

Volume 138 / Number 2 / April–June 2018  
ISSN 0003-0279



*Journal of the*  
**AMERICAN  
ORIENTAL  
SOCIETY**

Journal of the American Oriental Society

American Oriental Society

HARLAN HATCHER GRADUATE LIBRARY  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, ANN ARBOR, MI 48109-1205  
ISSN 0003-0279



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY  
ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED

**Articles**

- CHELSEA SANKER, Hurrian Meter and Phonology in the Boğazköy Parables . . . . . 227  
KAREL VAN DER TOORN, Previously, at Elephantine . . . . . 255  
MICHAEL EBSTEIN, The Organs of God: *Ḥadīth al-Nawāfil* in Classical Islamic Mysticism . . . . . 271  
OFER PERES, The Tamil Life of Purūravas: A Vernacular Adaptation of a Sanskrit Myth . . . . . 291  
KENNETH ZYSK, Greek and Indian Physiognomics . . . . . 313  
MÅRTEN SÖDERBLOM SAARELA, “Shooting Characters”: A Phonological Game and Its Uses in Late  
Imperial China . . . . . 327

**Brief Communication**

- MOHAMMED RUSTOM, Notes on the Semantic Range of “Deliverance” in the Quran . . . . . 361

**Review Articles**

- HAIM GERBER, Ottoman Historiography: Challenges of the Twenty-First Century. . . . . 369  
R. J. VAN DER SPEK, The Latest on Seleucid Empire Building in the East . . . . . 385  
ROBERT KERR, New Punic Punditry . . . . . 395

- Reviews of Books** . . . . . 403

- Brief Reviews of Books** . . . . . 449

■ Vol. 138, No. 2 ■ April–June 2018

PERIODICAL

# JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

© 2018 BY THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY. ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

---

## EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

STEPHANIE W. JAMISON

*University of California, Los Angeles*

---

## ASSOCIATE EDITORS

PERI BEARMAN

*Harvard University*

GARY BECKMAN

*University of Michigan*

ANTJE RICHTER

*University of Colorado, Boulder*

Membership dues are \$70 per calendar year, payable by December 31st of the preceding year. Special membership dues for students, professors emeriti, and members in the armed forces are \$25 per calendar year. There is a surcharge of \$10 on all dues paid after the beginning of the year. \$20 of the dues assessment is applied to the publication of the Journal. Institutional subscriptions are \$90 through agents; \$80 when directly paid to the Society. Single numbers, \$25, postage included. Orders should be sent to the American Oriental Society, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205.

The Journal of the American Oriental Society, ISSN 0003-0279, is published quarterly in March, June, September, and December by the American Oriental Society, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Periodicals postage paid at Ann Arbor and additional mailing offices, USPO ID 283620. Postmaster: send address changes to Journal of the American Oriental Society, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1205.

The Society and the Editors assume no responsibility for the views expressed by authors in the Society's publications.

The AOS website is: <http://www.umich.edu/~aos/>

## GUIDELINES FOR SUBMISSION OF MANUSCRIPTS

Submissions to the Journal must be based on original research; they may not have been previously published or be under consideration for publication elsewhere.

Materials—preferably not exceeding 15,000 words—should be sent both as a Word document in a Unicode font and in PDF format; text, including footnotes (not endnotes) and bibliography, must be double-spaced, in a uniform font size (12 is preferred) throughout, and paginated. Articles submitted for consideration should be shorn of all authorial identity markers, which includes acknowledgments, forthcoming publications, etc. Submissions should include an abstract in the accompanying email.

Although the Journal can accommodate some non-Latin scripts, different instructions apply per section.

For the Ancient Near East section, all original cuneiform and hieroglyphic text should be transliterated, using a standard method. Transliteration of Greek and Hebrew/Aramaic script is optional.

For the Islamic section, all non-Latin scripts should be fully transliterated, using a standard method. The only exception would be block text accompanied by a full translation.

For the South and Southeast Asia section, all original text should be transliterated, using a standard method.

For the East Asia section, transliteration—at first occurrence together with original script for disambiguation—is required for proper names, titles, and terms used within the English texts. Bibliographies should use both transliteration and original script for authors, editors, titles; not for place of publication and publisher. For quotations, on the other hand, original script alone will suffice. See additionally the Journal's style sheet.

Please submit electronic files of manuscripts to the appropriate section editor via email (addresses below).

PDF offprints will be E-mailed to all contributors.

