Connected Philology

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Interdisciplinary Perspectives on
Transcultural Encounters

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Preface

The concept of Connected Philology was developed in the context of the conference "Beyond Comparison: Towards a Connected Philology." This event took place between 14 and 16 June 2023 at the Carl Friedrich von Siemens Stiftung in Munich, Germany, as part of the curriculum of the International Doctorate Programme (IDK) "Philology: Practices of Pre-modern Cultures, Global Perspectives and Future Concepts" at LMU Munich, funded by the Elite Network of Bavaria. The conference aimed to transcend the usual approach of simply pointing out similarities and differences between philological methods and traditions across cultures: instead, the papers delved into the underlying connections leading to these parallels and divergences. The contributions exceeded our expectations: not only did they go beyond comparison, but they also adopted a transcultural approach. The discussions underscored the value of Connected Philology explored through a transcultural and interdisciplinary lens, opening up promising perspectives for future research. Inspired by these insights, several IDK members contributed their papers to this volume.

The conference and the subsequent publication were a joint effort by the PhD students of the IDK. The conceptualisation and organisation of the conference were coordinated by Sophie Florence, Simon Haffner, Luis Schäfer, Elisabeth Seidel, Bastian Jürgen Wagner, and Nikola Wenner. Unfortunately, Sophie Florence left the IDK before the event took place, but we are grateful for her contributions in the early stages of the development of Connected Philology as a concept.

All PhD students of the IDK contributed to the preparation of this volume, guided by four editors-in-chief. We are especially grateful for the help of Laura Noll and our student assistants. Our thanks also go to the programme's spokespersons, Prof Dr Beate Kellner and Prof Dr Susanne Reichlin, for their support and for providing us with the opportunity to work in an interdisciplinary context. Lastly, we extend our gratitude to our Principal Investigators for their insights into their respective disciplines. Their commitment to this project was invaluable in shaping the concept of Connected Philology and enriching it with perspectives drawn from diverse academic and personal backgrounds.

Munich, May 2025
Korinna Gonschorek and Nikola Wenner

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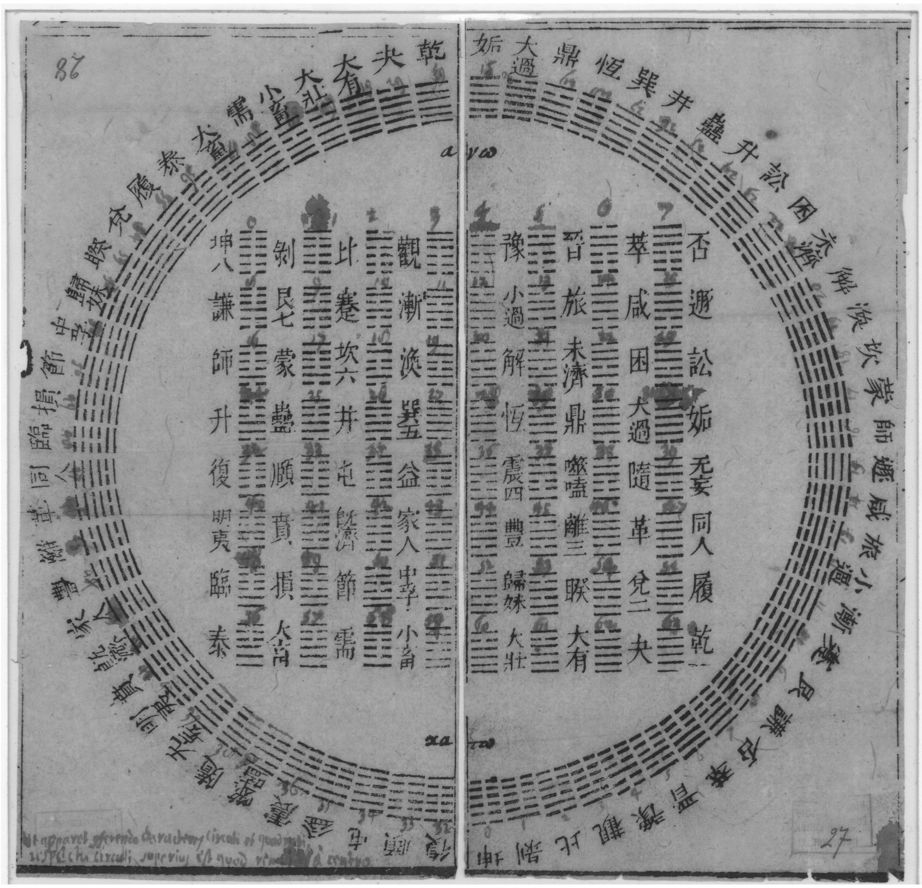

Figure 1: The sixty-four hexagrams in the combined circle and square form by Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011–1077) (Bouvet and Leibniz 1697–1707, f. 27r).

Marco Pouget and Luis Schäfer

Connected Philology: Introduction

The above print originates from a Chinese encyclopaedia of 1609 (Widmaier 2006a, 727). It is but one iteration of a very influential ensemble of symbols from early China: it depicts the hexagrams (*gua* 卦) used in the *Changes* (*Yi* 易) tradition, one of the five so-called "Confucian" classics.[1] Situated at the core of this canon is the *Classic of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), which soon came to be accompanied by an abundance of other writings, including different types of supplements and commentaries. Originally a divination manual, the *Classic of Changes* was imbued with philosophical and metaphysical ideas. The hexagrams, consisting of changing combinations of broken and unbroken lines, illustrated the permutating constellations of the forces of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽.[2] They were used to tell the future by observing changes in these constellations. Numerology played an important role in this, as divination was carried out by counting yarrow (milfoil) stalks. Each hexagram was associated with a Chinese character describing an image (*xiang* 象), which was then explained in the *Classic of Changes* and its scriptural tradition. Symbols and written characters were thus combined to decipher the patterns of the universe and find guidance in the regularities of change that the hexagrams encoded. In this print, the sixty-four hexagrams are arranged in two ways and in varying sequence: once in a circle and, in its centre, as a square.[3] This is the arrangement introduced by the scholar Shao Yong 邵雍 (1011–1077), invoking the mythical figure of Fu Xi 伏羲 as its purported inventor (Needham 1956, 341–342). His system posited the duality of *yin* and *yang* as encoding a binary sequence of the hexagrams.

The hexagrams and the Chinese characters denoting them were emblematic of textual wisdom[4] that, despite (or precisely because of) its enigma, had had a pervasive cultural impact on Chinese mantic, cosmological, and philosophical thought long before the arrival of foreign observers. Through missionaries studying Chinese culture, (philologically curated) traditional wisdom first entered the awareness of European intellectuals. One of them, the French Jesuit Joachim Bouvet (1656–1730),[5] attached this particular reproduction of the *Changes* hexagrams to a letter sent to the famous

1 For an introduction to the textual history of the *Changes* classic (*Yijing* 易經 or *Zhouyi* 周易), see Shaughnessy (1993). The term "Confucian" is considered misleading for early Chinese intellectual history, see Nylan (2001, 2–3).

2 For an introduction to the philosophical significance of the *Classic of Changes*, see Smith (2008).

3 This may echo the traditional Chinese idea that Heaven is round, and the earth is square.

4 For the concept of textual wisdom, see Assmann (1991).

5 For an introduction to the life and work of Joachim Bouvet, see von Collani (1985). For the influence of the Jesuits on the development of modern Sinology, see Mungello (1985).

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German polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) in November 1701.[6] The hexagram constellations would greatly inspire the latter's binary arithmetic. In his letter, Bouvet connects the hexagrams with Leibniz's binary infinitesimal calculus[7] and interprets these two as compatible mathematical doctrines that had simply arisen independently of each other (Bouvet to Leibniz on 4 November 1701, 334–338).

Leibniz had an avid interest in Chinese thought:[8] he sought to utilise Chinese historical knowledge to evaluate the accuracy of the Greek Septuagint and the Hebrew Torah for the purpose of composing a Christian universal history. The comparison with Chinese traditional wisdom promised to help solve any discrepancies between the two (Leibniz to Bouvet on 12 December 1697, 138–144). Furthermore, Leibniz was motivated by the objective of cultivating a universal language through the use of typological comparisons of languages. This enterprise was driven by the goal to "depict not the word but the thoughts" ("peindre non pas la parole mais les pensees," Leibniz to Bouvet on 15 February 1701, 316).[9] In his letter, Bouvet endeavours to demonstrate the applicability of Leibniz's methodology of formulating a universal "language of thought" through a philological examination of a few Chinese characters, demonstrating how some of them are composed and how they were thought to have developed in the Chinese textual tradition (Bouvet to Leibniz on 4 November 1701, 338–356).[10] For instance, he explains the etymology of the character *tian* 天 [Heaven] as consisting of *yi* 一 [unity] and *da* 大 [great], concluding that this related to "the lord of

6 The correspondence between Leibniz and Bouvet consists of a total of nine letters exchanged between 1697 and 1703. The starting point is Bouvet's reading of Leibniz's *Novissima Sinica* (Bouvet to Leibniz on 18 October 1697; cf. n. 8). After Bouvet had failed to receive one letter from Leibniz (Leibniz to Bouvet on 18 May 1703), the correspondence between the two scholars ceased (Widmaier 2006a, 733), possibly because Leibniz lost interest in hexagrams (Widmaier 2006b, civ). For a more detailed study of the exchange, see von Collani (2007).

7 Leibniz had framed his infinitesimal calculus to Bouvet as proof of the existence of the Christian God, since the binary representation of the progressive powers could be represented as divine unity (1) and nothingness (0); for Leibniz, it was evident that all phenomena are derived from these two principles (Leibniz to Bouvet on 15 February 1701, 304–312). To him, this demonstrated the pervasive influence that the notion of proselytising in China had on the correspondence as a whole. As early as 1698, Bouvet was convinced that proselytising could be facilitated via the parallel between "ancient Chinese philosophy" and Christian theology; he communicated this strategy to Leibniz (Bouvet to Leibniz on 28 February 1698, 170–172).

8 Leibniz wrote two treatises concerning China and its Philosophy (*Novissima Sinica*, 1697, and the *Discours sur la théologie naturelle des Chinois*, 1716), which demonstrate his deep and sustained interest in China. For Leibniz's contact with ideas of Confucianism, see Mungello (1977). For an introduction to Leibniz's engagement with China, see Perkins (2004).

9 For Leibniz's approaches to develop a universal language, see Strasser (1988, 234–246) and Blanke (1996).

10 In order to achieve this objective, Bouvet had previously provided an interlinear version of the *Lord's Prayer* in Manchurian, accompanied by a transliteration and a Latin translation (Bouvet to Leibniz on 28 February 1698, 172–175) in response to repeated requests by Leibniz (see Leibniz to Bouvet on 12 December 1697, 148; and Leibniz to Bouvet on 30 January 1698).

Heaven" ("Seigneur du ciel"), which to him appears compatible with Christian religion.

Regardless of whether their assumptions held true for Chinese culture, it is evident that both scholars sought to integrate Chinese thought into their world view. What is peculiar is their use of philological means to accomplish this. Written in French, Bouvet's letter to Leibniz partially explained the role of hexagrams in the *Changes* tradition; for this purpose, Bouvet added the Greek words ἄνω [upwards] and κάτω [downwards] into the print to indicate the top and the bottom of the figure. Leibniz then numbered the matching hexagrams in the circle and the square and commented in Latin that the characters with a higher numerical value had been arranged closer to the margin of the circle.[11] It is evident that the discourse in the letters sought to reconcile the interlocutors' own textual culture with what they found in the *Classic*, and vice versa.

The correspondence between Bouvet and Leibniz, as epitomised in their exchange on the *Changes* hexagrams, highlights three levels the different contributions presented in this volume focus on. Firstly, written artefacts – in this case the depiction of the hexagrams and corresponding Chinese characters with Greek and Latin annotations and the accompanying letters in French – emerge from transcultural contact and from interactions between different traditions and languages. Secondly, Bouvet and Leibniz integrated the Chinese scriptural tradition into their own thought by analysing it. In other words, there is a past discourse about such artefacts. Thirdly, the exchange between the French Jesuit and the German intellectual includes several domains of knowledge which today are attributed to a variety of seemingly disparate scientific disciplines, in this case including Theology, Mathematics, Philosophy, and Sinology, as well as French and Classical Philology. As a result, further examination of such artefacts and discourses also transcends traditional disciplinary boundaries. Driven by these insights, the present volume convenes interdisciplinary approaches to examples of transcultural encounters selected from across a broad range of historical contexts, textual materials, and actors involved. All these case studies occur within the medium of text and have been effectuated through philological practices. As such, they represent what we have termed *Connected Philology*.

11 "As it becomes apparent, when comparing the signs of the circular and the square figure, in the circular, those [numbers] are higher which are found further away from the centre [of the page]." ("Ut apparet conferendo characteres circuli et quadrati respectu circuli superius est quod remotius à centro," see Figure 1, bottom left); all translations are ours.

Interdisciplinary perspectives on transcultural encounters

The definition and concept of *philology* itself have been subject to lively debate in recent decades (Bremer and Wirth 2010, 43; Pollock et al. 2015; Dayeh 2016), widening the discourse to a global scale. This was not always the case. The history of philology has frequently been told as a history of a handful of institutions that were founded and developed mainly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, mostly limited to the Global North.[12] This narrow conception of philology has long hindered the potentially fruitful application of the term to describe the diverse scriptural traditions across the globe, which have persisted and thrived since the beginning of written culture over 5,000 years ago.[13] To allow the concept of philology to transcend its "western" biases, it seems most productive to focus on the practices that constitute philological work in different cultures and throughout different periods.[14] By focusing on the varied methods, techniques, textual devices, and scribal traditions rather than on institutional actors, philology becomes accessible in its most vibrant form (Pollock 2014, 11–23).

Therefore, we define philology as a set of practices devoted to taking care of texts,[15] passing them on, understanding, and interpreting them.[16] These practices include, but are not limited to, commenting, glossing, compiling, transcribing, translating, archiving, excerpting, or retelling.[17] What distinguishes philological practices

12 For the history of philology in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Turner (2014); for the critique of a Eurocentric perspective on philology, see Pollock (2009; 2014, 9–11).

13 The earliest evidence of human writing consists of clay tablets with cuneiform, dated c. 3200 BCE (Woods 2010, 34–35).

14 In this sense, Most (2018) described philology as social practice.

15 We adopt a broad conception of "text" here, which includes all forms of variance, such as the interactions with orality that Zumthor (1972, 65–75) termed *mouvance*. Moreover, we conceive text independently of its medium, understanding it as an expression of cultural self-description and description of others – a concept developed primarily through the interplay between literary and cultural studies, cf. e.g. Bachmann-Medick (2004).

16 Thus, we expand the narrow conception of philology limited to practices of textual curatorship, as proposed by Gumbrecht (2003, 2) and others. For broader conceptions, see e.g. Ette (2004) and Steinfeld (2004).

17 We are aware that this definition omits a certain philological tradition that focuses on the relationships between language and the individual, the philologist, and their *habitus*; see e.g. Hamacher (2009); Lepper (2012, 17–36). Another tradition treats philology as part of the storage and transmission of knowledge: see e.g. the volume *Philologie als Wissensmodell* [*Philology as a Model of Knowledge*] by Thouard et al. (2010). Other scholars shift the focus towards current philological practices: see e.g. Alt (2007, 28–29). With our definition, we deliberately want to reflect both on the philological practices evident in the examined texts and on our role as philologists.

from other forms of textual work is the engagement with texts for their own sake,[18] as opposed to, for instance, reading for the purposes of exegesis or entertainment.[19] When historians extract factual information from texts, or philosophers and theologians base their interpretation on the main idea presented in a text, they often display practices cognate or identical to those of expressly philological studies. The methodological boundaries between fields such as History, Philosophy, and Philology are thus fluid. However, the interest in engaging with the text itself – an act in which the text is simultaneously curated and used – might set philological practices apart from other approaches to working with texts.

Defining philology in terms of philological practices enables scholars to compare vastly different types of texts and literatures from various times and regions. This approach allows for the juxtaposition of different practices across their long histories, illuminating parallels, differences, and possible entanglements and reciprocal effects. In turn, philology, in the sense of recent and current research, takes on a broader focus when no longer viewed primarily as a discipline or a set of disciplines, but as the interdisciplinary inquiry into practices of working on or with texts. As the example of Leibniz and Bouvet demonstrates, such interdisciplinarity need not be limited to philological disciplines but can also include the likes of Mathematics, Philosophy, Religious Studies, or even Medicine.[20] This perspective permits comparisons with other social and academic practices (Daston and Most 2015; Martus and Spoerhase 2022).

18 Cf. the traditional definition of philology as the art of reading slowly, first coined by Nietzsche (1999 [1881], 17). This definition has persisted in academic discourse – likely due in part to Jakobson's use of it as an aphorism – as seen, for example, in Ziolkowski (1990, 6). De Man's postulate of a *Return to Philology*, combined with his call for *mere reading* without theory (1985), may also be regarded within this tradition of understanding philology as a special form of reading. Drawing on Peter Szondi, Banki and Scheffel also link their concept of philology to *Lektüre* ("reading"): "Philologie [. . .] ist ein Begriff für die Praxis der Lektüre" (Banki and Scheffel 2017, 2) [Philology [. . .] is a term for the practice of reading].

19 Roland Barthes (1973) examines the nature of reading purely for the purposes of enjoyment and pleasure. He posited this sometimes meandering, sometimes indulgent style of consuming a text by contrasting it to the reading habits prevalent within academia.

20 Interdisciplinarity not only comprises the connection of philology with other disciplines but also between and within philologies: the progressive isolation of 'newer' national philologies in the nineteenth century (Horstmann 1989, 561–567) ushered in an ever-increasing degree of specialisation, with the result that many researchers no longer mastered the languages required to study textual networks across linguistic boundaries. In addition to this disciplinary division, the twentieth century also witnessed the emergence of subdisciplines within literary studies, linguistics, and cultural studies. For instance, see Oesterreicher (2009, 89–96) with a focus on Romance studies; for the unification of Middle Latin studies in contrast to other philologies, see Stotz (2008); for a comprehensive analysis of the division of philological subjects in the twenty-first century, see Schaefer (2008) and Schwägerl-Melchior et al. (2017). Interdisciplinarity can thus also occur between and within different philological disciplines.

In addition to the definition of philology as a collective of practices outlined above, Connected Philology incorporates three established theoretical concepts: *transculturality*, *Connected History* (including the similar notions of *histoire croisée* and *Circulatory History*), and *World Philology*. The concept of transculturality, first coined by Ortíz in 1940,[21] was redeveloped from earlier notions of inter- and multiculturality from the 1990s onwards (Antor 2010). This renewal was largely driven by scholars building on the results of postcolonial studies and on the impressions of increased globalisation processes.[22] Welsch's definitions have proved particularly influential.[23] He aimed to overcome the binary categorisation of cultures rooted in Herder's model of culture spheres, which imagined cultures as naturally separable entities (Merz-Benz 2007, 193–197). Instead, Welsch argued that cultures are inherently entangled. As a result, "cultural settings are characterised by interrelations and commonalities" (Welsch 2017, 12). This definition has been criticised for its implicit claim that all cultures are essentially uniform, as well as for assuming that cultural systems are clearly separable in the event of cultural contact (Merz-Benz 2007, 197–203). To address these criticisms, the concept of transculturality has since been refined: scholars have postulated differences between cultural systems as temporary conditions that are engendered through processes of change or (de)construction.[24] This approach is of particular significance to Connected Philology because it highlights that culture is constructed in intra- and interpersonal negotiation processes (Lösch 2005, 32–38). From a historical point of view, these processes can be analysed primarily in the form of texts that result from contacts between different cultural (sub-)systems. In light of this, transculturality relates not only to phenomena of difference but also permits scholars to focus on similarities.[25]

Another important aspect of transculturality, according to Welsch, lies in focusing on the micro-level of individual contacts. This perspective is also evident in the parallel development of approaches within the historical sciences, which base the examina-

21 It seems particularly striking that, although the Cuban Fernando Ortíz had already created the term as a counter-concept to acculturation (1973 [1940], 129), his work is not consistently referenced in the transculturality debate. Given that scholars of transculturality see themselves as successors to postcolonial studies, it is irritating that they would only give limited attention to a stakeholder from the Global South.

22 Although the concept of transculturality emerged from analyses of globalisation in the twentieth century, it can also be applied to premodern times (Drews and Scholl 2016).

23 For Welsch's concept of transculturality, see Welsch (2005); for a summary of his research, see Welsch (2017, esp. 9–23).

24 Examples for such an approach are the concept of *transdifference* (Lösch 2005) and the concept of *figuration* and *de-figuration* (Onuki and Pekar 2006).

