evolving concept of transregional Islamicate identity.

Stefan Baums, Ludwig-Maximilans-Universität München

A Gāndhārī Stotra in Āryā Meter

The discoveries of Gāndhārī manuscripts in Pakistan and Afghanistan have brought to light previously unknown early Buddhist texts from a wide range of genres, including original poetry. One example is the badly fragmented scroll BL 5C of the British Library collection, measuring 24 by 13 cm in its current state and containing fourteen lines of verse on the recto and seven on the verso. It preserves a collection of short stotras in a variety of meters, including Vasantatilaka and Āryā. The Vasantatilaka stotra (with its intriguing convention of stanza-initial *ajavi* = *adyāpi*) has formed the subject of previous presentations and will be discussed in passing. The focus of the present paper are the following Āryā stanzas of the manuscript. The paper proposes a tentative decipherment and interpretation, situating them in the history of development of the Āryā meter as well as the genre of Buddhist stotra writing. Particular comparisons are made with other uses of mora-counting meters including Āryā in other Gāndhārī texts, and with the later developments of the stotra genre in Sanskrit Buddhist literature.

Peri Bearman, Harvard University

> Shooting Stars: Three, Now Forgotten, Nineteenth-Century Leiden Scholars

Every once in a while, though always too often, we are shocked and saddened by the loss of a young colleague—a premature death of a promising dynamo in the field of Islamic Studies. We discuss what was written and imagine what would have been. No era and no field are immune, of course, but when a field is in its genesis, as the study of Islam was in the mid-nineteenth century, with so much still to be discovered and published, the losses hit hard. My presentation will be given in homage to three early nineteenth-century scholars struck down in their prime and to remember their all too short lives and work.

Max Bergamo, Yale University / University of Padua

> Lost in Translation? Heraclitus in the Latin, Syriac, and Arabic Versions of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *De Mundo*

The pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De Mundo*, most probably written between the late Hellenistic and the early Imperial period, is a puzzling yet fascinating work setting out the structure and the nature of the universe and the way in which the divine power is supposed to rule and order it. Composed, in all likelihood, by a Peripatetic author heavily influenced by Stoicism – the dominant philosophical School at the time –, *De Mundo* also preserves (in chapters 5 and 6) two extremely valuable quotations deriving from the lost book of the early Greek philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus. The former quotation (fr. B10 Diels-Kranz) deals with the key topic of the connection of the opposites and with the way in which this brings about the unity-in-multiplicity of the world; the latter (fr. B11 Diels-Kranz) presents the enigmatic statement according to which "every animal is driven to pasture with a blow" (transl. Marcovich).

The aim of the present paper is to provide an analysis of the reformulation and resemantisation of these Heraclitean fragments in the translations of *De Mundo*. After a brief analysis of form and content of the original Greek work and of Apuleius' second-century CE Latin translation, I shall focus on the hitherto largely understudied Syriac and Arabic versions of the treatise. The translations at issue are, for the Syriac, the one ascribed to Sergius of Reshʿayna (d. 536) and, for the Arabic, a larger material mainly consisting of three different versions, made both from the Greek and the Syriac – such as the one produced by ʿĪsā ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nafīsī (middle of 10th c. CE). I shall thus assess the different ways in which Heraclitus' sayings have been translated and adapted in order to determine the remarkable philological and philosophical consequences of this wide-ranging cultural and exegetical tradition. To give but an example of the interest of the translations in question, one of the Arabic versions accentuates the ethical and anthropological import of the fragments by turning the Heraclitean pair of opposites "in tune" and "out of tune", to

be found in B10, into "eternity and mortality" and by rewriting B11 with reference to the "diseases" of which every being would be a carrier on earth.

Hansini Bhasker, Wesleyan University

Text-Tune Mapping in Korean Popular Music

Linguists researching relationships between tones in tonal languages like Cantonese, Thai, and Vietnamese and melody in music sung in those languages have found high levels of contour directional correspondence between tone (aka speech melody) and tune (aka song melody) in popular and traditional songs (Wong and Diehl (2002); Ho (2006); Kirby and Ladd (2016); List (1961)). Similarity in these "tone-tune" or "text-tune" mappings indicate additional significance found in song melody to help listeners properly perceive and differentiate the meaning of the lyrics. Little research has been done to date on such linguistic relationships in Korean, a language that though intonational, is becoming more tonal (Kang and Han 2013). This paper explores whether text-tune correspondence exists within Korean popular music between the smallest units of intonation in Korean speech, known as accentual phrases (AP's), for three types of consonants (lax, aspirated, and tense) and the melodies in three popular music genres found within K-pop: dance pop, rap, and ballads. Melodic contour is coded either as "similar" if moving in line with expected AP intonation, "contrary" if moving in the opposite direction, or "oblique" if melodic pitch is unmoving. Across 26 songs (11 ballads, 9 dance pop, 6 rap), studies find, on average, a 70% likelihood of similar motion within ballads, a 61% likelihood within dance pop, and only a 41% likelihood within rap, which comes at lower than the likelihood (42%) of contrary motion within rap. Ballads, of the 3 genres, are most melodically and least rhythmically focused, and have been less impacted by incorporation of English lyrics into songs, posing further inquiry into potentially opposing forces of melody and rhythm, and increasing tonality in Korean language vs. confounding influences of English intonation in K-pop text-tune mappings.

Aditya Bhattacharya, University of Michigan

'Surveilling' the Princes, 'Protecting' the King: Reading the *Rājaputrarakṣaṇa Prakaraṇa* of *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*

One cannot deny the importance of children, especially sons, for the continuation of the lineage as well as the occupation of the family. This fact remains true for the royal household too. The duty of the king was not over in giving birth to offspring. He had to keep watch on the proper upbringing of the princes. Indeed, they were 'potential threat' to the monarch. Their ears could have been easily poisoned from the mere childhood to revolt against their father, and even overthrow or execute him. Kauṭilya observed that it was detrimental if the princes were misled by someone towards something not at par with *dharma* and *artha* before their attainment of maturity. Unlike that of the previous scholars quoted in the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, to whom, the princes were 'threats' to be

eradicated, Kauṭilya kept his faith in proper training and disciplining of them. The present essay proposes a reading on the *Rājaputrarakṣaṇa Prakaraṇa* of *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* in order to enquire into how the princes were understood and dealt with in the *artha*-tradition of early India.

Erica Biagetti, University of Pavia

> The Lexicon of Time: Patterns of Polysemy of Time-related Lexemes from the *Ṛgveda* to Epic Sanskrit

This paper focuses on patterns of polysemy of time-related lexemes such as English *time*, *hour*, *season*, *year*, etc. from the *Ṛgveda* to Epic Sanskrit. Lexical typology (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2008) has recently granted much attention to the linguistic expression of temporal concepts for several reasons. First, time is central to human experience and time-related lexemes consequently belong to the basic vocabulary in most languages. Second, time-related lexemes in the world's languages feature rich polysemies, as their meanings are often subject to metaphoric and metonymic extensions (Evans 2004, 2005, 2013; Piata 2018). Third, this semantic domain displays great cross-linguistic variation: e.g., languages differ as to whether they conceptualize duration as distance or as amounts of substance that occupies three-dimensional space. In the former case, duration is expressed by spatial linear expressions (*a long meeting* ~ *a long rope*), whereas, in the latter, it is expressed by quantity-based expressions (Modern Greek *meyali synantisi* lit. 'big meeting' ~ *meyalo ktirio* 'big building'; Casasanto 2008). Last, such conceptualizations are not stable, but can change over time.

Although several studies exist on individual time-related lexemes as well as on units of time in ancient India, the expression of the temporal domain in Old Indo-Aryan has not yet been studied in the framework of lexical typology. Following the methodology developed by Georgakopoulos and Polis (2021) for Ancient Greek and Ancient Egyptian, in this paper I will show how time-related concepts such as AGE, DAY, HOUR, SEASON, TIME, YEAR, etc. are expressed in three diachronic stages of Old Indo-Aryan (the mantra, prose, and epic period). I will analyze the patterns of polysemy shown by temporal lexemes, their motivations, as well as their evolution in diachrony. To make data reusable by other researchers, all analyzed lexemes will be annotated and made available within the Sanskrit WordNet (Biagetti et al. 2021).

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Kevin Blankinship, Brigham Young University

Foolscap and Tambourine: Translating the Surviving Poems of Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310)

Mamluk playwright and ophthalmologist Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Khuzāʿī al-Mawṣilī, better known as Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310), enjoys what fame he has due to three raunchy shadow plays written in Arabic. These plays have been edited, translated in part, and studied for language and context. Less known is Ibn Dāniyāl's Arabic poetry, of which 1,100 lines (171 poems) survive in a single *majmūʿ* manuscript, Ayasofya 4880. Since 2020, this manuscript has been edited by Li Guo at University of Notre Dame, who in 2022 invited me to translate the poems. In this presentation, I will give a preliminary report of my work. The poetry itself ranges from outrageous comedy, to high-brow praise of rulers, to difficult words and rhetoric, and even to sober resignation. All this, including Ibn Dāniyāl's annotations, Dr. Guo and I will translate into natural, idiomatic, and contemporary English (without rhyme and meter) that can be read on its own. But we do not want to quash the sense of discovery and wonder when reading a text from long ago, and therefore we hope to convey the artistic and cultural uniqueness of Ibn Dāniyāl and his epoch, while still making it accessible. We hope our planned edition-plus-translation reveals an overlooked yet significant part of a well-known author's career, not only for the light it sheds on Arabic literature but also on Mamluk society and culture.

Radha Blinderman, Harvard University

What Grammar Can Tell About *Ātman*: Echoes of Patañjali in Durgasiṁha and Balarāma Pañcānana

Theologians often rely on grammar to prove that their interpretations are correct, but grammarians also appeal to metaphysics to prove that their understanding of the grammatical system is correct. This paper focuses on the latter case, where grammarians beginning with Patañjali discuss the metaphysics of *ātman* to explain how grammatical rules should be interpreted and applied. I trace how Patañjali's idea of duality between *ātman* as 'the bodily self' and as 'the inner self' is reflected in Durgasiṁha's *vṛtti* and likely transformed in the context of non-dualist Vedānta. While it is not entirely clear what exactly Patañjali hand in mind, his repeated statement about the dichotomy of *ātman* was variously interpreted in the context of *Sāṁkhya* and Nyāya. Durgasiṁha complicates the problematic of *ātman* in grammar by raising the question how language were to operate if *ātman* were understood everywhere in the non-dualist sense. Later, in the 18th cent., Balarāma Pañcānana composed a *śākta* grammar that I designate as an "updated Kātantra", since it builds on the works of Durgasiṁha and other major commentators of the Kātantra tradition. Like generations of grammarians before him, he too was drawn to ontological questions in examples like "he/she kills himself/herself" (*ātmānaṁ hanti*). These discussions lead to questions about the applicability of grammatical rules based on the concept of *ātman* as the seat of desire, pleasure, and sorrow, and how much impact metaphysical explanations can have on grammatical systems. They also shed light on the two-fold approach to Sanskrit as a divine language, since on the one hand grammarians rely on non-grammar- based arguments to explain their systems, thinking of grammar as that which is in perfect harmony with the expressed meaning, and on the otherhand, they think language fails when it comes to conceptualizing the immanent divine as its ultimate essence.

Andrew J. Bock, The University of California, Los Angeles

Wait for it: Anticipatory Genitives in Sumerian and Akkadian

Abstract: The anticipatory genitive is a well-known and well-studied construction in Sumerian texts. Similar to Sumerian, Akkadian constructs its anticipatory genitive by using a relative marker followed by a governed noun in the genitive case. Attached to this governed noun is a possessive pronominal suffix that corresponds in person, gender, and number to the governed noun. While this construction has been identified in Akkadian texts, there is to date no extensive study of the anticipatory genitive in Akkadian and treatment of the phenomenon in Akkadian grammars is negligible. I hope to fill this gap in scholarship by providing a preliminary analysis of the development, distribution, and stylistic role of the anticipatory genitive in Akkadian. I will begin by demonstrating that the anticipatory genitive originates in Sumerian and develops in Akkadian under the influence of Sumerian. I will then investigate the propositions that the form occurs most often in poetic texts (von Soden 1995) and is a marker of the *Hymnic Epic Dialect* (Haber 2009). Finally, I

will illustrate the stylistic role of the anticipatory genitive construction in Akkadian texts and how it compares to the stylistic role of the anticipatory genitive in Sumerian literature. Overall, this paper will present an initial overview of the anticipatory genitive in Akkadian as well as present directions for further study.

Cicely Bonnin, The University of Texas at Austin

Color Language and Conceptual Categories in Four Early Upaniṣads

Color words in early Sanskrit texts have long drawn the interest of scholars, who note their apparently ambiguous denotations (Hopkins 1883; Filliozat 1957; Elizarenkova 1994; Vogel 2006). While it's probable that color concepts in the speech communities of origin were well-differentiated, modern scholarship has yet to fully understand the native paradigm(s) of color concepts. This paper demonstrates that understanding conceptual categories with research methods drawn from cognitive linguistics may offer clarity.

My work on shifting conceptual categories of color across four early upaniṣads starts with a close examination of color in parallel passages about the channels of the heart found in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 4.3 and 4.4, *Chāndogya* 8.6.1-3, *Kauṣītaki* 4.19, and *Maitrī* 6.30. I then expand this analysis to investigate color language deployed in the remainder of these four upaniṣads. The passages from BAU, ChU, and KauU, thought to date to the 7th-5th centuries BCE (Olivelle 1998, 12; Cohen 2018, 283), associate a separate color to each of five channels (or contents thereof). The order and lexemes used overlap considerably. The Maitrī passage, perhaps half a millennium younger (Cohen 2018, 348), is distinct, associating six colors with six channels.

The overlap in the order of the colors and lexemes used in the first three upaniṣads is evidence not only that they draw from a "common stock of... teachings" (Olivelle 1998, 11), but also of a shared cognitive paradigm of basic color concepts. The change to six colors and six channels in the MaiU suggests a timeframe for the emergence of blue and black as differentiated conceptual categories, a split from an earlier, broader concept of darks in general. A category of brights/whites is relatively stable over this time, as is a category of reds. Two categories roughly corresponding to English yellows/greens/browns are suggested, but the internal relationships and boundaries between them remain unclear.

Joel Brereton, The University of Texas at Austin

The Display of Dharma

The fourth Rock Edict of Aśoka," according to Jean Filliozat, "is one of the clearest in its … intentions, but one of the most difficult in … its details." And first among its difficult details is Aśoka's comment at RE IV B *se aja devānaṃpiyasa piyadasine lājine dhaṃmacalanena bhelighose aho dhaṃmaghose vimānadasanā hathīni agikaṃdhāni aṃnāni ca diviyāni lūpāni dasayitu janasa*, roughly, "Then today, by the practice of King Piyadasi, Beloved of the Gods, the sound of drums— look!—the sound of Dharma!—in making visible to the people visions of celestial chariots, elephants, masses of fire, and other heavenly forms." Much scholarly effort and ink have been dedicated to unraveling Aśoka's meaning. Is he describing visions, either experienced by people or described by religious traditions? Or is he referring a festival? Or both? Or neither?

This paper will make its own attempt to explain what Aśoka is doing or thinks he is doing by observing the literary techniques of the inscriptions. As Adelheid Mette has richly demonstrated, Aśoka's edicts are artfully composed using a variety of literary devices familiar from Vedic and later poetry. While attention to the literary construction of Aśoka's claim does not resolve all difficulties in interpreting this passage, it supports interpretations of this passage that see dual references in what Aśoka says he has made visible. In particular, the passage links the person of the king to the Dharma that he represents.

Ryan Brizendine, Yale University

Disentangling Ibn ʿArabī's "Creed of the Elect": On the textual relations and significance of the *Kitāb al-Maʿrifa*, *Kitāb al-Masāʾil*, and ʿ*Aqīdat al-khawāṣṣ* [Withdrawn]

The introduction to Ibn ʿArabī's (d. 638/1240) *Meccan Openings* (*al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*) culminates in a philosophically intriguing yet characteristically elliptical "Creed of the Elect," described as pertaining to "the folk of God, [situated] between reasoning and unveiling" and consisting of 65 tenets or theses, each headed by the common term *masʾala* ("question," "issue," "proposition"). Parallel to this, the most widespread edition of Ibn ʿArabī's epistles (*rasāʾil*) contains a text entitled the *Kitāb al-Masāʾil* consisting of 53 propositions. This latter text clearly overlaps with the creed of *The Openings*, yet formulates some ideas differently and includes certain things not found in the latter while leaving others out. The record of Ibn ʿArabī's literary output, however—including two self-enumerations of his own works—nowhere attests to a *Kitāb al-Masāʾil*, and prior to the Creed's presentation in the *Futūḥāt* Ibn ʿArabī notes that he has expounded the same in another volume entitled *al-Maʿrifa*. In fact, the *Futūḥāt* refers in several other places to this *Kitāb al-Maʿrifa*, which does appear in both Ibn ʿArabī's auto-bibliography as well as his disciple al-Qūnawī's (d. 673/1274) list of works studied under his teacher.

Under all three of these titles (and others) there exists both a sizable manuscript tradition and a modest number of published editions, though no critical edition and, among its modern editors, little awareness of the text's multiple versions. Manuscripts fall into two broad groups: one, clearly nearest the original, featuring 50–60 *masāʾil*; and another, featuring around 230–300, incorporating texts from other works of Ibn ʿArabī as well as a handful of passages by al-Ghazālī. As one may judge from its title and placement, the core text is particularly rich in terms of content. Looking at six early manuscripts, this paper examines this work from both perspectives of its textual history and doctrinal significance.

S. Beena Butool, Florida State University

The Account of Sebeos and the Problem of Recovering the Arab Imagination of Empire

What triggered Muslims, a nascent religious community, to advance, expand, and build an empire? The account attributed to the Armenian bishop Sebeos (c. 645) is regarded by Hoyland (1997) and Shoemaker (2018) as the most coherent account about "what the Muslims themselves thought they were doing" in attacking the Byzantine army inside the Levant in 630s. Sebeos recounts the Jews of Edessa rushing to the Arabs of Hijaz seeking their aid against the Byzantines (hence causing the Arab conquest of the Near East). The only problem is that his story does not add up with the overall alliance patterns prevalent in the seventh-century chess game of regional politics. Such a lens, I argue, ignores understanding how the intrinsic Arab imagination of empire and the reasons that motivated their ambition. Therefore, I use Sebeos's account to offer my critique concerning the prevailing lens regarding Muslim conquests inside the field of Early Islam. I offer two methodological solutions. First, I track the patterns of warfare between the Byzantine and Sassanian empires and their impact on Arabia during the third and the sixth century. I compare these patterns with the pattern of warfare adopted by the Muslims while they attacked regions east and west of Arabia (in two opposite directions). Secondly, I use the patterns of warfare to produce a new map. I argue that the only way to understand the Arab objectives about the region are to offload cartographic assumptions as viewed from Constantinople and Ctesiphon. Instead, we need to recalibrate our maps by asking a single question: how did a general sitting in Medina view the regional landscape? My map forwards a new theory about Muslim conquests between 630-700 CE. The map inverts the prevalent lens and attempts at recovering the Arab imagination of empire.

Lucrezia Carnesale, University of Pavia

Investigating Doublets in the Hindi Causative Paradigm

This paper investigates doublets cognates in the Hindi causative paradigm. Hindi displays two causative morphemes: *-ā* and *–vā*. The function of these morphemes has been widely discussed: some scholars proposed to interpret them as encoding two levels of causation (Masica 1976, 1991, Kachru 1980); while others (Saksena 1982) proposed that they correspond to two degrees of

involvement of the causee (the opposition between an involved and a non-involved causee being realized through a differential marking (cfr. Mohanan 1994, Butt&King 1991, 2003)). Moreover, some transitive verbs can derive a corresponding intransitive anticausative via the shortening of the root vowel (and sometimes changes in the root consonant). Among these verbs, some seem to display doublets in their paradigm. Notably, these doublets are rare in the language and show many idiosyncrasies.

My proposal is that causatives showing doublets are resulting from the causativization of two different verb forms: a first series of causatives is formed by the addition of the derivational morphemes to the base verb, while the second series is the result of the causativization of the anticausative form (as shown in Table 1). I will try to show this through a corpus-based analysis. I will extract linguistic data from the hiTenTen Corpus, and I will give an account of the semantics of each verb by evaluating the different contexts in which it occurs. In particular, I will argue that the Hindi verbs allowing these doublets are verbs referring to events that can be conceptualized both as having an agent participant causing the event and as spontaneously happening (cfr. Haspelmath 1990). Lastly, since South Asian languages display a well-entrenched and complex causative paradigm that can offer good insights for typological studies, the results of this paper will be made available in the Pavia Verb Database Project, an open-source relational database for investigating valency and valency changing operations across languages (PaVeDa; Zanchi, Luraghi and Combei 2022).

Table 1

ANTICAUSATIVE	BASE	CAUSATIVE *-ā-*	CAUSATIVE *-vā-*
dikhnā "appear"	*dekhnā* "see"	*dikh-ā-nā* "show" *dikh-lā-nā* "make sth appear"	*dikh-vā-nā* "show" *dikh-lvā-nā* "make sth appear"
ṭūṭnā "get broken"	*toḍnā* "break"	*toḍ-ā-nā* "make so break st"	*toḍ-vā-nā* "make so break st"
		tuḍ-ā-nā "make sth to get break"	*tuḍ-vā-nā* "make sth to get break"
khūlnā "get opened"	*kholanā* "open"	*khul-ā-nā* "make sth to get break"	*khul-vā-nā* "make sth to get break"
		khol-ā-nā	*khol-vā-nā*

		"make so open sth"	"make so open sth"

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Corpus

hiTenTen Corpus: https://www.sketchengine.eu/hitenten-hindi-corpus/

Michael Chapin, Johns Hopkins University

The Paul Haupt Tablets in the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum Collection

Paul Haupt was one of the founding professors of Johns Hopkins University, a key figure in American Assyriology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and a frequent attendee of meetings of the American Oriental Society. He made many important contributions to the field, perhaps most notably the first complete scholarly edition of the cuneiform text of the Epic of Gilgamesh (then known as the Babylonian Nimrod Epic). However, Haupt's legacy is marred by his deeply problematic and often antisemitic views, many of which he expressed in print. The Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum currently houses several modern Akkadian compositions by Paul Haupt between the 1880s and the 1920s. These clay tablets were created and inscribed by Haupt for several purposes, including pedagogical tools, replicas for sale, congratulatory messages, and even conference entertainment.

As part of my "Babylon in Baltimore" project at Johns Hopkins, I am preparing the first modern philological editions of these tablets since their creation over 100 years ago. I am also designing an exhibit in the Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum in which these tablets will feature. In this paper, I will discuss these tablets, their contents, and their intended uses. I will also discuss the challenges of presenting these tablets to the general public in such a way that contextualizes them within the problematic views of their creator. I will argue that these tablets offer an important avenue to understand the state of Assyriology in the USA during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and how the intellectual foundations laid then continue to influence the field today.

Liyao Chen, University of Washington

"Playful Writing" in *Man'yōshū*

This presentation examines the phenomenon of "playful writing" (*gisho* 戲書) in *Man'yōshū* 萬葉集, the earliest Japanese literary anthology. *Man'yōshū* is completely written in Sinograms, but the underlying language is Japanese. "Playful writing" refers to the idiosyncratic and ad hoc usage of Sinograms to represent a linguistic unit which is beyond the scope of their normal function in Japanese Sinographic writing. It cannot be explained solely by linguistic factors, and it results in a higher degree of literary effect than regular character use and adds to the degree of logographicity in the transcription of *Man'yōshū*. "Playful writing" is a common topic in the study of Japanese writing or *Man'yōshū* and there are many well-known cases, but there have been few complete discussions, especially outside Japanese scholarship. This study attempts to categorize the cases of "playful writing" from the perspective of script adaptation. The cases which are normally identified as such can be classified into four categories based on the motivation of character use and/or the relationship between the literal meaning of the written sequence and the intended

linguistic unit: (1). unconventional notation of grammatical morphemes; (2). onomatopoeic association; (3). mathematical association; and (4). association based on the physical form of characters. If characters from these cases are to be assigned to one of the types in Zev Handel's framework of script adaptation (directly-adapted logogram, semantically-adapted logogram, phonetically-adapted phonogram, semantically-adapted phonogram), the most appropriate type is semantically-adapted phonogram. This is because they are essentially graphic representations temporarily mapped onto a certain linguistic unit (which means that they are phonograms) by virtue of semantic derivations based on the literal meaning of the written sequence, no matter how complicated the process of derivation is.

John Clayton, The University of California, Los Angeles

A Heteroclitic Origin of Vedic -*yú*-Stems?

Most modern scholarship concerning the Vedic suffix -*yú*- (Debrunner 1954: §680–682; Melchert 1975; Tucker 1988: 97–102) discusses its adjectivizing function, its 'desiring *X*' semantics, and its cooccurrence with denominative -*yá*-verbs and -*yánt*-participles. Against the traditional reconstructed of Proto-Indo-European *-*y-ú*-, this paper argues that this Vedic category originates (at least partially) from the heteroclitic m.nom.sg *-*wr̥-s* undergoing a regular sound change from PIE *-*wr̥s# > *-*wur# > *-*yur# » > -*yus#*. From this paradigm cell, speakers created a full paradigm form the -*ú*-stem adjectives. The reconstruction of *-*wr̥-s* is supported by several archaic heteroclitic adjectives in Vedic and Iranian:

(1) Adjectival *-*wr̥- ~ *-*wen*- heteroclites:

        a. *h_2r̥-t-éh$_2$- 'truth':

               i. *r̥tā́van- ~ r̥tā́varī-*, Av. *aṣauuan-* 'righteous' < *h_2r̥téh$_2$-won- ~ * h_2r̥téh$_2$-wer-ih$_2$-*

               ii. *r̥tāyú-* 'righteous' « *h_2r̥t-éh$_2$-wr̥-s*

        b. *√$h_1$yaǵ-* 'to sacrifice':

               i. *yájur* 'sacrifice' < *h_1yā́ǵ-wr̥*

               ii. *yájvan- ~ yájvarī-* 'sacrificing' < *$h_1$yáǵ-won- ~ *$h_1$yáǵ-wer-ih$_2$-*

               iii. *yájyu-* 'sacrificing' « *$h_1$yáǵ-wr̥-s*

        c. *m(n̥)n-éh$_2$-* 'attention'

               i. *sumnā́varī-* 'very attentive' < *$h_1$su-mn-éh$_2$-wer-ih$_2$-*

               ii. *sumnāyú-* 'very attentive' « *$h_1$su-mn-éh$_2$-wr̥-s*

               iii. *manāyú-* 'attentive' « *mn̥n-éh$_2$-wr̥-s*

The change of Skt. *vr̥* > MIA *vu ⇒ Skt. *yu* was identified by Tedesco (1957) as a Middle Indicism, but this paper argues that the dissimilation of *vu > *yu* was regular in Vedic.

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Juan Cole, University of Michigan

Ṣulḥ and Aṣlaḥa: Reconciliation in the Qur'an and Moses as Murderer

In the Qur'an the root *ṣ-l-ḥ* was used as part the phrasal verb *ṣalaḥa bayna* or to reconcile some group of people to something. I will argue that the form IV verb *aṣlaḥa* and its verbal noun also sometimes have the connotation of peace-making, and not just of "reform" as they are usually translated. This paper looks at the use of this latter form in the story of Moses' murder of the Egyptian slave driver and his subsequent attempt to make peace among two Hebrews, told in Q. 28:18-19, which narrates Moses' intervention in a quarrel between his countrymen, which ends with the charge, that he did "not want to be among the peacemakers (*al-muṣliḥīn*)." This paper makes the point that the Qur'an's straightforward depiction of the young Moses as a murderer, mirroring Exodus 2:11-15, contrasts with the typical image of him in antiquity and late antiquity among Jews and Christians. Philo of Alexandria vilifies the Egyptian slave-driver to excuse Moses. Luke's Acts 7:23-29 also seems to exonerate Moses. Gregory of Nyssa depicted Moses as a righteous slayer of wicked pagans, perhaps as a justification for late fourth-century Christian persecution of pagans in his own day. I suggest that the humanity of prophets is being stressed in the Qur'anas an apologetic for the Prophet Muhammad, who was often accused by his critics of being a mere human being who could therefore not serve as a conduit for the divine. There is a large literature on *Ṣulḥ* in the Qur'an and another large literature on Moses, but I do not know of any previous treatment that takes up the issue in this paper.

Patrick Cummins, Cornell University

Gaṅgeśa's Hybrid Theory of Meaning

When it comes to the premodern South Asian context, modern scholars typically find a contextualist position about word-meaning in Prābhākara Mīmāṃsā's theory of "construed denotation" (*anvitābhidhāna*), and we tend to associate the perspective that words directly convey lexical meanings with the Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsā theory of "the construal of the denoted" (*abhihitānvaya*). The Nyāya philosopher Gaṅgeśa (fl. c. 1325 CE), however, despite subscribing to Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṃsā's compositional theory of sentence-meaning, also holds that a given word (e.g., "cut") directly conveys a meaning constructed out of the linguistic context (e.g., the word "cut" in the utterances: "cut the grass" vs. "cut the cake" directly conveys: "run over with a lawnmower" and "slice with a knife") – and not a bare lexical meaning (eg., a universal). In this talk, I attempt to unravel how Gaṅgeśa's hybrid theory is motivated by his position about indirect expression (*lakṣaṇā*) that the language-listener is triggered to interpret a word as conveying a meaning indirectly on the basis of the word's directly-conveyed meaning not semantically fitting with the other word-meanings (*anvayānupapatti*) – and not due to a failure of the directly-conveyed meaning to communicate the speaker's predetermined intention (*tātparyānupapatti*). And importantly, Gaṅgeśa's position on indirect expression appears to be a back-door issue for his theory that language is epistemically irreducible to inference. I will end my talk by reflecting upon the upstream implications of Gaṅgeśa's position about word-meaning, and its deeper implications for our understanding of theories of meaning in premodern South Asia.

Daniele Cuneo, The University of Texas at Austin

Dissecting Mammaṭa's Threefold Take on *gauṇa* Usages

The second chapter of Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* (11th c.), the most celebrated and commented treatise of Sanskrit poetics, is dedicated to the powers of speech. In other words, it is a detailed analysis of how human language can express a sense that goes beyond the lexical meanings of the single words. Within the complex classification of what is usually rendered as indication (*lakṣaṇā*) — the entire spectrum of metaphorical-cum-metonymical language — four dense lines of text have not yet piqued the attention of scholarship. They present three different understandings of metaphorical (*gauṇa*) usages such as the time-honored *gaur vāhīkaḥ*, "The misbeliever is an ox." To simplify, the three conceptions disagree as to what is the object of indirect signification: 1) the target of the identification. i.e., the misbeliever, now somewhat imbued with the qualities of the standard of the implicit comparison, i.e., the ox, or 2) the qualities themselves, or 3) both the target and the qualities in two separate acts of indirect signification. Additionally, one might inquire about Mammaṭa's preferred viewpoint? I argue that, to untangle these intricate questions, it is necessary to situate the *Kāvyaprakāśa* in its relationship with Mukula's *Abhidhāvṛttamātṛkā* (9th c.), the work from which it tacitly draws much of the material on secondary signification discussed here. Furthermore, I'll demonstrate how the commentators of Mammaṭa on this passage can be neatly

divided in two groups: early commentators and later exegetes. Ruyyaka (11th c.), Someśvara (12th c.) and Māṇikyacandra (12th c.), were acquainted with Mukula's text and could interpret Mammaṭa's concise lines within their implicit intertextuality, although they did not always agree on the final interpretation. By contrast, later commentators such as Vidācakravartin (14th c.) and Viśvanātha (14th c.) were mostly unfamiliar with Mukula and were left guessing Mammaṭa's intentions, often resulting in far-fetched interpretations of those terse four lines.

