

Volume 139 / Number 3 / July–September 2019
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

- JOEL P. BRERETON, *The Tale of the Eagle: An Entertainment* 535
- ETHAN HARKNESS, *Good Days and Bad Days: Echoes of the Third-Century BCE Qin Conquest in Early Chinese Hemerology* 545
- NEWELL ANN VAN AUKEN, *What If Zhào Dùn Had Fled? Border Crossing and Flight into Exile in Early China* 569
- SHAWN ZELIG ASTER, *Sargon in Samaria—Unusual Formulations in the Royal Inscriptions and Their Value for Historical Reconstruction* 591
- JONATHAN BRACK, *A Mongol Mahdi in Medieval Anatolia: Rebellion, Reform, and Divine Right in the Post-Mongol Islamic World* 611
- HAN HSIEN LIEW, *Ibn al-Jawzī and the Cursing of Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiya: A Debate on Rebellion and Legitimate Rulership* 631
- RAFFAELE TORELLA, *Abhinavagupta’s Attitude towards Yoga* 647
- YI DING, *“By the Power of the Perfection of Wisdom”: The “Sūtra-Rotation” Liturgy of the Mahāprajñāpāramitā at Dunhuang* 661

Brief Communication

- MALIK MUFTI, *Is Ibn Khaldūn “Obsessed” with the Supernatural?* 681

Review Article

- SARAH C. MELVILLE, *Neo-Assyrian Women Revisited* 687

Reviews of Books 693

Brief Reviews of Books 773

■ Vol. 139, No. 3 ■ July–September 2019

PERIODICAL

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

© 2019 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 48109-1190.

The Journal of the American Oriental Society, ISSN 0003-0279, is published quarterly in March, June, September, and December by the American Oriental Society, 913 S. University Ave., Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1190. 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, 913 University Ave., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI 48109-1190.

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 SHELDON PA, HANOVER, PA 17331

American Oriental Society

FOUNDED 1842

OFFICERS FOR 2018–2019

President

STEPHEN WEST

School of International Letters and Cultures, Arizona State University

Vice-President

PAUL WALKER

Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago

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

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

Sectional Editors

PERI BEARMAN (ISLAM)

bearman.jaos@gmail.com

17 Adams Ave., Groton, MA, 01450

GARY BECKMAN (Ancient Near East)

sidd@umich.edu

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

ANTJE RICHTER (EAST ASIA)

Antje.Richter@colorado.edu

Dept. of Asian Languages and Civilizations,

University of Colorado at Boulder, Boulder, CO 80309

Board of Directors

STEPHEN WEST, President; JOEL BRERETON, Immediate Past President; PAUL WALKER, Vice President; JONATHAN RODGERS, STEPHANIE JAMISON; Directors-at-Large: PERI BEARMAN (2022); EVA VON DASSOW (2020); NA'AMA PAT-EL (2020); JOANN SCURLOCK, President, Middle West Branch; JOEL BRERETON, President, Southwest Branch; STEPHEN WADLEY, President, Western Branch); Sectional Chairs: PETRA GOEDGEBUURE (Ancient Near East, 2021); RICHARD VANNESS SIMMONS (East Asia, 2020); KEVIN VAN BLADEL (Inner Asia, 2021); PAUL WALKER (Islamic Near East, 2020); AHMED EL SHAMSY (Islamic Near East, 2020); DEVEN PATEL (South and Southeast Asia, 2021)

Committee on Nominations

PAUL DELNERO (Chair, ANE, 2020), *Near Eastern Studies, Johns Hopkins University*; CARL SHARIF EL-TOBGUI (INE, 2020), *Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, Brandeis University*; RANA MIKATI (INE, 2020), *Department of History, College of Charleston*; KATHERINE ALEXANDER (EA, 2021), *Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Colorado Boulder*; DAVID BRICK (SSEA, 2021), *Asian Languages and Cultures, University of Michigan*

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, 2019

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, 2019

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, 2019

President

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

Vice-President

ANTJE RICHTER, *University of Colorado Boulder*

Secretary-Treasurer

ALEXEI DITTER, *Reed College*

Executive Committee

MADLINE SPRING, *University of Hawai'i at Manoa*; ANTJE RICHTER, *University of Colorado Boulder*; STEPHEN WADLEY, *Portland State University*; ALEXEI DITTER, *Reed College*