25 On similarity as a "counter-paradigm" to difference, see Bhatti and Kimmich (2015). The reflections of Réné Pérennec (2005) on contact poetics as an alternative to comparative differential analysis go in a similar direction. Cf. Bhabha's examination of Said's *Orientalism*: according to him, the construction of cultural differences through discourse is the main strategy of colonialism (Bhabha 1994, 70–84).

tion of larger systems on individual case studies. Examples of such approaches are Connected History (Subrahmanyam 1997), *histoire croisée* (Werner and Zimmermann 2006), and Circulatory History (Raj 2013), the latter of which foregrounds the history of knowledge.[26] For these approaches, concrete encounters become the starting point of examination. From a diachronic perspective, transcultural encounters are mainly preserved in texts that arise from individual contacts between different cultural (sub-)systems, such as translations, commentaries, or multilingual texts. In this regard, they are also the product of philological practices: on the one hand, philology here provides the medium of and facilitates transcultural encounters; on the other, philological practices are shaped by different requirements and conditions across cultures and their respective practices of working with texts.

By adopting the micro-perspective of the historical approaches presented above, as well as of transculturality, textual artefacts take on a special significance in a diachronic perspective: they provide a means of tracing lines of development in history in general and in the history of philology in particular. However, the texts or textual networks resulting from transcultural encounters cannot be confined to one single discipline because they combine languages that nowadays belong to the domains of different, specialised departments. Consequently, they pose significant challenges to researchers who have been trained in the curricula of individual philologies, and a high degree of interdisciplinarity is often required to analyse such texts.[27] The more recent debate surrounding World Philology is the third approach informing our concept Connected Philology. In the edited volume *World Philology*, Pollock (2015, 1–2) first outlined the concept with the aim of increasing the significance of institutional philology. In general, the concept of World Philology seeks to shift the focus towards philological practices in different cultures at different times. Pollock (2015, 23) emphasises historical self-awareness, conceptual universality, and methodological pluralism as necessary foundations of philology in the future. One year later, Dayeh expanded the concept of World Philology by including approaches of the Berlin programme *Zukunftsphilologie* [*Future Philology*], which advocated extending the focus of traditional philology to include cultures of the Global South (Dayeh 2016, 401–403). In addition, Dayeh demanded the examination of “the genealogies and genetic conditions of philological practice” (2016, 403). He thus widened the focus of World Philology by cham-

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26 We would like to take this opportunity to thank Kapil Raj for the overview of the historical-theoretical approaches with which he provided us at the conference that preceded this volume, and which informed much of the theoretical discussions featured in this introduction.

27 On the history and perspectives of interdisciplinary cooperation in the humanities, see the anthology *Symphilologie. Formen der Kooperation in den Geisteswissenschaften* [*Symphilology: Forms of Cooperation in the Humanities*] (Stockhorst et al. 2016).

pioning the comparison of philological practices in combination with considerations of their development over time.[28]

Both Pollock and Dayeh understand philology as "making sense of texts" within the history of human knowledge (Pollock 2015, 22; Dayeh 2016, 404), with their respective publications juxtaposing and comparing individual case studies. However, an interdisciplinary approach and a focus on transcultural encounters remain the exception rather than the rule. This is where Connected Philology comes in: for any comparison to be made, there must be a shared factor or point of contact between the compared entities. Only such a *tertium comparationis* [point of comparison] catalyses and enables a comparison in the first place.[29] In this sense, our introductory example stands out: Bouvet and Leibniz openly reflect on their sources and on how they use them. The transcultural contact through which Leibniz obtains the *Changes* hexagrams is well documented. In many other cases, however, such a connecting point needs to be identified first. Finding and analysing such connections helps us better understand the development of both differences and commonalities, enabling us to contextualise and draw inferences about the texts. Through the study of textual traditions in particular, we recognise this connection as lying within the philological practices used to generate, transmit, and understand texts across social and cultural boundaries.

Connected Philology

Our concept of Connected Philology touches upon concrete objects of study, but also encompasses a reflection on academic disciplines, and a consideration of methodological and epistemological problems. Firstly, Connected Philology focuses on transcultural encounters. Transregional, transcontinental, or even global connectivity is a recurring phenomenon in human history that produces diverse cultural connections, which can be traced through the study of textual traditions. The concept of transculturality suggests that the effects of such cultural contacts are by no means unidirectional (cf. e.g. Juneja and Kravagna 2013, 23–24). Connected Philology can show the impact on all cultures involved in these exchanges.[30] This necessitates both a historical contextualisation and a critical and accurate examination of the condition and

28 An example of such an approach is the volume *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices*, edited by Grafton and Most (2016).

29 For a critical reflection on the practice of comparison, see e.g. the volume *Practices of Comparing: Towards a New Understanding of a Fundamental Human Practice* (Epple et al. 2020).

30 Thus, Connected Philology is also part of the post-colonial tradition following Said: using the example of European constructions of *the* "Orient," Said (1978) showed how colonialist cultures construct the minority of other cultures with the aim of dominating them. Bhabha objected to critical theory for following similar mechanisms of othering and suggested a philological practice as a solution to the form of the source material. In other words, detailed philological work on original sources, particularly those which remain unedited or lack editions that meet the standards of modern scholarship, is essential. Additionally, there is a need to critically assess existing editions and their biases. This approach involves studying the texts of different actors who connected their philological work to other persons or textual traditions. As such, Connected Philology is not only an analytical approach but also the object of investigation.

Secondly, we seek to connect separated philological fields and academic disciplines. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the reorganisation of academic institutions led to the formation of distinct (national) philological disciplines (Turner 2014, 231–380). By contrast, philology can be seen as a methodology that unites various humanities such as cultural studies, historical studies, literary studies, and linguistics. To investigate the transcultural encounters as described above requires the (re-)unification of isolated disciplines, for which philology can serve as a common ground. Only through interdisciplinary considerations and knowledge of the different languages involved in transcultural contacts can the necessary contextualisation and groundwork with the sources be accomplished. In doing so, "connecting philologists" must be aware of the biases of their own discipline – biases rooted in nationalistic formation processes and shaped by hegemonial global structures, which persist even today.[31] To overcome these inherited biases, self-reflection and a reorientation of our respective disciplines are unavoidable. This necessitates a critical investigation of the history of philology in particular, as well as its connections to the humanities in general.

Thirdly, Connected Philology critically examines the conditions under which conclusions and insights are reached. A recurring epistemic issue that arises in the study of transcultural encounters is that the texts resulting from these contacts often themselves reflect underlying power dynamics and the interests of a hegemonic culture. Scholars trying to trace cultural influences will thus frequently find that definitive proof of particular encounters is elusive. This lack of evidence points to a broader epistemological problem in philology. Since the nineteenth century, the (often polemical) rhetoric of *Editionsphilologie* [editorial philology] has demanded positive proof for the methods applied.[32] Although this expectation still persists in contemporary philology, the field has never actually been able to supply such definitive evidence

continuous "western" academic appropriation of "other" cultures, namely that of translation (1994, 31–39).

31 For a critical examination of the colonialist character of philology as a discipline, see Ahmed (2018, esp. 17–50).

32 This tendency resulted from the 'scientification' of the subject and the desire to distance it from the strongly subjective divinatory methods of editing that still dominated philology at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Bremer and Wirth 2010, 16–20).

but rather works towards establishing plausibility.[33] In this sense, philology is no exception within the humanities. However, by investigating transcultural encounters and reflecting on the limitations of knowledge production, Connected Philology can challenge this positivist bias and contribute to the epistemology of the humanities as a whole by shedding light on the conditions of transcultural contacts and their wider methodological implications.

To summarise, we propose to consider the objectives of Connected Philology in light of three dimensions: we aim, firstly, to examine connections between different cultural spheres by scrutinising the texts that resulted from their interactions; secondly, to connect different disciplines to overcome "academic nationalism"; and thirdly, to reflect on the epistemological problems of drawing these connections. By focusing on transcultural encounters, we hope in particular to encourage further investigations of texts that have tended to be neglected by their disciplines, following the example of many of the contributions convened in this volume. These contributions look at texts that have often been excluded from the canons used to construct national identities; texts written in several languages, one hybrid language, or a koiné language, for example, were considered unsuitable for nationalist purposes (as well as defying the modularity of individual philological disciplines). In some cases, they have even been exposed to censorship or have been modified to enforce an alignment with ideological desiderata. By consciously examining such material, Connected Philology can highlight the dynamic nature of cultural exchanges, especially challenging the persistent notion of unidirectional influences from hegemonial cultures. This volume demonstrates that cultural contacts are very much reciprocal: transmitted cultural traits, ideas, or artefacts are not simply passively received but actively reshaped and reinterpreted to suit their new cultural environments, where they are acculturated and integrated. Connected Philology furthermore addresses the inherent structure of academic disciplines. By shedding light on intersections and overlaps between different spheres of philology, the contributions gathered in this volume demonstrate the potential of combined approaches, each linking two or more disciplines.[34] Connected Philology thus invites scholars to explore necessary interdisciplinary approaches in their work. Detailed expertise remains essential for rigorous academic inquiry. Nevertheless, the strength of Connected Philology lies precisely in bringing together a range of different fields of knowledge. As a result, different textual cultures across the globe and various historical periods are connected in research.

33 In reference to the human sciences (and implicitly the humanities), Carlo Ginzburg (1986 [1979], 165) speaks of the epistemological model of the "paradigma indiziario" [paradigm of circumstantial evidence] for the development of different strategies to generate plausibility, see Förster and Schwandt (2024). Even in the context of editorial philology, the subjective element of textual construction can never be completely eliminated, as recent reflections on editorial practice have also shown (see Martens 1991, esp. 19–26).

34 Cf. n. 20.

In developing Connected Philology, we have profited immensely from the inspiring insights and spirited discussions provided by our contributors, who actively engaged this concept and helped us substantiate it. Their contributions to this volume, which we will outline below, attest to the manifold ways in which this approach can be conceived and applied in concrete studies. Thus, Connected Philology not only ties together the individual voices in this volume but reflects our shared goal to contribute to an interdisciplinary approach that combines different traditions of knowledge and modern reflections on philology.

The chapters in this volume unite a common perspective that is directed towards the examined materials instead of being organised chronologically or according to regional or thematic aspects. The chapters of the first section, ***Single Words in Cultural Transfer Processes***, adopt a micro-perspective and are therefore linked by their methodological focus on individual words or syntagmata. In situations of contact, foreign concepts are either expressed in another language, or existing word meanings are reconceptualised. In these inter- and intralingual translations,[35] philological analysis can reveal the effects of transcultural encounters on a linguistic level. In undertaking this task, the chapters in this section do not merely present certain linguistic or cultural translations; rather, they meticulously trace how specific new impulses in the translation process give rise to new, independent texts through connotations, which are able to perform different functions in their new context. It is through the utilisation of this “classical” philological lens that new outcomes emerge during the analysis of dictionaries, translations, and rewritings.

Federica Venturi examines the methods of the Capuchin Francesco Orazio della Penna (1680–1745), who compiled a Tibetan-Italian-Tibetan dictionary. Venturi analyses how Della Penna ventured to translate unfamiliar cultural concepts he encountered in his mission to Tibet into the linguistic conventions of Christian Europe by adapting Tibetan Buddhist expressions. Merging the fields of history and philology, Venturi thus highlights the reciprocal nature of cultural exchange. **Chia-Wei Lin** investigates the rendering of Buddhist concepts into Arabic and Persian. Her linguistic analysis of the Buddha’s biography translated in Rašīd al-Dīn’s *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* shows how the text was adapted to make it accessible to a Muslim audience. This *interpretatio Islamica* testifies to multilingual, intercultural exchanges involving sources from Tibetan, Chinese, and Uyghur-Mongolian Buddhist traditions. While the first two chapters in the section thus adopt a historical perspective, **Jonas Müller** focuses on the construction of identity within the biblical New Testament. He examines how the apostle Paul created a new Christian identity by drawing on narratives of Abraham, the ancestor of the Israelites. In his analysis, Müller highlights how individual words that convey social, religious, cultural, or gender distinctions are combined to establish a unified Christian identity, accommodating both the cultural preconditions of Paul’s

35 Cf. the classification of translations by Jakobson (1959, 233).

audience as well as his articulation of Christ as both object and subject of cultural transfer. This study shows how the representation of cultural encounters can be used to construct new identities by drawing on and redefining pre-existing philological traditions.

The chapters of the second section are marked by their focus on the pivotal role of ***Textual Networks and Transcultural Encounters***. Here, in contrast to the first section, the authors do not emphasise the transformation of individual words and concepts. Instead, the chapters demonstrate how transregional textual networks evolved in different periods between and within (sub)continents. This approach thus transcends individual connections. A particular challenge is that, in addition to written traditions, oral traditions can also be translated, reformulated, and combined in the process of retextualisation, with intermediate versions being lost in the process. Additionally, texts are often transmitted centuries after they were actually written. The outcomes of transcultural encounters make it particularly clear that specific texts can be regarded as nodes in these textual networks.

Andrea Acri examines Old Javanese Śaiva literature to trace transregional textual connections between the Indian subcontinent and the neighbouring islands of Java and Bali. By analysing allusions to and citations of Sanskrit texts in the Old Javanese writings, Acri reveals the networks that linked these regions, as well as evaluating the depth of Indian literary knowledge in Java and Bali. While the Sanskrit texts were frequently adapted to suit their new textual environment, their inclusion into Śaiva literature could also entail normative influence. Advancing scholarly self-reflection, **Max Deeg** addresses the epistemological problems behind the analysis of transcultural encounters. He investigates the manner in which the Chinese monk and traveller Xuanzang 玄奘 (600/602–664) not only translated Indian Buddhist texts but also constructed a vision of India in his *Record of the Western Regions of the Great Tang* (*Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記). Deeg notes that such acts of translation involve a “hermeneutic double bottom,” as two cultural contexts (in his case, those of India and China) are superimposed in one text. According to Deeg, Connected Philology must therefore address both contexts in order to grasp the philological practices underlying these textual traditions. This also requires strictly dividing the examined discourses into emic and etic levels. The third chapter in the section shifts the focus to Europe in the Middle Ages: **Korinna Gonschorek**’s study delves into the interplay between Celtic mythology and Christian adaptation, analysing the depiction of male fairies in medieval literature across Old French, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English. Combining philological disciplines (English and Romance Studies), she highlights both similarities and differences that emerge from networks of knowledge, which can only be grasped through their manifestation in literary texts.

The third section, ***History and Politics of Connected and Connecting Philology***, focuses on (in these cases more recent) interactions between individual actors, their philological practices, and society. Here, the political dimension of philology in transcultural contacts becomes evident. Philological practices cannot be regarded in isolation from their socio-historical contexts. In line with this, the chapters in this section demonstrate that philological practices leave traces on a personal and trans-individual level. They are a central component of social interaction and social discourses, including disputes, oppression, censorship, and other conflicts. Additionally, the chapters highlight that philology establishes connections between individuals and groups, thereby facilitating social innovation.

Delving into the history of science, **Nikola Wenner** examines the contact between two scholars in the early 1930s: the Egyptologist James Henry Breasted (Chicago) and Assyriologist Bruno Meissner (Berlin) represented different institutions with distinct aims regarding the development of their Assyrian dictionaries. Although their exchange at first did not culminate in cooperation or collaboration, the connection they established served to support each other's lexicographical works. In this regard, Wenner understands Connected Philology in the literal sense of two connected philological projects. Using three examples from Soviet and Dutch resistance literature, **Natalia Kamovnikova** shows how writing against a regime channels collective and individual trauma. She combines Comparative Literary Studies, (Psycho)Linguistics, and Psychology – an example of interdisciplinarity, showing how philology makes the unspeakable apparent. Kamovnikova also reevaluates cultural hegemony: resistance and trauma literature emerge as cultural subsystems that deconstruct dominant cultural narratives, even as these narratives are constructed within the literary text. This demonstrates that transcultural encounters exist within cultural systems that might initially appear monolithic, such as "*the* Soviet Union of the 1960s." Focusing on the institution of theatre, **Mert Moralı** uses the introduction of Brecht's epic theatre to Türkiye in the 1950s and 1960s to point out how specific stakeholders played a decisive role in the gradual establishment of a new dramatic tradition. Moralı uses Even-Zohar's concept of the polysystem to provide a micro-perspective on translation history, illustrating that the translation and the source text can fulfil different functions in cultural contact situations. He further notes that Turkish theatre drew on the older Ottoman tradition of puppet theatre, blending influences from the hegemonial "western" culture with traditional cultural techniques to create a new hybrid form. By analysing various paratexts, Moralı also demonstrates how the philological practices of translation, commentary, and rewriting were used to establish a new genre while also serving as a means of political expression.

With this volume, we are honoured to present a wide range of interdisciplinary studies covering topics of great diversity regarding both the cultural and temporal spheres. Though much work remains to be done in connecting philologies,[36] we are

36 It remains to be acknowledged that many cultural spheres are left untouched by the specific contributions of this volume. Trying our best to break up the hegemony of Eurocentrism in a field that emerged and was originally developed in France and Germany, we have unfortunately been unable to include contributions on African, Oceanic, and South American philological practices. These fields are generally and structurally under-represented in the study of textual cultures, and future studies thankful to our contributors for their hard work in establishing the first test cases of this approach. We are thankful to our contributors, who face the challenge of reconciling the requirements of their respective disciplines with interdisciplinary comprehensibility. The chapters in this volume show how the focus on philological practices can help us understand transcultural encounters and reconsider their academic investigation. The present volume may thus provide a model for the practical implementation of Connected Philology in research regarding aspects of diversity and accessibility. We hope this will spark fruitful discussions, sustaining the "new popularity" that philology has gained in recent decades.

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on Connected Philology should aim at changing this tendency, as the lack of insights derived from such cultures is by no means due to a lack in features of interest.

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Single Words in Cultural Transfer Processes

Federica Venturi

Himalayan Encounters

Philological Practices in Reading Orazio della Penna's (1680–1745) Tibetan-Italian-Tibetan Dictionary

Abstract: This chapter examines some of the methodological practices employed in the compilation of the Tibetan-Italian-Tibetan dictionary by Francesco Orazio della Penna (1680–1745), an Italian Capuchin friar sent on an apostolic mission to Tibet. It shows how an in-depth examination of the dictionary entries reveals important details about Della Penna's encounter with the Tibetan language. Considered within their historical context, these entries illustrate the author's methods of approaching, deciphering, and translating cultural concepts that were often entirely unfamiliar to him. At the same time, they demonstrate his malleability in repurposing Tibetan Buddhist expressions to render Christian concepts, as well as his efforts to render Buddhist ideas comprehensible to a Western, Catholic audience. In so doing, this chapter shows that a philologically oriented reading of the dictionary allows us to reconstruct how it was created and to document aspects of this early encounter between Tibet and the West.

Keywords: transcultural exchange, translation, conversion (cultural concept), dictionary-writing, interreligious encounters

1 Introduction

After the European exploration and settlement of the Western Hemisphere, the production of bilingual dictionaries of "exotic" extra-European languages became increasingly common. In fact, the need to communicate with newly encountered populations inhabiting the areas explored by Europeans stimulated efforts to create

Note: I would like to thank Mr Elio Marini for providing access to the manuscripts discussed here, and to the nuns of the Augustinian monastery of Sant'Antonio da Padova in Pennabilli (Rimini, Italy), for providing the photo of the portrait of Orazio della Penna shown in Figure 1. I would also like to thank Michael Sweet and Leonard Zwilling for their useful editorial suggestions, as well as the editors of this volume and the organisers of the interdisciplinary conference "Beyond Comparison: Towards a Connected Philology," for their unparalleled professionalism.

Note: In this chapter Tibetan terms are rendered in English phonetic transcription, followed in parenthesis by transliteration according to the Wylie system. The transliteration is always in italics, unless it renders a proper name; in transliteration proper names capitalise the first letter instead of the root letter.

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lexicons and compile grammars of their languages.[1] The resulting vocabularies and grammatical treatises were often written by Catholic missionaries, who had an interest in acquiring the vernacular of a given region rapidly and accurately in order to spread the Gospel among indigenous populations. Missionaries were also uniquely qualified to compile these texts, as they possessed the grammatical knowledge to attempt a structural analysis of these languages, and thus generally included grammatical explanations in their bilingual dictionaries.[2] Because these early dictionaries can be tentative and inexact, or even reveal their authors' judgmental stance towards the language and culture they were trying to interpret, they have often been considered unreliable and obsolete, so that they have been effectively "associated with the penumbra of libraries" (Bussotti and Lachaud 2023, 11) and overlooked as an object of study.[3] On the contrary, missionary dictionaries offer a generally unfiltered illustration of the first encounter between their writer and the language (and culture) the writer was trying to interpret. They contain hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of words that bear witness to the varied environments, circumstances, and people encountered by the writer, including the possible misunderstandings that may have occurred, particularly concerning objects, behaviours, or situations that, because of deep cultural differences, may have struck the writer as peculiar or downright bizarre. It is thus that these missionary dictionaries can be studied not only from a linguistic viewpoint but also as sources with which to reconstruct the cultural encounters that occurred between vastly different societies at the time they came in contact. As a result, these texts have finally started to attract the attention of scholars. At first, interest in the dictionaries and grammars compiled by missionaries was primarily linguistic, and largely devoted to the pre-colonial languages of America (Troiani 1995; Hovdhaugen 1996; Zimmermann 1997). Beginning with the first conference of the Oslo

1 Among the first witnesses of European attempts to communicate with the populations they encountered in their explorations are the *cadernos*, i.e. notebooks in which travellers jotted down vernacular words in indigenous languages and their relative translation (or attempt at translation). These were already being created during the first circumnavigation of the world by Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521) and have been rightly called "precursors" of the early dictionaries. These were soon flanked by *cartinhas*, or *cartilhas*, syllabaries for teaching Portuguese (and thus facilitate evangelisation). On *cadernos* and *cartinhas*, see Couto (2023, 24–27).