Iman Darwish, Harvard University

Scientific Methodology in Arabic Materia

One of the richest textual traditions in the History of Arabic sciences is that of the Books of Simples, *Kutub al-Adwyia al-Mufrada*. Lying at the intersection of the disciplines of Botany and Medicine, this tradition refers to the study of the medicinal uses of plants. The two major texts that have provided the basis for this tradition are Dioscorides' *On Simple Drugs* and Galen's *On the Powers of Simple Drugs*. Their translation to Arabic and Syriac ushered in a long tradition of independent works by Arab botanists and physicians that lasted centuries.

The "Powers of drugs" denote how they influence the human body and its balance. Determining those powers emerged as an important question in the overlap between medicine and natural philosophy. It embodied a set of epistemological questions that tested the boundaries of these disciplines and, in many ways, defined relations between them. The question of "How to determine the power of a simple drug" became a central question of scientific methodology that drew on the foundations of Epistemology: Reasoning (*Qiyās*) and Experience (*Tajruba*). In my paper, I examine one of the earliest fully extant works in the literature of Materia medica," *The Book of Simple Drugs"* by Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Ashʿath (d.970). In this paper, I argue that Ibn al-Ash'ath' preference for Reasoning methods provided a program for expanding and developing the Greek textual tradition.

Despite the richness of the Arabic tradition of *Books of Simples* the secondary literature examining tradition is minimal. Peter Pormann has argued that the main contributions of Arabic pharmacology included the development of a sophisticated terminology and a new language of science; the addition of new plants, minerals, and animals to the list of simple drugs; a theory of calculation of degrees of intensity of compound drugs by Al-Kindī; and the criticism of the empirical methods of Galen by figures such as Abū Bakr al-Rāzī. [1] Many other works have focused on determining the addition of these "new plants" from the East to the Greek arsenal of drugs and how they made their way through trade to different localities. However, a comprehensive account of the development of this important Arabic textual tradition is still a desideratum that my research contributes to addressing this gap.

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

The Power of the Gloss, or Why Bhavasvāmin Matters

The several services provided by Sanskrit commentaries may be classified as either explanatory or interpretive. Under explanation, commentators often take time to clarify word divisions and syntax, break down compounds, and provide synonyms or elaborations on the meaning of words. Under interpretation, they offer extended and creative readings of a text's implications and purposes, usually through the use of a real or imagined scholastic opponent. Commentators' explanations are thus sometimes seen as simplistic and rudimentary aids for less competent readers or learners. In this communication, I focus on the gloss, or explanation of word meanings (*padārthokti*). Synonyms and explanations of denotations not only helped generations far removed in time from the text and the commentator to understand words in context, but also help scholars today to glean both textual and historical insights from glosses. With examples from the commentary of Bhavasvāmin on the *Nāradasmṛti*, or *Nāradīyamanusaṃhitā*, I demonstrate the value of glossing to a better understanding of the text and its reception. While there is no doubt that some glosses are unhelpful, many details of history and authorial intention emerge from a close reading of glosses.

Jessie DeGrado, University of Michigan

"Any *Qadištu* Can Do It": SAA 10 245–246 and the Lunar Eclipse of 670 BCE

Two letters written by Esarhaddon's chief *āšipu* Marduk-šakin-šumi, SAA 10 245 (LAS 186) and 246 (LAS 187), discuss the actions of an unnamed female ritual participant. In his edition of the texts, Simo Parpola (1983 [*LAS* II]) assumed that the woman involved must be a ritual patient. On this basis, he classified the letters as rituals for Esarhaddon's mother, Naqia, and his reconstruction has been accepted in nearly all subsequent studies. I argue instead that the letters pertain to the performance of apotropaic rituals for the king and crown prince and belong to a dossier of missives sent by Marduk-šakin-šumi in response to a lunar eclipse on 15 Kislīmu (22 December), 670 BCE. In this context, the unnamed female participant is an officiant, not patient, and can be identified with the *qadištu* mentioned in SAA 246: 13'–14'. The two letters thus add significantly to our understanding of women's participation in state-sponsored rituals during the Neo-Assyrian period.

Bogdan Diaconescu, University of Oxford

Udayana's Account of Meaning

The outstanding Hindu logician Udayana (c. 1000) elaborates a comprehensive philosophy of language that covers vast areas of analysis, carrying out a detailed investigation on of how

language produces meaning and how this is cognized. Udayana enquires into large questions of hermeneutics concerning scriptural authority and the meaning of Vedic statements, and investigates in detail the ordinary, non-Vedic language. This philosophy is elaborated in debate with thinkers of other schools, Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Jain.

In particularly rich debates over both ordinary and Vedic, revealed language, Udayana addresses the question of the units of language and meaning and of their cognition. This paper presents Udayana's account of meaning, focusing on two related lines of argument. One concerns the ways meaning arises from language, reconstructing Udayana's complex developments on the nature of the signification function of words and sentences and examining the technical inferential background of the overall demonstration. The other put these developments in perspective with the bigger picture of Udayana's logic, epistemology, and theology in which this philosophy of language and meaning is embedded.

Marta Díaz Herrera,The University of Chicago

a–ku–me–pap: Old Babylonian Lexical Lists Build on Previous Knowledge

Lexical lists were an essential tool in Mesopotamian scribal education. In Old Babylonian Nippur (ca. 1800–1700 BCE), sign exercises, lists of personal names, thematic lists of words (Ura), and advanced lexical lists were copied during the first phase of the scribal curriculum. Research on this type of texts covers aspects such as their placement within the scribal curriculum (Veldhuis 1997; Robson 2001), their organizational principles (e.g., Edzard 1982; Crisostomo 2019), and their intertextual relationship with literary compositions (e.g., Michalowski 1998; Veldhuis 2004; Crisostomo 2015; Gadotti and Kleinerman 2017). In this talk, I show that the elementary sign exercise Syllable Alphabet B and the advanced List of Simple Signs Ea had the same underlying structure. That is, virtually every new sign listed in Nippur Ea—unless triggered by graphic or thematic association—is introduced following the same order as in Syllable Alphabet B, demonstrating inter-dependence between these two lexical compositions.

Three implications follow from this observation. First, since Syllable Alphabet B is unique to Old Babylonian Nippur, we may assume that Ea originated there too. Second, the structure of Ea, as established by Edzard (1982), must be revisited, expanding it to three structural levels: a supra-macro-structure corresponding to the sequence of signs in Syllable Alphabet B, a macro-structure where signs resembling one another are grouped into "families," and a micro-structure where the readings of the signs are listed. And, third, the shared structure between an elementary exercise, taught at the very beginning of scribal education, and an advanced list, taught at the final stage of lexical training, provides another example of the recursiveness of the scribal curriculum: Old Babylonian teachers used constructivist pedagogic methodologies to build new knowledge on the basis of students' previous experience.

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Alexei Ditter, Reed College

Grid Lines and the Production of the Medieval Chinese *Muzhiming*

One immediately visible feature of the late medieval Chinese *muzhiming* (or "entombed epitaph") is its symmetry. In most *muzhiming*, the recto surfaces of the epitaph stone and cover are filled with text and spaces laid out across an equal number of parallel columns and rows, with characters written in handsome calligraphy, equivalently sized and evenly spaced.

In some cases however, *muzhiming* do not conform to this convention. Texts might fill only a portion of the stone's surface, flow over onto the stone's sides or onto the verso surface of the cover, or be made to fit into the available space on the stone or cover's recto surface by squeezing together multiple columns or individual characters.

In this paper, I examine these non-conforming *muzhiming* for what they can reveal about the processes by which text was translated from manuscript to stone. I pursue this exploration by focusing on grid lines. Grid lines refers to the evenly-spaced vertical and horizontal lines inscribed or drawn on the epitaph stone's surface. These played an important role in the layout and design of the *muzhiming* by creating a matrix of columns and boxes into which text was subsequently inscribed. Analyzing the different ways in which the inscriptions on *muzhiming* adhere to, transgress, or ignore grid lines, I tentatively identify various stages in which stones and covers were manufactured, decorated, and inscribed with text, and the sequences in which these processes were carried out. In so doing, I offer new insights into the production and manufacture of the epitaph stone and epitaph cover, topics about which scant information from this period survives.

Jonathan Edelmann, University of Florida

Ethics in Jīva Gosvāmin's *Ṣaṭ Sandarbha* (Six Essays)

Recent articles and books attempt to make sense of ethical and moral philosophy in Hinduism (e.g., Bilimoria and Sharma 2007 and 2008, Crawford 1982, Creel 1977, Ingalls 1957, Matilal and Ganeri 2002, Monius 2004, O'Connell 2014, Perrett 1998, Ranganatham 2008, Ram-Prasad 2007, etc.). Francis Clooney (2018: 300, in Ranganatham), for instance, examines the *Jaimanīya-nyāya-mālā* of Mādhava (fourteenth century), arguing that, "using 'ethics' in the Hindu context requires a certain tolerance of analogy; there is no end of the adjustments required to make 'Hindu' and 'ethics' work together." It is hard to find anything like ethical theories such as Bentham's utilitarianism or Kant's deontology in Jīva's *Ṣaṭ Sandarbha*, but there are a cluster of concepts that relate to the morality of human behaviors and motives, which I examine here, and which may be aligned Aristotle's concepts of virtue as appropriated by medieval Europeans, although that is not the focus of my discussion herein. I argue Jīva's ethics is only comprehensible in the light of his ontology, and that his ontology governs all aspects of his moral theorizing. I look at how Jīva reconstructs social and soteriological practices of Advaita Vedânta and Vedic *dharma* by accepting and rejecting certain aspects of them, while at the same time asserting *bhakti* as necessary for their soteriological effectiveness. While rejecting birth as a qualification for *bhakti,* he nevertheless relies on a conception of qualification rooted in a theory of dispositions and experiences from previous lives. That to which one ought to give attention is his primary ethical imperative, and this is connected to a theory of God, ignorance, self, and body. Jīva also develops a view about what texts and objects one ought to desire to understand, and implicit within this discussion is an overarching concept of the development of Indian texts and the covert intent behind them, which he seeks to reveal. I seek to show how his ethics is interconnected to his concept of *yoga* as that which discloses the nondual being of God in one of three ways. That being the case, Jīva's ethics is applicable only to one who is willing to presuppose the desirability of devotional perfection and the ontology that undergirds it.

Michael Fiden, The University of Texas at Austin

The Post-Ṛgvedic *Brahmán* with Respect to *Bráhman* and *Brahmódya*

Brereton (2004), following Thieme (1952), identifies the role of a *brahmán* in the Family Books of the Ṛgveda to be a formulator or poet, the person responsible for composing *bráhman*s, formulations or poems, for use in the context of sacrifice. As Bodewitz (2019) has noted, by the time of the Śrautasūtras and the Classical Vedic sacrifice, the *brahmán* had become the fourth priest characterized by silence, expiation, and total knowledge. As Bodewtiz also notes, the association between the *brahmán* and the Atharvaveda is secondary. To explain this conceptual drift, Brereton suggests that the *brahmán* moves into the older role of the sacrificer as one with knowledge and expertise after his role as a formulator was no longer necessary due to the establishment of a fixed liturgy. Fuji (2001) notes that the role of the *brahmán* in the Middle Vedic Period was originally to command, with expiation being added during development in this period. I add to these conclusions firstly by arguing that the development of *brahmán* during the Middle and Late Vedic Periods mirrored the development of *bráhman* itself from a poem into an expression of verbal truth rooted in the knowledge of secret ritual connections. In this way, the *brahmán* remains firmly connected with *bráhman* throughout the period, even after the reconfiguration of priestly roles. Secondly, I argue that the role of *brahmán* was highly contested and desired among priests. Rather than being tied to a specific Veda as it is to the Atharvaveda in later periods, I argue that it is a position of primacy, power, and prestige, and the ultimate goal of ritual debate (*brahmódya*).

James Fitzgerald, Brown University

Defining Sāṃkhya Philosophy in the Earliest Epic Sāṃkhya Texts

For a number of important reasons (see Fitzgerald, *The Mahābhārata: Book 12: The Book of Peace, Part Two*: General Introduction [forthcoming from the University of Chicago Press]) "Epic Sāṃkhya" has always confounded Western scholarship. But enough trails have been blazed through the thickets of the *Mokṣadharma* (*MDh*) over the past hundred years—starting with Edgerton exactly 100 years ago ("The Meaning of Sāṅkhya and Yoga," *American Journal of Philology* 45 [1924]: 1-46), followed by Frauwallner one year later ("*Untersuchungen zum Mokṣadharma: Die sāṃkhyistischen Texte*," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 32 [1925]: 179–206) and then many others down to today—that we are now able to recognize, read, and, for the most part, comprehend a set of five deliberately styled "Sāṃkhya" treatises of the *MDh*. This set of early "Sāṃkhya" texts is rather motley in some regards, but they allow us to discern clearly a kernel of teaching regarding liberating knowledge that characterizes Sāṃkhya philosophy in all its later forms.

My paper will describe the understanding of "Sāṃkhya's" liberating knowledge presented in these five treatises, which give us the earliest sustained presentations of Sāṃkhya philosophy we have from ancient India. I will then briefly discuss these five texts in relation to the other, later, Sāṃkhya treatises in the *Mokṣadharma*, and, finally, argue a new understanding of the name "Sāṃkhya."

Marc Flores, Johns Hopkins University

Enkidu Knows Things: Recycling Narrative Roles and Themes in the Old-Babylonian Huwawa Narratives

Enkidu is one of the most malleable characters in the history of ancient Mesopotamian literature. Whereas in *Gilgamesh and Huwawa* (GH) Enkidu is a citizen of Uruk with no previous knowledge of Huwawa, in the Yale tablet he's portrayed as a knowledgeable herdsman who knows about Huwawa and his dwelling. In the Penn tablet, however, the theme of Enkidu's knowledge disappears, and his origins in the steppe serve the purpose of explaining his physical strength and uncivilized behavior. Enkidu thus assumes Huwawa's characterization in GH while his knowledge is displaced to the three women in the story. These transmutations, ably discussed by Fleming and Milstein (2010), attest to the recycling of narrative roles and themes between the OB Sumerian and Akkadian recensions of the Huwawa narrative, and may shed light on how these narrative materials relate to each other. The contrasts in content and logic between the recensions suggest, they argue, that GH A may have grown out of the prior GH B through the influence of the Yale recension.

By tracing the theme of Enkidu's knowledge in *Gilgamesh and Huwawa* A (GH A) and in *Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Netherworld* (GEN), I show that the theme of Enkidu's knowledge is not confined to the Yale recension, and I argue that the existence of this theme in GH A and GEN problematizes Fleming and Milstein's suggestion that the Yale recension influenced the redaction of GH A. Rather, I contend that Enkidu's characterization in the Yale recension may be explained as a way of grappling with Enkidu's puzzling access to knowledge in GH A and GEN. Furthermore, I argue that there is more to the Huwawa-like Enkidu of Penn than his feral characteristics, and suggest that, by becoming Gilgamesh's match in Penn, Enkidu takes up Huwawa's narrative role in GH.

Abdulla Galadari, Khalifa University of Science and Technology

Traces of Heraclius's Policies in the Qur'an

Tatari and von Stosch argued that the Mariology of Sūrah al-Māʾidah may have been in response to imperial theology propagated during the time of Heraclius. I extend this hypothesis to not only the Mariology that may have occurred but more specifically to the Christological debates that existed due to Heraclius's policies concerning monoenergism (i.e., though Christ is of two natures, he only

had a single divine action) and monothelitism (i.e., though Christ is of two natures, he only had a single divine will).

Sūrah al-Māʾidah, which contains some of the strongest Christological claims and counterclaims, is understood to be one of the final chapters of the Qur'an, putting its traditional date between the late 620s to early 630s CE, precisely during the height of the debates concerning monoenergism and monothelitism championed by Heraclius. Q. 5:17 appears to distinctively and explicitly speak of the difference between God's will and action and that of Christ, reverberating some church theologians at the time who were against monoenergism and monothelitism.

Christian theologians warned that this potentially may fall into the error of Eutychianism, which is the mixture of the two natures of Christ, divine and human, into a third unique nature that is profoundly divine. Christian theologians have historically called such a mixed third nature "*tertium quid*" (Latin for "third what" to mean "third something"), as used earlier by Tertullian. This may contextualize the phrase "third of three" in Q. 5:73.

While Muslim tradition claims that Muhammad sent epistles to different rulers, including Heraclius, he also allegedly sent one to the Patriarch of Alexandria, the only reported Christian ecclesiastical leader receiving such a letter. The Patriarch of Alexandria, who at the time was Cyrus of Alexandria, was potentially singled out by Muhammad due to his pivotal role in formulating and propagating Heraclius's Christological policies.

Omid Ghaemmaghami, The State University of New York (SUNY) at Binghamton

"Standing on the Shoulders of the Prophet": Notes on the Meaning of the Term "Ṭutunjayn"

The meaning of the enigmatic word Ṭutunjayn has long been shrouded in mystery. The word does not occur in any known lexicon of literary Arabic. Its locus classicus is a sermon ascribed to the first Imam of Shīʿī Islam, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 661), and eponymously titled al-Khuṭbah al-Ṭutunjiyyah ("The Ṭutunjī Sermon"). It is in this sermon that ʿAlī, among other things, declares himself the one standing on the Ṭutunjayn while heralding the appearance of the one with whom Moses spoke on Mount Sinai. Rajab al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Bursī al-Ḥillī's (d. ca. 1410) *Mashāriq anwār al-yaqīn fī ḥaqāʾiq asrār amīr al-muʾminīn*—a collection of traditions and narrations extolling Imam ʿAlī, as well as sermons ascribed to him, with commentary interspersed by al-Bursī—is the earliest extant work that quotes al-Khuṭbah al-Ṭutunjiyyah in its entirety. Perhaps no other scholar has helped to elucidate the significance of the word Ṭutunjayn in Shīʿī—and specifically Shaykhī—and Bābī writings than Todd Lawson. In honor of his scholarship, this communication will review different interpretations given for the word Ṭutunjayn before introducing and unpacking perhaps the earliest gloss of the word by none other than al-Bursī al-Ḥillī himself.

Nicholas M. Gill, Johns Hopkins University

Incantations and Medical Treatment in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia

Incantations are magical recitations intended to manipulate reality for the benefit of the reciter or their client. Throughout the history of ancient Iraq, otherwise known as Mesopotamia, these recitations were inscribed onto clay tablets and performed for a variety of cultic and medical functions, such as to aid in childbirth, recover from illness, or treat hazardous bites and stings of wild animals like snakes, scorpions, and dogs. The Old Babylonian period (ca. 2003 – 1595 BCE) bore witness to unprecedented textual production of incantations in both the Sumerian language and the Akkadian language. In this same period, texts bearing instructions for medical treatment also began to be appended to the end of incantations. These instructions provide directions for additional treatment options that accompanied or followed a recited incantation and bear many similarities to the burgeoning textual genre of medical prescriptions, which also began to be produced in number in this period of Mesopotamian history. Although Old Babylonian incantations have received increased scholarly interest in recent years, these medical instructions have not been subject to systematic study, despite the new insights they offer into medical practice in this early historical period. This paper explores the medical instructions appended to Old Babylonian incantations, clarifies their relationship to other Old Babylonian medical texts, and investigates the different treatment options they demonstrate the incantation priest can provide for clients. Like modern doctors, these instructions reveal the incantation priests of the Old Babylonian period could offer office visits and house calls to clients or recommend a prescription for their clients to administer themselves at home.

Petra Goedegebuure, ISAC, The University of Chicago

Hittite Elliptic Genitives

Ellipsis in Hittite has not yet received systematic treatment (Hoffner and Melchert 2008: 409). Only a few studies have been dedicated to a particular kind of ellipsis, the absence of a head noun in possessive noun phrases (Yakubovich 2004, 2006, Puhvel 2011). Even then, the focus of these studies is mainly on the headless possessive or free-standing genitive, a type of possessive construction in which the head noun is not recoverable from the context:

1	[n]u≠wa	uwami	***kardiy-as≠tas***	iyami
	conn≠quot	I.come	heart-gen.s≠2s:gen.s	I.do

'I am going to do **your heart's** (wish)' (OH/NS myth, KBo 3.7 i 25-26, CTH 321)

The other type of elliptic genitive, with recoverable head noun (ex. 2), has received no attention aside from being acknowledged to exist:

2	*n≠as*	**ŠA TI**	**MUNUS-**	*memiyan-i*	*kāri*	*tiyat*
	conn≠he	of	woman	matter-loc.s	in.grace	he.stepped

	nu	**ŠA RI**	**DUMU-**	*kattan*	*IŞBAT*
	conn	of	child	down	he.seized

'(Because my father was kindhearted,) he yielded in **the matter of the woman**, and so he took on (the matter) **of the son**' (NH/LNS Annals, KBo 5.6 iv 15, CTH 40)

Hittitologists have perfectly been able to distinguish in their translations between the two types of elliptic genitives. Linguistic approaches to ellipsis, however, help us better understand in what kind of contexts the elliptic genitive is licensed: to express the Information Structural function *Contrastive Focus* (e.g., Winkler 2014).

On the surface the elliptic genitives in ex. 1 and 2 look the same. Yet, from an information structural perspective ex. 2 is quite different from ex. 1. Whenever the head can be retrieved from the context, as in ex. 2, the headless genitive contrasts with a preceding genitive. In terms of focushood, the headless genitive stands in a Contrastive Focus relation with its parallel genitive in the preceding discourse, and the head noun forms the Focus Presupposition (i.e., the part of the clause that is considered knowledge that is already shared by both speaker and addressee at the moment of utterance of the focus expression). Because the head noun *memiyani* in ex. 2 is in the Focus Presupposition, it does not need to be expressed, and as a result the contrast between *ŠA* MUNUS-*TI* 'of the woman' and *ŠA* DUMU-*RI* 'of the son' comes to the foreground, possibly far more than if the head noun had been expressed.

Furthermore, the co-textual recoverability of the head noun of an elliptic genitive does not only have an impact on the Information Structure of the clause, but also on the semantics of the elliptic genitive. Elliptic genitives of the same lexeme may display very different semantics depending on whether the head noun is present in the co-text. In utterances with retrievable head noun there are no constraints on the type of head noun, exactly because the head noun has just been mentioned

before in combination with a genitive. This is not the case when the head noun cannot be retrieved from the co-text. In such a situation the non-expressed head noun needs to be generic, such as 'person', 'thing', or 'place'. As a result, there is a real semantic difference between elliptic genitives with and without co-textually recoverable head, and not just a pragmatic one.

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Robert J. Gorman, University of Nebraska Lincoln, and **Michael Weiss**, Cornell University

Computational Approaches to Rig-Vedic authorship: Testing the Anukramaṇī Again

Opinions about the validity of attributions in the Rig-Vedic anukramaṇīs have varied. Oldenberg 1888 considered the information largely fictional whereas Jamison and Brereton (2014:1:11) take the identifications to be plausible. Dunkel (2022) has attempted to test the validity of anukramaṇic attributions by examining the presence of "familectical designators" (i.e. single words) and familectical formulas" (i.e. two or more word collocations) in extra-familiar books with interesting results. For example, *dhiyéṣitá-* 'thought-propelled' (*dhiyā́ iṣitá-*) occurs three times in Book III, the Viśvāmitra book (3.12.1, 3.60.5, 3.62.12) and in no other family book. But it does reoccur in 1.3.5 attributed to Madhuchandas Vaiśvāmitra, thus, according to Dunkel, confirming the essential correctness of the anukramaṇi's attribution of this hymn to the circle of Viśvāmitra. Unfortunately the number of these distinctive elements is quite low, and one cannot exclude the possibility that a not very striking turn of phrase occurred independently to two authors of independent Vedic circles or even that the attribution of 1.3 to the circle of Viśvāmitra was motivated by the presence of this idiom.

In this talk we will examine the question of the reliability of the anukramaṇīs via computational stylistics. Using the methods of authorial attribution pioneered by Gorman 2019 and Gorman and Gorman ftcm. we will examine the degree of similarity between extra-familial hymn attributed to family book members and hymns of the same family placed in the family books. The Gorman and Gorman method can produce clusterings based not only on function words but also on

morphosyntactic information from dependency treebanks. This morphosyntactic approach has been shown to produce results on even fairly short text samples. We rely on the parsings of Hellwig 2020. In a second step we identify which features are most valuable in distinguishing clusters and discuss these features from a linguistic point of view.

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Raashid Goyal, University of Tübingen

The Four Braids of the Ruwāla Bedouin, ca. 1930: Vestiges of a Pre-Islamic Ḥajj/Hair Ritual?

William Shanklin and Henry Field, two American anthropologists active in the 1930s, captured in their photographs an idiosyncratic custom observed by bedouin groups in the Syrian-Iraqi desert. Their photographs reveal that men of the Ruwāla tribe characteristically wore their hair in four braids, two before and two behind the ears, a custom also observed, albeit less consistently, by other contemporaneous groups inhabiting the same general region. Noting the well-established isolation of the Ruwāla from sedentary cultures until the mid-20th century, I presently inquire into the provenance of this custom: Might it derive from a hair ritual associated with the pre-Islamic cult

of pilgrimage to the Meccan sanctuary? The question is suggested by traditions that describe Muḥammad as having worn four braids (*ghadāʾir*, *ḍafāʾir*) when entering Mecca as a pilgrim, a practice that is otherwise unattested and was ostensibly never sanctioned as Islamic. The Qurʾān prohibits the (male) pilgrim from shaving the head prior to completion of the rites of *ḥajj*, a violation of ritual *iḥrām* that is excused only for medical necessity and must be appeased by prescribed penance (*fidya*). Given the sophistication of the legal framework surrounding the rite of shaving the head, the absence of any positive commandment pertaining to growing the hair is conspicuous. Based on texts that indicate, explicitly or otherwise, the ritualization of hair in pre-Islamic north Arabia, I propose that ritual growing of the hair may have been a prevalent and well-established component of ancient pilgrimage rites. Specifically, the distinctive four braids may have advertised the intent to perform pilgrimage. Whereas it remains unclear why the custom was not endorsed as a *sunna* (I will consider some conjectural possibilities), the severing of its original, religious connection appears to have facilitated the transformation of the custom into a symbol of tribal membership.

Note: This study is based largely on *ḥadīth* and Qurʾān texts; it is not an anthropological study.

Alessandro Graheli, University of Toronto

The Contextualism of *paribhāṣa* Rules in the Pāṇinian System

In Pāṇini's system, grammatical rules are decoded through interpretation rules (*paribhāṣā*). For instance, the locative "upon a vowel" (*aci*) in the sandhi rule "*y-v-r-l* is the substitute of *i-u-ṛ-ḷ* upon a vowel" (*iko yaṇ aci*, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 6.1.77) is explained by the interpretation rule "when an element is stated in the locative case, the immediately preceding element undergoes the operation" (*tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 1.1.66). There is thus a mutual dependency between the operative rule and the interpretation rule. The locative is decoded through 1.1.66, but until the locative is actually encountered in 6.1.77 the interpretation rule is not saturated. This interdependency has been a puzzle to grammarians: Is an interpretation rule such as 1.1.66 decoded where it is stated (*yathoddeśa*), namely as the 66th rule of section 1 of chapter 1, or is it decoded upon the context of the operative rules it explains, such as 6.1.77 (*kāryakāla*)? In other words, is it indexically or contextually decoded? The indexical solution entails an olistic view through which the user recalls all the operative rules in which the locative is used, while the contextual solution leaves interpretation rules hanging, without a meaning of their own. The problem was already addressed by Katyāyana and Patañjali (3rd and 2nd c. BCE), and later discussed by Kaiyaṭa (11th c. CE) and Nāgeśa (17th c. CE).

In this paper I will highlight the impact of the issue on the coherence of Pāṇini's system in relation to rules occurring in the asiddha sections of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. I will also discuss the above-

mentioned interdependency in relation to the sentence unity advocated by Nāgeśa, in the light of the sphoṭa theory endorsed by him.

Frank Griffel, Yale University

What Decides the Animals' Court Case Against the Humans in the 22nd Epistle of the Brethren of Purity?

The 22nd epistle in the *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity* carries the title "How animals and their species generate" (*Fī kayfiyyat takwīn al-ḥayawānāt wa-aṣnāfihī*). It is one of the longest epistles because it includes an animal fable—one could say: a novel—of a fictional trial where the animals bring charges of injustice, the employment of slave-labor, cruelty, and even murder against the humans. The judge of this trial is an equally fictional "king of the Jinns" who resides on a remote island. After many twists in the narrative, the trial is eventually won by the humans. While all the charges are acknowledged to be true, humans are considered superior to animals and hence given the right to treat them the way they do. This leads to the question of what constitutes the ground for human superiority? In Aristotelian philosophy, humans are considered superior to other animals by virtue of their rational capacity. This, however, is rejected during the trial. Animals such as bees or griffins show also signs of rationality.

There are several textual versions of the end of the 22nd epistle that offer different justifications for the humans' superiority. This paper will discuss some of them and argue that the original version can only be found in a text that was published in 1812 based on Indian manuscripts. All later textual versions—including the most widespread one in the *Dār Ṣādir* edition and the most recent one in the "critical" edition of the Institute of Ismaili Studies—reproduce a corrupt text and give a wrong impression of why the humans win the trial.

Beatrice Gründler, Freie Universiṭät Berlin

Versions of "Dimna's Trial" in Kalīla and Dimna as a Spectrum of Legal and Ethical Positions

Kalīla and Dimna, a classic of global literature, has passed from Sanskrit to over forty languages worldwide, among which the Arabic phase with its multiple versions constitutes the fountainhead: from these all later versions derive. Some chapters were added by the Arabic translator-adaptor Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 757), notably a sequel to the book's longest chapter, "The Lion and the Ox." That chapter ends with the villain, the jackal Dimna, instigating the king (a lion) to kill his innocent advisor (an ox). The new chapter then supplies the Dimna's trial. The outcome is predetermined by the reason the state, represented by the lion's mothers, but the villain presents among all speakers

the best arguments; he lectures the court on legal principles, the ethics of the judge, how to establish proof, and the dangers of false confession.

Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's original version is lost, and the extant manuscripts from the thirteenth to nineteenth century represent the views of copyist-redactors. It is noteworthy that the versions of this chapter differ more strongly from each other than in any other chapter of this fluid textual tradition, so much so that one may distinguish mutually exclusive plot lines. "Dimna's Trial" can thus be taken to map out attitudes toward the miscarriage of justice. It is ironical that the villain Dimna is the one how presents the most convincing arguments, adducing concepts of justice, scriptures, and ethics. Conversely, the trial court's fact-finding oscillates between two procedures of proof, physiognomy (*firāsa*) and testimony (*shahāda*). The paper will map out the spectrum of positions taken and principles argued by all parties involved in the trial.