---

COMPOSITION BY EISENBRAUNS, P.O. BOX 275, WINONA LAKE, IN 46590

---

PRINTED AT SHEIDAN PA, HANOVER, PA 17331

---

---

# American Oriental Society

FOUNDED 1842

---

## OFFICERS FOR 2016–2017

### President

JOHN HUEHNERGARD

*Middle Eastern Studies, University of Texas, Austin, TX  
78712*

### Vice-President

JOEL P. BRERETON

*Asian Studies, University of Texas, Austin, TX 78712*

### Secretary-Treasurer

JONATHAN RODGERS

*Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, Ann  
Arbor, MI 48109*

### Editor-in-Chief

STEPHANIE W. JAMISON (SOUTH and INNER ASIA)

[jamison@humnet.ucla.edu](mailto:jamison@humnet.ucla.edu)

*Dept. of Asian Languages and Cultures, Univ. of  
California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA 90095*

### Sectional Editors

PERI BEARMAN (ISLAM)

[bearman.jaos@gmail.com](mailto:bearman.jaos@gmail.com)

*17 Adams Ave., Groton, MA, 01450*

GARY BECKMAN (Ancient Near East)

[sidd@umich.edu](mailto:sidd@umich.edu)

*Dept. of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan,  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104*

ANTJE RICHTER (EAST ASIA)

[Antje.Richter@colorado.edu](mailto:Antje.Richter@colorado.edu)

*Dept. of Asian Languages and Civilizations,*

*University of Colorado at Boulder, Boulder, CO 80309*

## Board of Directors

JOHN HUEHNERGARD, President; BEATRICE GRUENDLER, Immediate Past President; JOEL P. BRERETON, Vice-President; JONATHAN RODGERS, STEPHANIE W. JAMISON, Directors-at-Large; STEVEN J. GARFINKLE (2019), JOSHUA KATZ (2018), TIMOTHY LUBIN (2018), JO ANN SCURLOCK, President, Middle West Branch; JOEL BRERETON, President, Southwest Branch; STEPHEN WADLEY, President, Western Branch; Sectional Chairs: NA'AMA PAT-EL (Ancient Near East, 2018; Program Chair, 2017), RICHARD VANNESS SIMMONS (East Asia, 2020), JASON NEELIS (Inner Asia, 2018); PAUL WALKER (Islamic Near East, 2020), AHMED EL SHAMSY (Islamic Near East, 2018), DEVEN PATEL (South and Southeast Asia, 2018)

## Committee on Nominations

STEVEN JUDD (Chair 2018), *Dept. of History, Southern Connecticut State University*; CHARLES HÄBERL (2018), *Dept. of African, Middle Eastern, and South Asian Languages and Literatures, Rutgers University*; TAHERA QUTBUDDIN (2018), *Dept. of Near Eastern Languages, University of Chicago*; ADHEESH SATHAYE (2019), *University of British Columbia*

## Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies

PAUL W. KROLL, *Dept. of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Colorado*

## Delegate to the International Association for Sanskrit Studies

JOEL BRERETON, *Dept. of Asian Studies, The University of Texas at Austin*

## Delegate to the International Union of Orientalists

JACK M. SASSON, *Divinity School, Vanderbilt University*

## Delegate to the Lidzbarski Prize Committee

JOHN HUEHNERGARD, *Dept. of Middle Eastern Studies, The University of Texas at Austin*

## Representative to the Board of the American Schools of Oriental Research

PETER MACHINIST, *Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Harvard University*

## Delegate to the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale

PAUL-ALAIN BEAULIEU, *University of Toronto*

## Librarian

SUSAN GIBBONS, *University Librarian, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University*

## OFFICERS OF THE MIDDLE WEST BRANCH, 2016

---

### President

JOANN SCURLOCK, *Elmhurst College*

### Vice-President

OPEN

### Secretary-Treasurer

OPEN

### Executive Committee

RICHARD AVERBECK, *Trinity Evangelical Divinity School*; RICHARD H BEAL, *Oriental Institute*; WAYNE T. PITARD, *University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign*; K. LAWSON YOUNGER, *Trinity International University*

## OFFICERS OF THE SOUTHWEST BRANCH, 2016

---

### President

JOEL BRERETON, *The University of Texas at Austin*

### Vice-President

STEPHEN H. PHILLIPS, *University of Texas, Austin*

### Secretary-Treasurer

HAROLD LIEBOWITZ, *University of Texas, Austin*

### Executive Committee

JOHN G. BORDIE, *University of Texas*; HAROLD LIEBOWITZ, *University of Texas*

## OFFICERS OF THE WESTERN BRANCH, 2016–2017

---

### President

STEPHEN WADLEY, *Portland State University*

### Vice-President

MADELINE SPRING, *University of Hawai'i at Manoa*

### Secretary-Treasurer

ALEXEI DITTER, *Reed College*

### Executive Committee

STEPHEN WADLEY, *Portland State University*; MADELINE SPRING, *University of Hawai'i at Manoa*; MICHAEL FULLER, *University of California, Irvine*; ALEXEI DITTER, *Reed College*