2 Since the missionaries had all been similarly trained in Latin and Greek, in general they used the grammar and syntax of these languages as the standards for deciphering the various idioms they encountered. For discussions on the use of Latin and Greek grammar as a basis for interpreting completely unrelated languages, see e.g. Gray (2000, 932); Klöter (2017, 43); Ostler (2004, 44).

3 Barreto Xavier and Županov (2015) have convincingly argued that many of the cultural categories still associated with Asia today were first understood and systematised by Catholic missionaries. However, their contributions were eventually fully subsumed and overshadowed by the influential work of British Oriental studies, leading to the missionaries' original contribution being either forgotten or, when acknowledged, regarded as suspiciously bigoted and partisan. As we will see below, the same process occurred on a smaller scale for the Tibetan-Italian-Tibetan dictionary written by Father Orazio della Penna.

Project on Missionary Linguistics (Zwartjes and Hovdhaugen 2004), “missionary linguistics” effectively solidified as a recognised and vibrant subfield (Zwartjes 2012, 185), spurring an ongoing series of international conferences on the topic. The initial focus on Mesoamerican languages, however, delayed research into missionary dictionaries of Asian languages. An important study devoted to missionary work in Asia and employing a broader lens than the exclusively linguistic one was published in 2011 (Filliozat et al.), while the first Oslo Project on Missionary Linguistics conference specifically dedicated to Asian languages took place in 2018 (Zwartjes and De Troia 2021). More recently, the excellent work of Bussotti and Lachaud, which emphasises the polyvalent scope of these “word-hoards” (2023, 11), studies a number of early bilingual (and often bidirectional) dictionaries from a multidisciplinary perspective: of Chinese to Spanish, Latin, and Italian; of Japanese to Latin, Portuguese, and Russian; of Cantonese to English; of the Hokkien vernacular of the Philippines to Spanish, and finally of the Konkani language of the area of Goa to Portuguese. Most of the texts discussed were authored by Catholic missionaries,[4] and the spectrum of Asian and European languages covered is indeed impressive. Only a few Asian regions are absent from the volume,[5] and among them the editors specifically acknowledge the omission of Tibet (Bussotti and Lachaud 2023, 15 n. 13).

In fairness, the simplest reason why Tibet is missing from such a comprehensive collection is that, until very recently, all the missionary dictionaries of Tibetan ever written were thought to have been lost. In addition, while there are a few “early” (pre-twentieth-century) bilingual dictionaries of Tibetan,[6] none of them has yet been undertaken as the object of study. This chapter addresses the absence of Tibet from the general panorama of European lexicons of Asian languages by introducing the earliest surviving bilingual dictionary of the Tibetan language into a modern Western language: the Tibetan-Italian and Italian-Tibetan dictionary compiled by the Capuchin

4 Bussotti and Lachaud (2023, 15) state that “missionaries and dictionaries were intimately connected.”

5 The sheer volume of works produced by the missionaries sent to China ensures that dictionaries of Sinitic languages are among the most extensively studied. González Linaje (2023, 179 n. 22) estimates that “from the 16th century to 1799, 1680 titles on China were published in Europe.” Other regions, such as Korea – where the influence of Christianity arrived relatively late compared to India, China, and Japan – have generally received less attention, but see Kiaer and Yu (2022) on a translation of the Bible from English to Korean.

6 These were: Schröter (1826), Csoma de Körös (1834), Jäschke (1998 [1881]), and Das (1991 [1902]). These are scientifically conceived and by and large written according to standard lexicographic usage. As first hypothesised in Jäschke (1998 [1881], v) and shown in Bray (2008 and 2011) and Venturi (2023, 54–56), Schröter’s dictionary is a partial copy, translated into English, of Della Penna’s, although at this stage it is unknown to what extent. The last two dictionaries of the above list, those of Jäschke (1998 [1881]) and Das (1991 [1902]), are still widely used among Tibetologists today. On the Western tradition of Tibetan lexicography, see Goldstein (1991, 2549–2550), though it omits Schröter (1826), as well as the eighteenth-century Capuchin attempts.

Father Francesco Orazio della Penna (1680–1745), which has recently come to light (Venturi 2023). In so doing, it shows that the Tibetan language was also the object of study by Catholic missionaries and highlights the importance of this early dictionary as a tool providing a time snapshot of Tibet in the early eighteenth century, as seen and experienced by Della Penna. Furthermore, this chapter also aims to illustrate the philology-based methodology being employed to study this dictionary, offering a set of questions which, I propose, can also be applied to other early bilingual dictionaries of extra-European languages.

2 The context of the Italian missions to Tibet

First, it is necessary provide some essential context for the topic at hand. The text under discussion is a Tibetan-Italian and Italian-Tibetan dictionary, compiled approximately between 1717 and the late 1730s by Francesco Orazio della Penna (Figure 1), who had been sent to Tibet on an apostolic mission under the auspices of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (hereafter shortened to Propaganda Fide), the office of the Holy See created in 1622 to promote worldwide evangelisation.[7] Orazio della Penna was not the first Catholic missionary on the Tibetan plateau. He had been preceded, almost a century before his arrival, by two isolated Jesuit attempts: one in the West of the Tibetan plateau[8] and another in South-Central Tibet.[9] Although these missions were unsuccessful in terms of evangelisation, they sparked European curiosity about Tibet through the publication of a report titled *Novo descobrimiento do gram Cathayo, ou reynos do Tibet*, which was quickly translated into Spanish, French, Italian, and German.[10] By 1703, however, the memory of these earlier efforts by the Society of Jesus had faded, while suspicion of the Jesuit order's methods had grown, so that Pope Clement XI (r. 1700–1721) approved Propaganda Fide's decision to grant the missionary field of Tibet to the Capuchin order, specifically to the Capuchin friars from the Marche province in eastern Central Italy.[11]

7 On the foundation of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, see Metzler (1971, vol. 1, 79–111); for context see also Pizzorusso (2022, 1–34).

8 This was Antonio de Andrade's mission to the town of Tsaparang in the region of Guge that lasted from 1624 to 1632. On this mission, see Wessels (1924, 43–119); Sweet and Zwilling (2017); Hosne (2018, 255–260).

9 The mission of Estevão Cacella and João Cabral took place at almost the same time as that of Andrade, and reached the town of Shigatse between 1626 and 1635; see Wessels (1924, 120–163).

10 See Hosne (2018, 256). A scanned copy of the original Portuguese publication of Andrade's report can be found here: https://china-bibliographie.univie.ac.at/2011/01/18/andrade-novo-descobrimento-do-gram-catayo-ou-reinos-de-tibet/ (25 April 2023).

11 A combination of factors led to the selection of the Capuchin order, particularly the Marche province, for this task. Chief among them was the role of Father François Marie de Tours (d. 1709), who, after an extended stay in India, lobbied for the opening of a mission to Tibet in hopes that the French

Figure 1: Giovanni Bistolli, Portrait of Fr. Francesco Orazio della Penna de' Billi (oil on canvas, 1736). Monastero Agostiniane Sant'Antonio da Padova, Pennabilli (Rimini, Italy).

The first group of Capuchin missionaries arrived in Lhasa in 1709[12] and began compiling a Latin-Tibetan dictionary. Their mission concluded in 1711 due to a severe lack of funds.[13] But while records show that the manuscript of this bilingual dictionary was brought back to Rome, it has never been found, and is now presumed lost. Fortunately, the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris preserves a forty-one-folio extract of it.[14] However, it is considered "a very rough work [. . .] with several mistakes

Capuchins would receive the assignment. Instead, Propaganda Fide entrusted the task to the friars of the Marche province, a region that was part of the Papal state, thus ensuring the loyalty of its friars to Propaganda Fide, whereas the French missionaries' allegiance might have been compromised by interference from the French crown. On the decision to assign the mission of Tibet to the Capuchins, see Sweet and Zwilling (2010, 18–24), Gren-Eklund (2022, 86–88); on François Marie de Tours, see Kaschewsky (2020), Gren-Eklund (2022), Wessler (2022); on the conflict between Propaganda Fide and the French crown on questions of authority on the missions, see Pizzorusso (2022, 231–246).

12 The group included François-Marie de Tours, Giuseppe da Ascoli (1673–1710), and Domenico da Fano (1674–1728).

13 Because of the enormous distance and the many currency exchanges required to convert Roman money into coinage accepted in Tibet, the annual funds that were supposed to be transmitted from Rome either failed to arrive in Lhasa or arrived very late and significantly reduced in value. The letters of the Capuchin missionaries testify to the resulting issues with starvation and indebtedness. See e.g. Petech (1952–1956 (hereafter *MITN*), vol. 1, xci).

14 Départements des Manuscrits, Tibétain 542 (https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b541005425/f11.item, 25 April 2023). It comprises four folios of explanation of the alphabet and thirty-six folios with the Latin-Tibetan entries. Its title reads: *Vocabulario Thibettiano scritto con caratteri propri ed esplicato con lettere latine, e modo di pronunciarlo; estratto dal Padre Domenico da Fano Capucino dal Dizionario, ch'egli haveva fatto e portato in Europa, quando venne l'anno 1714. Per informare la Sacra Congregazione de propaganda fide dello stato di quella Novella Missione per trattarne in Roma lo stabilimento di essa Missione* [Tibetan Vocabulary written with its own characters and explicated with Latin letters, and the way to pronounce it; excerpted by Father Domenico da Fano from the Dictionary which he had made and brought to Europe, in the year 1714, to inform the Sacred Congregation for the propagation of the faith of the state of the New Mission [and] to discuss in Rome the establishment of this Mission]; all translations are my own.

The intriguing story of this extract has been reconstructed in Zaytsev (2021) and should be summarised here. When Domenico da Fano left Tibet in 1711, he made his way to Rome, bringing the dictionary with him. While passing through Paris, he received the request by Nicolas Fréret for a copy of the dictionary, which Da Fano made in Rome, but copying only the entries of which he was confident (f. 4v; see n. 17 below). On his return journey to Tibet, he delivered the extract to Fréret when he passed through Paris again in December 1714 or January 1715. Incidentally, Nicolas Fréret (1688–1749) was a pioneering scholar of Chinese, who had studied this language under the tutelage of Arcadio Huang (Ch.: 黃嘉略, Huang Jialüe, 1679–1716), a Christian convert from Fujian who had been brought to study in Paris by the Société des Missions Etrangères de Paris.

Fréret found a use for the Da Fano dictionary when, around 1722, an unexpected text made its way into his hands: a portion of a Tibetan manuscript found in an abandoned monastery near Semipalatinsk (now Semey, in Kazakhstan). This text had been presented to Peter the Great (1672–1725), the Emperor of Russia, who was looking for specialists able to decipher its language. Fréret recognised the script as the same used in Da Fano's dictionary and consulted with the Fourmont brothers, Etiènne (1683–1745) and Michel (1690–1746), in order to translate it using the Da Fano dictionary itself. During and misunderstandings,"[15] and the only known translation of a Tibetan text made using this dictionary is riddled with mistakes.[16] Furthermore, a late eighteenth-century copy of this extract, with the order of the entries changed to a Tibetan-Latin format, is preserved at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich.[17]

It seems that although Della Penna had only arrived in Lhasa on 1 October 1716, by mid-February 1717, he was already working with Domenico da Fano "to prepare a very copious dictionary, all drawn from their [the Tibetans'] books."[18] From another letter, we learn that by 1721 the manuscript was advanced enough that a copy was sent to Rome with Father Domenico da Fano (1674–1728), who, however, died in Bengal and never reached Italy.[19] By 1738, Orazio della Penna himself estimated that his dictionary comprised about 35,000 words, including both the Tibetan-Italian and the Italian-Tibetan sections.[20]

However, because Della Penna died in Nepal, the fruits of his labour never arrived in Italy. After his death and the termination of the Capuchin missions in Tibet and Nepal,[21] the dictionary manuscripts endured a complicated series of handovers,

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this process, the Fourmont brothers made a copy of the extract by Da Fano, which is also kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Département des Manuscrits, Tibétain 486). However, the copy is very roughly done, especially since it is evident that the scribe did not have any training in writing the Tibetan script, and consequently this is either entirely absent or very poorly formed.

15 Translated from the original Italian in *MITN* (vol. 1, xcii). Still, Domenico da Fano, the author of the extract, stated that he only copied the words about which he was certain from the dictionary: "Quello che sta notato nel vocabulario l'hò estratto dal Dizzionario che co gli altri missionarii feci prima di partire per Roma, di cui hò scelte quelle cose, delle quali ho stimato esserne più certo del loro significato . . ." (f. 4v) [What is written in the vocabulary I have excerpted from the Dictionary that I did together with the other missionaries before leaving for Rome; from this I have chosen those items of which I thought I was more certain of their meaning]; also transcribed in *MITN* (vol. 1, xci).

16 See Sizova (2021); Zaytsev (2021). This is not surprising, as Petech had already described the extract by Da Fano as quite problematic in 1952 (*MITN* vol.1, xcii).

17 This copy was made by Michel-Ange-André Le Roux Deshauterayes (1724–1795), a nephew of the Fourmont brothers and professor of Arabic at the Collège Royale (now Collège de France).

The manuscript is now held by the Staatsbibliothek in Munich (BSB Cod.tibet.10, https://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0009/bsb00094600/images/index.html?id=00094600&groesser=&fip=193.174.98.30&no=&seite=7, 26 April 2023).

18 "Noi fra tanto ci prepariamo con fare un copioso dizionario tutto cavato da' loro libri" [In the meantime we are preparing to make a large dictionary, all derived from their books], excerpt from a letter (CL. 33) written by Domenico da Fano in Lhasa on 15 February 1717 (*MITN* vol. 1, 83–86, quotation at 84–85). This letter shows that, at least at this point, the two were collaborating.

19 Letter written by Fr. Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia (1684–1764); see Venturi (2023, 51–53). He was in Lhasa between 1721 and 1733 and from January to October 1741 (*MITN* vol. 1, cxv).

20 See *MITN* (vol. 3, 88 and 154). Also consider that Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia estimated the number of the dictionary's entries at "over 30,000" (*MITN* vol. 3, 212).

21 The mission to Tibet proper, which included Lhasa and a smaller residence in Dakpo (Dwags po) – established primarily to grow grapes to make wine for the Mass – was definitively closed in 1745 with the departure of Orazio della Penna. The missions in Nepal were closed in 1769 but were sporadically reopened several times until 1810. However, the lower calibre of the missionaries, the changing politilosses, accidental recoveries, and further losses in the north of the Indian subcontinent,[22] until they were eventually forgotten. By a stroke of luck, they were rediscovered in India at the beginning of this century by a non-professional historian with an interest in the life and works of Della Penna, and it is only recently that an agreement has been reached to allow these manuscripts to be utilised for research purposes.[23]

3 Della Penna's Tibetan-Italian and Italian-Tibetan Dictionary

3.1 General description

The texts that have survived comprise three manuscripts: two are autographs by Della Penna, one Tibetan-Italian and the other Italian-Tibetan, both written on Tibetan paper. The Tibetan-Italian manuscript consists of 193 unnumbered folios and it has lost some of the initial and final pages, which contained part of the first (*ka*), and the last two letters (*ha*, *a*) of the Tibetan alphabet. The Italian-Tibetan manuscript, containing 218 unnumbered folios, spans from approximately the middle of letter *N* to *Z*. The third manuscript is a copy of the Italian-Tibetan dictionary, written by several different hands on European paper. This copy was likely made at one of the Capuchin missions in northern India, probably at the end of the eighteenth century, when there was still hope of reopening a mission in Lhasa. Fortunately, this copy supplements the missing parts of the autograph Italian-Tibetan manuscript, as its 427 folios include the letters from *A* to *S*. The following is a preliminary report of some of the more salient features of these manuscripts; a complete study of these texts is planned and will appear in the future.

Judging from the organisation and the appearance of the manuscript, the Tibetan-Italian autograph dictionary appears to be a first draft. The Tibetan entries are grouped together roughly in alphabetical order, with individual groups of thematically related words often separated by a horizontal line. This line is normally followed by a section of blank space, evidently to allow for the possibility of adding more en-

cal circumstances, and the persistent difficulties in receiving financial support from Rome contributed to the general decline of the enterprise. Despite this, the name "mission of Tibet" continued to be used in official papers of Propaganda Fide well into the nineteenth century, even though the only stable missions in the area were those of Chandernagor (near Calcutta, in Bengal), Patna and Bettiah (both in Bihar).

22 The history of the surviving manuscripts of Della Penna's dictionary is recounted in Venturi (2023).

23 The story of Della Penna's dictionary exemplifies the statement by Bussotti and Lachaud that "the afterlives of these pioneering works show that most of the time they were consigned to the artificial slumber of libraries until their rediscovery by modern scholars" (2023, 15).

tries.[24] The handwriting overall appears slipshod, as if done in rushed note-taking, possibly on uneven surfaces or in an uncomfortable position. Frequent abbreviation marks are used in the Italian cursive (Figure 2).[25] The Tibetan script may also have been written by Della Penna – a hypothesis that arises from a comparison of the Tibetan portion of the two sections. The Tibetan calligraphy of the Italian-Tibetan manuscript is elegant and precise, suggesting it was the work of an amanuensis specifically hired for the task (Figure 3).[26]

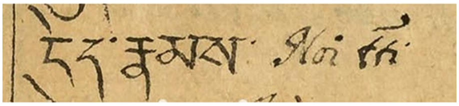

Figure 2: Example of abbreviation for the word "tutti" in Italian; in Francesco Orazio della Penna, [Dizionario Tibetano-Italiano], private collection, unnumbered folio.

Concerning the content, the most noteworthy aspect of both dictionaries is that rather than being mere wordlists, they contain sentences that open a window to the activities of Della Penna and the other Capuchin missionaries in Lhasa, thus reflecting the local vernacular and offering glimpses into the environment, nature, and society in which the Italian missionaries were immersed. In particular, several[27] of the longer sentences appear to be quotes extracted from Buddhist sources that Della Penna was reading under the tutelage of a Tibetan master and, for a period, alongside his "colleague" and rival, Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733) of the Society of Jesus.

3.2 Learning Tibetan: Orazio della Penna and Ippolito Desideri

At this point, a brief parenthesis on Desideri is warranted, as he is the best-known and most famous of the Italian Catholic missionaries to Tibet.[28] As mentioned earlier, the Jesuits made the first attempts at evangelisation in Tibet in the seventeenth cen-

24 This practice is common to many early bilingual dictionaries; as Couto (2023, 38) has observed, these texts were "conceived to be able to evolve."

25 This was a common practice at the time, particularly of missionaries who were trying to save paper.

26 Missionary documents occasionally refer to the expenses sustained to hire Tibetan scribes; see e.g. *MITN* (vol. 1, 50).

27 The total number of pages of all three texts amounts to 1670, with about thirty-five to forty entries per page in the Tibetan-Italian section, around thirty entries per page in the autograph Italian-Tibetan section, and circa twenty entries per page in the copy of the Italian-Tibetan. Since this research is still in its early stages, I cannot yet provide complete data or statistics but can only offer a preliminary assessment.

28 The details of Desideri's experience in Tibet are fairly well known and will not be repeated here; his original travel account, in Italian, has been reconstructed from the surviving manuscripts, transcribed and fully annotated in entirety in *MITN* (vol. 5, 122–219; vol. 6; vol. 7, 3–193). For a full English edition and translation supplemented by an exhaustive introduction and footnotes, see Desideri (2010,

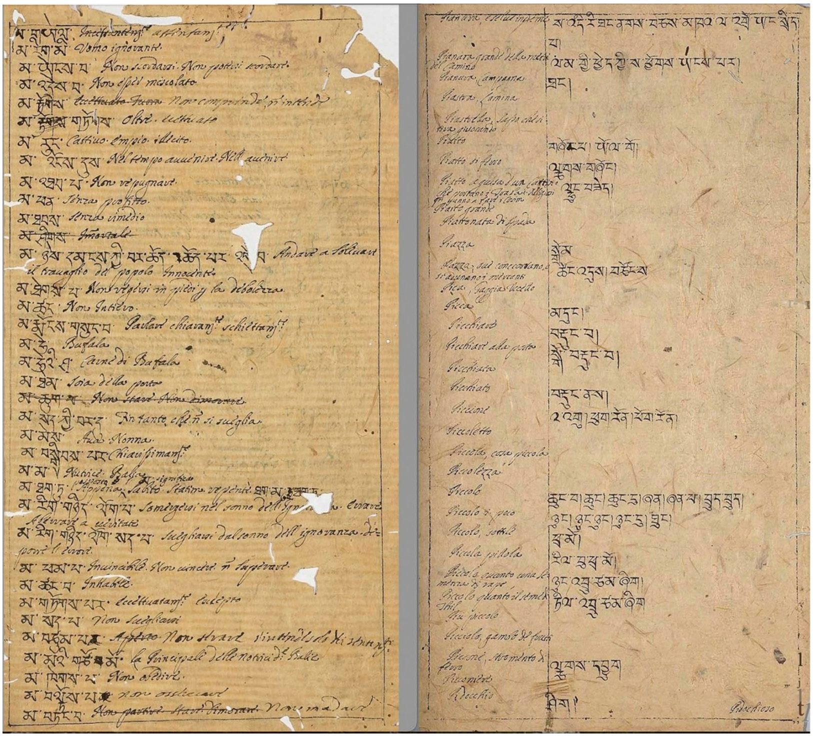

Figure 3: A page of the Tibetan-Italian dictionary (left) and of the Italian-Tibetan dictionary (right); in Francesco Orazio della Penna, [Dizionario Tibetano-Italiano] and [Dizionario Italiano-Tibetano], private collection, unnumbered folios.

tury. However, in 1703, Pope Clement XI both condemned the Society of Jesus for its tolerance of local cultural traditions in Malabar and China[29] and assigned the missionary field of Tibet to the Capuchin order. The latter directive may have spurred the Society of Jesus to attempt to reassert its claim on the region, although by this time the location of the *reynos do Tibet* discussed by de Andrade was quite uncertain.