Yahia Guenena, Michigan State University

Ibn Taymiyyah's Epistemological, Theological, and Cosmological Arguments

Previous scholarship on Ibn Taymiyyah has demonstrated a tendency to compartmentalize his rational, theological, and cosmological perspectives, resulting in an incomplete portrayal of his intellectual project. This becomes evident when considering, for instance, discussions of his creed, contemporaries, and students, most prominent of whom is Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah. There is a tendency to overlook Ibn Taymiyyah's distinctive nuances and the dynamic interplay of various intellectual influences that informed his ideas. Building on and critiquing the important works of Jon Hoover and Wael Hallaq, this paper seeks to remedy the abovementioned limitations by reassessing Ibn Taymiyyah's epistemological, theological, and cosmological arguments, with special attention given to his *Sharh al-asfahaniyyah* and *as-Saffadiyya*. In these works, Ibn Taymiyyah presents his epistemology and its implications, as well as a variety of theological and philosophical topics, including the nature of God, His attributes, syllogisms, and the eternity of the world. When compared to his simpler and shorter works, intended for the public like *'Aqidat al-Wasitiyyah*, *Sharh al-asfahaniyyah* and *as-Saffadiyya* offer more detailed and meticulous articulations of his theological arguments. I aim to show how accounting for and contextualizing the totality of Ibn Taymiyyah's extensive corpus can allow us to appreciate, among other examples, the significance of critical statements and definitions appearing in *Minhaj al-Sunnah*, in which he tackles the problem of composition and part-whole similarity and difference.

Sebastian Guenther, Universität Göttingen

The Hadith Compendium *Riyāḍat al-mutaʿallimīn* of Ibn al-Sunnī (d. 974): A Source on Classical Islamic Education That Had Been Presumed Lost

Abū Bakr Ibn al-Sunnī al-Dīnawarī is known in the classical Arabic sources as a prolific author of compilations on Islamic religious practice, prophetic traditions, law, ethics, and prophetic medicine. However, he is still largely overlooked within the contemporary study of Islam. That might not have been the case had his book entitled *Riyāḍat al-mutaʿallimīn* (*The Training of Students*), only recently rediscovered in a unique manuscript copy at the State Library of Berlin, received scholarly attention earlier.

This paper provides the results of a preliminary study of this work on three levels: (a) Ibn al-Sunnī's multifaced, well-structured advice on the content and conduct of teaching sessions held at mosques and the homes of scholars; (b) the author's explicit strategy to direct students so that they may successfully learn; and his method—remarkable for a hadith compendium—of formulating specific pedagogical precepts, designed to either prompt students to take positive action or caution them to avoid certain activities. The study concludes by highlighting the significance of Ibn al-Sunnī's book for the history of Islamic educational thought.

Yixin Gu, Lingnan University

Plowing, Weaving, Fishing, Hunting: The Rhetoric of Intellectual Practice as Embodied Labor in Early China

Toward an inquiry into the arts of rhetoric and the history of ideas in early China, the present study investigates the rhetorical figurations and interpretations of intellectual practice as a form of embodied labor. Though the use of imageries and their embedding figures of speech is widely acknowledged as a significant form of meaning construction in classical Chinese language and thought, "labor" as a source of imagery remains understudied and hence requires critical attention. Thus, the study focuses on four tropes of physical labor—plowing, weaving, fishing, and hunting—insofar as they emblematize a set of productive modes of bodily engagement and fruitful exchange with the material world. Through the employment of rhetorical figures such as metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and analogy, as well as the strategic use of a cluster of semantically related keywords, the four tropes appear to embody certain values and methods toward the arts of ruling, thinking, learning, and writing, all of which constitute a matter of working with intellectuality. Specifically, during Han times (202 BCE–220 CE), the four tropes became particularly useful as ways of assessing literacy-based intellectual practice and, concomitantly, indicated the emergence of an ideology in praise of the self-oriented accumulation of scholarly labor and productivity against the institutional regulation of knowledge. Instead of treating intellectual work

as a disembodied mental process, the study aims to mediate between mental and physical labor by unfolding their embodied nature in coordination with other aspects of early Chinese thought.

Haci Osman Gündüz, Harvard University

For the Love of *Qahwa*: *Qahwa* as a Social Beverage from Wine to Tea

What does *qahwa* mean? In this paper I explore the transformation of the term *qahwa*, originally denoting wine, into a broader reference encompassing social beverages, particularly coffee in the sixteenth century and tea in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Through an analysis of poetry, I trace the evolution of the word from its association with wine—so attested in as early as pre-Islamic (*Jāhilī*) poetry— to its connection with coffee and tea. The term served as a "poetic" descriptor for social beverages, being linked to wine as *qahwat al-ṭilā*, coffee as *qahwat al-bunn*, and tea as *qahwat al-shāy*. I examine several poems from the sixteenth century, a period marked by the surge in coffee's popularity alongside its legal scrutiny in addition to poems celebrating tea from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Despite the extensive scholarly focus on coffee as a beverage and coffeehouses as transformative social, intellectual, and political spaces, the evolution of the term *qahwa* has garnered relatively limited attention. With this study I seek to contribute to the field of "coffee studies" by not only exploring the history of the word *qahwa* from an etymological and historical-linguistic standpoint but also elucidating how it came to represent beverages associated with social interaction. Through the interpretation of poems by Māmayya al-Rūmi (d. 985-7/1577-9), Aḥmad al-ʿInāyātī (d. 1014/1605), and a lengthy poem by Muḥammad ibn Mubārak al-Jazāʾirī (d. 1330/1912), I aim to showcase the historical trajectory of *qahwa* and how poets employed comparisons among different "*qahwas*" to determine their relative merits.

Dieter Gunkel, University of Richmond

Discontinuous Noun Phrases in Vedic Prose

The contribution examines discontinuous Noun Phrases in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (AB), a relatively wordy middle Vedic text that is especially accessible thanks to Aufrecht's edition (1879), Keith's translation (1920), and Verpoorten's study of AB word order (1977). The focus is on discontinuous Noun Phrases (dNPs) that consist of a modifier ... noun split.[1] I am particularly interested in modifiers that in neutral word order would form a continuous phrase with the noun that they modify. I therefore exclude modifiers that are secondarily predicated of the noun (e.g. resultative or depictives adjectives) as well as modifiers that undergo WH-movement in the neutral word order (e.g. relative adjectives). This leaves us with splits such as the following three examples.

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[1] Other types of discontinuity (e.g. Genitive ... Noun, Noun ... Adjective, Noun ... Genitive) are excluded because of systematic differences in meaning and/or syntax and/or prosody discussed *inter al.* by Devine and Stephens for Greek (1996: 456ff., 2000) and Latin (2006: 540ff. *et passim*), and by Fanselow and Féry for other languages (Ms.).

Adjective ... Noun	(A ... N):	*svargam ... lokam*	
		heavenly:acc ... world:acc	
		'the heavenly world'	(AB 1.7.1)
Determiner ... Noun	(D ... N)	*teṣām ... asurāṇām*	
		these:gen ... Asuras:gen	
		'of these Asuras'	(6.36.2)
Quantifier ... Noun	(Q ... N)	*sarvābhyaḥ ... devatābhyaḥ*	
		all:dat ... deities:dat	
		'to all the deities'	(1.1.3)

When we consider the remaining splits in the AB, it is possible to draw two clear conclusions. The one is information structural: the adjective is focused and the noun is not. (Note that I adopt the widespread view that "Focus indicates the presence of alternatives that are relevant for the interpretation of linguistic expressions" (Krifka 2007 with refs)). Relatively clear examples are found in answers to implicit questions, parallels/contrasts, and further restriction of a referent that has already been introduced to the discourse.

Consider the following example. During the Upasads, the sacrificer fasts; he only drinks fasting milk (*vrata*). The implicit question is: how may teats of milk may he drink on which day of the Upasads? The focus in the answer corresponds to the WH-constituent of the question. In English it is pitch-accented, in Vedic it is fronted.

caturo *'gre*   **stanān**   *vratam*   *upaity*   *upasatsu*
4:acc beginning:loc **teats:acc** fasting.milk:acc he.has.recourse Upasads:loc

'In the beginning, he has recourse to four teats for fasting milk during the Upasads.' (1.25.4)

In this case, the alternatives {three teats, two teats, one teat} are explicitly mentioned in the text: *trīn stanān vratam upaity upasatsu* ...

The next example involves a parallel/contrast between the King's right and left knee. The text explains what the King should do with the ritual throne that he has just prepared.

etām   *āsandīm*   *ārohed*
that:acc   throne:acc   he.should.mount

dakṣiṇena_*agre*   **jānuna**_*atha*   *savyena*
right:ins_beginning:loc   **knee:ins**_then left:ins

'He should mount that throne, first with his right knee, then with his left.' (8.6.4)

The analysis in which the adjective is focused and the noun is not receives further support when we consider which classes of adjectives do and do not appear in modifier … noun splits. (Cf. Devine and Stephens 2006: 542ff. for the approach.) Descriptively used adjectives are not attested in those configurations, e.g.

apriyam bhrātṛvyam 'unbeloved rival' (6.32–33, multiple repetitions)

This is because descriptively used adjectives are not compatible with focus. In a world where all rivals are hated, it is impossible to say

> the hated_F rival   =   *apriyam … bhrātṛvyam*

because there are no alternatives.

In contrast, adjectives that are especially compatible with focus do appear in modifier … noun configurations. They include ordinals, comparatives, and superlatives, which pick out members of a set, contrasting with other members.

prathamayā … ṛcā 'with the first verse' (4.7.6),

bhūyiṣṭān … paśūn 'the most cattle' (6.24.16),

We also find identity adjectives (*same*, *other*, *different*), which use a logical operation relative to (and in a sense, contrasting with) an anaphoric antecedent, e.g.

itarāḥ … devatāḥ 'the other/rest of the gods' (2.16.1),

and demonstratives, which pick out a referent via deixis or anaphora (often contrasting with other potential referents)

etám … yajñám 'that (particular) sacrifice' (ŚB 11.1.6.16)

The second conclusion is syntactic and has to do with where in the syntax the focused modifiers are located. They are higher in the structure than non-dropped subject pronouns, *eta*-deictics, *tad* 'thus, that way, etc.', and interrogatives.

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Li Guo, University of Notre Dame

Editing Ibn Dāniyāl's "Dīwān": Rewards and Challenges

Two verse collections attributed to Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 1310), a Mamluk poet and playwright with a unique voice, have survived. One is a bulky cluster included in *al-Tadhkira al-Ṣafadiyya*. It, along with Ibn Dāniyāl's poems scattered in other sources, formed the base for a superb critical edition by the Iraqi scholar Muḥammad N. al-Dulaymī (Mosul, 1979). The other is a smaller collection that claims to be Ibn Dāniyāl's "*dīwān*," found in a *majmūʿ* (Aysofya 4880), which remains in manuscript. In a preliminary report presented at the AOS annual meeting (2009) and later published in *QSA* (2010-11), I proposed that this "*dīwān*" is of considerable value for the study of Ibn Dāniyāl's oeuvre and Mamluk poetry on account of its earlier date, its substantial exclusive materials, fuller version of the poems, and the useful captions bearing the dates and occasions of composition. In this presentation, I discuss issues pertaining to the preparation of a critical edition, these include: the questionable claim of a "*dīwān*," the scribe and his method of anthologizing, the intriguingly "clean" content overall, and the slightly eccentric handwriting.

Andrea Gutiérrez, The University of Texas at Austin

Convergences and Divergences in Gajaśāstra Material

Likely the two earliest surviving works containing significant information on elephants, both Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and Someśvara III's 12th-century *Mānasollāsa*, refer to *śāstra* and *nibandha*s on elephants. Both texts present some incidence of consistent information concering elephants—e.g., the top, middle, and lowest elephants (AŚ 2.31.11-12), capital punishment for killing an elephant, and mandatory surrendering of tusks from deceased animals to the king. While convergences suggest a common core *śāstra* no longer extant,[1] Someśvara's *Mānasollāsa* uniquely offers early *extensive* writing on elephants: its three sections total 475 verses on elephant health and disease, capture, training, and Olympic-like entertainments of elephant races and fights. Studying the *Mānasollāsa* in parallel with the *Arthaśāstra* might even allow us to confirm interpretations that lack contextualization within the *Arthaśāstra* itself, as with the types of elephants (AŚ 2.31.18) and "elephant bars" on forts (*hastiparigha*, ÁS 2.3.28).

Following its comparison of *Arthaśāstra* and *Mānasollāsa*, this preliminary study of the textual transmission of *gajaśāstra* moves to subsequent works that indicate lines of transmission as well as textual divergence: the undated *Gajaśikṣā* attributed to Nārada Muni (with no prior academic study or translation published), the *Mātaṅgalīlā* (likely dating ca. 15th c.), and elephant care manuals up to the 20th century. This study connects disperse *gajaśāstra* material composed over millennia and is the first to do so after Trautmann (2015). The paper's findings indicate that all subsequent *gajaśāstra*s following the *Mānasollāsa* (save the purely āyurvedic *Hastyāyurveda* of Pālakāpya) preserve material from the *Mānasollāsa*, particularly on topics of elephant typologies, *guṇa*s, stables and structures built to be used in proximity to elephants, and partial incarnations (*aṁśa/aṁśaka*) of divine and other beings in elephant bodies. By tracing information networks, this paper brings new light to elephant *śāstra* in royal t contexts and helps us make sense of the extant manuals today.

Naomi Harris, The University of Chicago

The Zannanza Affair in Hittite: Literary Qualities of an International Intrigue

The diplomatic incident between Hatti and Egypt known as the Zannanza Affair is narrated in both the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma (CTH 40), an annalistic work undertaken by his son Muršili II, and in Muršili II's 2nd Plague Prayer (CTH 378.2). The Egyptian queen wrote to Šuppiluliuma asking to marry one of his sons and offering to make him king in Egypt, but Zannanza was killed instead, resulting in increased hostilities and an epidemic that ravaged the Hittite core lands. Most approaches to the Zannanza Affair aim at historical reconstruction, or a better understanding of international relations. However, these narratives also offer a valuable opportunity to examine literary style. Since both of these compositions recount the same event, we can compare the different rhetorical strategies that the texts use in order to communicate the salient points of the

same story. Literary style depends on the notion that composers have a choice in how they convey information; in this contribution, I show that the composers of the Deeds of Šuppiluliuma and the 2nd Plague Prayer use metonymy, foreshadowing, and that they play with the expected genre conventions in order to fit the story to the purposes of the respective texts.

Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee, University of Chicago

The Development of Feminine Gender in Semitic and its Parallels in Indo-European

It is widely accepted that gender markers commonly derive from pronouns on verbs, and nouns that are classificatory possibilities, such as "woman", "man", "animal" and so on, on nouns and pronouns. This derivation of gender markers is not always traceable, though, either because the morphemes in question are too grammaticalized to reconstruct their origins, or because they might never have derived from an independent lexeme. Other sources, such as the reinterpretation of derivational affixes, have therefore be proposed for gender markers. The processes behind any of these derivations are still difficult to trace, even though over thirty years have passed since Corbett's book on gender was published.

In this talk, I would like to illustrate the issues involved in the emergence of gender markers, specifically the emergence of feminine gender, through the example of the Semitic language family. In Semitic, we can clearly identify the source of the feminine gender marker as a derivational affix. The derivational affix in question, reconstructed as *–(a)t*, originally had the function to mark abstracts, individuated nouns, and, as probably a secondary function, collectives. A very similar origin of a feminine marker has also been proposed for Indo-European, where the suffix *–(e)h$_2$* has likewise been reconstructed as a marker of abstracts, individuated nouns, and collectives.

The talk will address several questions: First, is there any derivational function that can explain the use of the same morpheme for seemingly different categories such as individuated nouns, abstracts, and collectives. Secondly, how did a morpheme that marked such categories become associated with feminine gender. And, lastly, are we more likely dealing with coincidental parallel developments in Semitic and Indo-European or are the two language families indicating that there might be a common typological development that leads from specific derivational functions to gender markers.

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Sophus Helle, Princeton University

"We Are the Music": Sound as Matter and Medium in *Atra-hasis*

Sound plays a double role in the Babylonian epic *Atra-hasis*. As made clear by its epilogue, the text conceives of itself as a song to be heard: its last word is "listen!" (III viii 105). But sound is also a recurrent topic in the epic, connecting every episode in the cascading sequence of events that leads from the Igigi's revolt against excessive labor to the catastrophic Flood. *Atra-hasis*, and specifically sound in *Atra-hasis*, is thus an ideal starting point for thinking about the relation between form and content in Babylonian poetry, that is, between the stories that are told and the ways in which they are told. In this paper, I begin by considering the many ambiguities that are brought together by the theme of sound across the narrative, and then move on to consider why sound should be given so prominent a role. My speculative answer is that the epic uses the ambivalence of its own medium—including the relation between the sound of its oral performance and the clay of its written form—with the ambivalence of the human figure as it is negotiated over the course of the text. In *Atra-hasis*, sound and clay meet twice: in us and in the epic's own literary form. When the epic depicts sound as a complex and contradictory force, associated with both life and death, crisis and its resolution, it is asking us to reflect in turn on how this medium is related to our human experience.

Hans Henrich Hock, University of Illinois

Vadhryaśvá

To explain away *vadhryaśvá* (RV 6.61.1) as a counterexample to his claim that names in *-aśva* occur only in late Rig Vedic books, Talageri (2008) argues that the word differs in accent from the other *-aśva* names, and in 2020 claims that it is not a name, but an insult meaning 'impotent'. However, *vadhryaśvá* is a bahuvrīhi (Wackernagel-Debrunner 1957: 296-298) and can only mean 'having gelded horses'.

Still, there is the question why a great king (6.61.1) or sage (10.69) would be called *vadhryaśvá*. Moreover, it is puzzling that Vadhryaśva's fire apparently is said to have a thousand barren cows, *sahásrastarīḥ* (10.69.7). Jamison & Brereton comment

> … the great flock of barren cows is … odd. It finds its explanation in a semantic pun: just as the triumphant and successful Vadhryaśva bears the name "possessing gelded horses" so does his equally triumphant and successful fire "possess barren cows."

This paper argues that there is no reason to consider *vadhyraśvá* to have negative connotations, or *sahásrastarīḥ*, for that matter.

Vadhryaśvá is not the only seer with a name containing *vádhri*; there is also *saptávadhri* (5.78.5- 6, 8.73.9, 10. 39.9). Further, RV 8.46.29-30 refers to *vádhrayaḥ* as a *priya* 'desirable' gift.

Finally, geldings (Germ. *Wallache*) are desirable (*priya*) in horse husbandry, since they are less temperamental than stallions, or than mares in estrus (e.g. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gelding).

Regarding *sahásrastarīḥ*, Grassmann, Monier-Williams, and Apte, gloss *starī́* as both 'barren cow' and 'heifer'. For semantic parallels see Gk. *steĩra,* Pol. *jałów-ka* 'heifer' beside *steĩros*, *jałow-y* 'barren, infertile', presumably reflecting the fact that heifers do not (yet) have offspring. In this regard note 4.19.7, where *staryò* is parallel to *agrúvo* … *yuvátīr* 'unmarried young' – both get impregnated by Indra. Like *vádhrayaḥ*, *staryàḥ* in the meaning 'heifers' may therefore be desirable.

David Hollenberg, University of Oregon

> Scribes under Duress: Codicological and Paleographic Notes on a Late 19th-Century Nusayri Manuscript

The University of Pennsylvania Library's Ms Codex 43, *Manhaj al-'ilm wal-bayan wa-nuzhat al-sam' wal-bayan* ("The Path of Knowledge and Clarification and the bliss of hearing and seeing") is a doctrinal treatise ascribed to the Nusayri scholar Muhammad b. 'Ali b. 'Isa 'Ismat al-Dawla (d. ca. 1060). A critical edition of the *Manhaj* will soon be published in Brill's *Shii Islam: Texts and Studies* series (Hollenberg and Asatryan, forthcoming). In this presentation, I offer observations regarding codicological and paleographic aspects of Ms. Codex 43 not included in our critical edition of the text.

There is strong evidence that Ms. Codex 43 was a group effort by a community facing difficult circumstances in the village of Makhus in Latakia in the mid to late 19th century. The main scribe named in the colophon and first owner of the manuscript was Sulayman al-Rahib. However, paratextual comments in the source's margins, the different hands and papers used, the uneven quires point to a group project for the production of the script. Further, there is evidence that the manuscript only was in the hands of the community who produced it for twenty years before it was seized by Ottoman troops. In sum, the manuscript was produced and first read a community under duress, a fact that makes itself plain in the physical production of the codex. This presentation demonstrates how evidence within a manuscript can provide social-historical evidence for the period of its assembly and first readers.

Kangni Huang, Harvard University

Anatomy of a Scandal: Structure of Contemporaneity in the Ming-Qing Dynastic Transition

This paper approaches the mysteries surrounding the whereabouts of the last Ming Crown Prince during the Ming-Qing dynastic transition as a case study to understand the structure of contemporaneity. Following Giorgio Agamben, I take "the contemporary" to be an ahistorical concept instead of a synonym for "modern." In Agamben's terms, to be contemporary is an existential state in which one senses both proximity to and distance from their own time. Thus, to examine the contemporaneity of historical events may help us raise broader questions beyond specific historical facts. Specifically, we might gain insight into how the process of relaying information shapes our experience of contemporary time. What are the patterns and/or structures by which a contemporary event is turned into digestible information? How does relevant information, in turn, circulate through different voices and mediums within different contexts? A political scandal leading to the downfall of the short-lived Southern Ming dynasty, the controversy over the true identity of a young man claiming to be the Crown Prince sent shockwaves not only in court, but also through literati circles in and beyond Nanjing, affording ample opportunities to reflect on the questions above. I will analyze various accounts from different genres written during or shortly after the incident, including but not limited to poems by Qian Chengzhi, historiographical works such as *Nandu lu and Jiayi shi'an, and the collection* of short stories *Qing ye zhong* (*Bells in a Clear Night*).

Rong Huang, Harvard University

Non-Desire and Non-Action: A Comparative Study of a Late Tang Christian Text *Book on Mysterious Peace and Joy*

Dating back to the late Tang dynasty (late eighth to early ninth century) and written in Chinese, *Book on Mysterious Peace and Joy* (*BMPJ*) is one among the manuscripts discovered in Dunhuang, China, during the early twentieth century. It documents the history and theology of the Jingjiao tradition, specifically East Syriac Christianity in Tang China. This paper employs a comparative framework to examine *BMPJ*, probing its accommodation and adaptation of Christian theology to its host culture. Whereas modern scholarship has largely viewed *BMPJ* as a strange amalgam of Christian, Buddhist, and Daoist teaching to the extent that it can no longer be treated as a Christian text, I challenge this viewpoint and propose that *BMPJ* preserves its Christian core when considering the rich background of Syriac Christian asceticism. The analysis focuses on two passages at the outset of *BMPJ*, exploring the concepts of non-desire and non- action within them. By delving into the Chinese religious context, I elucidate the potential meanings these passages conveyed to Tang readers. Simultaneously, an examination of the East Syriac ascetic context reveals that the ideas expressed, albeit using Buddhist terminology, align with prevalent concepts in Jingjiao's mother church, East Syriac Christianity. I conclude that *BMPJ* borrows the Buddhist teachings, such as the twelve links, non-attachment, and emptiness, to convey the Syriac ascetic notion of *apatheia*, a state of non-abiding mind adept at controlling its desires and avoiding fixation on any thought. By synthesizing both the Chinese and Syriac contexts, this paper aims to present a nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the theology of this Christian tradition in Tang China. Ultimately, it underscores how the interaction between East Syriac Christianity and Chinese Buddhism expands the horizons of both traditions, revealing a profound communicability between them.

Jens Inden, University of Texas at Austin

Persian Wisdom in the Arabic Kalīla wa-Dimna

This is a paper written for the project Kalīla wa-Dimna – AnonymClassic at Freie Universität Berlin on the direct transmission history of *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.

In the Pahlavi anthology *Jāvīdān Khirad* which was translated into Arabic by Miskawayh (* 320/932), there are three chapters that bear striking similarity to *Kalīla wa-Dimna's muqaddimāt* (introductory chapters). In the *muqaddimāt,* the Sassanian minister Buzurgmihr (pers. Buzurǧm̲ ihr) plays a vital role in *Kalīla wa-Dimna's* translation from Indian to Persian. Two of *Jāvīdān Khirad's* chapters are dedicated to him. Nöldeke (1912) already treated *Jāvīdān Khirad* as one of the primary influences on *Kalīla wa- Dimna*. Al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) casted doubt upon the faithfulness of Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's (*102/720) transmission. Nöldeke (1912), Christensen (1930), and De Blois (1990)

published on the question of identifying how much of the introductory chapters sincerely stems from a Persian *Kalīla and Dimna* or is rather constructed by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. Only Christensen has conducted a direct comparison between *Jāvīdān Khirad* and *Kalīla and Dimna*, identifying only one chapter for comparison, and comparing a small part. An in-depth comparison between *Kalīla and Dimna's* three introductory chapters and those three chapters is wanting.

In this paper I turn to a close reading and comparison between *Kalīla and Dimna's* three introductory chapters and those three chapters in *Jāvīdān Khirad*, to shed light on the intricate transmission history of *Kalīla and Dimna*. The evidence I adduce of paraphrases, interlaced copying, the use of the same concepts, and the reference to parables shows that Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ had authentic Pahlavi material at hand. There is ground to claim that *Jāvīdān Khirad* is older than *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.

Tariq Jaffer, Amherst College

School Traditions of Kalām on the Designation *Muʿjiz*

The principal aim of this study is to describe the process of reasoning through which Bāqillānī and other *mutakallimūn* (Māturīdīs, Ashʿarīs, and Basran Muʿtazilīs) formulated definitions of the designation *muʿjiz* and established its semantic range. The overwhelming majority of *mutakallimūn* from Ashʿarī (d. 935) until Ījī (d 1355) intend to distinguish "what is truly miraculous" or "miraculous in the strict sense" (*ḥaqīqat al-muʿjiz*) from the figurative senses of the name *muʿjiz*. My interest is in clarifying the ways that the *mutakallimūn* schematize the different senses of this designation. To clarify these schematizations and investigate how meaning is ascribed to the name *muʿjiz*, I elaborate the ways that *mutakallimūn* of different school traditions engage with linguistic postulates and lexical definitions from the *ahl al-lugha*, sometimes uniting with the lexicographers but sometimes opposing them; how the *mutakallimūn* establish varying modalities for coining the senses of the name *muʿjiz*; and how such modalities were employed by the *mutakallimūn* to build theological concepts and principles of *muʿjizāt*. An important but perhaps ultimately unanswerable question is whether the kalām traditions by outlining the semantic properties of the term *muʿjiz* are describing the way things actually are or simply talking about the meaning of words. In *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes* (1992), Richard Gramlich collected and translated an array of texts that deal with *muʿjizāt*, and he has given the field of Islamic studies valuable starting points for further inquiry into this area of study. Studies of the *ḥaqīqa-majāz* dichotomy (principally by Wolfhart Heinrichs but also others) are helpful in providing a framework for understanding how the *mutakallimūn* approach the proper usage of words under the influence of the grammarians.

Stephanie W. Jamison, The University of California, Los Angeles

Limits on Vedic and Indo-Iranian Compounding

In contrast to the practice of Classical Sanskrit, where compounds of extravagant length abound, Vedic Sanskrit has strict limits on the number of compound members: there are very few with more than two members. This fact is well known and described in the secondary literature. What is more interesting, and less treated, are the syntactic strategies Vedic poets employ to avoid three(+)-member compounds. The paper will first outline and exemplify some of these strategies. It will then demonstrate that the same strategies are used in Avestan, thus strongly suggesting that the constraints can be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-Iranian. In what time remains, the loosening of these constraints, which will ultimately result in the Classical Sanskrit compounding freedom, will be treated.

Yuanqiu Jiang, Rutgers University

Ban Jieyu as a Poetic Topos in the Six Dynasties

The life and writings of the Favorite Beauty (*jieyu*) Ban (ca. 48-ca. 6 BCE) had become a common poetic theme in the Six Dynasties (220-589). In addition to poems composed specifically on her life, there were also less conspicuous invocations of Lady Ban in prominent poetic genres such as Music Bureau poetry (*yuefu shi*) and odes on objects (*yongwu shi*), with Xie Tiao's (464-499) famous "Resentment on the Jade Steps" being a prime example. In these rewritings, the personal voice seen in Ban's "Rhapsody of Self-Commiseration" is replaced by the feminine lyrical voice commonly adopted by male literati, transforming the lady from a historical figure to a lyrical persona. The personal suffering of Lady Ban, therefore, furnished a valuable source for—to borrow Xiaofei Tian's words—the "shared discourse of desire" in early Chinese poetry.

In this light, this paper examines the diverse ways of utilizing this shared discourse by poets in the Six Dynasties to express political, romantic, or erotic desire. I suggest that these poems depersonalize Lady Ban's life and writings, which are represented by a curated array of images. However, there were also divergent voices that sought to restore the personal dimension to the rewritings of Lady Ban. In particular, the female poet Liu Lingxian (fl. 524) focused on Ban's propriety and rejected emotions closely associated with the feminine lyrical voice, such as resentment and jealousy. Liu's poem illustrates her keen awareness of the challenge faced by female writers of traditional China: their lives and works were often rewritten into commonplace motifs of female desire and suffering, a fate shared by Liu Lingxian and Ban Jieyu.

Qiran Jin, Princeton University

Building and Breaking Boundaries: Elementary Learning and the Management of Philological Knowledge in Early and Medieval Chinese Bibliographies

This paper reexamines the connotation of *xiaoxue* or elementary learning, in Chinese bibliographical tradition, challenging the common belief that elementary learning in the context of early China was a trichotomous category integrating *wenzi* (character studies), *yinyun* (phonology), and *xungu* (philological exegeses). Furthermore, it questions the simple equation of Chinese elementary learning with European philology in comparative studies. Based on a close reading of early and medieval bibliographies, this paper identifies two dominant models of elementary learning. The so-called archaic model was developed gradually from the *Hanshu yiwen zhi* to the *Xin Tangshu yiwen zhi*. This model was pluralistic, with an ambivalent stance on philological exegeses, and notably excluded the canonical lexicon *Erya* from the category. Similarly, the establishment of the Song model underwent a gradual process, from the *Chongwen zongmu* to the *Zhizhai shulu jieti*. It was a strict trichotomous model in which elementary learning was divided into three sub-categories that shaped our understanding of the category today. The expansion and contraction of elementary learning, the establishment of its core philological texts, and the exclusion and reintegration of marginal texts can be explained from three perspectives, including the negotiation between the innovative and conservative tendencies in Chinese bibliography, the competition between different models, and *Familienähnlichkeit* of philological scholarship. After this analysis, it becomes evident that an oversimplified and ahistorical interpretation of elementary learning as a Chinese counterpart to European philology is no longer tenable.

Martin Kern, Princeton University

The *taishi gong* Speaks: Sima Qian's Voice in the *Records of the Historian*

All but two of the one hundred and thirty chapters of the *Shiji* (*Records of the Historian*) contain—in most cases as a concluding evaluation—a brief comment introduced by the words *taishi gong yue*, "the grand lord archivist says." It is in these brief statements where Sima Qian (ca. 145–ca. 85 BCE), their assumed author, purports to appear in his own, often intensely personal voice. Together with the "Letter to Ren An" and the final "Auto-Postface" (chapter 130 of the *Shiji*) also attributed to him, these statements form the body of paratextual material that frames the *Shiji* and at the same time constitutes the Sima Qian persona. Virtually everything we know about Sima Qian, we know from this seemingly autobiographic material. While much attention has been given to the "Letter to Ren An," in my view persuasively described as "an act of literary impersonation" (Michael Nylan), the present paper, in a complementary move, looks more closely at the *taishi gong yue* statements and how they stage—indeed impersonate—the ideal historian: not only as a man of perceptive judgment who carefully verifies his sources by traveling, reading, observing, and hearing but also as a deeply emotional persona constantly given to exclamations, rhetorical questions, and declarations of sighing and crying. Profoundly personal as these expressions may appear, they are

above all repetitive, formulaic, and ritualistic in nature—and so is the Sima Qian emerging from them.