## Reviews of Books

- GOODMAN: *The Training Anthology of Śāntideva: A Translation of the Śikṣā-samuccaya* (Amod Lele) . . . . . 403
- COX and VERGIANI, eds.: *Bilingual Discourse and Cross-Cultural Fertilisation: Sanskrit and Tamil in Medieval India* (Blake Wentworth) . . . . 406
- GOODALL, ed.: *The Nīśvāsatattvasamhitā: The Earliest Surviving Śaiva Tantra, vol. 1: A Critical and Annotated Translation of the Mūlasūtra, Uttarasūtra and Nayasūtra* (Gavin Flood) . . . . 409
- GOODALL and ISAACSON, eds.: *Tantric Studies: Fruits of a Franco-German Project on Early Tantra* (Gavin Flood) . . . . . 411
- NOTARIUS: *The Verb in Archaic Biblical Poetry: A Discursive, Typological, and Historical Investigation of the Tense System* (Benjamin Kantor) . . 413
- STACKERT: *A Prophet Like Moses: Prophecy, Law, and Israelite Religion* (Angela Roskop Erisman) 415
- KITCHEN: *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translations. Vol. 7. Addenda*; DAVIES: *Ramesside Inscriptions: Vol. 4. Merenptah and the Late Nineteenth Dynasty: Translated and Annotated, Notes and Comments* (Anthony Spalinger) . . . . 417
- SAUER, REKAVANDI, WILKINSON, and NOKANDEH: *Persia's Imperial Power in Late Antiquity: The Great Wall of Gorgān and Frontier Landscapes of Sasanian Iran* (John R. Alden) . . . . . 420
- LIEBRENZ: *Die Rifāʿiya aus Damaskus: Eine Privatbibliothek im osmanischen Syrien und ihr kulturelles Umfeld* (Konrad Hirschler) . . . . . 422
- HIRSCHLER: *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library. The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* (Paul Auchterlonie) . . . . . 424
- MONTGOMERY: *Al-Jāhiz: In Praise of Books* (Sebastian Günther) . . . . . 427
- SHIHARDEH: *Doubts on Avicenna: A Study and Edition of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Masʿūdī's Commentary on the Ishārāt* (Jules L. Janssens) . . . . . 429
- FALLAHZADEH and HASHABEIKY, eds.: *Muḥammad Amīn b. Mirzā Muḥammad Zamān Bukhārī (Ṣūfīyānī), Muḥīt al-Tavārikh (The Sea of Chronicles)* (Ron Sela) . . . . . 433
- WAGNER: *Jews and Islamic Law in Early 20th-Century Yemen* (Gideon Libson) . . . . . 435
- BARBIERI-LOW and YATES, eds. and trs.: *Law, State, and Society in Early Imperial China: A Study with Critical Edition and Translation of the Legal Texts from Zhangjiashan Tomb No. 247. 2 vols.* (Daniel Sungbin Sou) . . . . . 437
- PINES, GOLDIN, and KERN, eds.: *Ideology of Power and Power of Ideology in Early China* (Garret Olberding) . . . . . 439
- MILBURN, tr.: *Urbanization in Early and Medieval China: Gazetteers for the City of Suzhou* (David Jonathan Felt) . . . . . 442
- DAVIS: *From Warhorses to Ploughshares: The Later Tang Reign of Emperor Mingzong* (Anthony DeBlasi) . . . . . 443

## Brief Reviews of Books

- TOORAWA, ed. and tr.: *Ibn al-Sāʿī, Consorts of the Caliphs: Women and the Court of Baghdad* (Maaïke van Berkel) . . . . . 449
- JUNNE: *The Black Eunuchs of the Ottoman Empire: Networks of Power in the Court of the Sultan* (Jane Hathaway) . . . . . 450
- GAMMER, ed.: *Written Culture in Daghestan* (Michael Kemper) . . . . . 450
- YANG: *Heroines of the Qing: Exemplary Women Tell Their Stories* (Anne Behnke Kinney) . . . . . 452
- MÜLLER: *Südarabien im Altertum: Kommentierte Bibliographie der Jahre 1997 bis 2011* (Paul A. Yule) . . . . . 453

# Style Sheet for the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

(In general, follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*)

## 1 Footnotes and Bibliographies:

1.1 Footnotes and bibliographies must accord with one of the following models:

### 1.1.1 Humanities format

Footnotes, Book

<sup>1</sup>P. Q. Author, *The Book I Wrote* (Place: Publisher, Year), 109.

[“p.” and “pp.” are not used]

Footnotes, Article

<sup>1</sup>P. Q. Author, “The Article I Wrote,” *JAOS* 108.3 (1988): 456.