Still, in 1712, Ippolito Desideri was sent to re-establish a Jesuit presence in "Tibet."[30] However, mistaken geographical notions and a series of circumstantial rea-

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ed. Zwilling, tr. Sweet). Two important studies on Desideri's work are Pomplun (2010) and Lopez and Jinpa (2017).

29 The literature on the controversies about the Chinese and Malabaric rites is vast; for a recently edited volume that considers aspects of both, see Županov and Fabre (2018).

30 Before arriving in Lhasa, Desideri had only heard of two regions of Tibet: "Little Tibet" (corresponding to Baltistan) and "Great Tibet" (i.e. Western Tibet, including Ladakh), but did not know about the "third Tibet," i.e. Central Tibet. See Desideri's letter transcribed in *MITN* (vol. 5, 22–32, quotation at 23).

sons led him to arrive in Lhasa four years later, on 18 March 1716.[31] One can imagine his astonishment when, only six and a half months later, on 1 October, a small group of Capuchin friars arrived in the same city. The initial joy at meeting compatriots soon gave way to discomfort over not knowing which of the two religious orders had jurisdiction in Tibet. While letters were immediately sent to Rome to seek clarification, Ippolito Desideri and Orazio della Penna both moved into the monastery of Zhidé (Bzhi sde) at the suggestion of the then lay ruler of Tibet,[32] before later relocating to the large monastic university of Sera.[33] There they took lessons in Tibetan from a Buddhist lama to learn the language from an authoritative source. Their lessons included reading Buddhist texts held in the monastery's library, a task essential for becoming acquainted with the vast scholarship (commentaries, exegesis, etc.) underpinning this religion.

Eventually, news arrived from the authorities in Rome that the mission to Tibet had been assigned to the Capuchin order[34] and on 28 April 1721, Desideri left Lhasa for the last time. Still, his five-year sojourn in Central Tibet yielded a complete and informative account of his travels and experiences in Tibet, as well as five treatises written in Tibetan in which he explains the essential doctrines of Christianity and refutes what he considered to be the fallacies of Tibetan Buddhism.[35]

Although both Della Penna and Desideri studied with the same master, only Della Penna provides the name of their Tibetan teacher. Unfortunately, this is almost all we know about him. His title, "rabjampa" (*rab 'jams pa*), indicates that he was a highly educated member of the Buddhist clergy, having obtained the highest degree in a monastic university, akin to a "doctor of divinity." However, his name, Yonten Ngawang Pelzang (Yon tan ngag dbang dpal bzang), is far too common to give us any precise indication about him. The only additional biographical detail

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31 Desideri travelled with a senior companion, the Portuguese Fr. Manoel Freyre (b. 1679), who was in fact secretly on a mission to gather intelligence about the Capuchin activities in Tibet. Upon reaching Ladakh, Freyre heard of the presence of Europeans in "a third Tibet larger than the other two" (Sweet 2006, 17) and decided they should make their way there. The rumour heard by Freyre evidently referred to the earlier Capuchin expedition to Tibet, which had left Lhasa in 1711. Consequently, when Freyre and Desideri arrived in Lhasa in 1716, they found no Capuchin friars. Desideri, truly devoted to the idea of spreading the Gospel among the locals, decided to remain, while Freyre, having completed his task and exhausted by the difficult and dangerous travels, made his way back to India. A fuller account is given in Sweet (2006, esp. 1–12).

32 At that time, this was Lhazang Khan (Lha bzang khan, d. 1717), who belonged to the Khoshut tribe of the western Mongols or Oirats.

33 Desideri provides a description of Sera at the time when he and Della Penna were studying there. See *MITN* (vol. 6, 29–30).

34 The letter announcing the decision of Propaganda Fide reached him on 13 August 1719; see Pomplun (2011, 411).

35 Four of these have been translated in Italian by Giuseppe Toscano, SJ (1981–1989); a partial English translation of the fifth, which is of monumental length, is included in Lopez and Jinpa (2017). On the Tibetan texts read by Desideri to compose these treatises, see Pomplun (2011).

we can add is that he was a caretaker (*dkon gnyer*) of the Ramoche temple at Zhidé in Lhasa. While Desideri studied with him from 1717 to 1721, Della Penna worked under his guidance for at least fourteen years, as evidenced from a letter written in 1731.[36]

Studying with a Buddhist master helped Desideri refine his critique of the Buddhist religion and enabled Della Penna to compile his dictionary.[37] Indeed, Della Penna may have been as proficient as Desideri in understanding both the Tibetan language and Buddhist philosophy, as we know that he completed five translations of important Christian texts into Tibetan, including a catechism and a book on the life of Jesus, as well as seven translations of Buddhist works into Italian.[38] Unfortunately, none of these have survived. However, an analysis of the dictionary entries can help us reconstruct the method Della Penna used to gather a vast set of terms and expressions useful for translating the precepts of the Christian doctrine, while also decoding the principles of Buddhist philosophy for a Catholic audience.

36 See the letter written by Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia in 1731 (*MITN* vol. 1, 167); his name also appears in the explanation of the prayer "Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ" as the person who had expounded its meaning (*MITN* vol. 4, 172). Additionally, he is mentioned in Agostino Giorgi's *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, published in 1762 and partially based on Orazio Della Penna's accounts (Giorgi 1762, 680, corrected in the corrigenda table at 765). Notably, according to Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia, Yonten Ngawang Pelzang appreciated Catholicism: "Perché il maestro che sono 14 anni che sta con il P. Prefetto con tutti senza timore confessa che la nostra legge è miglior della loro" (*MITN* vol. 1, 167) [Because the teacher, who has been with the Fr. Prefect for 14 years, proclaims to all without fear that our law is better than theirs].
37 Pomplun (2011, 388 n. 10) strongly suggests that Desideri and the Capuchins (particularly Orazio della Penna and Domenico da Fano) collaborated in writing the various treatises composed during their mission in Lhasa. In particular, he proposes that the work that Desideri presented to Lhazang Khan (possibly the one entitled *Tho rangs mun sel nyi ma shar ba'i brda* and translated as *L'Aurora* by Toscano 1981) may have been facilitated by a defence of the Catholic faith completed by Domenico da Fano in 1716. He also posits that "the Jesuit had a large hand in preparing many of the works usually attributed to the Capuchins, such as the dictionary and Italian translation of the *Lam rim chen mo*." At this point in the research on Della Penna's dictionary, it is not possible to confirm this, but in the future, it will be necessary not only to carefully examine the handwriting, but also to compare the translation of Buddhist terms in Italian and of Christian terms in Tibetan, as indicated in Della Penna's dictionary and as used in Desideri's works.
38 These were listed by Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia in a letter written in 1733. The passage is translated in Venturi (2023, 52) but mistakenly omits the very first item of the list, a translation of "the Lam-rim-cenbò, which is the conclusion of all the Tibetan laws and of all their Bible, which comprises 108 large books in folio." See the transcription of the original letter in *MITN* (vol. 1, 171).

3.3 The making of the Tibetan-Italian and Italian-Tibetan Dictionaries, as reconstructed through an analysis of their entries

The long-term aim of Della Penna's effort, and of missionary dictionaries (and grammars) in general, was to create language-learning tools that could be used by prospective missionaries destined for a mission's territory, so that they could begin to study the language before their departure. As the office established by the Holy See to oversee Catholic missionary activities spread around the globe, Propaganda Fide was well organised for the production and dissemination of these didactic materials: in 1626, only four years after it was founded, it had created the Tipografia poliglotta, an institution tasked with printing books useful for evangelisation.[39] Its publications included dictionaries and grammars of the various languages encountered in mission territories, as well as translations of holy books, catechisms, and other doctrinal and liturgical works in the many languages spoken where the Catholic Church had missions. Thus, while Della Penna may have begun to write his dictionary as a personal mnemonic tool for Tibetan words and expressions, in the hopes that it would help him and his fellow missionaries to perform everyday tasks, and eventually also to discuss, baptise, confess, and perform Catholic rituals in Tibetan, he also realised the importance of his pioneering work for future generations of missionaries. Because of this, it was imperative that his translations, if they were to be sent to the printing press,[40] were as correct and trustworthy as possible, from Italian to Tibetan and vice versa.

39 On the Tipografia poliglotta, see Pizzorusso (2004 esp. 484–495), in which this institution is discussed alongside the other major 'cultural satellite' of Propaganda Fide, the Collegio Urbano, a seminary specifically created to instruct the secular clergy originating from the mission territories.

40 It seems likely that as the size of the dictionary increased to thousands of entries, Della Penna began to think of it as a text that could be printed. In fact, in 1732, when he decided to leave Tibet to return to Rome and secure stronger financial support from Propaganda Fide, he was successful not only in obtaining a generous donation from Cardinal Luis Antonio Belluga y Moncada (1662–1743) but also in arranging for Tipografia poliglotta to carve two sets of Tibetan punches for the printing press. One set remained in Rome for the Tipografia poliglotta's use, while the second was brought to Tibet by Della Penna himself when he returned there in 1741, together with a printing press and a lay printmaker, Paolo da Firenze. When the mission was abandoned in 1745, the punches that had been brought to Tibet were left in Lhasa (see *MITN*, vol. 2, 185) and it is likely that they were eventually melted.

Conversely, the set of punches kept in Rome at the Tipografia poliglotta was used to print the *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (first ed. 1759; second, enlarged ed. 1762) by Agostino Antonio Giorgi (1711–1797), which was drawn from Orazio della Penna's accounts and became the main reference on Tibetan culture and mores up to the nineteenth century. However, the punches were eventually brought to Paris, together with many other typographic matrices and materials removed from Propaganda Fide in the period between 1792 and 1815, and they are now held at the Atelier du Livre d'Art et de l'Estampe of the French Imprimerie Nationale. On Tibetan typefaces, see de Baerdemaeker (2020); for a reconstruc-

To perform this bidirectional work of interpretation, Della Penna extracted from the Buddhist texts he was reading at the monastery of Sera a number of sentences that could be useful either to render comprehensible Buddhist ideas in Italian or to translate Christian concepts in Tibetan. To begin with, having spent in total twenty years in Tibet (1716–1732 and 1741–1745), Della Penna had become well-attuned to the central ideas of Buddhism. This is evident in the detailed entries, often spanning multiple pages, which he devotes to them, in an effort both to understand them for himself and to explain to the co-religionists that would have followed him the subtleties of different concepts. For example, in the Italian-Tibetan dictionary, Della Penna dedicates four pages of entries to the important term "activity" (Tib. *las*, Skt. *karma*),[41] while in the draft Tibetan-Italian version, he collected seven pages of notes on the very term for "(Buddhist) religion" (Tib. *chos*, Skt. *dharma*).[42] His entries here include quotes from foundational works, such as the life of the Tibetan saint Padmasambhava,[43] and various phrases that would have been useful to engage in dialogue with Tibetan monks, such as "to speak about things related to the Law" (*chos ni so sor gsungs pa*).[44]

At the same time, some more complex philosophical terms are jotted down without an equivalent translation, particularly in the Tibetan-Italian section, which, as mentioned, appears to be a first draft. For instance, crucial Buddhist terms like *chökhor* (Tib. *chos 'khor*, Skt. *dharmacakra*),[45] meaning "the wheel of Law," and *chöying* (Tib. *chos dbyings*, Skt. *dharmadhātu*), referring to a complex idea that can be translated as

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tion of the history of the transfer of the punches and matrices of Tipografia poliglotta to France, see Simon (2024).

41 The entries can be found on pp. 16–19 of the Italian-Tibetan autograph manuscript, where, in general, the Tibetan *las* is translated into the Italian as *opere*. As the manuscripts are not numbered, the page numbers given here have been added by this author to facilitate research on the dictionary.

42 Tibetan-Italian manuscript, p. 116.

43 Padmasambhava is a pre-eminent, universally venerated figure in Tibetan Buddhism, though accounts of his life and supernatural activities abound with legendary elements that obscure whatever historical figure is at the origin of his *mythos*. He appears to have been an eighth-century tantric master from the Swat region (present-day Pakistan), who greatly contributed to the transmission of Buddhism in Tibet by subduing local chthonic spirits. He also supported the establishment of the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet. His legends are narrated in a number of "revealed treasures" (*gter ma*) – texts containing accounts of his life and teachings that were purportedly hidden by Padmasambhava himself and successively rediscovered through a vision, dream, or other miraculous sign by a "treasure revealer" (*gter ston*) at an appropriate time. Seminal among these treasures is the *Pema katang* (*Pad ma bka' thang*), revealed in the fourteenth century by Orgyen Lingpa (O rgyan gling pa, b. 1323). Jäschke (1998) [1881] had already recognised the influence of Padmasambhava's hagiography on the dictionary that served as the basis of Schröter (1826). Pomplun (2011, 387 n. 7) hypothesised that Desideri read this same text, and this would not be surprising, considering that the two missionaries studied together; see also n. 37 above.

44 Tibetan-Italian manuscript, p. 110.

45 Tibetan-Italian manuscript, p. 110.

"sphere of reality," are left without equivalent (Figure 4).[46] Moreover, the examples involving *chöying* seem to be taken from a passage that Della Penna could not quite decipher. I should add that at this stage, I have not yet found whether translations for *chökhor* or *chöying* appear in the more complete Italian-Tibetan section, as the transcription of the entire dictionary is at its early stages. At this point, it cannot yet be determined what terms or periphrases he would have chosen to translate these terms.

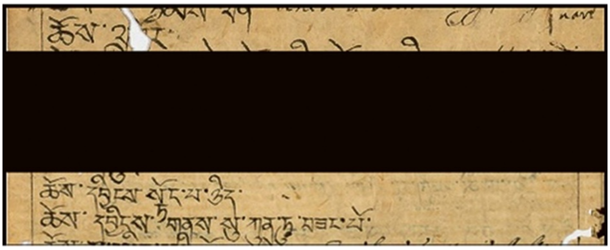

Figure 4: Entries for "chos 'khor" and "chos dbyings" in Francesco Orazio della Penna, [Dizionario Tibetano-Italiano], private collection, unnumbered folio.

While these are examples of the difficulties Della Penna may have faced, at other times he could see enough superficial commonalities between Tibetan Buddhism and Roman Catholicism that his translations effortlessly provide the corresponding equivalent to a Tibetan term in Latin or Italian canonic vocabulary. To name one example, the central concept of *chögyel* (Tib. *chos rgyal*, Skt. *dharmarāja*), which denotes a king who sets in motion the wheel of Dharma by protecting and fostering Buddhism, is rendered confidently as "Rex in spiritualibus."[47] Similarly, a hearer of the Buddhist law (*chos la nyan mkhan*) is easily recognised as a "catechumen," while the notion of "abandoning the doctrine" (*chos spong*) is unhesitatingly translated as "apostate."[48]

These examples show that the strong religious sentiment permeating both Tibetan society at large and Italian Catholic culture in the eighteenth century served as a crucial point of encounter between the two cultures. Although the respective religious traditions pointed in different directions and towards different spiritual goals, the shared centrality of faith for both the Capuchins and the Tibetans contributed to creating a number of elements of mutual understanding. This significantly facilitated their relationships, and I would suggest that Della Penna and his companions were culturally closer to the Tibetans than we can imagine from our largely secular, twenty-first-century viewpoint.

Moreover, another unexpected element that aided Della Penna's understanding of Tibetan culture came from the fact that familiarity with Greek and Latin mythology was

46 Tibetan-Italian manuscript, p. 112.
47 Tibetan-Italian manuscript, p. 111.
48 Both expressions can be found in the Tibetan-Italian manuscript, p. 112.

still quite common in eighteenth-century Italy. For instance, in translating the expression *ngan 'gror myong bas las* (Figure 5) as "activities leading to perdition and to receive transmigration in Hell, in the Animals, and in the *Ità*, which are like Tantali,"[49] Della Penna effectively translated *yidak*, a Tibetan term often rendered as "hungry ghosts" (Tib. *yi dwags*, Skt. *preta*: see Rotman 2021), in terms readily understandable by his contemporaries. These spirits inhabit one of the six realms of beings in which it is possible to be born. They are depicted in Tibetan texts and represented in Tibetan art as vile beings with huge stomachs and extremely small throats, and are therefore always suffering the torture of hunger. Thus, Della Penna saw a similarity with the Greek mythological figure of Tantalus, whose punishment for his misdeeds condemned him to eternal hunger and thirst, although he was surrounded by water and fresh fruit. Similarly, the *yidak* atone for their accumulated negative karma by enduring constant hunger.

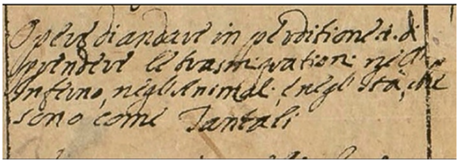
Opere di andare in perditione e d.
prendere la trasmigratione nell'
Inferno, negli Animali, e negl' Ità, che
sono come Tantali

Figure 5: Translation of "ngan 'gror myong bas las" in Francesco Orazio della Penna, [Dizionario Tibetano-Italiano], private collection, unnumbered folio.

This set of examples leads us to discuss a second key feature of the way Della Penna was reading Tibetan texts. Of course, the aim of his presence in Lhasa was, above all, to save the souls of as many Tibetans as possible by introducing them to Christianity. In doing so, he was both helped and hampered by the unexpected encounter with the sophisticated religious system of Tibetan Buddhism, which was in many ways ethically, structurally, and scholastically comparable to Catholicism. In fact, Buddhism in general follows a moral code that is compatible with the Christian one, as its basic principles recommend refraining from the non-virtuous activities of harming living creatures, taking what is not given, engaging in sexual misconduct, using intoxicants, and using false or divisive speech.[50]

In addition, Tibetan Buddhism in particular maintained a composite organisational structure that included hundreds of monasteries, internally arranged in a way that would have been instantly recognisable to a Catholic friar, with a hierarchy including the equivalent of an abbot (*mkhan po*), a lead cantor (*dbu mdzad*), and a number of monks (*dge slong*) and novices (*dge tshul*), whose daily life was punctuated by a series of communal ritual services and meals at established hours. Lastly, Tibetan

49 "Opere di andare in perditione e di prendere la trasmigrazione nell'Inferno, negli Animali, e negli Ità, che sono come Tantali"; Italian-Tibetan autograph manuscript, p. 18.
50 These are the "five precepts" (Tib.: *bslab pa lnga*; Skt.: *pañcaśīla*) that underpin Buddhist morality; see e.g. Buswell and Lopez (2014, 616).

monasteries, and especially the important monastic universities like Sera, where Della Penna studied, also included rich libraries containing the vast Buddhist canon and a variety of exegetical works, hagiographies, ritual manuals, and so forth. These extensive collections of books could be compared with literary genres with which the Italian Catholic missionaries were familiar.

As a result, Della Penna had access to an enormous literary trove, which he could consult for terms, maxims, and other expressions that aligned with philosophical, ethical, or other aspects of the Catholic religion and could be quickly adapted, or "repurposed," to serve his effort to proselytise the Tibetans. This was a very different experience than that of other apostolic missions in other parts of the world, as testified by a brief, decidedly simplistic, but very telling quote from one of the Della Penna's companions, who stated that "Tibet is very different from Congo, and it is necessary to look at many books [. . .]."[51] But it was precisely "looking at many books" that enabled Della Penna to become both sufficiently familiar with Buddhism and collect the vocabulary necessary for the Catholic Church's proselytising effort in Tibet. After all, it appears that both the Capuchins and several of the Tibetans they encountered were quick to understand that there were elements in common between these religions.[52]

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51 "È molto differente il Thibette dal Congo, convien vedere molti libri [. . .]." Letter written by Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia, Lhasa, 20 November 1724. See *MITN* (vol. 1, 125).

Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia was for many years the only companion of Della Penna in Lhasa; he mostly provided medical services and it appears that he might have spoken enough Tibetan for this task, though his knowledge of literary Tibetan was probably superficial. His letters reveal a genuine, pugnacious, and straightforward personality and he does not mince words. He was very critical of Desideri and protective of Della Penna, especially during the latter's second stay in Lhasa, since by 1741 Della Penna was already sixty-one years old. During the most arduous parts of their ascent to Tibet, Della Penna travelled on a "*dandī*", i.e. carried in a sling tied at the ends of a long pole set on the shoulders of two porters; see letter from Costantino da Loro, *MITN* (vol. 2, 46–83, quotation at 55). In the following years, Della Penna's health began to decline, and he became quite depressed as he grew increasingly frustrated with the inaction and non-cooperation he saw from Rome, especially considering that he risked much to travel there in order to plead for meaningful support (the trip from Tibet to Rome and back took him six years). Despite the initial appearance of success (particularly the donation from Cardinal Belluga), money, letters and general support never materialised, and in the years between 1741 and 1745, his letters to Rome became progressively more laconic, disillusioned, and increasingly infrequent.

52 In many of the letters of the Capuchins it is stated that several Tibetans – both secular officials and religious scholars – expressed admiration for the ideals of Christianity (see e.g. *MITN* vol. 1, 124–125, 130, 133, 138–139, 155, 167). However, these statements must be taken with a grain of salt, as we cannot know whether the Tibetans' supposed approbation was genuine or merely polite behaviour. Engelhardt (2005) highlights the discrepancy between the openness and tolerance of the Tibetans and the prejudiced view of the Capuchins, who regarded the Tibetans as heretics. Although the Tibetan documents show that the Tibetans were indeed rather open-minded regarding the Italian missionaries, it must be emphasised that all the missionaries, including Desideri, believed they were bringing news of the only true religion, and it is to be expected that they held negative views of the indigenous beliefs they encountered. When contrasting the Tibetans' "tolerance" with the missionaries' "intolerance," In fact, the main points of discord can be generally reduced to two specific issues: that of the existence of a single creator God, which was a fundamental tenet for the Catholics but a puzzling concept for Buddhists, and the idea of what the missionaries called "transmigration of the souls," that is, reincarnation, which was as much a central concept for the Tibetans as it was a heresy for the Capuchins.[53]

This notwithstanding, according to the missionary documents, the Tibetans appreciated and even expressed admiration for the moral code of the Capuchins, who offered medical care *gratis* to everyone,[54] regardless of social class or standing, and had travelled from far away to spread their faith.[55] At the same time, it is also evident when examining Della Penna's dictionary (although less apparent when reading the missionary documents), that by gaining familiarity with Tibetan literature, the missionaries found many religious and cultural similarities, which Della Penna recognised as concepts that could be adapted to Christian beliefs. Thus, in his dictionary we notice many maxims quoted from well-known Tibetan texts, including not only the already mentioned hagiography of Padmasambhava, which at this preliminary stage of research seems to be the most frequently quoted source,[56] but also the *Life of the Buddha* (*Bcom ldan 'das rgyal ba shākya thub pa'i rnam thar*) by the renowned scholar Tāranātha (1575–1634), and various extracts from the *Kagyur* (*Bka' 'gyur*), the canonical collection of discourses attributed to the Buddha.[57] Among the quoted passages, some are generic aphorisms that could be useful in a variety of proselytising settings, such as "to speak about the [heavenly] Law benefits the living as much as the rain benefits the earth"[58] (*chos kyi char pa sems can kun la 'babs pa*,[59] from the *Pad ma bka' thang*). Others ap-

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the risk is to remove any nuances, on the one hand disregarding the Tibetans who may have felt hostility or suspicion towards the Capuchins, and on the other neglecting the aspects of Tibetan culture (though probably not Tibetan religion) that the Capuchins appreciated.

53 According to Lopez and Jinpa (2017), Desideri identified two fundamental pillars of Buddhist religion that needed to be dismantled: the notion of emptiness (*stong pa nyid*) and the idea of rebirth, as both stood in the way of the belief in the existence of a creator God.

54 On the Capuchins' medical work in Lhasa, see Engelhardt (2015).

55 One of the letters even relates that many people, including the Dalai Lama, stated that the Pope was a saint to send religious men in such distant places: "ed io migliaia di volte da Gran Lama, da trabà (cioè religiosi) e da ogni sorte di persone ho inteso con proprie orecchie, – il vostro Grande Lama è un Gran Santo, ha una gran carità in mandare in paesi tanto lontani, con tanta spesa per insegnar la legge, e chi è che abbi tanta carità nel mondo come lui" (*MITN* vol. 1, 169) [and I have heard thousands of times with my own ears the Great Lama, the trabà (that is, the religious men), and all sorts of persons say – your Great Lama is a Great Saint, he has much charity in sending people who teach the law, and that have as much charity towards the world as he does, in such far away countries, with much expense].

56 This was already remarked upon in Jäschke (1998 [1881], v).

57 Della Penna also worked on a translation of Tsong kha pa's *Lam rim chen mo*, and therefore it is possible that as research progresses quotes from this important text will come to light.

58 "Il parlare della legge giova ai viventi come la pioggia giova alla terra" [To speak about the law benefits living beings as rain benefits the soil].

59 In the Tibetan-Italian manuscript, p. 111.

pear to have been transcribed because they would be useful in translating specific episodes, such as “with two large nets they each took fish, or fished,” which, although quoted from Taranatha’s *Life of the Buddha*, could easily serve to translate the parable of the miraculous catch of fish from the Gospel of Luke.[60]

However, the focus on the superficial similarities between Buddhist and Christian values should not distract from the fact that there are indeed a number of substantial differences and even irreconcilable points between these two religions. For this reason, Della Penna had to create neologisms, look for suitable substitutes, and, when necessary, devise periphrases that could come as close as possible to rendering his intended meaning. For example, in the dictionary, the verb “to baptise” is translated with the periphrasis “the cleansing ritual with water descending on the head” (*chu~~’i~~ dbu’i steng du ’beb*[*s*] *cing khrus gsol ba*).[61] In the same section, Della Penna also noted other Tibetan terms and phrases that may have proven useful, such as “sprinkle with water” (*chu brgyab pa*), and “font” or “source” (*chu mig*).[62]

3.4 The Dictionary as a reflection of missionary activities in Lhasa

Equally intriguing in reading the dictionary is the presence of terms that can be linked to the known activities of the Capuchins in Lhasa. Among them, I would like to discuss three examples in particular: one relating to the Capuchins’ primary mission, that of converting Tibetans to Christianity; another related to their charitable medical work, which provided a means to engage with people of all social classes and introduce a conversation about Christ; and a third illustrating the missionaries’ perhaps unwitting role as importers of Western technology into Tibet.

By 1725, the Capuchin missionaries had been permanently in Lhasa for nine years, and their work was known both among the lower social classes, who mainly utilised their medical services, and the higher echelons of the Buddhist hierarchy and the aristocracy, as the Capuchins frequented the courts of both the secular ruler and of the VII Dalai Lama, Kelzang Gyatso (Bskal bzang rgya mtsho, 1708–1757). It was during this time that they received the concession to build a small hospice and a church

60 From the missionary documents, it is evident that an early project to translate the Bible during the first Capuchin mission had been abandoned on account of the expenses it entailed. See letter written by Fr. Domenico da Fano in Lhasa, 25 August 1719: “Noi havevamo intrapresa la traduzione della Sacra Bibbia in lingua e caratteri tibetani; a tale effetto havevo assegnato a questo ospizio a Lassa un straordinario di 150 scudi [. . .] perciò sono stato forzato sospendere per hora tale traduzione” (*MITN* vol. 1, 118) [We had begun the translation of the Holy Bible in Tibetan language and characters; for this purpose, I had assigned to this hospice in Lhasa an extra sum of 150 scudi [. . .] therefore I have been forced to suspend this translation for the moment].

61 Tibetan-Italian manuscript, p. 105. The crossed out *’i* reflects the fact that this letter was written and then struck out by Della Penna.

62 Both expressions are in the Tibetan-Italian manuscript, p. 104.

in Lhasa from the VII Dalai Lama himself. The church, dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin, was the first Christian building in Lhasa, and although it eventually fell to ruin after the departure of the last Capuchins, including Della Penna, in 1745, it was apparently equipped, albeit modestly, with all the necessary articles.[63]

Among these we know that the Capuchins installed a bronze bell with the inscription "Te Deum Laudamus" [We praise thee, God], which survives to the present day, since after the closure of the Capuchin mission in Lhasa it was considered sufficiently interesting to be hung for many years inside the city's main temple, the Jokhang. It must have been placed in a rather visible location, since it was seen and discussed by many of the travellers to Lhasa in the early twentieth century.[64] However, by 2004, it had been deposited in a storeroom of the main temple of Lhasa.[65] What is particularly interesting is that, although there is no mention of this bell in the surviving Capuchin documents, the dictionary contains at least four entries related to it, which testify to the efforts of the Capuchins to communicate about it and its installation.[66] These are

63 Although according to an early letter by Fr. Felice da Montecchio (February 1712), the "King of Tibet," i.e. Lhazang Khan, had already assigned a location for the construction of a church and hospice in Lhasa, (*MITN* vol. 1, 48), the permission of the Dalai Lama was not obtained until 1724. The collection of Tibetan documents relating to the construction of the convent and church include: a privilege to build the hospice granted by the Dalai Lama (1724); the deed of sale of the land where the hospice would be built (8 April 1725); the construction permit for the same (21 May 1725); the permit to obtain construction material (1 July 1725) and hire workmen (6 July 1725), as well as a tax exemption for the land and people working at the hospice; see *MITN* (vol. 4, 186–192). Shortly after the completion of the building, a flood of the Lhasa River almost led to the demolition of the church by the inhabitants of Lhasa, who blamed its construction for the calamity. The church was saved by the intervention of the VII Dalai Lama, and, according to missionary records, the Tibetans eventually came to admire its beauty; see for example a letter from Gioacchino da Sant'Anatolia written in 1733 where he states: "In Lhassa tutti i grandi e piccoli sono restati for di modo ammirati in aver lasciato il conventino con la sua chiesola, che dicevano kyepò, kyepò [skyid po], che al nostro modo di dire sarebbe a dire un paradisetto" [In Lhasa, all, the young and the old ones, were completely astonished in leaving the small convent with its little church, and they were saying kyepò, kyepò, which to our way of saying would be a little paradise]. After the closure of the Capuchin mission in 1745, the church was abandoned and eventually torn down, and its precise location is now unknown. It is plausible that the architecture could have resembled the typical Capuchin churches of the Marche region, an appearance that in Tibet would have been a novelty indeed.

64 See e.g. Candler (1905, 3); Bell (1931, 152). Richardson (1998 [1977], 247–250) shows a plan of the Jokhang indicating the location of the bell. Note that Richardson calls the bell *Ye shu'i cong chen po* [the large bell of Jesus]; was this the way it was described to him?

65 The state and location of the bell today are unknown to me. In 2004, a small group in search of traces of the Capuchin mission in Lhasa found the bell in a storage room of the Jokhang temple. They were able to make a mould, bring it to Italy, and use it to cast a new, identical bell. This replica now hangs in the village of Pennabilli (Marche, Italy), the town of Della Penna's birth, where the ruins of his family castle are still visible. On the story of the bell, see Marini (2005, 87–95); for a report on the creation of the replica copy, see Proni (2005, 95–102); a photograph of the bell taken in Lhasa can be seen in Engelhardt (2005, 91).

66 The four found so far are in the Tibetan-Italian manuscript, p. 99.

(Figure 6): “large bell” (Tib. *cong*; Ital. *campana grossa*), as the typical term for “bell” (*dril bu*) in Tibetan indicates normally a small, hand-held bell used mainly in ritual settings; “to fasten a large bell” (Tib. *cong ’dogs pa*; Ital. *attaccare una campana grossa*), “to make [someone] fasten a large bell” (Tib. *cong ’dogs bcug pa*; Ital. *far attaccare una campana grossa*), using a causative construction; and finally, in the same sequence in the dictionary, “to raise quite high” (Tib. *cung zad bteg*; Ital. *sollevare alquanto in alto*). These entries offer almost a visual painting of what happened on that particular day.

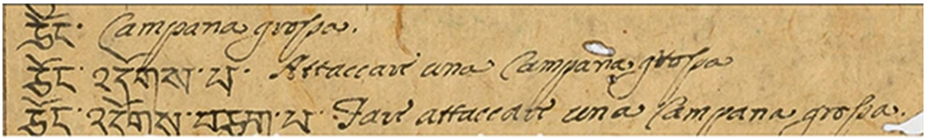

Figure 6: Entries for “large bell,” “to fasten a large bell,” and “to make [someone] fasten a large bell,” in Francesco Orazio della Penna, [Dizionario Tibetano-Italiano], private collection, unnumbered folio.

The second example that should be mentioned is that of medicine. In fact, we have seen above that the Capuchins offered free medical services to anyone who needed them, both as a charitable act and ultimately as a way to approach prospective converts. The letters written by the missionaries and their other records testify to the fact that the Capuchins already travelled with a large quantity of medicines during their first mission.[67] Their experience in Lhasa confirmed that the practice of medicine was a good way to introduce themselves to the Tibetans. In letters from 1712, containing advice as to the ideal features of future missionaries to Tibet, the importance of training or education in medicine is highlighted.[68] In addition, they evidently became knowledgeable in the types of medicinal herbs and plants that could be found in Tibet, as the same letter from 1712 mentions that Domenico da Fano bought more than 50 rupees of medicine in a year, on account of the large number of patients he had to attend to (*MITN*, vol. 1, 58). Interestingly, although Da Fano had not actually studied medicine in Europe, his medical services were highly sought after, and he had been so successful in treating one of the Chinese ambassadors in Lhasa that he was nearly forced to accompany their party back to China.[69] The extent of the medical care provided must have been considerable, since a letter from 1719 specifies that Do-

67 See *MITN* (vol. 1, 8–9), where it is described how medicinal pills attracted the attention of the local toll guards, who assigned large monetary value to them and consequently demanded substantial toll payments. Not only were pills brought from Italy, but on occasion the missionaries requested particular remedies in their letters to Italy. See for example a request for “alcarotto” (algarot, an emetic) in a letter by Gioacchino da Sant’Anatolia (*MITN*, vol. 1, 124).

68 See *MITN* (vol. 1, 41, and 57). Engelhardt (2005, 58) has rightly remarked that this advice was not followed.

69 See *MITN* (vol. 1, 92): “Il giorno seguente pretendevano | violentarmi andare alla corte di Pechino.”

menico da Fano spent almost 100 scudi in a year to buy medicines.[70] Another letter from 1724 reports that Fr. Gioacchino da Sant' Anatolia worked hard as a pharmacist, surgeon, and doctor, visiting more than fifty patients daily and gaining access to many important people on account of his medical expertise.[71]

While these accounts provide an overview of the situation in Lhasa, they tell us nothing about the specific illnesses encountered by the Capuchin "doctors." The dictionary may shed light on this, as it contains a number of terms relating to medical conditions, which together may offer a more complete picture of the diseases encountered by the Capuchins during that period. At this preliminary stage, I have noticed language related to dropsy, to various urinary tract conditions, to bone dislocations, eye problems, and more. As part of the work on Della Penna's dictionary, the medical entries gathered from the dictionary will be compared and collated with the information found in Domenico da Fano's manual of medicine, that he wrote before 1714 as a practical handbook for future missionaries sent to Tibet.[72]

Lastly, it is important to mention that the dictionary also provides a window into the importation of Western technology into Tibet, which occurred by way of the presentation of gifts from the Pope and other important members of the Church to the highest Tibetan authorities. The missionaries' letters reveal that certain gifts were valued more than others; these included – as strange as it may seem to us, given the prominent role of nonviolence, or *ahiṃsā,* in Buddhism – weapons.[73] Western-style firearms were particularly sought after. For instance, when the baggage containing them was delayed en route between India and Tibet, the ruler of Tibet launched a search for the missing cargo. It was eventually discovered that the king of Nepal had kept them in his country, and finally agreed to release them only after a second official request from Tibet.[74]

Similarly, the Capuchin friars also brought with them other products representing the latest European technological advances and novelties to Tibet. The dictionary includes what may be the first Tibetan translations for "microscope" (*me shel*),[75] using

70 See *MITN* (vol. 1, 115). In another letter, Da Fano reports that he was receiving eighty to ninety patients a day (*MITN* vol. 1, 87).

71 See *MITN* (vol. 1, 129). Initially, the fathers were reluctant to accept any reward for distributing medicines. However, they eventually learned that it was considered impolite not to accept the *khata*, a ceremonial scarf offered to them, so they began to accept these scarves, but continued to provide medicines to everyone without distinction; see *MITN* (vol. 1, 150).

72 *Istruzioni sopra la medicina per li novelli missionarii del Tibet, raccolte e praticate da fr. Domenico da Fano Cappuccino, missionario nel medesimo Regno*; see *MITN* (vol. 1, xcvi–xcvii).

73 On the ways in which the Buddhist administration of the Dalai Lamas confronted the question of state-endorsed violence, and especially warfare, see Travers and Venturi (2018).

74 See *MITN* (vol. 1, 86), a letter where it is stated that the king of Tibet had written to the king of Nepal inquiring for help in finding the baggage lost by the missionaries; and *MITN* (vol. 1, 93) where another letter reports that although the lost baggage had been found in Patna, the king of Nepal was reluctant to release it because he wanted to keep the firearms. The king of Tibet had to write again and insist to have them sent.

75 In the copy of the Italian-Tibetan manuscript, p. 662.

a pre-existing word that literally means "fire-glass."[76] In addition, the dictionary lists the words for "to smoke" (*dud sprin 'tshubs pa*),[77] literally "to swirl, or whirl, smoke clouds," and for tobacco (*tha ma kha*).[78] The letters of the missionaries indicate that these gifts were appreciated for their novelty and the prestige they conferred onto the recipient. The Capuchins even received special requests for "tobacco from Brasil to inhale" (*MITN*, vol. 1, 95), and for a water pump, telescopes, and thermometers.[79]

To summarise, the Capuchin missionaries unexpectedly encountered in Tibet a sophisticated religious system with a vast canonical literature and an even greater body of scholarly commentaries and exegesis. By studying in a Tibetan monastery under the guidance of a Tibetan lama, Orazio della Penna became not only familiar with the fundamental literary works of Buddhism but also with the Tibetan philological tradition of reading, correcting, improving, and commenting on texts. This is evident in his dictionary, where he uses the Tibetan system for emendations to correct his orthographic mistakes in the Tibetan language (Figure 7). Although the cultural distance between Tibet and Italy was considerable, the mutual understanding between Della Penna and the Tibetans was perhaps closer than we might expect. This occurred both by virtue of the deeply religious worldview in which both sides were steeped, and because of Della Penna's familiarity with Greek and Latin mythology, which provided him with an unexpected but very useful interpretive lens.

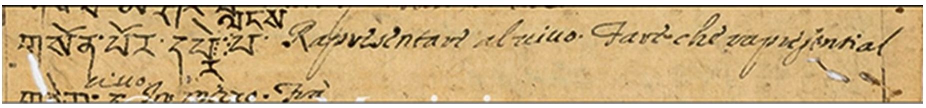

Figure 7: Example of Tibetan emendation (the final letter ra ར་ is inserted in the rest of the word with a short line of dots), used in Francesco Orazio della Penna, [Dizionario Tibetano-Italiano], private collection, unnumbered folio.

Last but not least, Della Penna's studies in a Tibetan monastic university exposed him to a vast and nuanced vocabulary reflecting a variety of philosophical and spiritual ideas, some of which he could reapply to Christian concepts, given the necessary pro-

76 It is glossed by Das (1991 [1902], 972), as: "1. a kind of crystal cool to the touch but emits fire when exposed to the rays of the sun, 2. the sun."

77 In the copy of the Italian-Tibetan manuscript, p. 462. Today it is commonly *tha mag 'then*.

78 In the autograph Italian-Tibetan manuscript, p. 187. On the names of tobacco in Tibet (*tha mag, tha ma kha, tha mi kha, ta ma ka, tha ma khi*, etc.), and the different attitudes towards it in Tibetan literature, see Berounsky (2013).