David Kertai, Rijksmuseum Van Oudheden, Leiden, The Netherlands

The Assyrian *ša-rēši*: Social castration as imperial strategy

As the first empire in the region, the Assyrians lacked the tools to properly govern what they conquered. To make do, they experimented and adapted their existing tools to new situations. Along the way, they came up with solutions that were fundamental to their own success and to those of succeeding empires.

Perhaps Assyria's most important contribution to this imperial toolkit was the establishment of officials who were (theoretically) fully dedicated to the king. This circumscribed the rise of vested interests and diminished the power of competitors for the throne. These officials, called *ša-rēši* in Assyrian, have long been the subject of scholarly interest. However, the actual roles of the *ša-rēši* in fostering Assyria's success remains poorly understood.

This is primarily due to the ongoing effects of the Orientalist framework in which the *ša-rēši* have traditionally been understood, and the associated focus on whether these men were castrated. This paper, however, approaches the *ša-rēši* from a different angle, examining the implicit assumption that the Assyrian Empire was an efficient state in which universal rules existed. Understanding the Assyrian Empire as a messy, inconsistent, and sometimes contradictory endeavour brings to the fore the flexibility of the imperial project and the numerous and diverse ways in which the *ša-rēši* functioned within it.

Alexander Key, Stanford University

How to Think the Novel in *adab*

Al-Muhassin b. Ali al-Tanukhi approached *adab* as an opportunity: an archive from which to pull cultural and political content and a space in which to play with that content - twisting its morals and testing its intentions. The carnival of life is open to the present and its authenticity is represented, its genres are in flux, the horizon is never fixed, and there is an uncontainability that somehow still holds its form. It is a hybrid and open system that writes the future. This is how scholars of the novel write about that quintessentially modern and postmodern hybrid form. Why do their hagiographies of our dominant contemporary literary form fit the premodern Arabic-Islamic narrative archive so exactly? Will any form that dominates an imperial or post-imperial space attract similar hagiography - and be constituted by similar hybridity and irony? What doesn't fit this

neat analogue, and what does that tell us about adab? This paper suggests that al-Tanukhi's *Nishwar* represents a paradigm for a way of thinking through writing of which we can see iterations across other genres in the Arabic-Islamic archive.

Vinay Khetia, Shia Research Institute

The Speaking Imām and the Silent Imām in Early Twelver Shīʿī Tradition and Qurʾanic Exegesis

This paper examines the doctrine of spiritual charisma and authority (*wilāya*) in Imāmī Twelver Shīʿism as manifested through the tropes of the "the speaking Imām" (*al-imām al-nāṭiq*) and "the silent Imām" (*al-imām al-ṣāmit*)." The speaking or silent Imām has been presented in Imāmī Twelver traditions in various ways and with diverse symbolic implications. The Prophet Muḥammad and the Imāms have been described in Imāmī Twelver traditions and in early Shīʿī Qurʾanic commentaries as the mouthpiece of the Qurʾan or the sole conduits by which the Qurʾan can speak and come to life. Many of the traditions describing the Prophet and the Imāms as the speaking Qurʾan or the mouthpiece and theophany of God's attributes are found in sections of Imāmī Twelver ḥadīth compilations pertaining to *tawḥīd* (the affirmation of the oneness of God). What may have been the intention of compilers such as al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941) or al-Ṣadūq (d. 381/991) in selecting such traditions and what were they attempting to convey by grouping such traditions together? This paper will explore how we may understand the *wilāya* of the Imāms in relation to the doctrine of *tawḥīd* specifically through the notion of the "speaking and silent Imām" as expressed in the 3rd-5th /9th -11th century Imāmī Twelver sources. A brief comparison will also be drawn between Imāmī Twelver and Imāmī Ismāʿīlī tradition on this subject so to provide a broader Shīʿī context within which this motif arose.

Ronald I. Kim, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Poland

The Khotanese Instrumental-ablative and Locative Plural Endings

Among Middle Iranian languages, Old Khotanese has best preserved the Proto-Iranian system of nominal inflection, distinguishing six cases in both singular and plural and multiple inflectional classes. Most of the case-number markers may be derived straightforwardly from their PIr. sources, e.g. *a*-stem nom. sg. *gyast-ä* 'god', acc. sg. *-u*, nom./acc. pl. *-a* < PIr. *-ah*, *-am*, *-ā*; or *ā*-stem nom. sg. *kanth-a* 'city', acc. sg. *-o*, nom./acc. pl. *-e* < PIr. *-ā*, *-ām*, *-āh*. In contrast, the endings of instrumental-ablative plural *-yau* and locative plural *-uvo'* have not yet received a satisfactory account, although scholars agree that they stand in some historical relation to the endings of the other Old Indo-Iranian languages (Kümmel 2008:§§5.1.3, 5.2.2; Sims-Willliams 2017:275).

The analysis of ins./abl. pl. *-yau* must proceed from two observations. First, as noted by Emmerick (1968:268) *-yau* never causes palatalization of the stem such as is regularly found in the *a*-stem loc. sg. and *ā*-stem gen./dat., ins./abl., and loc. sg., where it results from syncope in endings of the shape *-ǎyā(-) > *-yV*; hence ins./abl. sg. *biśśe jsa*, loc. sg. *biśśa* to *bisā-* 'house', but *bisyau jsa* 'from the houses'. Second, the diphthong *au*, which in all clear cases results from contraction, "seems to have been monophthongised to *o* right at the beginning of our transmitted texts" (Emmerick 1979:245), as in *haur-*, *hor-* 'give' < **fra-bar-* or *nautä*, *notä* 'ninety' < **nawatī-*. In final position, however, the contrast was maintained in the oldest OKh. texts, whence *aka*-stem acc. sg. *-au*, *-o* < **-akam* vs. *ā*-stem acc. sg. *-o* < **-ām*. The predominant spelling *-yau* in Śgs or Z therefore cannot continue PIr. ins. pl. **-aibiš* (OP *-aibiš*) or dat./abl. pl. **-aibyah* (OAv. *-aēibiiō*), but must go back to a sequence **-ǎbV* that was secondarily added to a front vowel. I propose that the PIr. *a*-stem ins. pl. **-āiš* (Av. *-āiš*) regularly became pre-Kh. **-ī̆*, and that the reflex of *ā*-stem ins. pl. **-ābiš* > **-aβ* was then added to distinguish this ending from nom. sg. **-i* (> OKh. *-ä*) and gen. sg. **-ī* (> OKh. *-i*). The resulting sequence **-iyaβ > **-iyau* was then precociously syncopated to *-yau*, a change that may have begun with demonstrative *ttyau* < **tiyau* in pretonic position.

With regard to the locative plural, Emmerick (1987:40–41) argued that although LKh. *-vā* appears to reflect OIr. **-aišu-ā* (cf. YAv. *-aēšuua*, OP *-aišuvā*), the OKh. ending *-uvo'* continues PIr. *a*-stem **-aišu* via the stages **-ivu' > **-uvu' > -uvo'*, with "secondary strengthening of a final unstressed vowel" as in *myāño* 'in the middle of' or *pīrmo* 'at the head of'; this then became LKh. *-vā* with the merger of back vowels (Emmerick 1979:244–6). However, there are no parallels or phonetic motivation for the supposed "strengthening" of final **-u*. I therefore propose to revive the suggestion of Tedesco that OKh. *-uvo'* goes back to OIr. **-aišu-ām*, standing in the same relation to **-aišu-ā* as Ved. loc. sg. (*ā*-stem) *-āyām*, rel. pron. *yásyām* to OP *-āyā*, Av. *yeńhe* (Tedesco 1926:132; cf. Emmerick 1968:270). The same preform would underlie *myāño* 'in the middle of' < OIr. **madyānǎyām*, but not *anau* 'without', *vänau* 'except for, without', whose frequent spelling with *-au* requires a different origin.

If correct, these analyses underscore the desirability of coordinating the chronology of Khotanese texts with the relative chronology of sound changes as an essential tool for further progress in Khotanese historical grammar. The derivation of loc. pl. *-uvo'* from an ending found in Vedic but not otherwise attested in Iranian recalls other such cases as *i*-stem acc. sg. *-ⁱu* from the *vr̥kī́-* type *ī*-stem ending **-iyam* (Ved. *vr̥kyàm*) and once again illustrates the potential contribution of Khotanese to the reconstruction of Proto-Iranian.

Abbreviations: LKh. = Late Khotanese; OKh. = Old Khotanese, Śgs = *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*; Z = Book of Zambasta.

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Yaron Klein, Carleton College

Poetry in the 1001 Nights: its Functions and Interplay with Prose

Although the 1001 Nights is one of the most studied literary works in Arabic, the poetry included in this collection received relatively little scholarly attention. Heinrichs and Van Gelder called in their contributions to this topic for more close textual analysis of the poetry in the "Nights" and its interplay with the different stories in prose. As a unique work that was created over centuries by a multitude of authors and redactors, it is no surprise that poetry was used in the Nights for very different purposes and functions.

In this presentation, I wish to contribute to this discussion by focusing on some of these functions, as seen in selected case studies. I would like to argue that one of the usages of poetry in the Nights is to express the unspeakable, at least what is unspeakable in "ordinary speech", prose, in situations in which a direct address in prose is either prohibited or inappropriate. Protagonists in the Nights not only use poetry to criticize their superiors, but also to reveal their inner thoughts, feelings, and desires. At times, the verses they utter reveal an internal struggle, and the protagonists seems to go through a "therapeutic" process by reciting them. The expression in verse is, thus, a unique medium of expression that is not bound by the restrictions and expectations of address in prose, and enrich the Nights by allowing for multiple layers of expressions, by both narrators and protagonists.

Gina Konstantopoulos, The University of California, Los Angeles

Small Apocalypses: Remembering and Inventing Disaster in Mesopotamia

Broadly speaking, apocalypses are a rather poorly represented concept across the various corpora of Mesopotamian texts. Indeed, the specter of such all-encompassing destruction as a civilization-ending future apocalypse is arguably absent entirely within Mesopotamian literature. This does not, however, mean that the notion of extreme calamity was similarly missing. Instead, we find Mesopotamian texts populated with a host of "small apocalypses." These "apocalypses" range from the memory of past destruction to the invention of future potential calamities. The former is perhaps best embodied in texts such as the Sumerian city laments and the *Curse of Agade*. As such, they provide some of the earliest examples of calamity, primarily dating to the early second millennium BCE. In the city laments, the city is question—be it Ur, Uruk, Nippur, or Eridu—is abandoned by its gods and subject to terrible devastation, only to be restored by the close of the text. Agade, on the other hand, remains destroyed at the close of its own dedicated text. In contrast to the city laments, we see texts that depicts possible future destruction. Published by Grayson and Lambert in 1964 under the title of "Akkadian Prophecies," these first-millennium Akkadian texts describe the often-calamitous fate visited on a future unknown ruler. This paper first presents an overview of the notion of apocalypse as it is present (or, as is most often the case, absent) within the broad context of Mesopotamian texts. Following that, it considers the disparate examples of remembered and invented disaster in both Sumerian and Akkadian material to discuss the place and purpose of disaster—and moreover, the function of these "small apocalypses"— within the textual record, even in the absence of large-scale apocalypses.

Simon Korneev, The University of Texas at Austin

Biblical Hebrew Syllable Structure Based on Cuneiform and Greek Transcriptions

Cuneiform transcriptions of Hebrew names have received considerable attention over the past few decades for the unique insight they furnish into Israelite/Jewish onomastics and demographics; the equally unparalleled contribution of these syllabic renderings to our understanding of Biblical Hebrew vocalism has been explored much less thoroughly. This paper focuses on changes in the syllable structure of pre-Tiberian Hebrew as they can be reconstructed from the transcriptional material, drawing on recent advances in the field of Septuagintal and Hexaplaric Greek trascriptions as well as a fresh examination of the cuneiform data. The need for methodological caution is emphasized: several flawed conclusions in past research on cuneiform transcriptions of Hebrew have been based on an imperfect interpretation of later Greek transcriptional conventions, and insufficient attention has been paid to internal Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian phonological developments, which considerably impact the scribes' perception of Hebrew forms. An additional hurdle is posed by the need to discriminate carefully between phonetic evolution and re-patterning.

It is argued that correlations in syllable structure between Septuagintal forms like *ieremias* and cuneiform transcription such as *i-ri-im-iá-ma*, as opposed to Tiberian *yirməyāhû,* can be used to refine our understanding of the pretonic syncope CVCVCV > CVCCV, one of the main sources of the Hebrew *scheva medium*. The analysis has implications for the development of segholate nouns: *sedekias* ~ *ṣi-di-iq-iá-ma* seems to show early anaptyxis in a similar phonotactic enviroment. A methodologically circumspect examination of the cuneiform material in conjunction with later alphabetic transcriptions is likely to shed more light on the development of Hebrew vowels.

Adam Koutajian, Harvard University

States of Seizure: The Force of Meaning and Imagination's Refusal in Classical Arabic Poetics

In his *Poetics* commentary of the *Shifāʾ*, Ibn Sina identifies the genus of assent (*taṣdīq*), the logical acceptance of apodictic statements, as "acquiescence [*idhʿān*]." To affirm the phenomenal world, then, would amount to "an acquiescence to accept that the thing is as it is said to be." In the *Qiyās*, he would go on to add that the result of this process is a cognitive "satisfaction [*al-qanāʿah*]" in the correspondence between a proposition and its referential content. Almost contemporaneous to Ibn Sina was the Abbasid lexicographer Ibn Fāris, who in his *Maqāyīs al-lugha* identified three root meanings (*uṣūl*) for the word "*al-maʿnā*," conventionally rendered as "meaning." First is placing one's intention (*al-qaṣd*) upon a thing; second, is a state of captivity and subjugation, and third, is the becoming-manifest of a thing. Common to these is a state of seizure; be that of attention, of appearance, or of signification. "Meaning," understood in these terms, is the phenomenological disclosure of an object's hidden content, which is metonymically extended to the shared root between the seizure of attention and the surrender of physical autonomy. Extending the abjection of captivity figuratively brings to bear a subterranean acknowledgement of the force of phenomenal experience in general. If one must *acquiesce,* in Ibn Sina term's, to truth, and if appearance itself holds us in states of captivity, then how might one negotiate these demonstrations of force? This paper, following Ibn Sina's prescient, but nascent, observation, will argue it is imagination, or better yet, "make-believe [*takhyīl*]" that offers therapeutic release from the strictures of phenomenality. The very existence of imagination or fantasy would suggest the inadequacy of phenomenal truth; in fact, it is evidence of *dissatisfaction* with reality. By considering a number of poets, including al-Maʿarrī, this paper will adumbrate the phenomenological and epistemological therapeutics of imaginal thinking within Arabic philosophical poetics.

Paul Kroll, University of Colorado, Boulder

Some Notes Regarding Liu Xiyi's Poems

Liu Xiyi is one of the more interesting but shadowy and often ignored names among Tang poets. There is virtually no reliable information about his life, and his *floruit* dates have been variously surmised as being in the mid-seventh century, the late seventh century, or the early eighth century. Thirty-some poems attributed to him are recorded in the *Quan Tang shi*, a few from other sources, and an especially curious and otherwise unknown poem under his name is found among the Dunhuang manuscripts. In all of these poems we can recognize a consistent and identifiable voice, with a penchant for a certain group of attractive themes and images, and a liking for a particular manner of structuring his poems. This communication will offer remarks about his works in general, as well as closer examination of a few selected pieces.

Jeremy Kurzyniec, Yale University

An Arabic *Kāmasūtra*? Kāmashāstra and the Development of Arabic Sexology (ʿilm al-bāh) in the 4th/10th Century

Arabic sexology (ʿilm al-bāh) transformed radically in the course of 4th/10th century. Starting out as an exclusively medical genre in the hands respected physicians like Qusṭā ibn Lūqā and al-Rāzī, it morphed over the decades into something barely recognizable – a bizarre catch-all of *mujūn* poetry, outlandish aphrodisiacs, and *Kāmsūtra*-like descriptions of sexual positions. Many factors account for this transformation, especially popular demand: *jawārī*- owning patrons desired a new, more practical, sex-positive approach to the subject than that offered by the Graeco-Arabic medical tradition. Happily, they got just what they wanted when Arabic sexologists tapped into another, even more ancient sexological tradition, Indian Kāmashāstra, which offers what Graeco-Arabic medicine does not while still being safely, respectably a "science." How kāmashāstric sources ended up in 4th/10th-century Arabic *kutub al-bāh* remains an entirely open question, unbroached by even the small number of scholars who have studied the field. Did Buyid-era sexologists have access to an Arabic translation of the *Kāmasūtra*, or perhaps some other, later Sanskrit work? Or could the plainly kāmashāstric material have come through a less direct channel, mediated by Middle Persian or possibly even Greek sources? My presentation will sketch out and evaluate the different possibilities on the basis of the two most important pieces of evidence, Ibn Naṣr's voluminous *Jawāmiʿ al-ladhdha* (*Encylopedia of Pleasure*), which has only recently received its first full print edition, and Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Khwārizmī's *Kitāb al-bāh*, a previously unstudied work that is likely the first in Arabic to excerpt Kāmashāstra.

Jonathan Lawrence, Cornell University

The Lūṭī and the People of Lot in Islamic Thought

Scholarship has analysed the contours of the Qur'anic story of the Prophet Lot and the punishments inflicted upon his People, and has explored the ways in which the sin of *liwāṭ* (male-male anal intercourse) was regulated, both in juridical theory and in historical practice. However, very little attention has been paid to how the character of the *lūṭī*, the person who has engaged in *liwāṭ*, came to be, or the bases on which the figure of the *lūṭī* as a character in moral, religious and legal thought was incarnated in the medieval Arab-Islamic world. The People of Lot form a Qur'anic *nakāl*, an example of the punishment awaiting those who sin. But what of the medieval *lūṭī*, the man who enacts the sin for which the Qur'anic community were punished? This paper will survey the ways in which scholars imagined the character of the *lūṭī* through his relationship with the tribe of the Prophet Lot; basing my analysis in religious poetry, short anecdotes, depictions of Hellfire, Qur'anic exegesis, *ḥadīth* traditions and other early scholarly authorities, I argue that the figure of the *lūṭī* was imagined and constructed through a genealogical and communal logic that connected him through descent and fraternity to the People of Lot and the geographical space of the Dead Sea, itself turned into a site of longing, belonging and divine retribution for the medieval *lūṭī*. This genealogical construction of the relationship between the Qur'anic community and the *lūṭī* in medieval society speaks to how the act of *liwāṭ* was understood to alter a person's relationship to God, the community and their own self: the individual becomes the *lūṭī* and, in his rebellion against God, begins to come to identify with the People of Lot, seeking back in history to find a group to call his own.

Todd Lawson, University of Toronto

Islamic Near East: Divine Attributes and Human Emotions: Joseph and the Covenant

The primordial Day of the Covenant, described at Q7:172, represents the starting point for creation, time, and history. The relation between God and humanity inaugurated on that day may be reflected in Q12, the Quran's sura of Joseph. Some parallels and resonances and possible implications will be presented.

Evan D. LeBarre, The University of Texas at Austin

The Changing Social Position of Yājñavalkya in the Janaka and Maitreyī Dialogues: Retracing Patterns of Economic Exchange in Education in the Early Upaniṣads

The dialogues in the early Upaniṣads feature three identifiable patterns of economic exchange in education. Often, teachings are offered in exchange for a period of service from students. On the

other hand, teachings are sometimes exchanged for money. Finally, when kings are featured as teachers, they try to deter prospective students by offering them money instead of teachings, and only when the student refuses the payment does the king offer his teaching.

With the exception of teaching dialogues between fathers and their sons, discussion of payment for teaching is pervasive in the early Upaniṣads. With this in mind, it becomes interesting to revisit the two dialogues between Yājñavalkya and king Janaka and Yājñavalkya and his wife, Maitreyī, in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*. Scholars have long noted the role of social class in teaching, the relationship of patronage between kings and Brāhmaṇas, and the gendered aspects of knowledge in the Upaniṣads (Olivelle, 1996; Black, 2007; Lindquist, 2017; 2008). However, they have yet to consider how the pairing of these two famous dialogues strategically positions them within the aforementioned patterns of economic exchange in education. I argue that the Janaka and Yājñavalkya episode concludes with a subversion of royal and ascetic qualities. Directly following is a dialogue where Yājñavalkya teaches Maitreyī after she refuses payment, and this subtly casts Yājñavalkya into a role usually occupied by kings. This casting gestures toward the notion of the socially paradoxical ascetic king, which thereafter becomes increasingly important in South Asian religions.

Jaehyuk Lee, Ohio State University

Functionalizing the Memory of the Three Kingdoms: Yuan Hong's 'Encomia of the Great Ministers of the Three Kingdoms'

The present study undertakes a comprehensive analysis of Yuan Hong's 袁宏 (328–376) work titled "Sanguo mingchen xu zan" 三國名臣序贊 (Encomia of Great Ministers of the Three Kingdoms with a Preface), which consists of a prose preface and twenty-two pieces of poems dedicated to the ministers who served one of the states of Wei 魏 (220–265), Wu 吳 (229–280), and Shu 蜀 (221–263). This paper scrutinizes Yuan's strategies in the meticulous selection and rearrangement of the memories of historical figures from the period to construct multilayered narratives imbued with specific political agendas. Specifically, this research illuminates the manifold functions of Yuan's encomia crafted to enhance the standing of the author's clan, discuss the issue of cultivating relationships with one's sovereign, and establish a universal principle delineating a fixed hierarchy between sovereign and subordinate, based on the Teaching of Names (*mingjiao* 名教). Furthermore, by contextualizing the encomia into the contemporary situation of the Eastern Jin court and comparing it with other historical writing produced at the time, this paper argues that Yuan "functionalized," borrowing Aleida Assmann's word, the memory of the Three Kingdoms into a political weapon targeting at Huan Wen 桓溫 (312–373), a potential usurper of the Eastern Jin throne. In doing so, the present paper not only enriches our comprehension of the diverse ways in which memories of the Three Kingdoms have been extended and reconfigured but also highlights

the role of encomium as a distinctive mode of writing to transform historical memories into a source of political power within new contexts.

Michael Leff, The University of Texas at Austin

> *Amēlūtu* in Late Bronze Age Emar: Debt-slavery and the ancient Near Eastern context of Exodus 21:1-6

In the socio-legal context of Late Bronze Age Emar, an *amēlūtu* has been generally understood as an antichretic debtor, whereby debtors transfer the usage (but not ownership) of property, including persons, to a creditor in lieu of interest. However, this paper, building on Viano's recently published 'Debt and Indebtedness at Emar,' will demonstrate that the *amēlūtu* is better understood as a type of debt-slave rather than an antichretic debtor. This analysis pays particular attention to cases where debtors themselves have been understood to act as an antichretic pledge (e.g. E VI 16), as well as cases in which the freedom of the debtor's family is contingent on *palāḫu* service. The paper will clarify the economic rationale of an *amēlūtu* relationship and the status of the debtor's spouse and children.

In doing so, this paper will argue that an analysis of the *amēlūtu* texts from Emar, when appropriately contextualized by other ancient Near Eastern evidence concerning the status of children born to mixed-marriages of chattel or debt-slaves, provides insight into the interpretation of the slave laws in Exodus 21:1-6. This, in turn, sheds light on the relationship between the regulations in Exodus 21:1-6 and the real-world practice of law in the ancient Near East.

Timothy Leonard, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

> Ištar of the Battlefield: An Anatolian War Goddess

Ištar of the Field (*Ištar Ṣēri*) is one of the most widely attested hypostases of Ištar-Šavoška in textual sources from the Hittite Empire, but is only sparsely attested outside of Anatolia. Ištar was introduced into the Hittite pantheon from the southeast, only appearing in Hittite texts after the annexation of Kizzuwatna in the late 15th century BCE. The nature of Ištar of the Field has been the subject of some debate: this deity has been variously interpreted as a goddess of the battlefield, a figure associated with vegetation and the open country, an international treaty goddess, or a goddess associated with agriculture and textile production. In this paper I reevaluate previous studies of this divinity and argue that her divine epithet refers explicitly to the field of battle. I then compare this deity with other manifestations of the warlike Ištar across the cuneiform cultural region, and argue that the Hittite Ištar of the Field most likely originated as a local adaptation of the north Mesopotamian goddess Ištar of Battle (*Ištar Tāḫāzi*).

Shuo Liang, Arizona State University

Orienting the Self in the *Diagram of the Three Realms Unified*

This paper examines Lü Fu's (1671–1742) *Diagram of the Three Realms Unified* (*Sancai yiguan tu*), a comprehensive map that provides geographical information and integrates historical and moral information at the same time. The map consists of sixteen diagrams, such as a world map, two astronomical maps, a map of the Qing empire, a diagram of the *Great Learning* (*Daxue*), a diagram of reign titles, reign periods, and ghosts and deities, a diagram of the Yellow River and the Luo River, and a diagram of correspondence between the constellation and administrative districts. The question of what a map is has been one of the most contentious issues in the study of maps. This paper aims to expand our understanding of what a map is by examining the relationship between the self and the map. As this paper shows, a map is an attempt at self-orientation by mapmakers and viewers and a political and moral compass with which to navigate the universe in which they live. Lü Fu's map is driven by his overarching ideal of enabling readers to navigate the world of space and time, placing themselves in the physical and moral world. This map is not just an illustration of spatial representations of the natural world but also a text that "maps out" historical knowledge and Confucian ethics as a scaffolding device to teach viewers how to navigate the moral world. The spatial nature of the map allows readers to locate their own geographical location on the map. The map also allows one to find one's place in the moral universe by offering a variety of diagrams of historical and moral knowledge rendered in an accessible way.

Steven Lindquist, Southern Methodist University

Equine Cosmology: Mapping a Dead Horse in *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* 1.1

The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* begins with a famous passage relating the anatomy of a horse to the earthly and heavenly bodies, TIme, and the sacrifice. As the oldest Upaniṣad, this passage may be seen as a genre-bridge of sorts between *brāhmaṇa*-style sacrificial concerns and *upaniṣad*-style connections (*bandhus*). Doniger (2021) has referred to this passage as a "meditation on the sacrificial horse" and a "cosmic vision of the horse as the world. "I will argue, however, that it is better visualized as a spatially and topographically coherent "map." Through a close reading of this passage as well as a visual presentation, I will elucidate the logic and consistency of this map which then aids in reconciling otherwise ambiguous details in the text. In particular, I will discuss what type of map this passage creates between an anatomically accurate dissection of a sacrificial horse to its purported cosmological correlates.

I-Chin Lin,Arizona State University

Mapping Imperial Urban Space: The Court Entertainment in the Northern Song

This paper examines the process of court entertainment in the Northern Song (960-1127) period and how the folk performers engaged in imperial entertainment. In the Northern Song Dynasty, due to the growth of commerce, entertainment blossomed in the flourishing capital of Kaifeng. There were grand displays of a great variety of acrobatic and martial skills, collectively known as the hundred entertainments (*bai xi*). The hundred entertainments enjoyed continuous popularity not only in the capitals but also in the countryside. These entertainments were displayed not merely in the imperial palace but also in the public area. The organizational affiliations of entertainers in the Northern Song were primarily institutional and professional. The dominant organization of theatricals during the Tang and the Northern Song was the Court Entertainment Bureau (*jiao fang*). The Court Entertainment Bureau, the official institution, was in charge of the precinct of instructions. It was not merely originally for entertainers alone but also was an agency for training other highly specialized palace artists and performers. The Court Entertainment Bureau was maintained under the Bureau of Registration of Palace Military Intendants (*Xuan hui yuan*). Before its abolishment in the Northern Song, it provided performers for all court feasts. Currently, previous scholars have touched on the studies of imperial entertainment institutions. Based on the record of scattered literati's personal accounts, readers can still view other imperial performances. In the later period of the Northern Song, to satisfy the excessive needs of performances, some imperial events were no longer limited to performed by the court artists but by the folk performers. This situation reflected the growth of the folk artists' strength and the multiple entertainment structures in the Northern Song period.

Meihui Liu, Princeton University

Beyond the Victory of Han Confucianism: The Dynamics of Rhetoric Concerning the Past in the Mid to Late Western Han

The prevailing academic consensus suggests that the so-called "reformists," who revered the remote past, secured a predominant position during the reign of Emperor Yuan (r. 48–33 BC), a shift often termed "the victory of Han Confucianism." Nevertheless, such a characterization tends to oversimplify the nuanced responses of the late Han emperors and the diverse viewpoints held by Han scholars referencing the past for justification. As illustrated in the *Yantielun* 鹽鐵論 (Discourses on Salt and Iron), once Emperor Wu's (r.141–87 BC) reforms were enshrined in the "past" after his demise, the appeal to past precedent became a double-edged sword, accessible to both sides of the argument and subsequently diminishing its potency. Emperors Xuan, Cheng, and Ai's endorsement of *gushi* 故事 (precedent) emerged as a potent counter to the age-old emphasis on the remote past. This shift compelled scholars who leaned on ancient practices to recalibrate their stance. The once-dominant narrative of an idealized remote past bifurcated into

two main schools of thought. One, championed by Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BC), embraced *gushi* and emphasized the importance of historical instances, particularly from the Han dynasty. Conversely, the other, represented by Kuang Heng 匡衡 (fl. 47–29 BC), rejected this approach, placing greater emphasis on *li* 禮 (ritual) as the primary authoritative source. This ideological divergence culminated in a synthesis under Liu Xin 劉歆 (50 BC–23 AD), as exemplified in the *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of Zhou) and *Zuozhuan* 左傳 (Zuo Tradition).

Yitian Li, Harvard University

The Encyclopedia as a Vehicle for Statecraft Learning

This paper investigates the encyclopedia the *Sea of Jade* (*Yuhai*), compiled by the Southern Song scholar Wang Yinglin (1223-1296) and published posthumously in 1340, as a case of literati's use of the genre of encyclopedias to pursue statecraft learning during the age of *Daoxue* ascendancy. Previous scholarship has paid much attention to ideas about governance expressed in the institutional histories and historical treatises by East Zhe scholars and in the classical commentaries on the *Ritual of Zhou*. The prominence of these works has contributed to the common belief that literati interests in statecraft learning declined in the thirteenth century. I argue that the intellectual trend prioritizing statecraft learning survived and gained new forms in the genre of the encyclopedia and its pursuit for broad learning. Focusing on the sections on governance in the *Sea of Jade*, I demonstrate that Wang's selection of sources and his own comments engaged with governing principles and contemporary policies. Through a comparison with earlier compilations about institutions, including *Tongdian* by Du You, *Lidai bingzhi* by Chen Fuliang, and the relevant sections in *Qunshu kaosuo* by Zhang Ruyu, I argue that Wang's work continued the tradition of encyclopedias but had also been impacted by the statecraft scholarship in East Zhe. The development in the intellectual engagement with statecraft can be considered as a response to the rising impact of *Daoxue*, whose prioritization of moral cultivation had posed a challenge to specialized investigation into matters of governance.