[a colon separates the volume number from the page reference]

Footnotes, Collected Papers

<sup>1</sup>P. Q. Author, “The Paper I Wrote,” in *The Symposium to Which I Contributed*, ed. John P. Doe and Q. E. Dee (Place: Publisher, Year), 12.

[“p.” and “pp.” are not used; “ed.” stands for “edited by”; symposium title precedes editor’s name]

Bibliography, Book

Author, P. Q., and John Doe. *The Book We Wrote*. Series Information. Place: Publisher, Year.

[first author’s surname precedes; periods replace commas; no parentheses]

Bibliography, Article

Author, P. Q. “The Article I Wrote.” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108 (1988): 409–19.

[or: *JAOS* 108: etc.; “pp.” not used]

Bibliography, Symposium

Author, P. Q. “The Paper I Wrote.” In *The Symposium to Which I Contributed*, ed. John P. Doe and Q. E. Dee. Pp. 10–29. Place: Publisher, Year.

[“pp.” is used; page numbers precede facts of publication]

### 1.1.2 Social Sciences Format

Bibliography, Book

Author, P. Q.; Jane Dee; and John Doe. Year. *The Book We Wrote*. Place: Publisher.

[year follows authors’ names]

Bibliography, Article

Author, P. Q. Year. The Article I Wrote. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108: 409–19.

[no quotation marks are used]

Bibliography, Symposium

Author, P. Q. Year. The Paper I Wrote. In *The Symposium to Which I Contributed*, ed. John P. Doe and Q. E. Dee. Pp. 10–29. Place: Publisher.

[“pp.” is used]

Notes in text have the form: (Author Year) or (Author Year: 12). But if the page number only is used, “p.” or “pp.” is appropriate: (p. 12). “P.” or “pp.” may be used at any time to distinguish pages from other kinds of numerical references (tables, lines, etc.).

1.2 The major and relevant place of publication only should be listed. E.g., “Leiden: Brill”; not “Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill.”

1.3 In footnote citation and bibliography, abbreviate “University Press” as “Univ. Press.”

1.4 When the bibliography lists several works by a single author, his or her name should not be repeated, but replaced by “\_\_\_\_\_.”

1.5 “Ibid.” refers to the single work cited in the note immediately preceding. It should not be used if more than one work is cited in the preceding note. It takes the place of the author’s name, the title of the work, and as much of the succeeding material as is identical. Ibid. may also be used in place of the name of a journal or book of essays in successive references to the same journal or book within one note. Instead of *ibid.*, one may use an unambiguous short form (e.g., “Buck, *Selected Synonyms*, 293”).

1.6 “Idem” is used in place of an author’s name when successive references to several works are made within a single note. It is not used of titles or in bibliographies.

1.7 Note the distinction between “see” (or, *vide*: used of a supporting point) and “cf.” (*confer*, compare: used of a contrasting or complementary point).

1.8 References to inclusive pages, as follows: for two-digit numbers repeat all digits [“pp. 56–58”]; for 100 or multiples thereof repeat all digits [“pp. 100–106”]; for numbers greater than 100 repeat only last two digits (or more, if necessary) [“pp. 117–19”; “1698–722”]; *but do not repeat any zeroes* [“pp. 103–8,” not “103–08”].

1.9 The use of footnotes in book reviews is discouraged; parenthetical references in lieu of footnotes should conform to the appropriate footnote style.

1.10 Footnotes to tables apart from text should be indicated by letters *a* to *z*, used consecutively.

1.11 The abbreviations “vol.,” “no.,” and “pt.” are normally not capitalized.

2 **Quotation marks** are placed generally *outside* sentence punctuation (i.e., American, not British, style). Exceptions are made for linguistic glosses in single quotation marks, for colons and semicolons, and for certain exclamation points and question marks.

3 The following items should normally be **italicized**: titles of works and periodicals; foreign terms *cited* in the process of inquiry. Foreign terms, however, which are *employed* by the author instead of translations, may be kept in roman, especially if commonly understood or frequently used [e.g., “karma,” “dharma”]. **Not italicized** are: books of the Bible, *classes* of works (e.g., “purana,” “veda”), Latin scholarly terms and abbreviations (with the single exception of “*sic*”). The English plural ending on foreign words is not italicized: *sūtras*; idiosyncratic italicization, for emphasis, etc., is discouraged. Special conventions govern the transliteration of cuneiform.

4 American **spelling** preferences are normally adopted.

5 The two-letter postal **abbreviations** for the States are used only in addresses. Elsewhere, including in publication information, spell out or use the unambiguous standard forms [e.g., “Miss.” not “MS”; “Nebr.” or “Neb.” not “NE”].