79 See *MITN* (vol. 1, 95). However, I have yet to find these terms in the dictionary. Given the sheer number of entries and the odd alphabetical order in both the Tibetan-Italian and, to a lesser extent, in the Italian-Tibetan sections, locating a specific entry is not possible in the same way as with modern dictionaries. A comprehensive list of all the entries will only be available once a full digital transcription of the dictionary is completed.

visos. Thus, Della Penna's dictionary is a unique testament to one of the earliest encounters between Christianity and Buddhism in the Land of Snows. Although the study of a dictionary may appear to be a dry endeavour, it is important to keep in mind that

> language manuals and proverbs and individual words tell us a great deal about a culture, and particularly those parts of a culture that are not easily transferable. Cultures and languages are not algebraic equations that can jump across from one side of understanding to another. They are messy, and sticky, and grubby, and anarchic, and full of echoes and gullies and caves. (Titley, 2014/2015, 485)

Della Penna's dictionary exemplifies the above quote because its entries should not be seen as mere words but as windows opening on both Tibetan culture in the first half of the eighteenth century and on the experience of the Capuchin missionaries within Tibetan society. Through a careful analysis of the lemmas it is nearly possible to follow alongside Della Penna: what he saw, the situations he faced, what struck him positively or negatively, what he misunderstood or viewed with suspicion, and perhaps even how the passage of time and his increasing familiarity with Tibetan people refined his thought and his understanding. In this sense, the dictionary is a witness of the attempt to create a transfer between cultures. Although the mission to introduce Christianity in Tibet implied a one-sided transfer, to a certain extent such a transfer – imperfect and marred by prejudices – was reciprocal, as the two sides needed to learn about each other to interact. The dictionary of Della Penna, now retrieved at last, is a direct testimony of the first significant attempt at mutual communication between two vastly different religions. By using philological practices to study it, it is possible to obtain a clearer picture of how it was compiled, thus understanding better the relationship that formed and developed between the missionaries and Tibetan society. In particular, an approach of slow reading[80] of the dictionary's manuscripts allows us to reconnect their entries to known historical episodes or to information drawn from the missionaries' own letters and accounts.

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80 See Pollock (2015, 7); this expression was first coined by Friedrich Nietzsche.

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Chia-Wei Lin

Scriptio Buddhica, Interpretatio Islamica

Buddhist *Sūtras* and Cultural Translation in Rašīd al-Dīn's *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ*

Abstract: The *History of India* in Rašīd al-Dīn's *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* [*Compendium of Chronicles*], often called the first "world history" in the history of the world, contains Persian and Arabic translations and paraphrases of the Buddha's biography. The most notable feature of Rašīd al-Dīn's translation is his attempt to adapt Buddhist elements in the Buddhist sources to an Islamic context for his Muslim readership. Building on previous studies, this chapter explores how Buddhist terms are translated into Persian and Arabic in the Buddha biography found in the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ*, within the multilingual context of Central Asia under Ilkhanate rule. The chapter also presents two case studies – the **Āryavasiṣṭhasūtra* and the *Devatāsūtra*, identified by Gregory Schopen (1982) – and compares the Perso-Arabic translations of both texts with their original Buddhist sources in Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan.

Keywords: cultural translation, cultural transmission, recontextualisation, terminological exchange, etymological similarity

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1 Introduction

Rašīd al-Dīn's (1247–1318) *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ*[1] has been credited as being the first "world history" in the history of the world.[2] In collaboration with his workshop and sources from different regions,[3] Rašīd al-Dīn produced a history of Mongols (*Tārīḫ*-e *mubārak-e Ġāzānī*), a history of Oghuz Turks (*Tārīḫ-e āl-e Salǧūq*), a history of Franks (*Tārīḫ-e Afranǧ, pāpān wa-qayāṣira*), a history of Jews (*Tārīḫ-e banī Esrāʾīl*), a history of China (*Tāriḫ-e ʾaqwām-e pādišāhān-e Ḫetāy*), and a history of India (*Tārīḫ-e Hend va-Send va-Kašmīr*). The history of India consists of three major parts: (1) a comprehensive chronology of the cosmology and geography of India based on *Taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind* of al-Bīrūnī, (2) the history of the kings of Delhi based on the third volume of Šaraf al-Dīn Šīrāzī's (Waṣṣāf) *Taǧziya al-amṣār wa-taǧziya al-ʾaʿṣār*, and (3) the life and teachings of Śākyamuni (Jahn 1980, 9).

This chapter focuses on "the life and teachings of Śākyamuni" as outlined in Jahn's (1980) scheme, which constitutes the third part of the *History of India* in the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ.* The Buddha biography in the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* includes two main themes: (1) Śākyamuni's life (Ch. 2–6, 9, 20), and (2) the Buddhist "wheel of life," or *tanāsuḫ* [transmigration of the soul] in the Persian/Arabic terminology (Ch. 7, 8, 10, 11–18). The Buddha biography in the the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* includes typical Buddhist narrative elements such as the birth of the Buddha,[4] the thirty-two physical characteristics of the Buddha (Skt. *mahāpuruṣalakṣana*),[5] the Buddha's renunciation of the world,[6] *pravrajyā*,[7] the temptation of Māra,[8] and the Buddha's *nirvāṇa.*[9] Rašīd al-Dīn's effort to introduce Buddhist thought to the Islamicate world positions him as a pio-

1 See list of abbreviations for languages used below. The transliteration systems used in this chapter adheres to the following guidelines: Arab./Pers.: DIN 31635, with modifications proposed by Marijn van Putten (https://phoenixblog.typepad.com/blog/2021/05/transcribing-classical-arabic.html; 26 July 2024); Skt.-/Pali: IAST; Chin.: *Hànyǔ pīnyīn fāngàn* 漢語拼音方案, Tib.: Wiley Transliteration. Old Turkic and Mong. transliterations follow the system of Wilkens (2021).

2 See Melville (2008). Nonetheless, Otsuka (2018) has shown that the second volume or the world history section of the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* is based on *Zubdat al-tawārīḫ* of Abū al-Qāsim Qāšānī, who was an assistant of Rašīd al- Dīn.

3 The composition of the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* has been considered a "collective effort" according to Melville (2008), as some work was carried out by his assistant.

4 Chapter 2 (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 393v; Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2027v).

5 Arab. *ʾiṯnānu wa-ṯalaṯūna ʿalāmati*, Pers. *sī va-dūʿalāmat*. Chapter 3 (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2072v–2073r; Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 394r).

6 Chapter 4 (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 394r–394v; Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2072v–2073r).

7 Chapter 5 (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 394v–395r; Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2073r–2073v).

8 Rendered as *ʾIblīs* in both the Persian and Arabic versions. Chapter 6 (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f.395r–396r; Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2073v–2074r).

9 Chapter 20 of the Persian version (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433,405v–406r), Chapter 21 of the Arabic version (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2077r–2077v).

neer of “connected philology,” as he not only translated Buddhist sources into Persian and Arabic, but also adapted and reshaped Buddhist ideas to align with Islamic cultural frameworks.

In the chapters on *tanāsuḫ*, Rašīd al-Dīn shows great interest in the system of retribution in Buddhism, specifically regarding the kinds of actions that lead to rebirth into one of the “six paths” (*ṣaḍgati*), and the kinds of actions that result in rewards or punishment. For instance, in the Persian version, chapter 8 enumerates the heavens within the realm of *Šayṭan* (i.e. Skt. *kāmadhātu*), the corporeal realm (*ğesmānī*, i.e. Skt. *rūpadhātu*), and the spiritual realm (*rūḥyānī*, i.e. Skt. *ārūpyadhātu*). Chapter 11 enumerates the eight great hells and other minor hells in Buddhist cosmology. Chapters 12 to 15 outline the actions that lead to rebirth as a *dīv* [demon] (i.e. Skt. *preta* [hungry ghost]), an animal (i.e. Skt. *tiryagyoni*), a human (i.e. Skt. *manuṣya*), and a *ferešte* [angel] (i.e. Skt. *deva* [god]). However, as Elverskog (2010, 152–153) notes, it is unclear whether Rašīd al-Dīn’s extensive focus on the Buddhist concept of reward and punishment and Buddhist cosmology of hells and heavens is due to their coincidental similarity with the Islamic tradition or not.

The present study, which includes the two case studies of the **Āryavasiṣṭhasūtra* and *Devatāsūtra*, is based on two Persian manuscripts – British Library Add MS 7628, 378v–406v, dated 837 AH/1433 CE (the most complete manuscript of *Ğāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ*),[10] and Topkapı Sarayı Hazine 1654, dated 717 AH/1317 CE[11] – and one Arabic manuscript, Khalili Collections MSS 727 (previously Royal Asiatic Society A27), dated 714 AH/1314–1315 CE.[12] The Arabic manuscript is incomplete, preserving only chapters 1 to 7 and 17 to 20; however, it includes a list of Buddhist book titles which is absent in the Persian version.[13] The Arabic manuscript largely corresponds to the Persian manuscripts. Different hypotheses have been advanced regarding the question of whether Persian or Arabic was the original language of composition. Jahn (1980, 13) argues that the Arabic manuscript, which includes a Buddhist book list that is not found in the Persian version, may be closer to the original composition of Rašīd al-Dīn and even predate the Persian version. However, there is no decisive evidence for this hypothesis. Conversely, Ogura (2019) suggests that the Arabic version was produced after the compilation of the Persian version for two reasons: (1) there are three Persian verses from the Persian version included in the Arabic version, and (2) the second volume of *Ğāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* is based on Qāšānī’s *Zubal al-tawārīḫ*, which was composed in Persian.[14]

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10 Rašīd al-Dīn 1433: https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_7628_fs001r (30 September 2023). The facsimiles are reprinted in Jahn (1965, 1980).

11 Facsimiles reprinted in Jahn (1965, 1980).

12 Facsimiles reprinted in Blair (1995; colour) and Jahn (1965, 1980; black and white).

13 For a survey of the manuscripts of the *Ğāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ*, see Appendix B in Kamola (2019, 209–271).

14 Cf. n. 2 and Otsuka (2018).

2 Cultural translation of Buddhist terminology

The most salient feature of Rašīd al-Dīn's interpretation of his Buddhist sources is the tendency toward cultural translation, as reflected in his use of Islamic equivalents to translate Buddhist terms into Persian and Arabic. Examples of similar translation practices abound in the various intercultural encounters of antiquity.[15] These include the *interpretatio Romana* of Germanic gods in Tacitus's *Germania*,[16] *interpretatio Graeca* of Egyptian pantheon in Herodotus's *Histories*,[17] and the Akkadian interpretation of Sumerian deities in ancient Mesopotamian god lists (see e.g. Lambert and Winters 2023). In this context, we may consider Rašīd al-Dīn's work as an *interpretatio Islamica* of the Buddhist pantheon.

The *interpretatio Islamica* in Rašīd al-Dīn's *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* reveals the ongoing process of multicultural, multilingual, and multireligious interactions along the Silk Road, which lasted from Late Antiquity up to the period of the Mongol Empire. On the one hand, it continues the tradition of lexical borrowing, cultural translation, and shared terminology between languages of Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and Manicheanism. Along the Silk Road, different religious traditions confronted each other though the textual traditions of Syriac, Sogdian, Middle Persian, Old Turkic, Parthian, Sanskrit, Khotanese, Tocharian, Tibetan, Tangut, Chinese, and so on (see e.g. Durkin-Meisterernst 2018). In this multilingual context, Manichaean deity names often derive from established cultural terms in the local tradition rather than being a whole new coinage. For instance, Middle Persian *Zurwān*, the personified Zoroastrian deity of time, is used to refer to the Manichaean "Father of Greatness" (Syr. *abba ḏ-rabbūṯā*) in Manichaean Middle Persian (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, 384). Its cognate, Sogd. *ʾzrwʾ*, which also refers to the "Father of Greatness" in the Manichaean texts, later came to refer to the Indian deity Brahman in the Buddhist texts.[18] The Sogdian *ʾzrwʾ* [Brahman] was subsequently carried over into Old Turkic (*äzrua*) and Mong. (*esrua*) to designate the Buddhist deity Brahman (Gharib 1995, 93; Wilkens 2021, 132). Similarly, when Nestorian Christianity arrived in China, it adopted established Buddhist terms in Sanskrit-Chinese translation. For instance, Syr. *qaššīšā* [monk] was rendered into

15 For a general overview and theoretical reflection on transcultural and cross-religious translation of divine names in history, see Assmann (1996).

16 For instance, in *Germania* §9, Tacitus identified the Old Germanic god Wotan (Old Norse *Óðinn*) as Mercurius, Donar (Old Norse *Þórr*) as Hercules, and *Zīu* as Mars (Old Norse *Týr*). The reverse process, *interpretatio Germanica* of Roman deities, is preserved in the names of weekdays in modern Germanic languages, e.g. English *Monday* (etymologically "Moon-day") corresponds to Latin *dies Lunae*, *Tuesday* (etymologically "Tiw's day") corresponds to the Latin *dies Martis*, etc.

17 For instance, Herodotus identifies the Egyptian god Amun as Zeus (§2.42.3, ed. Wilson), Isis as Demeter (§2.59.2), Horus as Apollo (§2.156.5), Bubastis as Artemis (§2.137.5), Osiris as Dionysus (§2.144.2), etc. For a comprehensive study of *interpretatio Graeca* in Herodotus's *Histories,* see Kolta (1968). For a general overview of *interpretatio Graeca* in Ancient Greek literature, see von Lieven (2016).

18 E.g. in the Sogdian *Vessantara Jātaka* (1946, 58).

Chinese as *sēng* 僧,[19] the title for a Buddhist monk, which was etymologically shortened from *sēng qié* 僧伽, a transcription of Skt. *saṇgha*. Syriac words are transcribed in a way that aligns with existing Buddhist terminology, often using the strategy of phono-semantic matching. For instance, Chin. *ā luó hē* 阿羅訶, originally a phonetic transcription of Buddhist Skt. *ar(a)hat*, was used to transcribe Syr. *elāhā*, referring to the Christian God.[20] It is against this backdrop that we can consider Rašīd al-Dīn's *interpretatio Islamica* as a continuation of the cross-linguistic, transcultural, and interreligious exchange on the Silk Road between Buddhism and Islam.

The *interpretatio Islamica* can also be understood in the context of the Ilkhanate ruling elites' conversion from Buddhism to Islam, beginning in 1295, shortly before the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* was completed. According to Prazniak (2014, 671), Rašīd al-Dīn had two political motives for the *History of India*: "to integrate Buddhism into the story of a Mongol Islamic present, and to consign Buddhism to the past, rendering it politically less potent in the present." In this regard, Rašīd al-Dīn adeptly navigated the complexities of the political reality. On the one hand, like his predecessors al-Bīrūnī or al-Šahrastānī, Rašīd al-Dīn succeeded in his endeavour to portrait the version of Buddhism known to him and his source Kamalaśrī from Kashmir, without explicitly denouncing the religion of the previous Mongol rulers. On the other hand, through his *interpretatio Islamica*, Rašīd al-Dīn incorporated the Buddha's life story into an Islamic framework.

The most striking example of *interpretatio Islamica* is Rašīd al-Dīn's rendering of the *ṣaḍgati* in Buddhism, the six paths into which sentient beings are reincarnated according to their *karman*. In Persian, the six paths are described as "six different stages of coming and going" ("*marāteb-e āmadšod va taraddod-e ṣūrāt-e moḫtalef*," Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 398r3). The following table demonstrates how these six paths are translated into Persian in chapter 11 (cf. Sakaki 2000):

Table 1: Cultural Translation of Buddhist *ṣaḍgati* [six paths of afterlife].

Sanskrit	Persian
deva [god]	*fereštegī* [angel]
asura [demigod]	*miyān-e ensānī wa-fereštegī* [between human and angel]
manuṣya [human]	*ensān* [human]
tiryagyoni [animal]	*ḥaywānī* [animal]

19 E.g. the bilingual list of monks' names on the side of the *Dàqíng jǐng jiaò liú xíng zhōng guó beī* 大秦景教流行中國碑. Photographs of the Xian stele are available at http://www.for.aichi-pu.ac.jp/museum/z2dfol/yz2p01.html (10 April 2024).

20 E.g. "*Dàqíng jǐng jiaò liú xíng zhōng guó beī* 大秦景教流行中國碑: 三一妙身無元真主阿羅訶歟" [This is our eternal true lord God, triune and mysterious in substance] (Wiley in Carus 1909, 11).

Table 1 (continued)

Sanskrit	Persian
preta [hungry ghost]	*šayṭanat* [status of Šayṭān]
naraka [hell]	*dūzaḫ* [hell][21]

As Islam is a monotheistic religion, Indian deities (*deva*) cannot qualify as a 'god' (*ilāh*) in Arabic. In chapter 1 (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2027r3–6),[22] Rašīd al-Dīn begins with introducing the six schools and their 'prophets' (Arab. *nabī*): Maheśvara ⟨*mʾhyšwr*⟩, Viṣṇu ⟨*všn*⟩, Brahman ⟨*brhmʾn*⟩, Arhat ⟨*ʾrhnt*⟩, Nāstika ⟨*nʾšk*⟩, and Śākyamuni ⟨*šʾkmwny*⟩. As Akasoy (2013, 181) points out, Rašīd al-Dīn avoids the term *rasūl* [messenger] to refer to these Indian figures, because *rasūl* is reserved for those who have been sent with a divine message in Islam. Furthermore, the followers of Maheśvara, Viṣṇu, and Brahman are described as worshippers of an "idol" (*al-ṣanam*),[23] as opposed to the one true God, Allah. Similarly, the seven buddhas of the past (Skt. *saptatathāgata*) are introduced as "prophets" at the end of chapter 1: Vipaśyin ⟨*wypšy*⟩,[24] Śikhin ⟨*šyḫy*⟩, Viśvabhū ⟨*wšvbd*⟩, Krakucchanda ⟨*krʾkwṣnd*⟩, Kanakamuni ⟨*knkmwd*⟩, Kāśyapa ⟨*kʾšyp*⟩, Śākyamuni ⟨*šʾkmwny*⟩ (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433,393–8; Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2072v1–3).[25] This form of cultural accommodation created a framework that enabled Rašīd al-Dīn to accommodate extra-Islamic religious groups and, simultaneously, to establish hierarchical distinctions.

Indian deities are transformed into figures resembling Muslim followers of Islam. In the scene depicting the birth of Śākyamuni, the four deities Maheśvara, Viṣṇu, Brahma, and Indra, who come to visit, are described as "the four angels who pray to God" (Pers. *ḫoday*/Arab. *al-ʾālihiyya*).[26] Mythical place names in Buddhist cosmology are also translated with comparable names in Islamic cosmology. Buddhist hell (Skt. *naraka*) is regularly rendered as Arab. *ǧahannam* (Pers. *dūzaḫ*), the Quranic word for 'hell.'[27] Buddhist

21 Cognate of Middle Persian *dušox* [hell] and Avestan *duž-aŋhav-* [hell], lit. 'bad existence,' both of which were also used to designate "hell" in Zoroastrian context. In the Indian history of *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ*, Persian *dūzaḫ* regularly corresponds to *ǧahannam*, the Quranic word for "hell," in the Arabic version.

22 The transliteration in ⟨⟩ in the following paragraph follows the consonantal spelling in the Arabic manuscript.

23 "*kullu-hum yaʿbadūna l-ṣanama*" (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2072r5).

24 The Pers./Arab. transcriptions reflect the nominative form *Vipaśyī*.

25 Röhrborn (1989, 132) concludes that these spellings do not reflect the names circulated in Central Asia, intermediated by Northwestern Prakrit forms, but are instead closer to Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit forms of Indian origin.

26 Pers.: "*čahār ferešte ke daʿvā-ye ḫoday mīkonand*" (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 393v20).

Arab.: "*wa-l-malāʾikatu l-ʾarbaʿatu llaḏī kānū yadʿūna l-ʾālihiyyata*" (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2072v16–17).

27 Arab. *ǧahannam* is etymologically connected with Hebrew *gê-hinnom* [hell]. Jeffery (2007 [1938], 105–106; cf. Nöldeke 1910, 34) suggests that the Arabic word is borrowed from Hebrew via *Gəʿəz gähännäm*.

heaven (Skt. *svarga*) is regularly rendered as Arab. *ğanna* (Pers. *behešt*), the Quranic word for 'garden' or 'paradise' especially used in reference to Eden (see Gardet 2012a [1965], 2012b [1965]). Mount Meru is consistently replaced with Mount *Qāf* (e.g. Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2074v32–2075r3),[28] a mythological mountain in Islamic cosmology.[29] In chapter 5, Rašīd al-Dīn mentions the four kings of Mount Qaf:

> Pers.: *fereštegān čahār pādešāh ke bar čahār ṭaraf-e kūh-e Qāf ḥākem.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 394v26)
>
> Arab.: *fa-l-malāʾikatu l-ʾarbaʿatu llaḏīna kānū ʾaḥkāman ʿalā ʾarbaʿati ʾaṭrāfi ğabali Qāfi.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2073v31)
>
> [The four angels (kings), who were governors over the four directions of Mount Qaf.][30]

The four angels or kings are presumably the four heavenly kings (*caturmahārāja*) residing on Mount Meru in Buddhist cosmology, namely *Vaiśravaṇa*, *Virūḍhaka*, *Dhṛtarāṣṭra*, and *Virūpākṣa*, each in charge of one cardinal direction. The same chapter explains the aetiology of the name Śākyamuni. The name Śākyamuni was bestowed by a voice from the sky, when Indra came to the Buddha, asking him to leave his solitude:

> Pers.: *ferešte ⟨ʾndr⟩ ke hazār češm dārad pīš-e ū āmad va goft gāh ān āmad ke az īn maqām bīrūn āyī va dar īn ḥāl az samān nedā āmad va ū-rā šākamūnī ḫᵛandand. va īnak ahal maḏhāb va dīgar adyān ū-rā ādam mīḫᵛanand va nešān-e pāy-eš bar kūh-e sarāndīp al-ḥağar ast ānğā ke yāqūt-e aḥmar ast.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 395r8–10)
>
> [The angel Indra, who has a thousand eyes, came to him and said: you go away from this place. At this moment, a sound came from the sky and called him Śākyamuni. But followers of other sects and religions call him Ādam. His footprint is the stone on the mountain of Sarāndīp, where there are red rubies.]