Timothy Lorndale, University of Toronto

When Pāṇḍu Met Kuntī: Variations on a "Meet-Cute" in the Digambara *Mahābhārata* Tradition

According to the *Mahābhārata* tradition of the Digambaras, Pāṇḍu – and not the god Sūrya –has an out of wedlock tryst with Kuntī that results in Karṇa's conception. Interestingly, there are quite a few accounts of how this pasty Kuru bachelor first 'got together' with the stunning princess of the Harivaṃśa. In this presentation, I examine the transmission of this epic "meet-cute" in the Deccan between the 9th and 12th centuries. I focus on three versions of this story: Guṇabhadra's

Uttarapurāṇa (ca. 897 C.E.) in Sanskrit (70.104-114ab), Svayaṃbhūdeva's *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* (ca. 9th c.) in Apabhraṃśa (14.8-9), and Karṇapārya's *Nemināthapurāṇa* (ca. 12th.) in Kannada (3.33V-45). I pay special attention to the different depictions of Pāṇḍu and Kuntī's relationship in these texts, which range from romantic in the *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* to non-consensual in the *Uttarapurāṇa*. In turning to Karṇapārya's work, finally, I discuss how this Kannada text attempts to reconcile these opposing dynamics.

Timothy Lubin, Washington & Lee University

> Governmentality in Early India and the Question of the Nonmodern State

In a 1977 lecture, "Governmentality," delivered to the Collège de France, Michel Foucault identified a key shift in European political thought that occurred from the 18th century. An age-old preoccupation with sovereignty as the goal of politics began to give way to an increasing focus on "governmentality," by which he meant a set *savoirs* ("institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics"), "apparatuses of security" focused on the population, "the directing of the flow of population into certain regions or activities, etc." It has often been argued (or assumed) that ancient and early medieval Indian kingdoms lacked elaborate administrative machinery or robust institutions (of the sort that characterize "the state" in post-Westphalian politics), and that demonstrations and ritual performances of sovereign power mattered most. This paper will consider evidence — normative textual (especially but not exclusively *Arthaśāstra*) and documentary (inscriptional grant charters and other decrees) — that exhibit something approaching governmentality in these terms: e.g., record-keeping and judicial institutions, policies for settling the countryside and opening up waste land to cultivation, market controls, patronage of religious groups through endowments and special privileges, etc. I will conclude by arguing that the existence of this governmentality has a bearing on the question of whether the term "state" can meaningfully be applied to ancient and medieval Indian polities.

Johannes Makar, Harvard University

> In the Margin of Reform: Coptic Printing, Cross-Confessional Partnerships, and the
>
> (Re-)Invention of Tradition

Coptic voices have often been overlooked in the history of modern Arabic thought, with seminal historians like Albert Hourani excluding Coptic intellectuals from the canon, deeming their contributions insignificant without a comprehensive examination of their works. Simultaneously, Copts themselves have tended to perceive their role within the confines of confessional historiographies. This paper contends that the marginalization of Coptic intellectuals paradoxically furnishes their writings with a distinctive perspective, offering a valuable lens to scrutinize the granular processes of the *Nahḍa*, or "Arab Renaissance."

This paper illustrates that Coptic reformism was recognized early on as a catalyst for regional transformation. One arena where Coptic reform wielded substantial influence was in the field of printing. Contrary to the conventional portrayal of the Coptic press as merely a "sectarian press," this paper foregrounds Coptic publishing initiatives that pioneered the production and dissemination of Islamic and Arabic literary texts. I further posit that the proliferation of Coptic publishing houses played a pivotal role in establishing Cairo's Faggāla neighborhood as a central hub for regional publishing.

Alice Mandell, Johns Hopkins University

Code-alternation in the Jerusalem Amarna Letters: A New Approach to the Linguistic and Orthographic Variation in the Canaanite Amarna Letters

This paper addresses the methodological challenges posed by the linguistic and orthographic variation in the Canaanite Amarna Letters. Much of the study of the variation in the letters still employs the classic model of code-switching following the "fluent bilingual speaker" paradigm. However, developments in the study of variation in speech and writing have moved past this classic paradigm, and are inclusive of a greater range of features. Another challenge is that the letters represent the writing practices of the scribes, and not their speech practices. My proposed "code-alternation" approach draws upon more recent scholarship on the phenomenon of linguistic and orthographic variation in texts and the multimodal perspective. Code-alternation, as I employ it, is inclusive of the range of linguistic and orthographic variation in the letters, as well as the use of different layout and design features in the letters. Importantly, my approach to code-alternation also considers the *context* of variation—the rhetorical situation of a form in a text, its location on a writing surface, and also any potential meta-textual relationships between the Canaanite Letters that might speak to the scribes' education and literacy practices involving the cuneiform script. After outlining this approach, I then demonstrate the application and "pay-off" this approach through analysis of the Jerusalem Amarna Letters, which are the most linguistically complex letters of the Canaanite Amarna corpus due to the scribe's use of Babylonian and Assyrian Akkadian forms, as well as features of the local Canaano-Akkadian scribal code.

Robert Marineau, The University of Chicago

Stylistic Features in the Hittite Myth of Illuyanka

The Myth of Illuyanka is one of the more famous texts discovered at Hattuša for several reasons. It is a fascinating story of a battle between a serpent, Illuyanka, and the Storm-god where the Illuyanka wins the first battle, but the Storm-god wins in the end. Of further interest, it is a text that explicitly links the use of a mythological text with the performance of a festival; the text ends, as

some other native Anatolian myths do, with the performance of a ritual. In other words, the text is both entertaining as well as illuminating regarding ancient Anatolian religion and culture. In spite of these features, the literary style of the text is sometimes ridiculed by Hittitologists. One scholar describes the style as having 'a certain clumsiness' with 'mostly simple sentences.' This paper will challenge these assessments of the style with a fresh analysis of discourse developments and word choices throughout the text.

Alex Matthews, University of Chicago

> *'The Book of Interim Times and Planetary Conjunctions'*: A Fāṭimid Version of the Occult Sciences

While the popularity of the occult sciences in the medieval Islamic world has been well-established, the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī mission's engagement with astrology, magic, divination, and other associated disciplines has been more difficult to prove. Documentary evidence from the Cairo Geniza, for example, indicates an interest in astrology at a popular level in Fāṭimid Cairo; however, texts written by Fāṭimid missionaries have so far seemed devoid of occult themes. I argue that the 10th-century Fatimid Ismaili text *k. al-fatarāt wa-l-qirānāt* (The Book of Interim Times and Planetary Conjunctions), attributed to the courtier and missionary Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr al-Yaman (d. c. 358 AH/969 AD), suggests that the Fatimid mission sought to incorporate the occult sciences into their Ismaili theological framework. This accommodation was intended to demonstrate that no realm of knowledge escaped the Fatimid imam's mastery, and that the Fatimid imam of the era was superior to occult scientists due to his direct connection with the divine and perfect and immediate apprehension of all phenomena which grant him superior perception of the unseen. I further argue that the Fāṭimid version of the occult sciences follow the logic of ta'wīl, or the interpretation of not only scripture, but also the entire perceivable world as possessing both an apparent, outer meaning (ẓāhir) and an inner, esoteric meaning (bāṭin), the latter accessible only to the imam. Ta'wīl is among the most distinctive and defining elements of Ismaili thought, and its logic underpins the bulk of Ismāʿīlī theology. Accordingly, in the Fāṭimid view of the occult sciences, astrology, divination, and the science of the letters likewise possess an outer meaning available to the general masses, as well as a hidden aspect in which they relate back to the salvific ultimate truths (ḥaqāʾiq) that are the cornerstone of Ismāʿīlī theology.

Jana Matuszak, ISAC, The University of Chicago

> Old Babylonian Literary Creations as a Means of Understanding the Sumerian Legacy of the 3ʳᵈ Millennium BCE

For a long time, modern scholarship thought that scribal activity during the Old Babylonian period (2000–1600 BCE) was mainly devoted to recording and preserving the Sumerian literary legacy of the 3ʳᵈ millennium BCE. It is now becoming increasingly clear that the creativity and productivity of

Babylonian scribes active in the early 2nd millennium BCE has been underestimated. This paper presents a case study of a hitherto unpublished Sumerian literary text that was newly composed in the Old Babylonian period, focusing on the question of what it can tell us about Old Babylonian notions of 'literature.' It will be shown that the text actively engages with an arcane lexical/phraseological repository, the so-called Early Dynastic Proverb Collection 1 (EDPC 1), which is first attested on manuscripts from ca. 2600 BCE. Through careful and shrewd manipulation of the source (selection of pertinent sayings, subtle exchange of words, reversal of line sequences to form chiastic structures and enhance cohesion), the authors provided a new context for old, decontextualized sayings. Conspicuously, the 'proverbs' were given a decidedly misogynistic bent that is absent from the early manuscripts. It can therefore be argued that the composition of the literary text forms part of the scholarly and literary endeavour of making sense of the almost-lost legacy of the 3rd millennium BCE. However, the tendentious reinterpretation shows that antiquarian interests went beyond passive preservation and aimed at keeping the legacy alive and meaningful.

Lillian McCabe, Yale University

Did Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī Write a Second Recension of his *Kitāb al-Sirr al-Maktūm*? A Review of the Evidence

It has heretofore been assumed that the *Kitāb al-Sirr al-Maktūm* was a product of an early stage in Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's intellectual career. Based on the references he makes to the *Sirr al-Maktūm* in three of his other early works and the patterns of his patronage, it has been estimated that he wrote the work around the year 575/1179 (that being about three decades before his death in 606/1210). In this paper, I argue that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī released at least two editions of his *Kitāb al-Sirr al-Maktūm*, one earlier in his career and the second soon before his death. My argument is supported by two main sources of evidence. The first is an under-appreciated source on al-Rāzī's life: a biographical compendium of astrologers by Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266) (*Faraj al-mahmūm fī taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ al-nujūm*). I then present evidence from the manuscript record of the *Sirr al-Maktūm*, based on my examination of over 30 copies of the text. Recent scholarship has demonstrated that far from being a text marginal to al-Rāzī's intellectual project, the *Sirr al-Maktūm* was of lasting importance to al-Rāzī, and ideas developed in the *Sirr* are prevalent in his final work, the *Maṭālib*. My paper further supports this argument by demonstrating that al-Rāzī also revisited and added to this work at the end of his life.

Mark McClish, Northwestern University

An Upaniṣad in the Dharmasūtras: The Yogas of the Supreme Self (Āpastamba 1.22.1-1.23.6)

In what is likely the oldest extant legal code of ancient India, the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra* (*ca*. 3rd c. BCE), we find a curious passage concerning the *adhyātmika yoga*s, "the Yogas of the Supreme Self." At the core of this passage are "*śloka*s" identified by the commentator Haradatta (*ca*. 12th - 14th c. CE) as *mantra*s from the Upaniṣads. Indeed, this passage would have been more at home in the Upaniṣads than in *Āpastamba*, to which it introduces a metaphysics, a set of religious practices, and a soteriology otherwise alien to the text. Not only this: the passage argues that the realization of the self (*ātmalābha*) is the highest religious goal and, even more surprisingly, that the practice of *yoga* toward this end is approved for all four of the *āśrama*s.

In these ways, this passage on the *adhyātmika yoga*s contradicts the greater text in several important respects. This has, however, drawn little if any comment from interpreters and translators such as Bühler (1879), Kane (1930), Friedrich (1993) and Olivelle (2000). Of course, the *dharmaśāstra* tradition did, like mainstream Brahmanism more generally, come to integrate *yoga* and related concepts and practices as part of an extended and dynamic rapprochement with the religious modalities of renunciation over the centuries (see, e.g., Fitzgerald 2004, Ganeri 2018, Olivelle 2019). So perhaps it has not seemed too surprising to find such a passage in *Āpastamba*, at least to the extent that we assume that the *dharma* tradition was engaged in such a rapprochement from the beginning.

As I hope to show in my talk, however, it appears that this passage is a later addition to *Āpastamba* and, what is more, that the early *dharma* tradition neither engaged with *yoga*, nor did it generally consider interior states or subjective dispositions as sites for direct religious practice engagement. Using this proposed state as a historical baseline, it is possible, then, to chart the manner in which the early *dharma* tradition did come to gradually engage practices of renunciation, not only in the form of the evolution of the *āśrama* system, but specifically in the different strategies through which introspection and inwardness were grafted into the religious system of *dharma*.

John Mellison, The University of Texas, Austin

How Legal Mechanisms were Adapted and Expanded in the ANE

A curious feature of the legal system in the ANE is the existence of concealed transactions. The first concealed transactions that we have seem to be primarily about evading rules or customs and creating a way for disadvantaged people to leverage the assets they did have—especially assets that might be non-fungible. For example, the famous adoption-sales from Nuzi and Emar record

property being transferred from a seller to a buyer; however, the transactions are cast as an adoption with an "inheritance" (the property being sold) from the adopter and a "gift" (the purchase price) from the adoptee. Disguised transactions like this have been discussed individually or as part of a specific site, period, or genre (L. Fijałkowska, G. Pfeifer, E. Moore). This paper adds to the conversation both by suggesting that their prolonged use fits a broader pattern in the ANE and by examining a number of different types of legal mechanisms. I consider adoptions, inheritance documents, loans, rentals, and gifts. I argue not only that these legal mechanisms were expanded to meet a need, but that they were adapted and continued to be used because they were effectual in a way that creating a new legal mechanism might not be.

Chris Mezger, Yale University

The "Syro-Nabati" Reading of the Quran: Aramaic in Early Arabic Grammar, Lexicography, and *tafsīr*

Recent years have seen increased scholarly interest in the Aramaic loanwords in the Quran and early Arabic texts. But scholars of the Arabic language who lived in the early Islamic period, as they undertook projects of describing the language of the Quran and fortifying it against what they saw as deterioration, also knew that there was Aramaic material in the Quran and in Arabic in general. Furthermore, by the time the fields of lexicography, grammar, and exegesis developed, in the second/eighth century, Arabic speakers had been living in close proximity with Aramaic speakers for several generations, so there was general awareness of Aramaic, both spoken and written. This paper traces how Arabic linguists and exegetes in the early Islamic centuries explained Aramaic loanwords and other material in Arabic, and what their descriptions can tell us about the Aramaic language and its speakers in these centuries. What words did scholars use to refer to what we would call Aramaic or Arameans? What did they know, if anything, about Aramaic speakers, who were increasingly restricted to rural populations apart from the urban milieux of these scholars? Where did they acquire their knowledge or awareness of Aramaic of different kinds? And, what can we deduce about the Aramaic language of the Islamic period, based on its reflection in these language-focused sources?

Jeannie Miller, University of Toronto

Manuscripts of al-Jahiz's *Kitāb al-Hayawān*: Text and Reception

This presentation offers an update on new research into the manuscript tradition of al-Jahiz's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*. The first part deals with the stemma and corrections to the text. The second part deals with elements of a reception history that can be deduced from the manuscripts.

In his 1948 review of the first edition (1938-1947) of ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn's now-standard edition of *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān*, Helmutt Ritter supplied a preliminary stemma for this text, adding 5 Istanbul-

based witnesses to the ones that Hārūn had already consulted, which were mainly in Cairo. Ritter identified specific problems with Hārūn's edition resulting from the lack of access to the Istanbul manuscripts.

Having collated samples from the manuscripts known to Hārūn and Ritter, as well as 4 additional manuscripts, I will offer an updated stemma. I identify Ritter's hypothetical manuscript (x), presumed lost, as Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Damat İbrahim Paşa 861, present a significant missing passage of about 2 pages, supplied in Escorial 897, and give a summary of the overall implications for the text. I will then briefly turn to codicological and paratextual features of the manuscripts and how they can contribute to reception history.

Christopher Minkowski, University of Oxford

The *Mahābhārata* Commentary of Sarvajña Nārāyaṇa: Extent and Authorship

Among the earlier commentaries on the *Mahābhārata* is one attributed to Sarvajña Nārāyaṇa, whom scholars since Julius Jolly have identified with the author of the *Manvarthavṛtti* on the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*. M.G. Bakre edited two parvans of this commentary, *Virāṭa* (1915) and *Udyoga* (1920), noting the difficulties associated with editing the text.

In this talk, I will consider some difficulties having to do with the extent and authorship of this commentary. On the one hand, there are many extant copies of a commentary on the *Udyogaparvan* alone, which are explicitly self-attributed to Sarvajña Nārāyaṇa, and called the *Bhāratārthaprakāśa*. On the other hand , there are a smaller number of manuscripts of a commentary that appears to run from the *Ādiparvan* through the *Āśvamedhikaparvan*. These manuscripts are usually attributed to Sarvajña, in the colophon, or by a cataloguer or editor. Unlike the former type, (on the *Udyogaparvan*,) this latter type follows the earlier commentary of Vimalabodha closely, in its selection of verses and the wording of the comments. Then again there are manuscripts of a commentary on the later parvans, e.g. *Svargārohaṇa*, that are called the *Bhāratārthaprakāśa*. Thus there appear to be commentaries of different style and content that are both attributed to Sarvajña.

There are several possible histories that might explain these facts - that there were two Sarvajña Nārāyaṇas; that one Sarvajña Nārāyaṇa wrote only on the *Udyogaparvan* (and perhaps a few later parvans,) and supplied Vimalabodha for the rest of the MBh, with a few adjustments; or that some later editor / copyist fused Udyoga-Sarvajña, (either an independent work or the principal remnant of a longer commentary,) with Vimalabodha's commentary for the missing chapters, attributing all of it to Sarvajña.

In this talk I will consider evidence from the extant manuscripts, from references to, and borrowings from, Sarvajña in later commentators, and from Bakre's initial insight about the composite nature of the transmission of commentaries, where later scribes and editors assembled the commentaries of authors on different parvans.

Sarah Mokh, New York University

Perfecting the Prophetic Narrative: Shah Abdul Aziz's *Sirr al-Shahādatayn* in Context

This paper examines Shah Abdul Aziz Dehlavi's (d. 1824) *Sirr al-Shahādatayn,* "The Secret of the Two Martyrdoms," in the context of his anti-Shi'a polemics and the socio-political context of the Indian subcontinent in the late 18th and early 19th century. The work, which contains what may appear to be radical ideas about the grandsons of the Prophet Muhammad, Hasan and Husayn, both serves an important political purpose and highlights the internal diversity of approaches to Sunni Ahl al-Bayt devotion and ideas about charismatic authority. Approaches to the Ahl al-Bayt in Islamic literature, both Shi'a and Sunni, vary widely. As scholars like Nebil Husayn have shown, the central figure of Ali b. Abi Talib, nearly universally celebrated in contemporary Islamic discourse, was polarizing in the formative period of Islam and the centuries that followed, ultimately, as Husayn argues, undergoing a process of "rehabilitation" necessitated by the level of hostility he attracted from large sections of the Muslim community in the early period. The nature of Ali as well as other Alid figures raise important questions about authority, guardianship, and political leadership for Muslims scholars, as do the nature of different caliphs in different Islamic centuries. This paper expands the existing conversation to the figures of Hasan and Husayn and takes a critical look at the ideas put forth by Abdul Aziz and their precedent in Sunni literature, focusing specifically on his idea of the divine link between their martyrdoms and the prophethood of Muhammad.

Adriana Molina-Muñoz, Oxford University, UK

Pronoun Reduplication and Definiteness in Sanskrit Relative Clauses

Reduplication of personal and indefinite pronouns is commonly found cross-linguistically, and is used to express emphasis or to build reflexive or reciprocal pronouns (de Vaan 2015). Interrogatives are also doubled to form indefinites in many languages, and it was a regular process in Proto-Indo-European; but doubling of demonstrative pronouns is a comparatively rare feature in the languages of the world (Janssen 2004). Relative pronouns can also be reduplicated as a strategy for -ever free relative formations in Italo-Romance varieties, e.g. Spanish *quienquiera* 'whoever' (Silvestri 2019).

Sanskrit presents correlative constructions, in which the relative clause contains a relative pronoun (*ya*), and the main clause contains a correlative pronoun (*sa*), e.g. (1). Correlatives possess syntactic and semantic properties different from other relativization strategies, such as maximilizing semantics (Lipták 2001, Grosu and Landman 1998, Srivastav 1991, Dayal 1996: among others).

(1) [$_{RC}$ **yaś** *ca me*   *bhavitā*   *putraḥ*] **sa** *bhavatyā*. *bhaviṣyati*
     RP   and I.GEN   be.FUT.SG son.NOM CP   you.GEN   be.FUT.3.SG

   'The son that I bear shall be yours.' (*Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha* 5.15a)

The question arises whether the semantics of the reduplicated pronominal forms in (2) differs from the non-reduplicated ones in (1). Previous studies assign a distributive meaning (Whitney 1896) or even a generalizing one (Hettrich 1988) to the reduplicated relative form.

(2) **yad yad** *ācarati*   *śreṣṭhas*   **tat tad** *eva itaro*   *janaḥ*
  RP RP   perform.PRS.3.SG superior.NOM.SG   CP CP   ptcl common.NOM.SG
people.NOM.SG

   'Whatever action a great man performs, common people follow.' (*Mahābhārata* 6.25.21)

The present study examines this phenomenon using a large-scale corpus of Sanskrit digital texts (various genres and periods) of approximately 5 million words. The data is analyzed using the notion of "domain widening" (Probert 2006, Shank 1997), which further develops some of the ideas found in the Indian grammatical tradition, particularly Pāṇini's notion of *āmreḍita* or "reduplicated words". Drawing also from the discussion in the later tradition regarding the use of tad 'that' with a definite referent, i.e. *Vyaktiviveka* of Mahimabhaṭṭa, as well as the *Anvayakalikā*'s section on *yattatsaṃbandha* 'the relation between *yad* and *tad*'. The present study not only contributes to the understanding of pronominal reduplication in Sanskrit, but also to the understanding of "definiteness" in the context of correlatives.

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Antonio Musto, New York University

Gazing at Youth, Anal Sex (*liwāṭ*), and Sufis: Reassessing the Historiographical Landscape of Early Sufism

The study of Sufism's history in the third/ninth and early fourth/tenth centuries faces significant historiographical challenges due to the later composition of sources, often generations, if not centuries, after the events and lives they claim to describe. While considerable scholarship has focused on the historiography of early Islam, the historicity of ḥadīth, and ʿAbbāsid historiography, less attention has been given to similar issues in the study of hagiography and the formative period of Sufism. In light of this issue, this talk engages with such questions through the lens of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaddādī al-Bukhārī's (d. 406/1015-16) unstudied ʿUyūn al-majālis, which survives in several manuscripts. Though not a Sufi text, ʿUyūn al-majālis contains numerous Sufi anecdotes and poetry absent from contemporary and later Sufi works. Its Sufi material along with its early composition, roughly concurrent with the earliest Sufi compendia and handbooks, renders the ʿUyūn an invaluable resource for studying Sufism's formation and its spread to Transoxiana, a topic in itself not extensively studied. Two of the 165 chapters of this work focus on anal sex (*liwāṭ*) and contain anecdotes that center Sufi figures as engaging in or tempted with having anal sex. Several

of these narratives are unique to the ʿUyūn al-majālis, and others are novel variants, all exhibiting significant intertextuality. This challenges previous perceptions of early Sufi historiography. Particularly, it now appears untenable the idea that a core group of narratives was preserved, then augmented and edited in later texts to reflect a given author's perspective on Sufism (usually framed by modern scholars as "apologetic). This talk posits that a much broader range of materials was circulating in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries than previously recognized. It will also suggests a new way for understanding narrative variants in the context of the historiography of early Sufism.

Erez Naaman, American University

Reacting to the Stimulus of Tradition and Circumstances: Al-Ḥillī's *Takhmīs* of al-Samawʾal's *Lāmiyya*

The poet Ṣafī l-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1348) had a strong attachment to the Arabic poetic tradition and showed great interest in interacting creatively and playfully with it. As part of his multi- faceted engagement with tradition, al-Ḥillī composed a *takhmīs* into which the whole *lāmiyya* of the pre-Islamic poet al-Samawʾal b. ʿĀdiyāʾ was incorporated (*takhmīs* is a form of the stanzaic poem called *musammaṭ*, containing stanzas of five lines).

Long before al-Ḥillī's lifetime, al-Samawʾal's *lāmiyya* was included in the *Ḥamāsa*, the famous anthology of poetry edited by Abū Tammām in the Abbasid era. As such, it was commented upon by numerous *Ḥamāsa* commentators in following generations, prior to al-Ḥillī's composition of this *takhmīs*. The engagement of al-Ḥillī with al-Samawʾal's ode, however, is very different in its approach from that of the *Ḥamāsa* commentators. First and foremost, driven by creative impulse, the *takhmīs* clearly goes beyond mere commentary to form a self-standing work of art. Moreover, al-Ḥillī beefed up, repurposed, and contextualized the ancient *lāmiyya* to befit the circumstances of the *takhmīs*'s composition in Damascus and his goals as a poet.

In this paper, I will discuss the structure of al-Ḥillī's poem, and the poetic strategies and techniques disclosed in his interaction with al-Samawʾal's ode. I will show that the modern scholarly view that relegates dismissively this kind of production to the domain of so-called later poetic decline and stagnation—and sees the later poet, at best, as a commentator—should be reevaluated. Al-Ḥillī's work with model poems, in our case his *takhmīs* of al-Samawʾal's *lāmiyya*, should be rather appreciated for its intertextual craftsmanship and creative engagement with the Arabic poetic tradition.

John Nemec, University of Virginia

> Doctrine and Theology in a Śaiva Work on Death and Dying: Bhaṭṭa Vāmadeva's
> *Janmamaraṇavicāra*

Bhaṭṭa Vāmadeva was a disciple of one Yogīśvarācārya, who very possibly is none other than Yogarāja, the commentator on Abhinavagupta's propaedeutic *Paramārthasāra*, who studied with both Abhinavagupta himself and his disciple, Kṣemarāja. Little is known otherwise of Vāmadeva, apart from his authorship of the *Janmamaraṇavicāra*, which Paṇḍit Mukund Rām Shāstrī published in the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies in 1918 on the basis of the only manuscript known to be witness to the text, housed in an obscure codex in Agra. The text carefully furnishes what Shāstrī right describes as "...a handy compendium of the various truths established in almost all the works bearing on the Advaita Shaiva Philosophy of Kashmir." In the present talk, however, I wish to examine the way in which Vāmadeva's doctrinal summary of Śaiva positions amounts to more than just this and in fact rather constitutes a full-blown theological reflection on death and dying. How, I ask, do the text's copious quotations of scriptural and other sources, which comprise more than half the length of this short work, amount to more than just a mono-traditional doxography? It is by noting Vāmadeva's organization and presentation of the Śaiva scriptural materials, the manner in which he combines them with non-Tantric source works, and a here-to-fore unnoticed punning (*śleṣa*) that one can see in the text the author's soothing explanation—for himself? for a loved one?—of the very identity of death with a return to the liberating awareness of Śaiva non-duality.

Adam Newman, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

> The Kīrtistambha Praśasti and an Architectural Semiotics of Place in Fifteenth-Century
> Mewar

The Sanskrit Kīrtistambha Praśasti (KīP), composed in 1460 during the reign of Mewar ruler Mahārāṇa Kumbhā, is found within the Kirtistambha tower at Chittorgarh in Rajasthan. In this paper I ask the following: how can we understand the rhetorical power of the KīP considering the larger religious and political milieu of fifteenth century Mewar? What discursive influence did the KīP exercise in the literary domain of its time, and how did this inscription relate to existing Purāṇic discourse? It is no arbitrary matter that the inscription was originally affixed to the walls of the top floor of the tower, an indication of its inseparability from the tower and the architectural spaces it praises. Literary inscriptions should be read in light of their material contexts as much as possible because of the dialogical relationship between these signifying practices. Expanding on past studies that dealt with either just the tower or the inscription, I argue that not only did the KīP participate in a newly developing semiotics of space predicated on a longstanding Purāṇic idiom, but the tower itself was meant to visually signify this Purāṇic idiom to all who viewed it. The tower and inscription, both monumental creations in their time, were meant to evoke civic values among those living within the boundaries of the massive fort, and among those living below but still within view of the tower. The tower and inscription operated at two different but interrelated symbolic

levels: the physical and the literary. As an architectural monument the tower expressed Kumbha's dominion over Chittorgarh and the extended political landscape, and the inscription within expressed in literary terms this very same political control, couched however in a Purāṇic idiom that situated Kumbha and his kingdom in an imagined geography that included not only Mewar but the entire mythological universe.

Avigail Noy, The University of Texas at Austin

The Talk of the Town: Classical and Modern Appeals of Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*

Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr's (d. 637/1239) famous book on literary criticism, *The Talk of the Town* (Heinrichs's translation of *al-Mathal al-sāʾir*, literally: "The Current Saying"), quickly became the talk of the town. It first circulated in Mosul, Ibn al-Athīr's hometown, and then in Baghdad and in other cities in upper Mesopotamia, as the early rebuttals (sg. *radd*) and defenses of this work can attest. Beyond the nine known responses to the work written in the century or two following Ibn al-Athīr's lifetime, the work was one of the first literary books to be printed in the Arab world (1856 or 1866, 1282 AH). This was well before al-Jāḥiẓ's *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn* (1893–1895), al-Iṣfahānī's *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (1868–1869), and even the *Muqaddimah* by Ibn Khaldūn (1857). I see it as a testament to the solid readership of *The Talk of the Town* and its likely common availability in manuscript form before the 1800s. In the 1920s, the prominent Syrian linguist and intellectual ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maghribī (1867- 1956) would laud it as a native Arabic work on style and composition (*inshāʾ*). Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, who wrote the first extensive study on Ibn al-Athīr in the 1950s, would celebrate him within the halo of the Ayyubids and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's military successes. Ibn al-Athīr himself was often more aligned with the Zengids, a rival dynasty that threatened the Ayyubid territories no less than the Franks. In this paper I examine *The Talk of the Town*'s enduring appeal across the centuries, attending to the following questions: how closely did its readers engage with the work? Do they view it as a book on style or criticism (if the distinction is valid)? And how have modern scholars tolerated the fact that its commonly used edition (al-Ḥūfī and Ṭabānāh) is not a critical one?

Ahmed Nur, Yale University

Reading Avicenna in the Ottoman Madrasa: The Case of Tashkoprizade (1495-1561)

Why did the sixteenth-century Ottoman scholar Ahmed Tashkoprizade single out Avicenna's "subtle epistle" (*risāla laṭīfa*) in his encyclopedia of the sciences, *The Key to Felicity* (*Miftāḥ al-saʿāda*)? This paper seeks to explain Tashkoprizade's choice by exploring the significance of Avicenna's short yet seminal work, *Divisions of Philosophy* (*Aqsām al-ḥikma*) for the later Islamic scholarship. Until recently, there was no critical edition of Avicenna's text, although it has long been known to scholars. Nor has any study been devoted to analyzing its reception history, especially regarding Avicenna's divergence from al-Farabi. This paper argues that the positive

reception of Avicenna's epistle rests in its receptivity to a broader array of considerations than allowed by the Aristotelian-Farabian framework in scientific inquiry. In addition to the epistle, Tashkoprizade's copying of Avicenna's certain works reveals his interest in the explanations of Avicenna regarding physical, metaphysical, and religious/spiritual topics.

The second part of the paper shows how Tashkoprizade moves from reverence to critique, highlights the epistemic limits of Avicenna —especially in metaphysics— and completes the arc of *The Key to Felicity* through al-Ghazali's rationalist-cum-spiritualist epistemology. Navigating through Tashkoprizade's intricate engagement with Avicenna and considering the contemporary Ottoman intellectual landscape, this paper argues that despite the emergence of new epistemologies seeking to surpass the confines of reason by combining elements of rationality and spirituality in the post-Avicennian Islamic intellectual history, the Eminent Master remained a central point of reference in the Ottoman scholarship of the sixteenth-century. This observation ultimately accords more vitality and receptivity to his system than is commonly acknowledged.