Reviews of Books

- POSTGATE: *Bronze Age Bureaucracy: Writing and the Practice of Government in Assyria* (M. P. Maidman) 693
- SAZONOV: *Die assyrischen Königstitel und -epitheta vom Anfang bis Tukulti-Nimurta I. und seinen Nachfolgern* (Christian W. Hess) 696
- ALLEN: *The Splintered Divine: A Study of Istar, Baal, and Yahweh Divine Names and Divine Multiplicity in the Ancient Near East* (Elizabeth Knott) 698
- GABBAY: *The Eršema Prayers of the First Millennium BC* (Alhena Gadotti) 701
- MILSTEIN: *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature* (Raymond Person) 703
- WAAL: *Hittite Diplomats: Studies in Ancient Document Format and Record Management* (Rita Francia) 704
- MCKENZIE, ET AL.: *The Nabataean Temple at Khirbet et-Tannur: Volume 1—Architecture and Religion. Final Report on Nelson Glueck's 1937 Excavation; The Nabataean Temple at Khirbet et-Tannur: Volume 2—Cultic Offerings, Vessels, and Other Specialist Reports. Final Report on Nelson Glueck's 1937 Excavation* (David F. Graf) 707
- PLUMMER: *The Samaritans: A Profile* (Christian Stadel) 709
- REDD: *Constituent Postponement in Biblical Hebrew Verse* (Paul Korchin) 711
- GZELLA: *A Cultural History of Aramaic: From the Beginnings to the Advent of Islam* (Ch. G. Häberl) 714
- BUDKA, KAMMERZELL, and RZEPKA, eds.: *Non-Textual Marking Systems in Ancient Egypt (and Elsewhere)* (John Coleman Darnell) 717
- IKRAM, ed.: *Divine Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt* (Stephanie Atherton-Woolham) 719
- HAWASS and SALEEM: *Scanning the Pharaohs: CT Imaging of the New Kingdom Royal Mummies* (Bob Brier) 721
- WATERS: *Ctesias' Persica and Its Near Eastern Context* (Joel Schlosser) 723
- FITZPATRICK-MCKINLEY, ed.: *Assessing Biblical and Classical Sources for the Reconstruction of Persian Influence, History and Culture* (Matt Waters) 725
- KENNEDY: *Recognition in the Arabic Narrative Tradition: Discovery, Deliverance and Delusion* (Todd Lawson) 726
- AMIR-MOEZZI, DE CILLIS, DE SMET, and MIR-KASIMOV, eds.: *L'Ésotérisme shi'ite: Ses racines et ses prolongements / Shi'i Esotericism: Its Roots and Developments* (Todd Lawson) ... 729
- MOAZZEN: *Formation of a Religious Landscape: Shi'i Higher Learning in Safavid Iran* (Francis Robinson) 731
- CASEWIT: *The Mystics of al-Andalus: Ibn Barrajān and Islamic Thought in the Twelfth Century* (Michael Ebstein) 733
- HOPE: *Power, Politics, and Tradition in the Mongol Empire and the Ilkhānate of Iran* (Reuven Amitai) 736
- DE NICOLA and MELVILLE, eds.: *The Mongols' Middle East: Continuity and Transformation in Ilkhanid Iran* (Jonathan Brack) 740
- JACKSON: *The Mongols and the Islamic World: From Conquest to Conversion* (Timothy May) 741
- MARZOLPH: *Relief after Hardship: The Ottoman Turkish Model for The Thousand and One Days* (Zina Maleh) 743
- MONTGOMERY, SAVANT, and WEBB, eds. and trans.: *Ibn Qutaybah. The Excellence of the Arabs* (Monique Bernards) 744
- HASSAN: *Longing for the Lost Caliphate: A Trans-regional History* (Han Hsien Liew) 746
- DONIGER: *Against Dharma: Dissent in the Ancient Indian Sciences of Sex and Politics* (Mark McClish) 749
- TAYLOR: *Seven Days of Nectar: Contemporary Oral Performance of the Bhāgavatapurāṇa* (Angelika Malinar) 751
- MULDOON-HULES: *Brides of the Buddha: Nuns' Stories from the Avadānaśataka* (Amy Paris Langenberg) 754
- DELOCHE: *Contribution to the History of the Wheeled Vehicle in India* (Michel Danino) 756
- MOCKO: *Demoting Vishnu: Ritual, Politics, and the Unraveling of Nepal's Hindu Monarchy* (Astrid Zotter) 758
- HARPER and SHIRANE, eds.: *Reading "The Tale of Genji": Sources from the First Millennium* (Takeshi Watanabe) 760
- DORAN: *Transgressive Typologies: Constructions of Gender and Power in Early Tang China* (Yue Hong) 763
- BØRDAHL and GE, eds.: *Western Han: A Yangzhou Storyteller's Script* (Robert E. Hegel) 766
- WANG: *Classical Chinese Poetry in Singapore: Witnesses to Social and Cultural Transformations in the Chinese Community* (Meow Hui Goh) 769

Brief Reviews of Books

- BLONDELL: *Helen of Troy: Beauty, Myth, Devastation* (Stephanie L. Budin) 773
- SALAH: *Die mittellassyrischen Personen- und Rationlisten aus Tall Šēh Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu* (Paul Gauthier) 774
- KAHL: *Die Zeit selbst lag nun tot darnieder: Die Stadt Assiut und ihre Nekropolen nach westlichen Reiseberichten des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts. Konstruktion, Destruktion und Rekonstruktion* (Christoffer Theis) 774
- KRITSKY: *The Tears of Re: Beekeeping in Ancient Egypt* (Niv Allon) 775
- WILKINSON and PLATT: *Aristocrats and Archaeologists: An Edwardian Journey on the Nile* (William H. Peck) 777
- BEIGEL and SABINE MANGOLD-WILL, eds.: *Wilhelm II.: Archäologie und Politik um 1900* (Gary Beckman) 777
- FINK, EISTERER, ROLLINGER, and RUPNOW, eds.: *Carl Friedrich Lehmann-Haupt: Ein Forscherleben zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Paul Zimansky) 778

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

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

["p." and "pp." are not used]

Footnotes, Article

¹P. Q. Author, "The Article I Wrote," *JAOS* 108.3 (1988): 456.

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

Footnotes, Collected Papers

¹P. 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"].