It is interesting that, according to Rašīd al-Dīn, Śākyamuni is equated with Adam by other religious communities. This aligns with the tradition surrounding the rock of *Śrīpāda* on Adam's Peak in Sri Lanka, which is held to be the footprint of the Buddha by Sinhalese Therevāda Bhuddhists,[31] while the Muslim community considers it to be

28 E.g. Rašīd al-Dīn (1314/1315, f. 2074v32–2075r3).

29 See Streck and Miguel (2012 [1978]); the concept is borrowed from the Iranian tradition.

30 All translations into Modern English are my own.

31 Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa* (1: 77–78): "*Tattha dhammaṃ desayitvā, satthā lonukampako; / Uggantvā sumane kūṭe, padaṃ dassesi nāyako. / Tasmiṃ pabbatapādamhi, sahasaṅgho yathāsukhaṃ; / Divā vihāraṃ katvāna, dīghavāpi mupāgami*" [When the Teacher, compassionate to the whole world, had preached the doctrine there, he rose, the Master, and left the traces of his footsteps plain to sight on Sumanakuta. And after he had spent the day as it pleased him at the foot of this mountain, with the brotherhood, he set forth for Dighavapi] (*Mahāvaṃsa*, tr. Geiger and Bode 1912, 8). Cf. Fǎ Xiǎn's 佛國記 *Fó guó jì* [*Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*] on 師子國 *shī zi guó*: "佛至其國欲化惡龍。以神足力一足躡王城北。一足躡山頂。兩跡相去十五由延。" [Buddha came to his country desiring to reform a wicked the footprint of Adam. Ibn Baṭṭūta described the two paths leading to the footprint of Adam in his *Travels*:

> *wa-yazʿumūna ʾanna fī ḏālika l-wardi kitābatun yuqraʾu min-hā smu llāhi taʿālā wa-smu rasūli-hī ʿam wa-fī l-ǧabali ṭarīqāni ʾilā l-qadami ʾaḥadu-humā yuʿrafu bi-ṭarīqi bābā wa l-ʾāḫaru bi-ṭarīqi māmā yaʿūna ādam wa-ḥawwaʾa.* (Ibn Battūta 1858, 179–180)
>
> [It is claimed that on this rose (on the mountain), there is an inscription on which the name of the Lofty Allah and the name of his prophet are written. In the mountain there are two paths toward the Foot. One of them is known as the path of Bābā, the other the path of Māmā, which mean Ādam and Eve.]

The Buddhist deity Māra is also integrated into this Islamicised framework. In the episode of Māra's temptation in chapter 6 (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 395r–396r), Skt. *Māra* is transformed into Arab. *ʾIblīs*, – an appellation of *Šayṭān* [Satan] drawn from the Quran. The three daughters of Māra, embodiments of *tṛṣnā* [thirst], *arati* [aversion], and *rāga* [passion],[32] are transformed into *ḥūr* (Pers. *ḥūrī*), virgins in the paradise promised to believers in the Quran.

Apart from cultural translation, Rašīd al-Dīn frequently employs another translation strategy: introducing the Sanskrit technical terms or proper names in transcription, followed by a gloss using the formula "*yaʿni* 'i.e.' + [literal translation]." This approach is also used in al-Bīrūnī's *Taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind* or in Dārā Šukōh's *Sirr-e Akbar* (Persian translation of the *Upaniṣad*).[33] For instance, in the list of the Buddhist hells in chapter 11 of the Persian text,[34] Rašīd al-Dīn explains the name *Asinakhā* in the following manner:

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dragon, and by his supernatural power placed one foot to the north of the royal city, and the other on the top of a mountain, being fifteen *yu-yen* apart] (Fǎ Xiǎn, *Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, tr. Giles 1877, 94).

32 See e.g. *Saṃyutta-Nikāya* (4.25, vol. 1, 273–279).

33 For instance, in the Persian translation of the *Praśna-upaniṣad* in the *Sirr-e Akbar*, §1.1: *⟨ʾpnkht pršn⟩ az ⟨ʾthbn byd⟩* yaʿni dar īn *⟨ʾpnkht⟩ suʾāl va-ǧawāb besyār ast* [Praśna-upaniṣad from the Atharvaveda, i.e. in this Upaniṣad there are many questions and answers.] (cf. Göbel-Groß 1962, 62–63). "Questions and answers" are an etymologising explanation for Skt. *praśna* [question] in the title.

In the *Taḥqīq mā li-l-Hind*, al-Bīrūnī uses more frequently *ʾay* [i.e.], e.g. "*⟨ʾbykt⟩ ʾay šayʾun bilā ṣūratin* '*avyakta*" [i.e. something without form] (Sachau 1887, 40). "Something without form" is an etymological explantion of Skt. *a-vyakta* [not visible].

34 Hells mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn in Persian transcription: ⟨*ṣnyrv*⟩ (Skt. *Saṃjīva*), ⟨*klšvtr*⟩ (Skt. *Kālasūtra*), ⟨*ṭʾpn*⟩ (Skt. *Tāpana*), ⟨*prṭʾpn*⟩ (Skt. *Pratābana*), ⟨*snkʾt*⟩ (Skt. *Saṅghāta*), ⟨*rvrt*⟩ (Skt. *Raurava*), ⟨*mhʾrvrv*⟩ (Skt. *Mahāraurava*), ⟨*ʾvyš*⟩ (Skt. *Avīci*), ⟨*sʾlmly*⟩ (Skt. *Śālmani*), ⟨*ʾsptrvn*⟩ (Skt. *Asipatravana*), ⟨*vytrvn*⟩ (Skt. *Vaitaraṇī*). Note that the scribe of the Persian manuscript (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, British Library Add MS 7628) does not distinguish between گ *g* and ک *k*, or ب *b* and پ *p*.

> *va-nām-e ān qawm Asīnakāt (⟨ʾsynʾkʾt⟩)* ***yaʿnī šamšīr-nāḫon.***[35] (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 398v21)
>
> [And the name of these people[36] is Asinakhā, that is "sword-nail."]

In the phrase *yaʿnī šamšīr-nāḫon*, *šamšīr* [sword] is a gloss of Sanskrit *asi* [sword], and *nāḫon* [nail] is a gloss of Sanskrit *nakha* [nail]. The same strategy is applied in chapter 1, when Rašīd al-Dīn first mentions the book of Abhidharma:

> Pers.: *va-Šākamūni-rā kitābī ast nām-e ū Abidarm (⟨ʾbdrm⟩) va* ***maʿnā-ye īn lafẓ avval va-āḫer-e hame-ye kitābhā ast*** *va dar īn kitāb Abidarm goyand ke dar advār-e muqaddam payġāmbarī būde ast nām-e ū Dīpankar (⟨dypnkr⟩)* ***) yaʿnī čerāġ donyā.*** (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 393r32–33)
>
> Arab.: *wa-li-Šākamunī kāna smu-hū Abidarm (⟨ʾbdrm⟩) wa-****maʿnā haḏā l-lafẓi ʾawwalu l-kutubi wa-l-ʾāḫiri-hā*** *wa-fī haḏā l-kitābi yaqūlu kāna fī l-ʾadwāri l-mutaqaddimati nabīyun ismu-hū Dībankar (⟨dybnkr⟩)* ***yaʿnī sirāǧu d-duniyā.*** (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2072r31–32)
>
> [Šākyamuni has a book titled Abhidharma. The word means "first and last of all the books." In this book Abhidharma, it is said that in the previous generations, there was a prophet named Dīpaṅkara, that is "light of the world."]

Similarly, in the Buddha's birth scene in chapter 2, Śuddhodana and Mahāmāyā are each introduced with their Sanskrit names and the corresponding etymological gloss:

> Pers.: *nām-e ū Šudūdan (⟨šdwdn⟩) ke* ***maʿnā-ye vī mardī-ye pāk-e andrūn bāšad.*** (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 393v14)
>
> Arab.: *ismu-hu Šadūdan (⟨šdwdn⟩*[37]*)* ***yaʿnī ʾinna-hū kāna qalbu-hū ṣāfiyan naḍīfan min ġayri ġillin.*** (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2072v8)
>
> [His name was Śuddhodana, that is "a man with pure interior."][38]
>
> Pers.: *nām-e ū Māhāmāyā (⟨mʾhʾmʾy⟩)*[39] ***yaʿnī bozorgī ke čonānk hast ū-rā našenāsand.*** (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 393v15)
>
> Arab.: *ismu-hā Māhāmāyā* ***yaʿnī mā yuʿrafu ʾaḥadun ʿaẓamata-hā kamā hiya.*** (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2072v9)
>
> [Her name was Mahāmāyā, that is "there is no one as great as her."]

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35 All emphasis in bold here and in the following has been added by the author.

36 I.e. residents of this hell.

37 Vocalisation in the manuscript: شَدوْدن.

38 Translation of Arabic: "His name was Šuddhodana, i.e. his heart was pure and clean, without any malice."

39 Spelled ⟨*mʾhy*⟩ in Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 393v15. The reading ⟨*mʾhʾmʾy*⟩ is supported by the manuscript Topkapı Sarayı Hazine 1654, f. 345v12.

The Persian gloss probably etymologises the name *Śuddhodana* as Sanskrit *śuddha* [pure] and *udara* [belly, interior]. For *Mahāmāyā*, the Persian gloss focuses on the first part of the name, *mahā* [great].

While some glosses reflect the genuine etymology of the Sanskrit word, some others seem to originate from Rašīd al-Dīn or Kamalaśrī's own interpretation. For instance, the name Śākyamuni is explained as:

> Pers.: *Šākamūnī yaʿnī pādešāhī ke darvīšī iḫtiyār karde bāšad.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 396v8)
>
> Arab.: *Šākamūnī yaʿnī huwa sulṭānun iḫtāra l-faqra ʿalā l-ġinā.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2072v3)
>
> [Śākyamuni, i.e. a king who has chosen poverty (over richness).[40]]

Rather than an etymological gloss of the Sanskrit word, the interpretation "a king who has chosen poverty" is Rašīd al-Dīn's interpretation based on Śākyamuni's life story.

3 Central Asian Buddhist terms

Another notable feature of the Buddha biography in the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* is that many Buddhist terms used by Rašīd al-Dīn exhibit characteristics of Uyghur-Mongolian Buddhism, with influences from Chinese and Tibetan Buddhism.[41] While the majority of sources used by Rašīd al-Dīn and his informant Kamalaśrī are clearly of Sanskrit origin from Kashmir, technical terms typical of Tibetan, Uyghur-Mongolian, and Chinese Buddhist texts are interspersed throughout the text. This reflects the cosmopolitan nature of the Ilkhanate realm, where travellers from all over Eurasia converged and multiple cultures and religions coexisted. Below are some examples of Central Asian Buddhist terms that were derived from Old Uyghur, Mongolian, or Tibetan and assimilated into the Persian and Arabic texts.

3.1 *Burḫān* ⟨*brḫʾn*⟩ [Buddha]

Throughout the Buddha biography in the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ*, Rašīd al-Dīn never employs the Sanskrit term *buddha* when referencing the title "Buddha." Instead, he uses the term *burḫān*: for example, *Šākamūni Burḫān*, *Amitā Burḫan*. This is evident in one of the titles in the list of Buddhist books in the Arabic manuscript:

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40 Only in the Arabic version.

41 For a survey of the history of Buddhism in the Ilkhanate, see Röhrborn (1989), Elverskog (2010), Yoeli-Tlalim (2013), and Prazniak (2014).

Kitābu ⟨ʾbrmtʾy⟩ fī Šukāwati (⟨šwkʾwt⟩) allatī hiya l-ǧannatu wa-ʾAmitā[bur]ḫān[42] *huwa hunāka.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2074v4–5)[43]

[The book *ʾbrmtʾy* on Sukhāvati, i.e. the Paradise and Amitā-Burḫān is found here.]

The Buddha Amitābha is introduced as *amitā-burḫān ⟨ʾmtʾbrḫʾn⟩* in the Arabic text. The title *burḫān* was borrowed from Old Turkic *burhan* [Buddha] (Doerfer 1965, 282–284), which is also attested in Mong. as *burqan*. Etymologically, Old Turkic *burhan* is a compound of *bur* [Buddha] (from Middle Chinese 佛 */*but*/[44]) and *han* [king]. The transcription of the name *Amitā* also suggests that the name was not directly taken from Sanskrit *Amitābha*, but rather from the Old Turkic form *Amita*, which in turn was borrowed from Chinese 阿彌陀 *ā mí tuó*, shortened from 阿彌陀佛 *ā mí tuó fó.* The worship of Amitābha and Sukhāvatī is a practice typical of Pure Land Buddhism, a branch of Mahāyāna Buddhism widely spread in China and East Asia. The name *Amitā-burḫan* is one of the most prominent indications of Chinese Buddhist influence in the Buddha biography of *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* (Elverskog 2010, 157).

3.2 *Ḫanšī* ⟨*ḫnšy*⟩ "Avalokiteśvara"

The name *Ḫanšī* occurs twice in the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ*. The first occurrence is found in chapter 10 of the Persian version, in the section on the attributes (*maʿrefat-e kalemātī*) of the Buddhist deity (*maʿbūd*, lit. 'worshipped'):

va-ān-rā Lūkešvar ⟨lvkšvr⟩ mīḫ^{v}anand va-be-zabān-e Ḫitāy ū-rā Kwanšī ⟨kwnšy⟩ gūyand. (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 398r1)

[People call him Lokeśvara, and in the Chinese language Guān Shì (觀世).]

42 The manuscript reads ⟨*ʾmtḫʾn*⟩ *Amitāḫan*, but this is evidently a scribal error as the name is spelled ⟨*ʾmtbrhʾn*⟩ *Amitāburḫān* in the short description beneath the title.
43 Cf. Elverskog (2010, 157).
44 Phonetic reconstruction according to Pulleybank (1991, 96). It is a typical feature of Northwestern Middle Chinese dialects that syllable final /-*t*/ in Middle Chinese is rendered as ⟨*r*⟩ in Old Turkic; compare also *bir* [brush] from 筆 */*pit*/. Coblin (1991, 67–70) provides abundant examples to show that what scholars reconstructed with -*t* final according to Chinese rime books was probably realised as an "r-like" sound in medieval Northwestern China, because the characters with reconstructed -*t* final regularly transcribed Sanskrit -*r*- from 400 CE onward. Similarly, Sino-Korean words borrowed from Middle Chinese transcribe /-*t*/ with ⟨*l*⟩ (ㄹ), e.g. 불 *bul* [Buddha] (< 佛), 필 *pil* [brush] (< 筆). For the phonological details of Middle Chinese phoneme /-*t*/ entered Middle Korean as /*l*/, see Martin (1997).

Lokeśvara (*loka-īśvara* [lord of the world]) is one of the variant forms of Avalokiteśvara.[45] The transcription from Chinese reflects Late Middle Chinese pronunciation **/kuan şiaj̀/*.[46] The other occurrence of *Ḫanšī* is found in the book list in the Arabic manuscript, where the book title reads:

> *Kitābu Kārandūkā (⟨kʾrndwk⟩) l-munzalu ʾilā Ḫunšī Būdisat*[47] *(⟨ḫnšy bwdst⟩) min Ḫūnš Būdisat.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2074v19–20)[48]
>
> [Book of *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, sent to Guān Shì Bodhisattva from Guān Shì Bodhisattva (?)]

According to Elverskog (2010, 157–158), the book title here points to the tradition of *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* preserved in the Chinese (大乘莊嚴寶王經 *Dà shèng zhuāng yán bǎo wáng jīng* T1050) and Tibetan (*'Phags pa za ma tog bkod pa*, Derge, mo sde, ja, 200a3–247b7) canons. The plot summary of Avalokiteśvara's descent to hell (Arab. *ǧaḥīm*) to redeem its inhabitants is reminiscent of the plot in T1050, where Avalokiteśvara descends to Avīci hell, extinguishes the blazing fire, and transforms the scorching hell into a realm of cold (*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 1050.20.48b15–49a26).

According to Röhrborn (1989, 131), the name ⟨*ḫnšy*⟩ can be interpreted either as *ḫwanšī*, a direct transciption of Late Middle Chinese **/kuan şiaj̀/*, or as *ḫūnši*, as it is attested in Old Turkic *konši* (cf. Wilkens 2021, 391). In any case, the fact that the name originates from Chinese *Guān Shì* rather than the Indic form *Avalokiteśvara* provides telling evidence of Chinese influence on the Buddhism present in the thirteenth-century Mongol Ilkhanate.

3.3 *Qašūrdī* ⟨*qšwrdy*⟩ 'Kanjur'

Another line that reflects influence of Central Asian Buddhism is found in chapter 20 of the Persian version and chapter 21 of the Arabic version in the scene of Śākyamuni's death.[49] It recounts that after Śākyamuni's death, a man came and compiled his teaching into a book:

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45 *Lokeśvara* corresponds to 世自在 *shì zì zaì* in the Chinese translation. For various Chinese translations (觀世, 觀世音, 觀自在, 觀世自在, etc.) of the name of Avalokiteśvara and the possible underlying Sanskrit/Middle Indic forms (*Avalokitasvara* > **Avalokitaśvara* > *Avalokiteśvara*), see Karashima (1999, 2016).

46 Reconstruction according to Pulleyblank (1991, 113, 285).

47 The spelling seems to reflect the Middle Indic form, which simplifies the consonant cluster *-tv-* > *-tt-*; cf. Skt. *bodhisat(t)va*, Pali *bodhisatta*.

48 The ending *min ḫwnš budasat* was probably corrupted in the process of copying. Jahn (1965, lxxii) proposes to reconstruct the line as "Kuan-Shi Bodhisat who was sent by Shākamūnī burkhān from Allah (to Hell)."

49 See also Yoeli-Tlalim (2013, 206).

Pers.: *va-soḫanān va fawāyed-e Šākamunī ǧamʿ kard va-az ān daftarī sāḫt va-maǧmūʿe pardāḫt va-nām-e ān Qašūrdī (⟨qšwrdy⟩) nehād.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 403r17–18)

Arab.: *wa-ǧamaʿū min kalāmi Šākamūni wa-fawāʾid-hī kitāban wa-sammaw-hu Qašūrdī.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2077r35–2077v1)

[He collected the words and useful sayings of Śākyamuni into a book and called it Kanjur.]

The name *Qašūrdī* likely reflects Tibetan *bka' 'gyur* [translated words],[50] the title of part of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. It is surprising that the name *bka' 'gyur* already appears in the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ*, as the Tibetan canon first appeared in its complete form in the late thirteenth century.[51]

3.4 *baḫšī*

According to Rašīd al-Dīn, his informant was a Buddhist monk from Kashmir named Kamālašrī Baḫšī (⟨*kmʾlšry bḫšy*⟩). The name *Kamālašrī* is certainly a Sanskrit name composed of *kamala* [lotus] and *śrī* [splendour]. More interesting is the title *baḫšī*, which denotes a Buddhist monk in the Mongolian Ilkhanate, similar to the use of *bla ma* in Tibetan.[52] Etymologically, *baḫšī* is a loanword from Old Turkic *bahšı*, whose ultimate etymological source is Middle Chinese 博士 */*pak d͡ẓiʼ*/ [learned scholar].[53] The word *bahšı* and its cognates are *Wanderwörter* in Central Asia that are attested in almost every Central Asian language with a written tradition: Old Turkic *bahšı*[54] (Wilkens 2021, 138), Tibetan *pag shi*[55] (van der Kuijp 1995), Mongolian *bayši*, Manchu *baksi*. The word was even reborrowed into the Chinese of the 清 Qing Dynasty

50 Röhrborn (1989, 130), against Jahn (1980, 101), interprets the Arabic spelling ⟨*qšwrdy*⟩ as a shortened form of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośavṛttiśāstra* (cf. Old Turkic title *košavrti*), which was in circulation in Central Asia.

51 For the historical implication of the title *bka' gyur* appearing in a thirteenth-century Persian chronicle, see Elverskog (2010, 161–162) and Yoeli-Tlalim (2013, 206).

52 For *baḫšī*, see also Spuler (2012 [1960]). After the Ilkhanate had converted to Islam and started to suppress Buddhism in 1295, *baḫšī* denoted a scribe of Turkish and Mongol records, similar to the Mongolian *bičigei* or Turkish *bitikči*.

53 The phonetical reconstruction follows Pulleyblank (1991). The competing theory that Persian *baḫšī* or Old Turkic *bahšı* [monk] is borrowed from Sanskrit *bhikṣu* is less compelling for obvious phonological reasons: the syllable *baḫ-* rather than **biḫ-* favours the etymology from Middle Chinese 博士 over Sanskrit *bhikṣu*. The semantic change from 'learned scholar' to 'Buddhist monk' can be accounted for by the semantic narrowing from 'learned scholar' → 'teacher' → '(Buddhist) teacher, i.e. Buddhist monk.'