Jamie O'Connell, Princeton University

"Signs will appear in the heavens": Zoroastrian apocalyptic expectations in Safavid Iran [Withdrawn]

This paper examines expectations regarding the end of the Zoroastrian millennium as described in a series of letters and other texts exchanged between the Zoroastrian communities of Iran and India in the early 17th century. While anxieties about calamities and other events interpreted as portents of the apocalypse feature in a number of earlier compositions in Pahlavi, this paper considers Zoroastrian Persian prose and poetry produced and copied in Iran and sent to India during the Safavid period. The authors of these works creatively adapted and repackaged older texts and familiar apocalyptic tropes to interpret events occurring during turbulent periods of Safavid rule, characterized by political or social upheaval, natural disasters and/or violence against the Zoroastrian communities of Iran. Particular attention will be paid to the anticipation of a legendary savior figure known as Behram Varjavand, whose appearance would be presaged by a variety of astronomical and other extraordinary events, and whose vital role in later Zoroastrian apocalyptic thought has not yet been considered in depth in modern scholarship. In contextualizing the composition and reception of these texts within their Safavid milieu, this paper will demonstrate that their authors utilized a specifically Zoroastrian religious vocabulary while also participating in broader cross-cultural millenarian discourse and popular Persianate literary trends.

Patrick Olivelle, The University of Texas at Austin

Atiśayokti in Indian Religious Rhetoric and the Category of Henotheism

In an early attempt to explain ancient Indian religion to a 19ᵗʰ century European audience, Max Müller, in his 1878 Hibbert Lectures entitled "On the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religions of India," popularize the term *henotheism* to characterize the Vedic religion and its conception of gods. He says: "If we must have a general name for the earliest form of religion among the Vedic Indians, it can be neither monotheism nor polytheism, but only henotheism" (p. 260). He coined another term, *kathenotheism*, to mean the worship of one god at a time.

Hakan Özkan, Aix-Marseille Université

Bridging Epochs through Rhyme, Prosody and Rhythm: Investigating Musical Interpretations of Mamluk and Ottoman Strophic Poetry

This research endeavors to elucidate the potential musical, performative, and theatrical interpretations of selected strophic poems from the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, with a specific focus on discerning rhyme structure, inherent prosody and rhythm that guide their conceivable renditions.

Our contribution revolves around the meticulous examination of profane as well as religious and Sufi poems, seeking to unearth the nuanced clues embedded within these works that hint at their intended performance and interpretation.

Engaging with the scarce scholarship on this and cognate subjects (to name a few : McAuley, Denis E.: Ibn ʿArabī's Mystical Poetics, Oxford 2012; Reynolds, Dwight: "Lost Virgins Found: The Arabic Songbook Genre and an Early North African Exemplar", in *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 7/2012, pp. 69–105; Wright, Owen, "Music and Verse" in *Arabic Literature to the end of the Umayyad Period,* ed. A.F.L. Beeston et al., Cambridge 1983, 433-459), we embark on an analysis that probes into the historical contexts, exploring the circumstances and modalities underpinning the poems' performances during the aforementioned periods.

This also involves a comparative analysis with contemporary practices, thereby uncovering specifics of interpretive strategies over time. Utilizing recent recordings of select poems, we elaborate on contemporary interpretations, identifying and outlining parallels and continuities when juxtaposed with putative interpretations of the past. Our findings not only shed light on the strophic poems' performance artistry through distinct historical epochs but also underline the threads of continuity that weave through their varied interpretations across time and space.

This study thus offers a lens through which the dynamic nature of musical and performative interpretation of poetic works can be perceived, providing valuable insights into the delicate balance between historical authenticity and contemporary interpretation.

My paper examines examples of religious rhetoric from the most ancient to the Purāṇic to understand the thinking behind the language and the deployment of effective rhetorical devices in a devotional and didactic context. A close examination of the texts indicates not "a successive belief in single supreme gods" but the deployment of a well-known Indian rhetorical device called *atiśayokti* or hyperbole to make an effective case for the importance of the god or rite that the author is addressing at that particular. These statements should be, as the saying goes, "taken seriously but not literally," recognizing their hyperbolic nature. As Edwin Gerow notes: "hyperbole is an intentionally accurate or understandable distortion of the proper relation between the predicate and its subject" (Glossary of Indian Figures of Speech, p. 37). He gives the telling example: "a skyscraper so tall that they had to put hinges on the two top stories so to let the moon go by." Müller's henotheism is, I believe, the result of a failure to understand the force of a hyperbole, as absurd as someone attempting to locate the hinges on a skyscraper.

Na'ama Pat-El and **Noam Mizrahi**, The University of Texas, Austin

Re-revisiting the Language of the Aramaic Documents in Ezra

On multiple occasions in the past, arguments against the authenticity and historical accuracy of Ezra-Nehemiah have been leveled from a number of angles. In the current paper, we focus on the language of the Aramaic documents embedded in Ezra, in light of recent progress in the historical-linguistic study of ancient Aramaic. To support the most plausible dating of the documents, we examine whether linguistic evidence could identify the Aramaic documents as part of Official Aramaic, typical of the Persian period, rather than the later dialects of Hellenistic Middle Aramaic. We conclude that there is a strong case to date the language of Ezra to the Persian Period.

Sunny (Sushil) Patel, McGill University

Typologies of *Devas* and *Ṛṣis*: Vedānta's Response to the Veda's Eternality and its Narration of Past Events

This paper explores how *Vedānta* traditions, *Advaita* and *Viśiṣṭādvaita,* theorize the existential status of Upanishadic narratives within the strictures and norms of *Vedānta*'s scriptural theology, particularly its doctrine of the *Veda*'s eternality. The central dilemma facing the Veda's interpreters was having to explain two temporal dimensions in a coherent interpretation: the *Veda*'s eternality and its recounting of past events. *Vedānta*'s competing exegetical tradition, *Mīmāṃsā*, addressed this incongruence by taking a decisively a-historicist approach that denied the extrinsic

referentiality of Vedic statements. Scholars such as Lawrence McCrea, Francis Clooney, and Sheldon Pollock have demonstrated the ingenuity of *Mīmāṃsā's* hermeneutics and have laid out its implications for Indian intellectual history. What remains, however, is a study of *Vedānta's* response to this same incongruity with regards to Upanishadic narratives. In this paper, I build on Laurie Patton's study of how the *Bṛhaddevatā's itihāsa*(historical) or *ākhyāna*(story) passages function in interpreting the *sūktas* of the *Ṛg Veda*. I bring into focus how *Vedānta* commentators have understood the historicity of Upanishadic narratives and how the categories of *itihāsa and ākhyāna* apply in this context. I study key sections of *Śaṃkara* and *Rāmānuja's* commentaries on the *Vedānta Sūtras* dealing with the *Veda's* transmission, as well as sections in *Śabara's* commentary on the *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras*, which I use to compare how these related yet starkly opposed exegetical traditions approach this central dilemma. While they may have shared certain premises regarding the Veda's ontology, *Vedānta* interpreters, unlike Mīmāṃsā exegetes, concomitantly held two seemingly incompatible positions: the *Veda's* eternality and the possible factuality of its narratives. By drawing on the concepts of rebirth, re-creation, and a cyclical conception of time, *Vedānta* offers a theory of the *Veda's* eternality that typologizes its figures (i.e., gods and sages) and postulates the repetition of its events across epochs.

Jonathan Peterson, Columbia University

Reflections on the *yathoddeśa* and *kāryakāla* Problem in Pāṇinian Grammar

The problem: Although paribhāṣās govern the behavior of other rules, Sanskrit grammarians grappled with a crucial question about the behavior of paribhāṣās themselves: Does a paribhāṣā operate at the moment of its instruction (*uddeśa*), only to draw its corresponding rules to it; or is a paribhāṣā retrieved from the place of its instruction and applied to its corresponding rules (*kārya*) at the moment of their instruction. In short, *yathoddeśa* or *kāryakāla*? While abstruse, the question strikes at the heart of the Pāṇinian system, affecting not only the operation of paribhāṣās, but of definitions (*saṃjñā*), topics (*adhikāra*), prescriptions (*vidhi*), and prohibitions (*niṣedha*) as well.

The goal: This paper examines Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa's solution to the *yathoddeśa/kāryakāla* problem. The goal, on the one hand, is exegetical. The complexity of grammarian accounts of the *yathoddeśa/kāryakāla* problem requires close accounting in itself. A careful reading of Nāgeśa's predecessors allows me to chart a genealogy of concepts that became central to the later grammatical tradition. Of particular interest is Nāgeśa's emphasis on single sentential construal (*ekavākyatā*), which becomes the overarching logic for Nāgeśa's theory of paribhāṣā application. Reading Nāgeśa on the *yathoddeśa/kāryakāla* question gives one a keen sense of a tradition in progress, a tradition that had yet to account for its foundational questions and that, in the process of addressing old problems, discovered new ones in turn. As interesting as the solution Nāgeśa advances is how he advances it: novelty is to be discovered in the thought of the ancients, new insights are in reality old ones that others had simply missed.

Jonathan Price, Brown University

Which Sargon Conquered the Sum Total of the Lands Three Times?: The Sargon
` Geography Reconsidered

The Sargon Geography (VAT 8006//, BM 64382+) purports to catalogue the world-sweeping conquests of the legendary Sargon of Akkad. However, due to the earliest manuscript's discovery in the so-called House of the Exorcists at Ashur and its use of toponyms that postdate the Sargonic period, the current consensus favors a Neo-Assyrian composition date for the text. Given the probable Neo-Assyrian context for the Sargon Geography, many modern commentators make the additional claim that the text acts as a thinly veiled panegyric for Sargon II, presenting the Neo-Assyrian king as a worthy successor of his ancient namesake. My paper challenges this interpretation and argues instead that the Sargon Geography is more indicative of a project to elevate Sargon of Akkad above, rather than equate him with, Sargon II and his fellow Neo-Assyrian kings. I begin by questioning the assumption that Sargon II deliberately modeled his reign upon Sargon of Akkad, demonstrating that proposed similarities are more coincidental than intentional. I then examine the claims of the Sargon Geography itself, showing that the text's focus and geographical extent go significantly beyond the claims of Sargon II or his successors. I also draw attention to the Sargon Geography's establishment of fixed boundaries for conquered regions, which deviates from the growing priority of the Neo-Assyrian Sargonid Dynasty to not simply expand the borders of Assyria but also incorporate conquests into a provincial system which treats subjects "as if (they were) Assyrians." Rather than serving as a work of royal propaganda then, the Sargon Geography should be considered a product of Neo-Assyrian scholars who sought to hold up ancient rulers as inspirational yet unsurpassable models for their royal benefactors.

Yexin Qu, Cornell University

"Content" in the Rig Veda

The Vedic word *yát* has multiple functions. Grassmann (1873:1065-1068, 1085-1087) separates *yát* into the neuter nominative/accusative relative pronoun and the conjunction *yát* that introduces temporal, conditional, causal, or purpose clauses.

This paper discusses a third usage of *yát*, which introduces content clauses, for example:

prá tát te adyá káraṇam kr̥tám bhūt

kútsam yát āyúm atithigvám asmai (RV6.18.13ab)

"This deed done by you stands out today—

that for his sake (you ground down) Kutsa, Āyu, and Atithigva" (Jamison&Brereton 2014)

In this example, the clause in *pāda* b 'that for his sake you ground down Kutsa, Āyu, and Atithigva' is the content of *tát káraṇam* 'this deed'.

Section I provides a statistical analysis of the distribution of the 33 certain (and 4 possible) *yát* content clauses out of 1328 *yát* occurrences in the Rig Veda. Content clauses introduced by *yát* are more frequent in Book 1 and 10. Section II discusses the 22 attested nouns and 3 substantivized degerundival *-ya* forms that can have content clauses.

Section III provides a syntacto-semantical comparison of content clauses to the other *yát*-clauses. There is a longstanding debate about what counts as a correlative construction: One view holds that a correlative construction consists of a *preposed* relative clause and a coindexed demonstrative in the following host clause, while the other view also includes the reverse clause order. My analysis supports the former definition based on the complementary distribution of *yát* content clauses, which are always postposed regardless of the presence of a demonstrative, and true correlative clauses which are based generated in the left periphery.

Section IV compares Vedic content clauses to content clauses and content anaphors in other Indo-European languages, showing that using the neuter form of the relative pronoun to form content clauses is old.

Jawad Anwar Qureshi, Zaytuna College

Wonder and Discovery in Sufi Commentary on Sufi Verse: ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī's (d. 1731): *Lumaʿat al-Nūr al-Muḍiyya* on ʿUmar ibn al-Fāriḍ's (d. 1235) *Khamriyya*

Commentaries on Arabic mystical poetry is a genre that has received little attention from scholars. In *The Zephyrs of Najd*, Jaroslav Stetkevych offers a reading of such commentaries that characterizes them as "functional anti-poetry," seeing them as an instantiation of medieval distrust of poetry as a vehicle for meaning. Scholarship in recent years has foregrounded the notion of wonder in thinking about Islamicate systems of knowledge. Lara Harb's *Arabic Poetics* considers wonder as a basis for Arabic literary criticism and argues that wonder is at once an emotional as well as cognitive experience, an effect of poetic speech which conveys meaning in a manner that moves the soul and requires discovery. This paper foregrounds wonder in reading both Sufi verse as well as Sufi commentaries, complicating Stetkevych's otherwise learned characterization. Reading the *Khamriyya* of ʿUmar ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1235) and the commentaries thereon by ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (d. 1731), I show how wonder underscores the very the logic of the poem itself. I then turn to Nābulusī's commentary on the poem (*Lumaʿat al-nūr al-muḍiyya*) on seven verses from the wine-ode to show how his gloss too functions as a result of wonder at Ibn al-Fāriḍ's ode

and his gloss seeks to discover meaning through drawing on the cosmology of the school of Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240) to explain these seven verses.

Zeb Raft, Academia Sinica

Stimulating Commentary: A View onto the Interpretation of Poetry in Early Medieval China

How poetry was interpreted in premodern China has been a central question in Western scholarship for over half a century. In the study of poetic culture prior to the Tang, however, we face an imbalance in the kinds of information available to us. A wide range of materials is available for judgments of individual writers, assessments of specific genres, outlines of the historical development of poetic writing, and conceptualizations of the art of literature. What we generally lack—in contrast to the Tang and later periods, where such material is increasingly abundant—is a view onto "practical criticism": the record of how individual poems were read, from the word to the line to the construal of the whole. It is in this light that a commentary on the third century poet Ruan Ji, attributed to the eminent fifth century writer Shen Yue and incorporated into the Li Shan *Wenxuan* commentary, may offer some insight. In this study I show how the Shen Yue commentary draws creatively on the poems' imagery, themes, and especially their diction, an approach that does not so much "interpret" poetry as guide readers' responses to it. This critical method, I argue, is based in the idea of "stimulus" (*xing*), one of the foundational concepts of classical Chinese poetics.

Mir Salar Razavi, Princeton University

Who Were the Maskhiyya?

According to Islamic heresiographers, a group of Zoroastrians named *Maskhiyya* held the belief that the evil spirit Ahriman, traditionally symbolized by darkness, originated from pure light, with a portion of this light undergoing metamorphosis to turn into darkness. Through a close reading of primary sources in Arabic and Middle Persian, this paper proffers that this particular interpretation of the origin of Ahriman emerged during the early Islamic centuries in the context of Muslim-Zoroastrian polemical literature. The article argues that this group of Zoroastrians incorporated the Quranic notion of metamorphosis (*maskh*) into their beliefs, in order to give their beliefs a certain legitimacy that Muslims could not call into question. \

Arafat A. Razzaque, University of Toronto

Sins of the Tongue in Near Eastern Eschatology and Early Islamic Visions of Hell

Traditions about the Prophet Muhammad's night journey and heavenly ascension (*Miʿrāj*) often include scenes describing the punishment of specific types of sinners in hell. Typical of ancient apocalyptic literature across Near Eastern religious traditions, such "tours of hell" narratives almost invariably rely on a common stock of topoi and motifs. The weight of ancient tradition on this genre, as evident from basic stylistic features long established in the field of apocalyptic studies, pose a challenge for scholars interested in reading Islamic eschatology as a reflection of moralizing concerns in particular historical contexts—notwithstanding the works of Lange, Tottoli, Vuckovic and others on especially the later medieval elaborations of these traditions. This paper examines how sins of the tongue are punished in the *Miʿrāj* narratives appearing in early *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* literature, including the works of Yaḥyā b. Sallām (d. 815), ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. 827), al-Qummī (d. *ca.* 919), and al-Ṭabarī (d. 923). The enduring emphasis on verbal offenses, especially slander, in these visions of hell reflects their prominence in ancient Jewish and Christian apocalyptic as noted by Himmelfarb. But the mode of punishment deployed in Islamic tours-of-hell often departs conspicuously from that in other traditions, where hanging (in particular, hanging by the tongue) is a particularly common motif—but which is rare in the Islamic context. I show that while obviously drawing from the wider apocalyptic tradition and the typology of sins in particularly influential texts like the *Apocalypse of Paul*, the punishment motifs for sins of the tongue in early Islamic visions of hell are instead informed by the Qur'anic idiom of slander (Q 49:12). An exception may be identified in the Shīʿī tradition, in a *ḥadīth* recorded by Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī (d. 991) that also shows parallels with the Zoroastrian *Ardā Wirāz nāmag*.

Madadh Richey, Brandeis University

Boustrophedon Writing and the Early Alphabet

It is commonly claimed that Early Alphabetic inscriptions in Northwest Semitic languages could be written in all directions, including boustrophedon, i.e. following alternating directions in sequential lines. Scholars often seem unaware of the data behind such general claims, but these claims ultimately rely on a few scholars' idiosyncratic mid-twentieth-century interpretations of a very small number of enigmatic texts. These are (1) a single Sinaitic panel (Sinai 376), (2) a Late Bronze fragment from Lachish, (3) an unprovenanced seal inscription, and (4) an early Iron Age(?) fragment from Sardinian Nora. This paper reassesses the epigraphic and linguistic cases for boustrophedon interpretations of each of these texts and finds all such interpretations to be either problematic or unsustainable. This reassessment has significant implications for the history of boustrophedon writing in other alphabetic scripts, especially Greek and Old South Arabian. It also encourages a critical meta-appraisal of historical and ideological forces at play in the scholarly discourse that

has highlighted (and continues to highlight) alleged boustrophedon writing direction in Early Alphabetic texts.

Matthias Richter, University of Colorado, Boulder

Kongzi's Autobiographical Persona in the *Lunyu*

Scholarship on masters literature of the classical period (5th to 3rd c. BCE) has come to recognize the masters as creations—rather than as creators—of their texts. This shifts the focus on the masters' teachings, away from the teachers, obscuring their paratextual function. This paper is interested in the hermeneutic potential of the fact that the masters present their teachings through different personas in the texts transmitted to us. Focusing on the *Analects*, this paper describes the autobiographical persona of Confucius and its authority-generating function, distinguishing it from other first-person statements that do not provide biographical information on the master. This distinction throws a critical light on traditional constructions of masters' biographies.

Dagmar Riedel, Columbia University

Hiding Fragmentation: Selling Medieval Persian Manuscripts to Foreigners around 1800

I will draw on the Persian manuscripts that Sir William Ouseley (1767–1842) and his brother Sir Gore Ouseley (1770–1844) acquired personally in India and Iran to demonstrate different strategies for the repair and the recycling of textual Persian fragments in Islamic manuscript cultures, shortly before the adaptation of printing technologies to commercial book production in the later nineteenth century. Workshops in India and Iran, like book dealers everywhere, distinguished between their learned local customers and members of the East India Company and other foreigners who competitively acquired Persian manuscript books which most of them could not read. As the Ouseley brothers focused on acquiring "good" manuscripts of the canonical works of classical Persian literature by authors such as Firdawsi, Nizami, Hafez, or Jami, the investigation of textual fragmentation in their manuscripts – the bulk of which was purchased after their deaths by the Bodleian – shows that in Iran and India dealers sold textual fragments the contextualization of which was the responsibility of their new owners, as well as manuscript books which at a first glance appear as complete, even though they are composite codices pieced together from recycled textual fragments.

The sale of inferior manuscripts to foreign buyers has impacted the textual foundations of Iranian studies in the twenty-first century, since the literary content of many Persian codices in western collections was eventually published in scholarly printed versions. By drawing attention to the role of economic factors in India and Iran with regard to the trade with Persian manuscript books around 1800, I hope to make a significant contribution to the history of Orientalism, thereby also

advancing our understanding of how British readers acquired a historical knowledge of Iran and its languages between 1750 and 1850.

Betty Rosen, King's College London

> *Ṣināʿat al-ẓarīf, ẓarāfat al-ṣināʿa:* Linguistic, Emotional, and Material Craftsmanship in the *Dīwān* of "Al-Shāb al-Ẓarīf"

The name of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sulaimān al-Tilimsānī (d. 688/1289)—or rather, he sobriquet by which he is almost universally known, *al-shāb al-ẓarīf* ("the elegant youth")—appears frequently and prominently across the corpus of Mamluk-era *balāgha* and *adab* texts. Nevertheless, he is conspicuously absent from English-/European-language scholarship on the period, a gap my paper seeks first and foremost to fill. The son of an Algerian disciple of Ibn ʿArabī ('Afīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī), the Cairo-born and Damascus-raised Shams al- Dīn was most associated with and acclaimed for *not* his Prophetic praise poetry but rather his ornate "secular" poetry in the *badīʿ* style. His quintessentially Mamluk verses bring to life the variegated socioeconomic and sensory landscape of 7th-/13th-century urban Damascus, preserving a slice of everyday life, even as the poet continually pushes the Mamluk penchant for dazzling *tawriyya* (double entendre) to its limits.

"Al-Shāb"'s *dīwān* contains a number of poems that depict and describe artisans and their work (in glass, gold, metal, wood, etc.) using imagery and tropes both fresh and familiar: a glassblower becomes an object of erotic attraction, for instance, or attention to a handsome cupbearer shifts to the artistry of the silver cup itself. Other poems bring a rhetoric of *ṣināʿa* (craftsmanship]) to bear on acts of emotional and ethical fashioning, where states of *shawq*, *ʿishq*, *kaʾb*, and others seem to assume an agency to "craft" human subjects—sometimes assisted by powerful visual or olfactory aids. In reading the *dīwān* of "Al-Shāb al-Ẓarīf," then, I draw on insights (gleaned during my dissertation work) into how a preexisting abstract association between literary, artisanal, and affective "crafting" took on a new concreteness—and an increased significance—in the Mamluk period.

Alex Roy, University of California, Los Angeles

> "No Tigers in the Ṛg-Veda": On the Hazardous Intersection of Philology, Geography, and Taxonomy

The Ṛg-Veda contains no unambiguous reference to the tiger (*Panthera tigris*). This fact has been interpreted variously: either that Indo-Aryan speakers had not yet moved into tiger territory when the text was composed (Watkins 1995, Lubotsky 2004) or else that the composition of the text antedates the arrival of anatomically modern tigers in the subcontinent (Bhaty 2020).

The present contribution challenges the assumption that this fact of the text is meaningful for its periodization and localization. Three sources of evidence are relevant here: (1) historical zoogeography, (2) the genre and function of the Ṛg-Veda with respect to younger Vedic texts that do explicitly mention tigers, and (3) crosslinguistic tendencies for ambiguous or interchangeable reference in zoological terminology.

First, it should not be assumed that tigers were unknown outside of greater India. Witzel (2003) has already pointed out that the historical range of the tiger extended far to the north and west of the subcontinent well into the twentieth century CE. Meanwhile, it is possible to expand on Witzel's (2003, 2006) proposed "cultural reasons" for the explicit mention of lions (*siṃhá-/°ī-*) in the Ṛg-Veda alongside the absence of tigers (*vyāghrá-/°ī-´, śārdūlá-*) and leopard-like animals (*dvīpín-*, possibly *pṛ́dāku-/°ū́-*). Namely, the purpose and audience of the Ṛg-Veda's hymns are quite different from those of, e.g., the Atharva-Veda-Saṃhitās where the name *vyāghrá-* first appears. Texts of different genres can reasonably be expected to engage with different parts of their composers' environment, and the Ṛg-Veda's general dearth of large cats is consistent with the text's overall engagement with large wild animals. (See Jamison 2009.) Finally, the names of animals are not necessarily fixed in form or reference; Turner compiles several overlapping feline designations within Indo-Aryan, and numerous parallels exist beyond. It may even be useful to read some Ṛg-Vedic passages in this light.

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Zachary Rubin, Fordham University

Marduk, Lord of the Evening (*nubattu*)

This paper will review and recontextualize information on the early cult of the Babylonian god Amar-Utu/Marduk, as well as references to the god's obscure attributes in later literature that may be considered vestiges of his early characterization. Drawing from parallel traditions of minor deities in the ancient Near East, this paper will reconsider the early god as one of countless local deities in the ancient world, whose early titles and attributes had to be reinterpreted over the course of his exaltation. To begin, it will argue that the humanlike, theophoric name of the god Amar-Utu does not necessarily indicate his early relationship with the god Utu or anything else about his divine functions (*contra* Lambert and Sommerfeld), though it may indicate his origins as a local culture hero or ancestral figure. Next, it will reevaluate the early relationship between Marduk and Asalluḫi, the magical god with whom he was eventually syncretized. It considers Marduk's appearance as a god separate from, but closely affiliated with Asalluḫi in several pieces of magical literature, including a formula in Maqlû: "by the command of Asalluḫi lord of *ašipūtu* (magic), and Marduk lord of the evening (*nubattu*)." In an analysis of Marduk's changing relationship with the *nubattu*—which variously refers to a ritually propitious evening, a regular period in the calendar, and an obscure term for the New Year Festival at Babylon—it argues that Marduk was initially considered as a god of anti-curse rituals, who probably represented a northern/Babylon-oriented tradition of spiritual healing before he absorbed the purifying qualities of Asalluḫi. Thus, Marduk was a god of magic from the very beginning.

Adheesh Sathaye, University of British Columbia

Towards a Typology of Jokes in the Sanskrit *Bhāṇa*s

In a landmark study of a type of Sanskrit drama known as the *bhāṇa* (monologue), S. K. De had noted that while the earliest examples, as found in the *Caturbhāṇī* ("The Four Monologues," c. 450-500 CE), were rich with satirical and vulgar humor, *bhāṇa*s composed in the second millennium had lost these features and instead took on an "exclusive tendency towards the erotic" (De 1926: 84). It is clear, however, that second-millennium *bhāṇa*s do exhibit plenty of humor, while early *bhāṇa*s were also quite explicit in their sexual content. Working at the boundaries between humor, erotics, and vulgarity, this paper will examine evidence from the *Caturbhāṇī* to determine the extent to which we might develop a viable typology of jokes through which we can better understand the diversity that we find in this unique genre of Sanskrit theater.

Peter M. Scharf, The Sanskrit Library

The Feminine, the Base, and Conflict Resolution

Pāṇini provides nominal terminations after a feminine affix (*ṅī* or *āp*) as well as after a nominal base (*prātipadika*) by *A.* 4.1.2 *svaujas* etc., in which the term *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* recurs from *A.* 4.1.1. Here the term *prātipadika* does not refer to a speech form ending in a feminine affix, for, regarding affix-final speech forms, *A.* 1.2.45--46 specifically limit the scope of the term's application to those that end in a kṛt or taddhita affix. Pāṇini thereby excludes the application of the term to speech forms that end in a feminine affix *ṅī* or *āp*. The order in which rules apply to derive a feminine form such as *ajābhiḥ* `nanny goats' is determined with the help of certain principles (*paribhāṣā*s). Application of a principle that favors the rule that applies to the right-hand operation first would introduce the nominal termination *bhis* (*A.* 4.1.2) and replace it by *ais* (*A.* 7.1.9) before introducing the femine affix *ṭāp* (*A.* 4.1.4) thereby erroneously deriving *ajaiḥ* `goats' even for exclusively feminine goats. Of course the correct derivation introduces the feminine affix *ṭāp* after the nominal base *aja* `goat', combines it with the preceding base-final *a* (*A.* 6.1.101) and then introduces the nominal termination *bhis* after *ajā*. The introduction of the nominal termination occurs by virtue of the fact that *ajā* ends in the feminine affix *ṭāp*, not by virtue of it being termed *prātipadika*. Rajpopat (*ReplyToPeterScharf.pdf*, p. 1) erroneously argues that *ajā* is so termed. It is not. Hence, stands valid this example and the class of feminine forms it represents, just as do other examples Scharf adduced as evidence of the failure of the proposition that *A.* 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṁ kāryam* universally selects the operation on the subsequent operand where two different operations are applicable at the same stage of derivation (DOI).

Peter M. Scharf, The Sanskrit Library

The Śabdabrahman Exercise Platform

The Śabdabrahman exercise platform (SBE), at sabdabrahman.org, is an on-line interactive Sanskrit instructional platform that offers immediate feedback and focused help to students at every step of analyzing and translating Sanskrit sentences. Steps include transliteration from Devanagari to standard Romanization and vice versa, analysis of sandhi, identification of nominal and verbal inflection, syntax, compound analysis, and translation. Student submission at each step is evaluated, errors highlighted, and links supplied to relevant help. Source documents are prepared in XML in accordance with the Text-Encoding Initiative guidelines. The platform is coded in Flask and ReactJS and hosted at Amazon Web Services (AWS). The platform has been successfully used in first-year Sanskrit courses offered through The Sanskrit Library (sanskritlibrary.org).

Tobias Scheunchen, University of Chicago

Witnessing Practices, Legal Proofs, and the Law of Evidence: Written Arabic Legal Documents on Papyrus from the First and Second Century Hijra

Based on the studies by Gotthelf Bergsträßer, Joseph Schacht, and Émile Tyan, there continues to exist a widespread notion in Islamic legal studies that written legal documents cannot independently serve as evidence or "legal proof" in court procedures. By using the rich corpus of Arabic papyri, especially from late antique Egypt, recent studies (Müller, 2021; Reinfandt, 2015) have challenged this view, showing that legal practices on the ground often contravened theoretical expectations stemming from (the much later) theoretical discussions in *fiqh*-manuals. And yet, we are far from understanding the social and scribal norms that endowed Arabic documents with legal clout. How did documents attain legal validity in the first and second Islamic centuries? What scribal norms needed to be followed? And can the wealth of contemporary Greek and Coptic legal documents help us chart the development of Islamic evidentiary laws and scribal norms? The paper begins by mapping, differentiating, and analyzing the earliest types of Arabic legal and quasi-legal documents preserved from this period, including releases (*barāʾa*), legal claims (*dhikr ḥaqq*), and acknowledgments (*iqrār*). Contrary to Tyan's thesis that with the progression of time, Islamic legal practice gradually shifted away from the norm of accepting written legal documents, I show that the documentary evidence offers a more nuanced picture: from the first century onwards, written documents were critical to the resolution of disputes by arbiters and judges--Muslims and non-Muslims--and the heavy emphasis on written legal evidence in Byzantine and Coptic legal procedure cannot be underestimated when parsing the ways in which the Islamic legal tradition evolved in Egypt and elsewhere. By situating Arabic scribal and notarial norms in their proper context of the late antique world, this paper seeks to contribute to expanding our still humble knowledge of the origins of the Islamic legal tradition.

Jens Ole Schmitt, Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg

Cats and Dogs – (Man's) Best Friends?

Classical Arabic zoography comes in a variety of literary forms, such as bestiaries, works that follow in their animal taxonomies Aristotelian lore or Galenic approaches, or those influenced by the *adab* genre. Most of them, however, include discussions of the species of cats and dogs at varying lengths. The paper intends to compare characterizations of cats and dogs in some select classical Arabic zoological writings (such as by al-Jāḥiẓ or al-Damīrī, yet also taking some inedited medieval texts into account, such as by al-Marwazī or Ibn Abī l-Ḥawāfir), but with a limited threefold focus, namely, a) on their taxonomical places (as on a scale of nature or among certain groups of animals, for example, whether considered predators or domesticated animals), b) their relationship with humans (such as their usefulness for humans and implied forms of caring for cats or sheltering dogs), and c) the sensory and mental abilities ascribed to them (such as keen senses or wittiness). By this focus, it hopes to add to previous scholarship, such as Schimmel's broader

studies on cats or a recent one on dogs by Polinsky. In addition, it will also see how, if at all, the relationship between cats and dogs is portrayed. For only a limited number of authors considered so far seem to include this relationship among these two species, none of whom is considering it hostile (only one as vying). The paper will also try to identify possible sources of attributions of characteristics to these two animals that are recurring in several works, such as the cat's morphological similarity with a lion (rather than a tiger).

Jason Schwartz, Stanford University

> The Unbearable Lightness of Being Brāhmaṇa: Some preliminary reflections rethinking the "Annihilation of Caste"

This paper attends to the deep anxiety among those who defined their Brāhmaṇical identity in the typical genealogical terms regarding a competing paradigm that treated *Brāhmaṇya* as an acquirable and transferable trait. Through surveying a range of śāstric and prescriptive sources (such as the *Tantravārttika*, *Śrībhāṣya*, and *Lakṣaṇasaṃgraha*), I will demonstrate that such an understanding was not a mere literary trope nor a purely aspirational "weapon of the weak," but instead needs to be recognized as a widespread social practice that had concrete real-world implications. In particular, the earliest substrata of the bodies of revelation of the Mantramārga, and much of the Atimārga, prescribe ritual procedures explicitly affirming that, during initiation, the karmic propensities productive of a given individual's *varṇa* and *jāti* by birth are consumed in the fires of *homa* and meditation. In the post-initiatory state, such factors no longer condition the practitioner's social or soteriological circumstances. In these sources, such a social agent is affirmed to be "twice-born" and a cultural patrimony that is the equivalent of, or even better than, genealogically defined Brāhmaṇa-hood is then vested in him or her, even to the extent of assigning titled mastery of specific Śrauta sacrifices. I will conclude by suggesting that such claims pose serious methodological and evidentiary challenges to our typical approaches to reading the historical record.

Wintor L. Scott, Princeton University

> Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara Formulations of the Distinction between Fixed and Elective Rituals in the *Nyāyaratnamālā* of Pārthasārathi Miśra

The distinction between fixed and elective rituals constitutes a meaningful presupposition in Vedic ritual discourses that advertise as providing privileged normative and epistemic access to ritual performance. Debates on prescriptive deontics of rival Mīmāṃsā schools made it a point to show how their theory of Vedic prescription better explained these two modes of performance than that of their rival. While recent scholarship has indeed brought much attention to the deontic theories of Mīmāṃsā and to this dual distinction as different modes of deontic operation, more attention still needs to be given to how these rival theories of deontics led to different formulations of the

distinction between fixed and elective rituals. In this paper, I seek to shed light on this topic by taking as a starting point the discourse of the *Nityakāmyaviveka* of Pārthasārathi Miśra, where two post-Maṇḍana formulations of the distinction of these ritual modes are debated. According to Pārthasārathi, the Prābhākara theory of deontics systematizes the distinction by having the enjoinment (*niyoga*) syntactically construe with the verbal action prior to its construal with the instrument (*sādhana*). By contrast, Pārthasārathi sees the means-to-my-wish theory systematize the distinction by having the result construe with the verbal action in the applicatory prescription (*viniyoga*), while the occasion (*nimitta*) of performance leading to a fixed mode construes with the verbal action in the main prescription (*prayoga*) by indication (*uddeśya*). In other words, the Prābhākara position distinguishes between fixed and elective modes only after the construal with the instrument, whereas the post-Maṇḍana Bhāṭṭa position distinguishes fixed and elective rituals only after the applicatory prescription and main prescription have synthesized into a single understanding (*ekavakyatā*).

JoAnn Scurlock, Elmhurst College

What, if any, is the Relationship Among Ancient Mesopotamian Medical Texts?

The texts relating to medicine in ancient Mesopotamia are a varied set. On the one hand there are universal word lists, prominently what has traditionally been referred to as ḪAR-*ra ḫubullu* and its commentary HarGud that are suited to general education. On the other, there are texts intended for the use of medical practitioners: URU.AN.NA, the Vademecum texts, *Šammu šikinšu*, SA.GIG, the Therapeutic Series properly speaking and medical texts generally. This paper seeks to clarify the relationship among the medical texts and with the universal word lists, arguing for a closer relationship than has previously been contemplated.

Aram Shahin, James Madison University

Dialectal Influence on a Verse of Poetry by a Sicilian Arabic Poet from Trapani

The anthology of poetry entitled *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr wa-Jarīdat al-'Aṣr*, by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (519-597/1125-1201), is the sole source for many poems composed by Sicilian Arabic poets up to the 6th/12th century. Two chapters of the fourth part of this anthology are dedicated to Sicilian poets, including poets who lived on the island under Norman rule. One particular poem in the collection, which has been described by one scholar as "practically the symbol of Muslim Sicily," depicts the Mu'tazziyya garden at Favara (al-Fawwāra) in Palermo. Since the 19th century, the poem, which was composed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī al-'Abbās al-Kātib of Trapani, has garnered a lot of attention from scholars, all of whom faced some difficulty when dealing with the last verse of the poem. A number of editors and translators have opted to omit the verse from their Arabic text or from their translation altogether, while the scholars who have tackled the verse have all attempted to provide alternative readings for a phrase that they found problematic. This paper will provide a suggestion for the correct reading of the phrase and the entire verse on the basis of a

comparison with other verses of poetry by other poets from the 3rd/9th to the 7th/13th century. The paper will also argue that the spelling of the problematic phrase was due to the influence of dialect on the writer/scribe. Support for this argument will be provided through an analysis of the relevant chapters in the work of the lexicographer Ibn Makkī al-Māzarī al-Ṣiqillī (d. 501/1107 or 8) on the peculiarities of Sicilian Arabic. The paper will also discuss the reading of the poet's *nisba*, which has also proven to be problematic for modern scholars.

Vivek Shah, University of Toronto

Hawks, Vultures, and Other Avians: Proofs for the Existence of *ākāśa*

This paper deals with the epistemological proofs for the existence of ākāśa in the philosophical traditions of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and Vedānta. Primarily at stake within this discussion is whether ākāśa should rightly be conceived of as the space for locating bodies on one hand, or as the ether of sound on the other. Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika broadly upholds the latter view, arguing that ākāśa is an imperceptible substance that can only be inferred by its special quality of sound. So deeply imbedded is this notion in Nyāya that in his article "ākāśa and Other Names," Jonardon Ganeri offers it as an example of an analytic statement in Sanskrit philosophy. Yet, the earlier work of Carl Potter and Bimal Matilal notes the difficulties in conceptually translating ākāśa. This paper highlights this ambiguity by focusing on the alternative idea of ākāśa as a spatial substratum posited to locate bodies. Such a description is encountered in Vedānta debates with certain Buddhist philosophical schools. What appears as a common argument across these debates is the example of birds flying in the sky. The position is that ākāśa must exist in order to render intelligible, statements like, "there flies a hawk, there a vulture." Nyāya thinkers present this as a prima facie argument to be dismantled, whereas Vedānta commentators reherse and develop this argument against their Buddhist interlocuters. The texts I examine include relevant passages from Maṇḍaṇamiśra's Bhāvanāviveka, Śaṅkara's and Rāmānujas commentary on Brahmasūtra 2.2.23, and Śrīdhara's discussion in Nyāyakandali. All of these texts deal with the example of flying birds, and are dated roughly within a few centuries of one another. This suggests the development of a particular stock example for situating discussions about ākāśa, and more importantly, that Nyāya thinkers were struggling against a philosophically common and established notion of ākāśa as space.

Umar Shareef, Georgetown University

'Judicial Specification' and 'Restricting the Permissible': Ottoman Legal Discussions on Statute of Limitations

The concept of 'restricting the permissible' (*taqyīd al-mubāḥ*) (hereafter called RTP) refers to the ability of Muslim rulers to restrict acts that Islamic law permits in order to prevent a social harm and secure a public benefit. Since the late nineteenth century, this concept has been used to

justify the state's restriction of legally permissible acts such as slavery, polygyny, and child marriage. Its pervasiveness in the modern period raises a set of questions regarding the origins of the concept and the reasons for its growth. Despite these questions, no academic work has studied RTP's origins and historical development. My paper identifies the sixteenth-century Ottoman debate over statute of limitations as an early instance in which Muslims jurists discuss RTP.

In 1550, Sultan Sulaymān (d. 1566) set the maximum time to file a legal claim at fifteen years. Even though previous Muslim jurists had set the statute of limitations to three years, some jurists—such as Abū Saʿūd (d. 1574), Ibn Nujaym (d. 1563), and al-Shurunbulālī (d. 1659)—defended the sultanic edict because they believed that the sultan could settle intra-legal disputes between jurists regarding judicial procedure. They justified their belief by citing the concept of 'judicial specification,' which refers to the authority of Muslim rulers to reorganize the judiciary and functions as a type of RTP. In contrast, other jurists contested the sultanic edict on grounds that disputed intra-legal matters can only be settled by scholars, not political rulers. My paper argues that while both sides agreed that the sultan had the administrate power to maintain the public well-being through RTP, they disagreed over which matters were (1) legal/religious (*fiqhī*) and (2) administrative and therefore could be subjected to RTP. In doing so, my paper sheds light on the diversity within Islamic law on the valid exercise of political power, the scope of the ruler's legal jurisdiction, and the relationship between political and religious authorities.

Saad Shaukat, University of California Los Angeles

Debating Proofs for God's Existence in Post-Classical *Kalām* Commentarial Tradition: the Case of *al-ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafiyya*

It is widely accepted in the field of Islamic Intellectual history now that the primacy of commentaries as the dominant genre of intellectual output in the post-classical period cannot be assumed to be a sign of intellectual decline in the Muslim world. However, our understanding of the commentary genre remains in its infancy as we attempt to evaluate and theorize its inner workings on its own terms. This paper makes an effort in this direction by investigating a single theological issue, namely the proofs for God's existence, within the commentaries on the famous *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafiyya* by Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 793/1389). By taking a diachronic approach, this study examines how commentators from the 14th century until the end of the 18th century received al-Taftāzānī's treatment of proof of God's existence that emphasized both proof from contingency (*imkān*) and proof from temporal origination (*ḥudūth*), as well as proofs for the invalidation of the infinite regress. More particularly, it is the proofs for the invalidation of the infinite regress, especially Avicenna's method of application (*burhān al-taṭbīq),* that elicit the most attention from the commentators, resulting in an active debate around the nature of infinity and its implication on theological and philosophical matters. By following the contours of this debate in the commentarial literature, this paper identifies the generally accepted doctrinal commitments on

this issue along with the areas of open inquiry and disagreements. These finding in turn shed light on questions of authorship, authority, and innovation, in the post-classical *Kalām* commentary tradition.

Rana Siblini, Doha Institute for Graduate Studies

Some Interpretations of Nostalgia in Mamluk Literature [Withdrawn]

In Mamluk literature, nostalgia played a dual role in shaping cultural memory and societal identity. Texts from this period frequently referenced earlier Islamic traditions and figures, either glorifying them as a celebrated past or critiquing their relevance to the present.

The Mamluk era was marked by cultural diversity, encompassing scholars and poets from various backgrounds such as Persians, Arabs, and Turks. Nostalgia served as a unifying thread, allowing these diverse voices to express a shared longing for unity and cultural coherence. Mona Hassan's work, "Longing for the Lost Caliphate," highlighted how Muslims, at crucial historical junctures, used nostalgia to cope with the idea of loss. Robert Irwin's "Muslim Nostalgia: Longing for the Abbasid Past in the Mamluk Era" argued for an idealized form of nostalgia for the Abbasid caliphate across various literary genres. In contrast, Thomas Bauer, in "Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches," countered the notion that references to Abbasid literature were attempts to revive a "Golden Age." Instead, he suggested they functioned as a method to connect with the past, engage with foundational texts, and adapt their messages to contemporary preferences.

While the Mamluks expressed nostalgia for classical Arabic literature, they did not merely imitate; they introduced unique contributions by blending classical traditions with contemporary innovations. Arabic poetry during the Mamluk era adopted complex and ornate forms, relying on rhetorical devices like metaphor, simile, and allusion. Poets used these tools to enhance the aesthetic appeal of their verses and convey intricate emotions and ideas. Even when drawing on earlier material, the Mamluks crafted their works distinctly, addressing a different audience and raising questions about intertextuality and whether it signified a longing for the past or the communication of new perspectives.

Through the examination of some excerpts of Mamluk poetry, this paper aims to present various ways in which nostalgia was employed to convey both personal and societal sentiments during this period.

Richard Van Ness Simmons, The University of Hong Kong

Ér suffix morphology in the Chinese Dialects and its Phonological Permutations—a Comparative Exploration

This communication explores the wide variety of the *ér* suffix forms found in the Chinese dialects. There is a broad and colorful array of *ér* forms in the dialects across the Chinese map. A great number of different structures and realizations of the morpheme are found, which also can be seen to reflect various historical stages or layers. At least three different time depths can be discerned within the various layers—including emergent Mandarin, southern or old Mandarin, and northern or new Mandarin layers. Representatives of all three layers are found in the Jìn dialects. Outside of the Jìn group the different layers are spread widely across the Chinese map, and found in several dialect groups. This presentation first explores Beijing dialect examples of the morphological meaning and usage of the *ér* suffix to demonstrate the concrete and meaningful morphological nature of the suffix, qualities that are shared across the dialects where the suffix is found. Following, the discussion lists and describes examples that illustrate the many types of phonological forms the suffix can take. The examination finds that the modern realizations of the suffix are surprisingly persistent in some dialects, while the suffix has grown optional or greatly weakened in other dialects. Yet overall there is much about the suffix in the dialects and its various permutations that sheds revealing light on the overall history of Chinese, the evolutionary paths of the dialects, and the relationships between

Dominique Sirgy, Yale University

Spiritual Ethics, Natural Philosophy, and Dualism: Seeking Coherence in a Thirteenth Century Miscellany

My presentation will analyze the internal logic between the contents of the Arabic and Persian miscellaneous manuscript Gotha 82. The manuscript miscellany comprises three texts written in the same hand and dated to 1267 CE: the Pseudo-Hermetic *Rebuke of the Soul*, *The Book of the Secrets of Creation* attributed to Apollonius of Tyana, and an anonymous, unnamed treatise against the dualists. Relevant research that investigates the genre of manuscript miscellaneous in Arabic and Persian include Gerhard Endress' 2016 article "One-Volume Libraries' and the Traditions of Learning in Medieval Arabic Islamic Culture," in which he identifies several instructional genres represented within Medieval Arabic Islamic multiple-text manuscripts. In addition, Christopher Bahl analyzes paratextual elements within manuscript miscellanies for evidence of the geographical reach of manuscripts' exchange and manuscripts' inscription into diverse socio-cultural milieus. The present paper will build upon these methods for studying manuscript miscellanies as intentional, internally coherent collections with paratextual elements which often betray the manuscripts' circulation network and historical context. First, the paper will demonstrate how Gotha's paratextual elements shed light on the practices of scribes and readers, such as their corrections and comments on the text. The paper then argues that the contents of the

miscellany, which comprise two texts attributed to ancient philosophers, aligns with the thirteenth-century intellectual trend that regarded ancient sages as forebears of the perfect human (*al-insān al-kāmil*). However, the Gotha 82 espoused a unique interpretation of human perfection that was distinct from those endorsed by individual philosophers or other miscellanies, while also representing a thirteenth-century intellectual and textual tradition. The final part of the presentation will explore how the manuscript's treatise against the dualists reflects the apologetic imperative among its patron and readers to mark themselves as separate from Zoroastrians, whose tradition Muslim scholars frequently linked to the occult sciences and to Hermes and other ancient sages.

Zoë Slatoff, Loyola Marymount University

> Nothing But That: An Examination of *tattva-abhyāsa* in the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* and *Sāṃkhyakārik*

The concept of *tattva-abhyāsa* occurs in both the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* (PYŚ) and *Sāṃkhyakārikā* (SK), with varying definitions of *tattva*. In the former, it is preceded by the word *eka* and often translated as the "practice of a single true principle" (thought by some commentators to refer to *īśvara*), which is given as a remedy in PYŚ 1.32 to eliminate the physical and emotional obstacles to the mind, elaborated in the preceding *sūtra*s. However, while technically an abstract noun meaning "that-ness," and often simply used to mean "truth," in Sāṃkhya, it is used to refer to the twenty-five evolutes of *prakṛti*, which become manifest from subtle to gross. As described in *Sāṃkhyakārikā* 64, *tattva-abhyāsa* is a path of negation, involving the opposite process of realizing that we are not these principles and they do not belong to us, and is given as the sole means to the ultimate discernment between *puruṣa* (the self) and *prakṛti* (material nature), as explained in Gauḍapāda's commentary. According to Mikel Burley, the traditional commentators disagree on the signification of *tattva* in this *kārikā*; however, both he and Dmitry Shevchenko, in writing about Vācaspati Miśra's *Tattvakaumudī*, rely on Gangānātha Jhā's late nineteenth-century translation which renders *tattva* through an Advaitan lens, explaining *tattva-abhyāsa* as "practice of knowledge of the truth." While in an ultimate sense, the twenty-five *tattva*s are in fact "truth," I would argue that like Gauḍapāda, Vācaspati Miśra is speaking of the twenty-five *tattva*s, since he refers to them as being "of the sort whose form was spoken of" (*uktarūpaprakāratattva*). By looking closely at this commentary and retranslating this key passage, this paper contends that we can shed new light on the meaning of this fundamental concept, which presents a Sāṃkhyan theory of natural liberation, independent of the yoga tradition with which it is often closely intertwined.

Emily Smith, The University of Chicago

Not Talking about Yourself in Hittite: The Multifunctionality of the Hittite "Reflexive" Particle

Hittite is the earliest attested Indo-European language, recorded on approximately 30,000 Hittite cuneiform tablets that comprise the oldest extant corpus of Indo-European texts. In Hittite, reflexivity can be indicated by the use of middle-voice verbal morphology, or by the enclitic reflexive particle =*z*(*a*). Additionally, both the middle voice and the reflexive particle (RP) show a high degree of multifunctionality, occurring in contexts where a reflexive meaning is not possible. The functions and development of the middle voice have been thoroughly analyzed in a recent monograph by Guglielmo Inglese (*The Hittite Middle Voice: Synchrony, Diachrony, Typology*, Leiden: Brill, 2020). In turn, the multifunctionality of the RP has been described numerous times, including in Jacqueline Boley's 1993 monograph on the subject (*The Hittite Particle -z / -za*, Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1993), which offers the first book-length assessment of the RP. Despite this, a fully comprehensive study of the RP has yet to be produced, as Boley's book unfortunately relies on a relatively limited corpus with very little data from the Old Hittite period.

In this talk, I will present some of the results of my forthcoming dissertation, a functional-diachronic analysis of the RP using a larger corpus of securely dated texts. Applying a functional framework, I discuss the diachronic development of the different functions performed by the RP. Among these, direct reflexivity is one of the least frequent uses of the RP; much more common is the use of the RP to indicate indirect reflexivity, possession, and valency changing operations, in addition to a number of other functions that are cross-linguistically associated with reflexives. This approach situates Hittite reflexive constructions within a broader typological framework, while considering these functions in a diachronic perspective gives a clearer picture of the development of the RP from Old to New Hittite.

Karen Sonik, Auburn University

Minor Characters in Mesopotamian Literature

Minor characters in Mesopotamian literature are easily overlooked, so that both the character spaces they occupy and the attention (scholarly and otherwise) that they command are often limited. But when we pay them the attention that they deserve, they may be revealed as unique and richly drawn personalities, who play distinct roles in the narratives that contain them and who have the capacity to shape both narrative structure and meaning. This paper takes up some of the minor characters of Mesopotamian literature and examines their characterization, the nature of the character spaces they occupy, and their effects on the narratives in which they appear. Particular attention is focused on minor characters—including Shamhat and Ur-shanabi—in the SB *Gilgamesh Epic*.

Carmen S. Spiers, Leiden University

His Enemies, Her Rivals: Atharvavedic Curses and the Construction of the Ritual Category of *abhicāra* in the *Kauśika Sūtra*

It has not previously been noticed that while Atharvavedic hymns cursing a human enemy exist from the point of view of both male and female agents, the chronologically later ritual manual, the *Kauśika Sūtra,* employs only male-oriented hymns in its chapter on *abhicāra* or "hostile ritual." Hymns expressing women's hostility are a minor part of the *strī-karmāṇi* or "women's rites" (not rights!) chapter, mixed in with love charms and childbirth rites. Sociolinguistic markers combined with tendencies in terms of content do permit a distinction between male and female "hate speech" in the hymns, thus potentially prefiguring the manual's categories. However, other features, such as references to mainstream Śrauta ritual and phraseology common to both men's and women's curses, complicate this glimpse of the ritual and social life of women in Vedic times. While important work has been done on Vedic sociolinguistic registers (notably Jamison 2008, 2009a & b, but Hoffmann 1952 and Lubotsky 2005 also note features), as well as on women's roles in Vedic ritual (important contributions being Schmidt 1987 and Jamison 1996), women in Atharvavedic ritual and the gendered language of curses have not yet formed an object of enquiry. Similarly, the *abhicāra* of the Kauśika Sūtra has not yet received particular attention (besides within the pioneering early study and German translation of the entire manual by Caland in 1900), with recent studies having focused on the medicinal portions (Bahulkar 1994, Zysk 1996), or on the marriage (Sumant 2017) and infancy rites (Rotaru 2021, Sumant 2022).

Tara Stephan, Hampden-Sydney College

Innovation in the 14th Century: Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn al-Hajj, and al-Shatibi

This paper analyzes three treatises on innovation (*bidʿa*) from the 8th/14th century: Ibn Taymiyya's (d. 728/1328) *Iqtiḍāʾ al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*, Ibn al-Ḥājj's (d. 737/1336) *al-Madkhal,* and al-Shāṭibī's (d. 790/1388) *al-Iʿtiṣām*. While these sources have been analyzed individually, especially in light of the relevance of Ibn Taymiyya and al-Shāṭibī to modern thinkers, they have yet to be put in conversation. As part of a larger book project, this paper contends all three were impacted by the devastation of invasion and plague, the increased mixing of peoples, and a desire to reorient their societies to piety, both personal and collective. However, their conceptualizations of innovation vary depending on who they consider to be its instigators, what they suggest should be done about it, and the impact of their context on their individual views. Al-Shāṭibī analyses innovation through the lens of legal theory, while Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn al-Ḥājj consider it a practical problem, with Ibn al-Ḥājj concerned about its implications for Muslim households and society and Ibn Taymiyya about its theological repercussions. Ibn Taymiyya uses the concept of "festival" as a way to define innovation, arguing for limiting the mixing of peoples. Ibn al- Ḥājj's main goal, on the other hand, is

to enumerate the varied ways that innovation can infiltrate one's life in the form of a practical manual. Al-Shāṭibī is not concerned with the minutia of the innovations of his time; rather, he believes that innovation permeated Islamic society beginning in its earliest decades. Thus, he uses innovation to explain why Muslims have splintered into different sects and theological schools, defining innovation and innovators within the framework of Islamic law and legal theory.

Devin Stewart, Emory University

Notes on Qur'anic Typology: The Rhetorical Strategy of Analogical Substitution

Recent scholarship in Qur'anic studies has underscored the importance of typology as a rhetorical strategy in the Qur'an (Zwettler 1997; Stewart 2001; Neuwirth 2010, and Griffith 2013; Lawson 2011, 2017). It has been recognized that the Qur'an engages in extensive analogical comparisons between past prophets and their peoples, both believers and unbelievers, and the Prophet Muhammad and his people, both the Muslims and the disbelievers of Quraysh. Such analogies have made possible improved understandings of the ways in which Biblical narratives have been adapted into the Qur'an. However, this facet of Qur'anic studies is still in its infancy, and much remains to be explored. In this study, I discuss cases in which a strict analogy is not possible. Thus, there are some features of the punishment stories of past peoples that cannot easily be mapped onto contemporaries living in the time of the Prophet. The Qur'an cannot logically suggest, on the model of the stories of Noah's people, Lot's people, and so on 1) that the Quraysh have been annihilated by divine wrath in the form of a cataclysmic event, and 2) that the Prophet Muhammad and the believers have been saved. Both are impossible because they would not have happened yet. Here, I argue that the Qur'an applies a strategy that I call analogical substitution in such cases, whereby the destruction of past peoples is analogical to the damnation of contemporary believers on the Day of Judgment, and the Prophet's being saved is analogical to his "turning away" from the disbelievers. This rhetorical strategy is seen in other areas of Qur'anic discourse, but it becomes a regular feature of its typological use of the punishment stories.

Henry Stratakis-Allen, University of Chicago

The *'Awam* of Baghdad, 1069–1091

Scholars have thoroughly debated the nature and underlying causes of the movement sometimes known as the 'Sunni Revival'. These debates have not led to a scholarly consensus on interpreting its major phenomena, namely the emergence of the *madrasa*, the crystallization of the legal schools, and the relationship between al-Ghazali's philosophy and the path of pre-modern Islamic thought. This situation may be owed to scholars lacking a robust structural understanding of Islamic society during the Seljuq period, particularly with respect to Baghdad, which is traditionally considered the center of the Sunni Revival. While significant work has been done to study the elites

of Baghdad, little attention has been paid to the vast majority of the city's populace. The term used by the primary sources to describe this group is *al-'awam*.

Starting from the assumption that a better understanding of *al-'awam*, the masses, will lead to a better understanding of Islamic society in general, this project focuses on the activities of the *'awam* in Baghdad in the two decades before al-Ghazali arrived at the *Nizamiyya madrasa* (roughly 1069-1091). Who were *al-'awam*? What role did they play in fomenting violent riots (*fitan*)? What methods did they use? What were they trying to communicate? Who were their messages targeting (sultans or caliphs)? What was the impact of their agitation? Through attempting to answer these questions, this project will demonstrate that a durable traditionalist (Hanbali) movement in Baghdad could only have emerged with the dialectical assent of the *'awam*. The *'awam*, therefore, must have played an indispensable role in any Baghdad-oriented 'Sunni Revival', and so it is impossible to imagine a convincing narrative of the Sunni Revival without a robust understanding of *al-'awam*.

Zheyu Su, Princeton University

> From a Biography to a Table: Confucius' Disciples in the 'Table of Figures, Past and Present.'

Although focusing on the history of the Han Dynasty, the author of the *Hanshu* assembled a table containing figures in the past and present, the "Gujin Renbiao." This table categorized some of Confucius' disciples at various levels, from the second (good people, *renren*) to the fourth (mid-high people, *zhongshang*). Based on the extant material, the biography of Confucius' disciples in the *Shiji* serve as one of the possible sources of this assessment. However, the number of the disciples listed in this table is significantly less than the common estimates of seventy, seventy-two or seventy-seven in the *Shiji*. Additionally, the order of the listed disciples does not accord with that of the *Shiji* biography. This cannot be due to the formal difference between biographical writing and tabulation. In this paper, it is argued the decrease in the number of disciples mentioned in the *Renbiao* may be attributed to the acceptance of a fixed edition of the *Analects* in Eastern Han Dynasty (25-220AD). To shed light on this point, this paper also compares other disciple-related materials such as the *Family Sayings of Confucius* and *Kongcong Zi* with the information provided by this table. It is thus further argued that the selection of disciples in the *Hanshu* table reflects the process of deemphasizing Confucius' disciples as individuals and the formation of stereotypes of particular Confucius' disciples in Han Dynasty academia.

Kristof Szitar, University of Lausanne

"The Body of a Believer with the Heart of an Infidel": The Poetic Portrayal of Infidelity and Heresy in "Early Ghaznavid Poetry"

How were heretics and infidels represented by the leading poets of the first half of the 11th century, during the reign of the Ghaznavids? How does the poetry of Unsuri, Farrukhi and Manuchehri reflect the significant geographical expansion of their patrons' empire? To answer these questions, this presentation takes a close look at the compositions of these three poets and analyzes the concepts and terms related to heresy and infidelity (*vasan, but, kafir, be-din, qibla*, etc.) that appear in their relevant poems. Beyond the obvious religious and theological significance of these terms, concepts related to heresy and infidelity also occupied an important place in the political, literary and aesthetic discourses of the time. While available secondary studies have focused on the political function of panegyric *qasidas* (e.g. Meisami, Bosworth, Nazim, Tetley or, more recently, Gould), the aesthetic and symbolic significance of the vocabulary of heresy and infidelity has escaped the attention of most scholars. An examination of these poetic sources shows that the terms "orthodoxy" and "infidelity" were context-dependent, and that the representation of infidels and non-Muslims in the writings of poets such as Unsuri was not exclusively negative. The paper seeks to present a series of examples showing how infidelity was exoticized and aes heticized, and eventually incorporated into the poetic vocabulary of early Ghaznavid court poets.

Eli Tadmor, Yale University

Who is King of the World? On the Identity of *šar gimir dadmē* in Erra I 1

Who is the god referred to, in the incipit of the *Erra Epic*, by the otherwise unattested title *šar gimir dadmē*, "king of all habitations?" Reiner (1958) argues that it is Marduk, the chief god of the Babylonian pantheon, as does Cavigneaux (2022). Marduk indeed seems a fitting candidate for the supreme position of *šar gimir dadmē*, yet Cagni (1977), Machinist and Sasson (1983), George (2013), Taylor (2017), and Wisnom (2019), argue that Marduk's candidacy for *šar gimir dadmē* is contraindicated by literary considerations—namely the poetic construction of the prologue of *Erra* (I 1–22), and the plot and themes of the poem as a whole. These considerations, they contend, overwhelmingly point to another candidate—Išum, the night watchman of the gods—and entirely rule out Marduk as the referent of *šar gimir dadmē*. In this paper, however, I argue that this line of argumentation loses much of its force if the prologue of *Erra* is analyzed not according to the literary conventions of Akkadian poetic texts such as *Gilgamesh* and *Anzû*, but those of magical texts—namely amulets of the kind first published by Reiner (1960), seventeen of which are now known, which invoke some or all of the divine protagonists of *Erra*. If the first twenty-two lines of *Erra* are understood not as a literary invocation, but a magical formula, I argue, the chances of Marduk's candidacy would rebound, with him reemerging as a possible, though by no means proven, candidate for *šar gimir dadmē*.

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Jennifer Tobkin, The George Washington University

Nuṣayb the Younger in the Shadow of Another Nuṣayb

Nuṣayb the Younger (d. after 190/806) was a poet whose patrons include several members of the Abbasid royal family, plus Yaḥyā al-Barmakī and his son al-Faḍl. The main sources that preserve his poems and biographical reports are al-Iṣfahānī's *Kitāb al-Aghānī* and Ibn al- Muʿtazz's *Ṭabaqāt al-Shuʿarā' al-Muḥdathīn*.

Nuṣayb's biography contains several parallels to that of a similarly named poet of the Umayyad era, namely Nuṣayb b. Rabāḥ (d. 107/726). Besides sharing a given name, both poets bore the *kunya* Abū al-Ḥajnā', and they were both of African descent. Each Nuṣayb spent his youth in slavery in the Arabian Peninsula, the elder one in a village in the Ḥijāz and the younger one somewhere in Yamāma, before becoming the *mawlā* of a future caliph; thus, sources sometimes refer to them as Nuṣayb the *mawlā* of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and Nuṣayb the *mawlā* of al-Mahdī, respectively.

The younger Nuṣayb's biographical notices sometimes read like an Abbasid reinterpretation of a figure from the canon of pre-Abbasid Arabic poetry, namely the elder Nuṣayb. When the younger Nuṣayb meets al-Mahdī for the first time, al-Mahdī exclaims, "He is no less than Nuṣayb the *mawlā* of the Banū Marwān!" In another anecdote, al-Aṣmaʿī says that the only difference between the two Nuṣaybs is the time period in which they lived. An episode in which al-Mahdī commissions the younger Nuṣayb to buy some camels comes across as a subversion of the anecdote where the elder Nuṣayb, having lost some camels entrusted to his care, appeals to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz for help. The younger Nuṣayb's *Kitāb al-Aghānī* notice ends with a poem where the beloved is named Zaynab, the same name as the beloved referred to in the elder Nuṣayb's most famous poem.

Aleksandar Uskokov, Yale University

Arvācīna and *Anarvācīna* as Epistemological Terms

A set of related terms have been commonly used by philosophers of Brahmanical, Buddhist, and Jaina background to talk about ordinary modes of perception: *arvācīna, arvāg-dṛṣti, arvāg-darśin, arvāg-jana*. They have been variously translated, for instance in a temporal sense as "recent"—"recent" perception, the vision of those who are "recent" etc.—or as what is "limited" in terms of cognitive reach. Additionally, Śrīvaiṣṇavas have used the negative *anarvācīna* as a descriptor of supersensible perception, sometimes identified with yogic perception but generally wider in scope. This too has been translated as "ancient".

No scholarly account is available on the precise meaning of the two term and their epistemological significance, nor on their semantic identity with or difference from a related set also used in the context of yogic perception, namely the vision of the "recent", *idānīntana*, and the "ancient", *pūrvatana*.

In this paper I will survey uses of the two sets and argue that *arvācīna* and related forms pertain to whatever is "on this side", cognitively available to ordinary agents. I will show, in other words, that no temporal sense is involved in the meaning of the two terms, in clear distinction to *indānīmtana* and *pūrvatana*.

Additionally, by drawing primarily from Śrīvaiṣṇava sources and the *Bhagavat-sandarbha* of the Caitanya Vaiṣṇava theologian Jīva Gosvāmin (16th century), I will show that the discourse of *arvācīna-anarvācīna* stems from the hallowed antiquity of the *Nāsadīya-sūkta* of the Rigveda (10.129), specifically its verse 6, and properly refers to knowing things that are "on this side" of creation on the one hand, and beyond it on the other.

Kevin van Bladel, Yale University

Historicizing Manichæans under Early Islamic Rule

Historians of Islam have long been interested in the presence of Manichæans among Muslims. As research on Manichæism has made great strides in recent decades, however, Islam specialists have not stayed abreast of our present understanding of this religion. This presentation addresses some misconceptions about Manichæans current in scholarship on early Islamic society and offers a clearer view based on primary sources. Manichæism was not a dualistic virus infiltrating a pristine Islam, as some still see it, but the religion of small, self-isolating communities whose lack of sanction within the framework of Islam opened the way for their caliphally-mandated persecution. Attention to the sources reveal the material motives for this persecution. Moreover, the many accusations of Manichæism against early Muslim thinkers, extant in our Arabic sources, turn out to have little substance. Modern scholars' search for crypto-Manichæans, part of a quest to understand Islam and not Manichæism, have mirrored such sources uncritically. The search for evidence of Manichaean practice and community, the features of Manichæism that had sustained it for centuries, beyond heresiographical and theological sources, contributes to a different account.

Theo van den Hout, ISAC, The University of Chicago

The Hittite King as Hunter-in-Chief?

There is a strange paradox concerning the attestation of hunting in the Anatolian Hittite kingdom (ca. 1650-1200 BC). Hunting is rarely referred to in the Hittite cuneiform texts but is very present in Hittite visual culture. As far as war is concerned, the situation seems the exact opposite: it is very present in historical texts but almost completely absent from visual culture. In this talk, I will address this situation, give an overview of the role of hunting in Hittite art and, because of the near absence of explicit military or war imagery, suggest expanding the Hittite iconography of hunting by another class of images hitherto considered military.

Niek Veldhuis, The University of California, Berkeley

Kings of Old

TCL 15 8 (http://oracc.org/obel/P345352) is a long Old Babylonian Emesal text that was previously read as a Lament for Damu. This paper will show that the text is better understood as a funeral liturgy for an (unnamed) royal figure. The tenth *kirugu* is a listing of netherworld gods and departed kings of the Ur III and Isin dynasties who accept the deceased into their midst. The role of the

memory of the kings of these two dynasties is further elucidated by an early Old Babylonian administrative text from Ur (http://oracc.org/epsd2/P331621) that lists the treasures of various kings of old.

Marko Vitas, Brown University

Neo-Assyrian Ethnography in the Hesiodic Myth of the Races

Scholars have often interpreted the Hesiodic Myth of the Five Races (*Works* 106-201) as a historic vision of humanity's decline (somewhat offset by the Heroic Race). Jean-Pierre Vernant suggested a very different approach, arguing that, based on their relationship to *hybris*, the Hesiodic races should be grouped in three sets of pairs corresponding to Dumézil's three Indo-European societal functions. Thus, a diachronic interpretation of the myth as history was replaced by one of the myth reflecting the structure of the society synchronically.

Taking a cue from Vernant's interpretation, and using the structuralist tools for the interpretation of myth, I argue that the Myth of the Races was envisaged to explain the structure of the World, and not just the society. I argue that details included in the descriptions of temporally distant races correspond to those in the ethnographic descriptions of spatially distant races. In order to argue for this ethnographic dimension, I compare the Myth of the Races to ethnographic descriptions in Homer and Classical and Hellenistic Greek texts (like Herodotus' account of the Ethiopians and Theopompus' on the Meropis), as well as to earlier and contemporary ethnographic lore from the Near East. To take just one example, the *Sargon Geography*, a Neo-Assyrian text detailing the conquests of the semi-mythical king Sargon, speaks of the nations ignorant of bread (59), and that exact same detail is taken up by the Hesiodic description of the Bronze Race (146-147).

This approach not only elucidates some of the perplexities of the Hesiodic myth, but also contributes to a better understanding of where the distinction between one's own culture and the Other might have been perceived in Greece and the Near East around the time when The *Works* were composed.

Luke Waring, University of Texas, Austin

Commerce and Classical Learning in Wang Chong's *Balanced Discourses*

This paper investigates an understudied topic: the relationship between classical learning and commerce in early China. While it is generally supposed that the merchant class was widely disparaged by early Chinese intellectuals, in fact the situation appears to have been far more complex, with a number of thinkers making use of a wide range of mercantile metaphors in their

writing. Drawing on the *Lunheng* (Balanced Discourses) by Wang Chong (ca. 27–97 CE), I show that Wang—largely ignored in his own lifetime but now widely regarded as one of the Eastern Han dynasty's (23/25–220 CE) most important intellectuals—approached learning, study, and scholarship as forms of commercial exchange, believing that an accurate assessment of the value of different sociopolitical currencies was crucial for the proper functioning of government. Indeed, Wang proposed that scholar-officials were rather like merchants trading in an intellectual marketplace of services and ideas. While these intellectual brokers were still subject to the dangers brought about by price fluctuation and unpredictable market conditions, they still had the potential to maintain at least a certain measure of economic independence, provided that they cultivate and invest in themselves in the right ways.

Bruce Wells, The University of Texas at Austin

Divorce and Demotion of Wives in the Neo-Babylonian Period

Of the more than 60 published marriage contracts from the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods, there are 20 referring to possible future action on the part of the husband that will result in negative consequences for the wife. Scholars have generally characterized such action as divorce, and, in most cases, this seems to be the correct conclusion. In 6 of these 20 texts, however, the verb *muššuru* ("to send away") is not employed. This paper will argue that these 6 contracts do not anticipate full-fledged divorce on the part of the husband but rather the demotion of the woman from first-ranking wife to second-ranking wife. The paper will show that, in these particular cases, there was a built-in incentive for the husband not to divorce his wife: namely, the large dowry that he would have to return. Thus, the anticipated action on his part in the contract is demoting the wife. The penalty listed for him in the texts—most often 1 mina of silver—takes effect when he attempts to marry another wife and demote the first. The paper will also argue that it was usually only well-to-do families that could arrange this type of marriage contract. C. Wunsch and C. Waerzeggers have, in separate studies, shown that poorer families typically had to accept a clause in their daughter's marriage contract stipulating death by the "iron dagger" should she be unfaithful to her husband. This paper will expand that line or reasoning to show that another advantage for well-off families was the ability to negotiate a penalty for demotion. The two exceptions to this basic pattern can be explained by virtue of the status of those entering the marriage.

Jarrod Whitaker, Wake Forest University

Demons or Beasts? Reconsidering the Terms *rákṣas* and *rakṣás* in Ancient India

This paper examines the meaning of the abstract noun *rákṣas* and the animate noun *rakṣás* in the *Ṛgveda*. The terms have been translated as "demonic force" and "demon," respectively, and this is equally true for the post-Ṛgvedic term *rākṣasa*, which is consistently translated as "demon." Such translations all too easily fold the concepts into ethnocentric, Western, and even Christian,

ideologies. In Sanskrit literature, animals and animalistic behavior define the nature of such creatures, whether they appear in monstrous therianthropic forms or as real animals. In the *Ṛgveda*, the xenophobic reduction of enemies to the status of wild and dangerous animals is reflected in Indra's battles with cultural outsiders and the cosmic serpent Vṛtra (whose mother is a spider), among other mythical foes, and the fact that early Vedic poet- priests denigrate their enemies as "non-human" and as animals, especially snakes and wolves. Finally, this animalistic pejorative is reflected in the use of term *yātudhā́na* ("discord-sower; pest, vermin") with which *rakṣás* is closely associated. There is no question that such animals are mythologized and given fantastical characteristics in early Vedic texts. We are however missing a crucial reality in the context of nomadic pastoralists; namely, the behavior of real animals and how it serves as a root metaphor for immoral and aberrant practices, experiences, and phenomena. The meaning of *rákṣas* and *rakṣás* comes into sharper focus when we foreground the realities of living in a migratory, pastoral world, and recognize the constant threat from predators, scavengers, and other pests. In ancient India, the enemy-other is consistently coded as the animal-other. Consequently, the terms *rákṣas* and *rakṣás* are better translated as "beastly threat" and "beast," respectively since they reflect the realities of a lived pastoral world in which animals such as dogs, wolves, birds, snakes, and insects threaten officiants and disturb or ruin ritual performances as they are being performed.

Yue Wu, Arizona State University

   Reconstructing the Golden Age of Luoyang and Yang Xuanzhi's Self-reorientation

In 547 CE, Yang Xuanzhi, a literatus on official duty, revisited the desolate Luoyang. The experience prompted him to record the past glory of the old capital prior to its 535 CE relocation to Ye. This epoch marked the peak of the Northern Wei dynasty and Han culture in northern China since the Western Jin dynasty's fall in 316 CE. Structured on the framework of Buddhist monasteries in the city, Yang's *Luoyang qielan ji* (Record of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang) is valued for its rich records of historical events and literary works. This paper approaches the text from its lesser-explored author's perspective and probes into the reasons behind his "lamination" of the old capital during its golden age, as well as how he adds the third dimension, the cultural historical strata, to his map-making of the metropolis. By delineating relations between the contemporary places and their past, the author not only reinforces the idea that the Northern Wei and its capital are indispensable parts of the Chinese tradition, but also dissociates the new regime in Ye from Luoyang's distinct cultural and historical legacy. This paper looks beyond the text by putting it in the historical context and sees how that may change or add to our interpretation. It contends that by bringing the city back to that specific time point and reconnecting it to the cultural past it "belongs to," Yang Xuanzhi manages to reorient himself, a culturally and politically displaced literatus official, to the spatiotemporal place he belongs to.

Yanan Xiang, University of Colorado, Boulder

Shaping the Eminent Monk: Childhood Depiction in the *Gaosengzhuan*

Biography is the central genre of Chinese historiography, serving as the foundational medium for constructing history. After the Han dynasty, official historiography predominantly relied on biographies, and childhood depiction gradually emerged as an important narrative device in shaping the life stories of individuals. Beyond the realm of standard histories, Chinese Buddhist biographies also exhibited a tendency to depict monks' childhoods, among them the biographies of eminent monks in Hui Jiao's *Gaosengzhuan* (ca. 530). In this paper, I focus on the thirty-eight accounts in the *Gaosengzhuan* that employ the "when he was a child" pattern. Through the examination of these accounts, I demonstrate that childhood traits can be categorized into two types: innate intelligence and the acquired ability of reading and the acquisition of knowledge. I will show that the majority of these accounts emphasize the educational experience and erudition of eminent monks, which in some cases also extends beyond the confines of Buddhist scriptures. By situating these narratives within the construction of life stories, I hope to explore what role childhood plays in shaping a Buddhist exemplary character and why these accounts establish such an obvious interest in eminent monks' learning and reading as children. I also hope to show the ways in which Liang dynasty Chinese Buddhist biographical writing was both innovative and indebted to indigenous Chinese historiographical models.

Yunxiao Xiao, Princeton University

Law-making over the *Longue-durée*: The Handwriting, Periodization, and Editorial Process of Legal Manuscripts in Early Imperial China

This study forays into the actual practices and mechanics of law-making and book-making in the Western Han dynasty, by examining the materiality and textuality of the recently published Zhangjiashan No. 336 "Gongling" (Ordinances on Official Promotion) manuscript. In contrast with what we previously knew as a synchronic, collective mode of manuscript production ("multiple scribes writing in turns"), this manuscript reveals a diachronic editorial process that took place over decades. This phenomenon bespeaks that it is not only that the content of the "Gongling" text, as a collection of legal codes, has multiple, complicated strata of law-making practices, but also that the "Gongling" manuscript, as a material object, underwent several times of being revised, expanded, corrected, and (re-)organized. Connecting multiple pieces of evidence suggesting its date of writing within each hand, I propose that about 70 percent of the text was written before the start of the rule of Emperor Wen.

More importantly, it also shows that during the era of bamboo and wood, the actual editorial process of a core legal text might have been a continuation, possibly even recycling, of the earlier bamboo/wood slips. That is, law-making in early China might not have been practiced like the

rather modern paradigm of collecting existing materials, drafting them from the beginning, copying them, and then disposing of the drafts or earlier materials, but some may have been to directly scrape and rewrite on the slips and boards, and/or add or insert the slips. In short, the prolonged making of the "Gongling" manuscript resonates with the evolution of the law and the historical change from Emperor Gaozu to Emperor Wen in that it allows us a vivid glimpse of the transformation of a law collection, not only as public knowledge but also as a physical, actual epistemological object.

Liying Xu, Arizona State University

Gender Dilemma and Social Responsibility: A Qiuzeng's Story in the Lingbao Scripture

This paper investigates a tale in *Wondrous Scripture of Jade Instruction Written in Red by Numinous Treasure, Cavern Mystery of Most High*, one of the essential Lingbao (Numinous Treasure) Canon of Daoism. The tale centers on a female named A Qiuzeng who passed the test of the Demonic King and first received Lingbao scriptures successfully as a female. This story was adapted from a Buddhist tale. However, the Daoist version simply follows the literary structure of the Buddhist tale but replaces the essential point of the female limitation narrated in Buddhism with a distinctly Daoist reflection on the dilemma women face in real life.

Early Daoist texts contain numerous descriptions of various images of females and plenty of hagiography of female Daoist Masters. Because the Daoist doctrines value both Yin and Yang, male and female, which is based on the tradition of Laozi's reverence for mothers, infants, and the gentle potency of water, scholars concur that Daoism manifests a more egalitarian perspective on gender, accentuating equality. However, this idealistic statement obscures the reality that under the restraint of the rites-based culture, female Daoists were suffering from the confines imposed by social responsibility, rather than physiological limits.

By comparing A Qiuzeng's tale with the Buddhist tale and the male recipient of the Lingbao scripture appearing as a counterpart to A Qiuzeng, it becomes evident that Daoist concern about women and gender focuses on societal roles and responsibilities, prioritizing these aspects over the natural capacity of the body and self-restraint. This narrative prompts us to further think about the Daoist perspective on gender and the gap between the idealistic portrayal of female Daoists and the actual circumstances women face when dedicating themselves to Daoism.

Xiaoshan Yang, University of Notre Dame

> Purchasing, Borrowing, Swapping, and Swindling: The Circulation of Aesthetic Artifacts in the Northern Song Period

This paper investigates the modes and significances of the circulation of aesthetic artifacts (such as paintings, calligraphy, and fantastic rocks) in the lives of Northern Song literati. Drawing primarily on the writings by and about Su Shi (1037–1101) and Mi Fu (1051–1117), it explores three areas that have not received sufficient scholarly attention. The first is the unscrupulous and underhanded ways and means through which such artifacts were acquired and collected. The second is the tensions over these objects in social interactions among literati. These tensions are often informed by and revelatory of the power relations between the parties involved. The third is the participation of elements from the lower strata of society in the collecting culture of the Northern Song and the resultant inter-class sociality between literati and commoners.

Zhuming Yao, Swarthmore College

> Expression, Imitation, Impersonation: Negotiating the First-Person in Early Chinese Writings

In Chinese literary history, the first-person is typically discussed in relation first to lyric poetry and then fiction and drama, genres that largely postdate the Han (202 BCE-220 CE). This has to do with the relative obscurity of self-representation before the early medieval period and the difficulties in ascertaining authorship for most of the early texts. The expressions of "I" are thus ambiguous, indeterminate, some would even say "impersonal." It is, however, right within these spaces of in-betweenness that the first-person in its earliest stages can be rediscovered—in materials like ritual inscriptions, speeches and dialogues, and the so-called rhyme-prose. Fully anticipating the later periods, this paper argues, the first-person up to the Han is also a layered expression of the self, mediated by a negotiation between individuality and collectivity, innovation and convention. What makes it more interesting are the particular kinds of negotiations from which the early first-person appears to have derived. On the one hand, the "I" is often a staged "I" brought to life through the rhetorical use of prosopopoeia, neither fully historical nor completely fictional. On the other, the "I" can also be a persona, but one still being fashioned with every of its new iteration. Such spaces the "I" occupies, finally, can be indicative of the relationship between author, narrator, and speaker, a category distinction oftentimes hard to make. In addition to illustrating how the first-person in its earliest stages looks and works, therefore, this paper also tries to account for the literary-historical conditions underlying self-expression in those ways.

Anthony D. Yates, The University of California, Los Angeles, and **H. Craig Melchert**, The University of California, Los Angeles

Toward a Prosodic Account of Hittite "Hyperbaton"

This paper is concerned with "hyperbaton" in Hittite, i.e., the phenomenon whereby "phrasal or subphrasal material occurs displaced from its base order, often creating discontinuous constituents" (Agbayani & Golston 2010:134). Hyperbaton is especially common with indefinites, which may surface inside of syntactic constituents, e.g., the postpositional phrase in (1) or the noun phrase in (2), but it is also found with other functional items such as the subordinating conjunction *kuit* 'because', which splits the noun phrase in (3).

    (1) KUB 1.16 iii 60 (OH/NS; CTH 6 – Testament of Hattusili I):

nassu	⟦DINGIR-*LIM-ni*	<u>*kuiški*</u>	*peran*⟧$_{pp}$	*wašti*
or	deity:loc.sg	indf:nom.sg.c	before	sins

    'Or (if) <u>someone</u> sins ⟦before the deity⟧'

   (2) HT 1 obv. ii 18–19 (NS; CTH 410 – Ritual of Uhhamuwa):

n=at	*mān*	⟦*kururaš*	<u>*kuiški*</u>	DINGIR-*LUM*⟧$_{np}$	*iyan*	*harzi*
conn=it	if	enemy:gen.sg	indf:nom.sg.c	deity	done	has

    'And if <u>some</u> ⟦deity of the enemy⟧$_{np}$ has caused it'

    (3) HKM 5:3-4 (MH/MS; CTH 186 – Maşat Letter)

[*Š*]*A* ^{URU}*Gašipūra*	<u>*kuit*</u>	GU$_4$.ḪI.A	*datta*
Gašipura:gen.sg	because	cattle:acc.pl	you took

    '<u>Because</u> you took the ⟦cattle of Gašipura.⟧$_{np}$'

How such discontinuous structures arise in the ancient Indo-European languages and cross-linguistically is much debated (see, e.g., Devine & Stephens 2000, Bertrand 2010, Agbayani & Golston 2010 on Greek; Powell 2010, Agbayani & Golston 2016 on Latin). Building on Huggard

(2015), we argue that hyperbaton in Hittite examples like (1–3) is driven by prosodic factors. More specifically, we propose that prosodically weak functional items like indefinites and *kuit* undergo phonological movement in order to avoid bearing phrasal prominence, which in Hittite fell on the leftmost constituent of a phonological phrase (ɸ). Thus, e.g., the discontinuous word order in (1) is derived phonologically as in (4) by rightward movement of the indefinite pronoun from its syntactic position ("prosodic inversion;" cf. Halpern 1995, Hale 2007, i.a.).

(4) *nassu* ɸ|*kuiški*   ⟦DINGIR-*LIM-ni*   *kuiški*   *peran*⟧pp| *wašti*
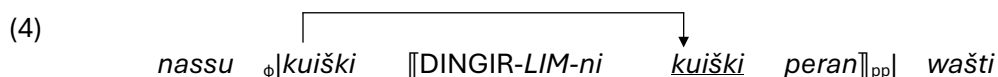
We show that this proposal attains broad empirical coverage in Hittite, accounting not only for discontinuous constituents, but also for other syntactically unexpected word orders that occur with the same prosodically deficient items, e.g., the postverbal indefinite subject in (5) (vs. unmarked verb-final order; cf. Huggard 2015:79–80).

(5) BrTabl. ii 74 (NH/NS; CTH 106 – Treaty with the King of Tarhuntassa):

nu=šši=kan   *mān* ɸ|*wakšiyazi*   *kuitki*|

conn=3sg.dat=ptc   if   lacks   indf:nom.sg.n

'If <u>something</u> is lacking for him'

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Kun You, University of Colorado, Boulder

The Function of Titles in the Process of Compiling Books in Early China: The Case of the Zhuangzi

Many titles in early Chinese texts function as mere names rather than performing other functions that we tend to take for granted, such as indicating the theme or the genre of the text. Investigating how and why titles came to perform functions aiding interpretation can enhance our understanding of the cultural role that written texts have played in early China (mid. 5th c. BCE–2 c. CE). In this paper, I argue that the interpretive relationship between the title and the text underpins the unity of a complex work. The early Chinese text *Zhuangzi* exemplifies how interpretive titles enable the thematic coherence of the heterogeneous compilation on the one hand, and how the coherence affects the sense of authority on the other.

The *Zhuangzi*, a large heterogeneous compilation comprising 33 chapters, was divided into three parts named "inner chapters," "outer chapters," and "miscellaneous chapters." Among these three categories, only the inner chapters bear titles that consistently indicate the themes of their texts. In contrast, most of the titles in other groups only function as identifiers. I propose that the division between the three groups as well as the different functions of titles reveal the compiler's intent of influencing the reader in interpreting the texts. In that sense, the *Zhuangzi* exemplifies a shift in textual production in Early China: the interpretation of written texts comes to rely less on a direct transmission from teacher to student, moving towards less context bound author-reader communication.

Parker Zane, Yale University

Excerpts of MUL.APIN in the Neo-Assyrian Period

MUL.APIN is a two-tablet astronomical compendium containing astronomical and astrological information. Three excerpt texts of MUL.APIN from Assur (VAT 8619, VAT 9893, VAT 11270) have previously been identified. A manuscript from Kalḫu (CTN IV, 10), previously interpreted as a manuscript of *Enūma Anu Enlil* 14, should be reconsidered as yet another excerpt text, with materials deriving from both the celestial divinatory series *Enūma Anu Enlil* and MUL.APIN. The obverse contains a modified scheme for the duration of lunar visibility in the equinoctial month that stems from *EAE* 14. The reverse contains a passage from MUL.APIN that presents a scheme for the length of the night and the rising and setting of the moon. A new analysis of CTN IV, 10 will provide

clarification on the various functions of MUL.APIN excerpts in the Neo-Assyrian period and the relationship between MUL.APIN and other astronomical texts.

Fatima Zaraket, Princeton University

Takhyīl (Make-Believe) in Ibn Sīnā and 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī

Although poetic syllogism does not attempt to produce *taṣdīq* (assent) per se in the listener, and it rather aims at provoking images–a process that is often labeled "takhayul" in Arabic–the poet often *pretends* to do so. However, the process is a bit nuanced. Starting with sound images, the poet does not want the listener to take what he/she is saying as truthful. Rather, the poet aims at provoking images in the soul (*al-nafs*) of the listener. In Wolfhart Heinrichs words, "he [the poet] does not wish to assert the correctness of believing in the view expressed, rather he wants the soul to feel a loathing, by way of imagining (*takhayulan*), for the thing being spoken about" (p. 25). Hence, a new definition of the poetic emerges here, one that transcends the old, literary dichotomy between truthfulness and falseness. What disrupts this dichotomy is the very concept of *takhyīl*, which started to take a new layer of meaning with Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037). Later, the renowned literary theorist in the medieval Persianate world 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 1078/81) adopted and developed Ibn Sīnā's notion of make-believe. Hence, this paper is set out to compare Ibn Sinā's understanding of the meaning of *takhyīl* while comparing it to 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī's. Through close textual reading of parts of Ibn Sīnā's *al-Shifāʾ* (*the Cure*) and *al-Ishārāt wa-l-tanbīhāt* (*Remarks and Admonitions*) and Jurjānī's *Asrār al-balāghah* (*The Secrets of Eloquence*), this paper is set out to explain how both scholars understood the concept of "*takhyīl*" and to demonstrate to what extent al- Jurjānī was truly influenced by Ibn Sīnā's analysis of the term. I hope that this paper will help us paint a better picture of the points of convergence and divergence between both scholars, in an attempt to better understand the influence of Arabic Aristotelian philosophy on Arabic literary criticism.

Yao Zhang, Cornell University

Yancai or *Jiangcai* in the Chinese Literature of the Northern and Southern Dynasties?

Yanshi Jiaxun "The Family Instructions of Master Yan" is a book written by *Yan Zhitui*, a Chinese philosopher and politician of the 6th century CE. Due to diachronic changes of meaning and character form, the interpretation of many words used in the book have become uncertain and need reinterpretation and correction. For example, You (2017) claimed that the writing forms 疆（壃）菜 and 薑菜, both *jiangcai*, were confused. He argued that the term *jiangcai* should be understood as the first one, literarily reading 'field-vegetable', instead of the second one as 'ginger (the vegetable)'. Zhao (2020) and Xu (2020) argued separately against You, proposing that薑菜 is

the correct form, which is a special way of referring to 'ginger' during the Northern and Southern dynasties.

I argue that there is no such word as *jiangcai*, not only in *Yanshi Jiaxun*, but also in all contemporaneous literature. The ghost word results from a misinterpretation of 鹽菜 *yancai*, a term for 'pickle' which literarily means 'salt(ed) vegetable' in Middle Chinese. Three pieces of evidence support my argument.

1) Variant characters in examples. You cites a number of examples from Chinese medical books and translated Buddhist texts with variation between the characters 薑 'ginger' and 鹽 'salt'. In all the cases 鹽 works better semantically.

2) Parallel Pali and Chinese Buddhist texts. In Pali texts, the target word corresponds to *bilaṅga* meaning 'vinegar; sour gruel', sharing similar meaning with *yancai* 'salt(ed) vegetables' in Chinese.

3) Parallel Pali and Chinese Buddhist texts. In Pali texts, the target word corresponds to *bilaṅga* meaning 'vinegar; sour gruel', sharing similar meaning with *yancai* 'salt(ed) vegetables' in Chinese. Common usage of *yancai*. In contemporary literature '(not even eating) *pickles*' is a conventional expression for mourning the death of close ones, which is also the context in *Yanshi Jiaxun*.

Luying Zhao, Arizona State University

Bloody Rebirth: Female Blood Pollution and its Redemption in Medieval China

Pollution caused by women is an essential element that constitutes women's familial, social, and religious identities in Chinese culture. The idea of female pollution appears widely in the religious contexts of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism throughout Chinese history. Specifically, the female body, women's bodily fluids, and reproductive activities were considered ritually unclean and would incur severe misfortune to the family, cause failure to religious activities, and may even offend gods. We can find negative views on women's blood in Celestial Master Daoist and Buddhist Vinaya texts from early medieval China (third to sixth century). Since the Tang (618-907) and Song (960-1279) dynasties, Daoism and Buddhism have featured a unique hell specifically targeted at women. This particular hell, the Blood Lake, or the Blood Bowl, arose from the discourse of female blood pollution, which was believed to be caused by menstruation and childbirth. While considerable scholarly attention has been given to the Buddhist Blood Bowl Hell, there has been limited exploration of the more diverse literature surrounding the Blood Lake Hell in Daoism. In my research, I attempt to demonstrate how the purification rituals of the Daoist Blood Lake cult aimed to provide a means of salvation to marginalized groups in society, among which women were the most notable recipients of salvation.

Shiwei Zhou, University of Washington

Manipulating an Autobiography—A Study of Lu Guimeng's 'Biography of Master Fuli'

The paper delves into the analysis of the autobiography, "Biography of Master Fuli," penned by the late Tang scholar Lu Guimeng (d. 881 C.E.). In his resolve to distance himself from official positions, Lu retreated to his hometown of Fuli (in modern Jiangsu Province) to live a reclusive life after a failed attempt at the civil service exam. In the realm of literature, Lu adopted the monikers Master Fuli, The Unrestrained One among Rivers and Lakes, and Master Heavenly Follower, crafting a self-image as a recluse. His persistent efforts bore fruit, earning him recognition as a recluse among later readers and scholars. "Biography of Master Fuli" stands as a prime exemplar of these efforts. Much like Tao Yuanming's (365-427 C.E.) case, whose "Biography of Master Five Willows" became the primary source of his biographies written by subsequent biographers, Lu's autobiography was copied verbatim in the *Tang caizi zhuan*, the *Xin Tang shu*, and a biography written by a Southern Song scholar named Ye Yin.

This paper scrutinizes Lu Guimeng's intentions behind composing the autobiography and to elucidate its significance in the history of autobiographical writing within Classical Chinese literature. Through a meticulous analysis of the autobiography, a comparative study of Lu's and Tao's autobiographies, and an exploration of the conventions governing autobiographical writing in ancient China, this paper contends that the intentional or inadvertent manipulation of autobiographical narratives proved to be remarkably effective during Lu Guimeng's era. "Biography of Master Fuli" represents an unconventional departure from the norms of its time, drawing inspiration from Tao's autobiography. However, Lu's autobiography transcends mere imitation. He presents himself as a contemporary recluse with refined pastimes and idiosyncratic traits, marking an innovative evolution in autobiographical writing and a transformation of the ideal reclusive image among scholars.