54 Also spelled *pahši* or *pahšı*.

55 Variant spellings include *bag shi*, p/*bak shi, pa shi, dpa' shi, sba shi, sbag shi, dpag shi*; cf. van der Kuijp (1995, 276).

(1644–1912) as an official title 巴克什 *bā kè shí* and 把式 *bǎ shì* or 把勢 *bǎ shì*, all of which mean "one who is experienced in a certain skill."[56]

Little is known about Kamālašrī Baḫšī as a historical figure. Yoeli-Tlalim has attempted to find traces of him in an inscription discovered in Kashmir dated to the period of the reign of King Rājadeva (r. 1213–1236 CE), which "records the consecration of a mandala dedicated to Avalokiteśvara by the teacher Kamalaśrī" (Yoeli-Tlalim 2013, 202–203). However, it is uncertain whether this was the same Kamālašrī mentioned by Rašīd al-Dīn. Zieme (2002, 226) notes that the name is mentioned in the Turfan Chinese-Uyghur fragment Ch/U 7024:[57]

> *t'βq'c kwyn t' mn k'm'l'syry pydydym.*
>
> [I, Kamalaširi, have written on this Chinese scroll.]

Another possible candidate of the historical Kamālašrī is found in a Chinese inscription from the Yuan Dynasty discovered on Wutaishan 五臺山, which mentions a certain 阿麻剌室利板的答 *Ā má lā shì lì bǎn dì dá* 'Amalaśrī Paṇḍita' of Kashmiri (罽賓 *Jì bīn*) origin. He was granted the right to govern the 西部僧侶部族 *xī bù sēng lǚ bù zú* [the monks and tribes in the Western region], with the title 灌頂國師 *Guàn dǐng guó shī* after 1333.[58] Even if this Amalaśrī is a contemporary of Rašīd al-Dīn, it remains a phonological difficulty that the Chinese transcription points to /*a*/ rather than /*ka*/ in the first syllable of *Kamalaśrī*.

3.5 *nom* ⟨*nwm*⟩ '*dharma*'

At the beginning of the *History of India*, Rašīd al-Dīn introduces his informant in the following manner:

> Pers.*: Kamālašrī Baḫšī ke mowled wa manšāʾ-e ū az balād-e Kašmīr ast wa bar maʿrefat-e nūm (⟨nwm⟩) ke kitāb-e Šākamūnī ast.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 378r11)
>
> Arab.: *Kamālašrī al-Baḫšī llaḏī mawlidu-hū wa-manšāʾu-hū balādu Kašmīr wa-huwa bi-ġawāmiḍi l-kitābi l-mawsūmi nūm taṣnīfi Šākamunī ʿārifun wa-ʿalā ḥaqāyiqi-hī muṭṭaliʿun wa-wāqiʿun.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2059r9–10)
>
> [Kamālašrī Baḫšī, whose birthplace and place of origin is the land of Kashmir, and who is well equipped with the knowledge of *nom*, i.e. the book of Šākymuni.]

56 Cf. Luó Zhúfēng 羅竹風 et al. (1986–1994, s.v. 巴克什).

57 For a digital version, see https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/ch_u/images/chu7024versototal.jpg (10 April 2024).

58 See Hibino (1973, 652), cited in Matsui (2008, 163).

The word *nom*, here used in the sense of ‘*dharma*,’ is not a common Persian word recorded in any Persian dictionary.[59] Instead, *nom* is a loanword from Old Turkic *nom* [dharma, law]. Etymologically, *nom* is derived from Greek *nómos* [law], which probably entered Old Turkic via Sogdian *nwm* [law] (Wilkens 2021, 494).

4 Case study: **Āryavasiṣṭhasūtra*

Among the Buddhist elements discussed above, the **Āryavasiṣṭhasūtra*, embedded in the seventh chapter of the Persian version in the form of a *ḥekāyat* [story], is one of the chapters whose sources have already been identified. Therefore, the *sūtra* provides a great example as an object of closer examination of Rašīd al-Dīn's translation strategy. As identified by Schopen (1982, 226–227), the story is a translation (if not paraphrase) of a short text which exhibits structural parallels to the Tibetan *'Phags pa gnas 'jog gi mdo* (Derge Kanjur, mdo sde, sa, 263b6–268a4)[60] and the first five *suttas* of the *Uposathavagga* of the Pali *Aṅguttara-nikāya*.[61] The name *Vasiṣṭha* (Pali *Vaseṭṭha*, Tib. *gNas 'jog*) is transcribed as *Vāšist* in Persian.[62]

The plot of the *ḥekāyat* can be divided into three parts:

(1) The brahmin Vasiṣṭha, having practiced rigid fasting (*rūze*) for seventy-two days, encounters Śākyamuni on his way. Śākyamuni tells Vasiṣṭha that he was practising fasting in the wrong way, such that he would not be able to reach heaven (*behešt raftan*).

(2) Upon Vasiṣṭha's questioning, Śākyamuni teaches him to take vows and to practise a series of actions reminiscent of the eight precepts of *uposatha*.[63]

(3) Śākyamuni enumerates the six heavens of the world of *Šayṭān* (Skt. *kāmadhātu*), the seventeen heavens of the corporeal world (*ğesmānī*; Skt. *rūpadhātu*), and four heavens of the world of spirit (*rūḥyānī*; Skt. *ārūpyadhātu*).

The focus of the *sūtra* concerns the moral practice prescribed during the fasting days. Persian *rūze*[64] [fasting] corresponds to Buddhist Skt. *poṣadha*, Pali *uposatha*, Tib. *bsnyen gnas*, and Chin. 齋 *zhāi* in Buddhist sources. Interestingly, in the Islamic con-

59 The usual reading of the spelling ⟨*nwm*⟩ *nawm* [sleep] in Modern New Persian is of Arabic origin.
60 English translation of the Tibetan text by Elizabeth Angowski ("The Sūtra of Vasiṣṭha," 2023). I thank the anonymous reviewer for this reference.
61 *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (8.41–15 = Ed. Hardy, vol. 4, 249–262).
62 Note the metathesis of sibilants *Vāšist* < **Vāsišt* in the Persian transcription.
63 Buddhist Sanskrit *aṣṭāṅga poṣadha*, Pali *aṭṭhaṅgasamannāgata uposatha*, Tib. *'phags pa'i yan lag brgyad dang ldan pa'i bsnyen gnas*, Chinese 八關齋 *bā guān zhāi*.
64 From Middle Persian *rōzag* [fasting, fasting day], derived from *rōz* [day] with the suffix *-ag* denoting semantic narrowing; cf. *drōnag* [rainbow] from *drōn* [bow], *nāmag* [letter] from *nām* [name]; cf. Durkin-Meisterernst (2014, 156).

text, Persian *rūze* usually connotes Arabic *ṣawm* [fasting], one of the five pillars (*ʾarkān*) of Islam.

The story opens with a portrayal of Vasiṣṭha permeated with Sufi terms:

> *brahmanī būd nām-e ū Vāšest sālek-e nāsek-e ʿābed-e zāhed ke be-har haftād va-dū rūz rūze gošādī va-rīāżat va-moğāhede-ye saḫt mīkešīd.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 396r8–9)
>
> [There was a brahmin named Vasiṣṭha, a pious and zealous ascetic following the spiritual path, who practised *rūze* for all seventy-two days and who was engaged in rigid asceticism with endeavour.]

The attribute *sālek* [wayfarer], the active participle of the Arabic verbal root √*SLK* [to follow a path], is a cognate of Arabic *sulūk* [path, journey] (see Lewisohn 2012 [1997]), which is a crucial technical term in Islamic mysticism. The attribute *nāsek* [hermit, ascetic], according to Thackston (2019, xvi), often serves to translate 'hermit' (Skt. *muni*) or 'brahmin' (Skt. *brāhmaṇa*) in Naṣr Allāh Munšī's Persian translation of *Kalīla wa-Dimna.*[65] The attribute *ʿābed* [(God) serving], the active participle of the Arabic verbal root √*ʿBD* [to serve], is a cognate of Arabic *ʿabd* [servant], which usually denotes "servant of Allāh" in the Quranic context (Brunschvig 2012 [1960]). The attribute *zāhed* [ascetic], the active participle of the Arabic verbal root √*ZHD* [to abandon], is a cognate of Arabic *zuhd* [renunciation, asceticism], which is another crucial technical term in Islamic mysticism. All the above-mentioned attributes are attested in the *Qurʾān* (Badawi and Haleem 2008, 405, 449, 595, 934). In comparison, in the Tibetan version, *Vasiṣṭha* (*gNas ʾJog*) is characterised by either Tib. *bram ze* [brahmin] or *drang srong* [sage, ṛṣi] (Derge Kanjur, mdo sde, sa, 264a1). In the Pali version, Vasiṣṭha (Pali *Vāseṭṭha*) is an *upāsaka* [householder] (*Aṅguttara-nikāya* l. 21, vol. 4, 249).

When Vasiṣṭha encounters Śākyamuni on his way, Rašīd al-Dīn describes Śākyamuni in the following manner:

> *Šākamūnī bā nomre-ye b(a)rahmanān va-morīdān be-d-ū resīd va barāheme*[66] *ū-rā Goutam (⟨gwtm⟩) mīḫᵛānand yaʿnī darvīš.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 396r10–11)
>
> [Śākyamuni came together with a group of brahmins and disciples. The brahmins called him Gautama, i.e. "mendicant" (*darvīš*).]

The phrase "*bā nomre-ye b(a)rahmanān va-morīdān*" is reminiscent of stock phrases in Buddhist texts such as the Pali "*Bhagavā cārikaṃ carati mahatā bhikkhusaṅghena saddhiṃ*" [the Venerable One travels together with a large group of *bhikkhus*]. The name Gautama is explained as *darvīš,* a word usually applied to a Sufi practitioner who chooses material poverty to embrace spiritual richness (Shaki and Algar 1996).

65 On the other hand, the terms are rendered by *mgūšå* [magus (Zoroastrian priests)] in the Old Syriac version.

66 Note the two different plural forms of *barahman* in the same line: برهمان *b(a)rahmān* with Iranian plural ending *-ān* and براهمه *barāheme* with Arabic broken plural.

After Vasiṣṭha and Śākyamuni have exchanged greetings, Śākyamuni asks:

> *čerā čonīn zard va żaʿīf va nātavān šode-yī va az ǧān ramaqī namānde.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 396v11–13)
>
> [Why are you pale, weak and powerless and appear to be deprived of vitality?]

To this Vasiṣṭha replies that he had been fasting for months, and the purpose of fasting is:

> *tā ma-rā ḫodāyī be ʿavaż-e behešt dahad.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 396v13)
>
> [In order that God grants me the heaven as reward.]

A reader familiar with the history of Iranian languages will notice the unexpected etymological wordplay using the Sanskrit name of the protagonist Vasiṣṭha and the Persian *behešt* [heaven]. Etymologically, Sanskrit *vasiṣṭha* is the superlative of the adjective *vasu* [good]. New Persian *behešt*, inherited from Middle Persian *wahišt* (⟨*whšt*⟩), is ultimately derived from Proto-Iranian **Hwáhišt-Háhuš* (cf. Avestan *vahištō-aŋhuš-*), a compound of the superlative of **Hwásuš-* [good], cognate of Sanskrit *vasu* and **Háhuš-* [existence], literally "best existence" (Mayrhofer 1992–2011, s.v. *ásu-* and *vásu-*). It is also noteworthy that the Buddhist pursuit of awakening and liberation from the cycle of reincarnation is transformed into the pursuit of paradise in the Persian translation.

In comparison, the Tibetan *'Phags pa gnas 'jog gi mdo* only describes the exchange of greetings between the Buddha and Vasiṣṭha, without the Buddha rectifying Vasiṣṭha's method of fasting:

> *gnas 'jog khyod ci'i phyir 'di ltar skem zhing mdog mi sdug / ag tsom dang / skra dang / sen mo dang / spu ring zhing lus rtsub la gcom chung ngur smra /* (Derge Kanjur, mdo sde, sa, 264a1–a3)
>
> [Vasiṣṭha, why are you like this – emaciated and sallow, with a long beard, long hair, long nails, long body hair, ragged, and speaking so softly?] ("*The Sūtra of Vasiṣṭha*," tr. Angowski 2023, 1.2)

Śākyamuni replies that fasting and hunger was not the correct way to reach heaven. Hunger is prone to cause rage and anger rather than "rightful thought and reflection" ("*andīše va-fekr va-neyyat-e dorost*"). The phrasing is reminiscent of the *āryāṣṭāṅgamārga* or the eightfold rightful path of Buddhism: *samyag-dṛṣṭi* [right view], *samyak-saṃkalpa* [right intention], *samyag-vāc* [right speech], *samyak-karmānta* [right deed], *samyag-ājīva* [right livelihood], *samyag-vyāyāma* [right effort], *samyak-smṛti* [right mindfulness], *samyak-samādhi* [right concentration].

Having heard Śākyamuni's reply, Vasiṣṭha asks for clarification:

> *tū dānāyī ma-rā rahnomāyī va-eršād va-hedāyat kon.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 396v17)
>
> [Please give me guidance, direction, and instruction.]

Note that *eršād* [guidance] (Arabic stem IV verbal noun of the verbal root √*RŠD* [to guide]) and *hedāyat* [guidance] (Arabic stem I verbal noun of the verbal root √*HDY* [to guide]) are both derived from Arabic roots that are typically used to describe Allah guiding the way of Muslims.

In response, Śākyamuni enumerates the actions that Vasiṣṭha should swear to follow (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 396v18–23):

(i) *qaṣd-e māl va-asbāb-e motemallekān nakonam.*
[I do not desire wealth and possession of property.]

(ii) *dorūġ va-bohtān nagūyam.*
[I do not tell lie or false accusation.]

(iii) *soḫan-e ǧobnī nakonam.*
[I do not say words of timidity.]

(iv) *fasād va-fetne na-angīzam.*
[I do not provoke corruption and sedition.]

(v) *šahve be-ḥalāl va-ḥarām narānam.*
[I do not express desire for permissible and forbidden things.]

(vi) *harče mastī va-bīḫodī konad naḫoram.*
[I do not consume anything that induces intoxication or ecstasy.]

(vii) *raqṣ va-samāʿ nakonam.*
[I do not dance or sing.]

(viii) *soḫanbāzī va-ʿešq nagūyam.*
[I do not say playful or flirtatious words.]

(ix) *āvāz-e moṭrebān va-sāz-hā našenavam.*
[I do not listen to the voice of musicians or musical instruments.]

(x) *bū-ye ḫoš nabūyam va-bar andām namālam.*
[I do not smell perfume, and I do not apply it on my limbs.]

(xi) *kesvathā-ye rangīn va-lebāshā-ye fāḫervanǧ va-nasīǧ-e nīkū napūšam.*
[I do not wear colourful clothes, fine dresses, and good textiles.]

(xii) *bar taḫt va-sarīr va-astar va-oštor va-dīgar heyvānāt nanešīnam.*
[I do not sit on a throne, sofa, mule, camel, and other animals.]

(xiii) *āš va-gaẕā yek vaqt ḫoram pīš az zavāl-nazdīk-e nīmrūz.*
[I eat pottage and food only once before midday.]

(xiv) *āš-e pāk ḫoram yaʿnī heyvānī-rā bīǧān nakarde bāšand va ġadā yekbār va-āb čand ān ke ḫᵛāham.*
[I eat pure pottage, i.e. animals have not been killed; meal only once but water as much as I want.]

The list generally matches the *uposatha* vows with eight branches in Buddhism. The following are the actions that one should abstain from when taking up an *uposatha* vow according to the Pali tradition, see, among others, *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (8.41, vol. 4, 249–251):

(I) *pāṇātipāta* [killing living beings]
(II) *adinnādāna* [taking what is not given]
(III) *abrahmacariya* [sexual activity]
(IV) *musāvāda* [false speech]
(V) *surā-meraya-majja-pamādatthāna* [liquor, wine, intoxicants as the basis for heedlessness]
(VI) *vikāla-bhojana* [eating outside the proper time]
(VII) *nacca-gīta-vādita-visūka-dassana-mālā-gandha-vilepana-dhārana-mandana-vibhūsanatthāna* [dancing, singing, instrumental music, unsuitable shows, adorning and beautifying by wearing garlands, and applying scents and unguents]
(VIII) *uccāsayana-mahāsayana* [high beds and big beds]

It is noteworthy that the Persian translation has expanded the original list of eight and changed some elements. For example, in the place of *musāvāda* [false speech] in the Buddhist version, the Persian version adds *soḫan-e ğobnī* [words of timidity] and words provoking "corruption and sedition" (*fasād va-fetne*). *Adinnādāna* [taking what is not given] (i.e. stealing) is replaced by *šahve be-ḥalāl va ḥarām narānam* [I do not express desire for permissible and forbidden things], which draws on the opposition between the two categories of *ḥalāl* [lawful] and *ḥarām* [unlawful] in the Islamic *šarīʿa*. Interestingly, while the Buddhist original only decrees to avoid *uccāsayana-mahāsayana* [high beds and big beds], the Persian version also proscribes sitting on animals such as the *astar* [mule] or the *oštor* [camel] that are typical of the geographical areas where Rašid al-Dīn was writing. This again shows Rašīd al-Dīn's effort to localise Buddhist elements and to integrate them into the natural environment familiar to his audience.

When Vasiṣṭha asks about the purpose of these actions, Śākyamuni answers:

> *tā dar īn ğahān nafs-e tū berahad va dar ān behešt ğāvedāne bāšad.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 396v23–249)
>
> [So that your soul be liberated in this world and exist eternally in heaven.]

Note the juxtaposition of *īn ğahān* [this world] and *ān behešt* [that heaven], which is reminiscent of the contrast between *hāḏihi al-dunyā* [this world] and *al-ʾāḫira* [the last] in the Quran.[67] This transposes the Buddhist ideal of attaining *nirvāṇa* onto the Islamic goal of attaining the paradise in the afterlife.

This is also the transition from the second part of the *ḥekāyat* to the third part, in which Śākyamuni describes the names of Buddhist heavens, the life span of their inhabitants, and how many days in this world correspond to one day in the respective

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67 See *Quran* 16:30: *wa-qīla li-ḏ-ḏīna ttaqaw māḏan ʾanzala rabbu-kum qālū ḫayran li-ḏ-ḏīna ʾaḥsanū fī* ***hāḏihi d-dunyā*** *ḥasanatun wa-la-**dāru l-ʾaḫirati** hayrun wa-la-niʿma dāru l-muttaqīna* [And it shall be said to the godfearing: "What has your Lord sent down?" They will say: "Good! For those who do good in this world good; and surely the abode of the world to come is better; excellent is the abode of the godfearing!"] (tr. Arberry 1955, 289).

heaven. The formula for introducing each heaven is exemplified by the heaven of *Cāturmahārājakāyika* described below:

> *yek rūz be-d-īn šarāyeṭ rūze dārī beheštī yābī ke nām-e ān* ⟨*sqvrmh'r'nk'yk*⟩[68] *ast maʿnī-ye īn kalamāt-e behešt ān-ast ke taʿalloq čahār-pādešāh dārad ke an-rā negāh mīdārand va panǧāh sāl-e īn ʿālam yek rūz-e ān behešt bāšad va ahl-e ān behešt-rā be-d-ān rūz pānṣad sāl ʿomr bāšad va har sālī davāzdah māh va har māhī s[ī]*[69] *rūz va har rūzī panǧāh sāl bāšad.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 396v24–27)
>
> [(When) you fast for a day under this condition, you will find the heaven named Cāturmahārājakāyika. The meaning of this word of heaven is that it belongs to the four kings who protect it. Five hundred years in this world is one day in this heaven. The age of the inhabitants of this heaven is five hundred years. Each year consists of twelve months, each month consists of thirty days, and one day is equivalent to fifty years.]

Following this pattern, Śākyamuni introduced the heavens of *Cāturmahārājakāyika*, *Trāyastriṃśa*,[70] *Yāma*,[71] *Tuṣita*,[72] (*Nirmāṇarati*),[73] and *Paranirmitavaśavartin*[74] in the *Kāmadhātu* [desire realm]. The account of heavens and their inhabitants that one reaches after practising the *uposattha* with eightfold branches exhibits structural parallels to the *Vitthatūposathasutta* in the Pali *Aṅguttara-nikāya* (vol. 4, 254–255).[75] It is said that the ruler of these six heavens is *Eblīs*:

> *pādešāh-e īn šeš behešt Eblīs ast va bar tamāmī-ye ahālī-ye īn beheštā ḥākem.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 397r24–27)
>
> [The king of these six heavens is Eblīs and he rules over all the inhabitants of these six heavens.]

As mentioned above, *Eblīs* or *Šayṭān are used as names for Māra*, who is the ruler of the *Kāmadhātu* in the Buddhist cosmology. A few lines later, the heavens in the *Kāmadhātu* are called *se gāne-ye Šayṭān* [the three realms of Šayṭān].[76]

68 Transcription according to Rašīd al-Dīn (1433, f. 396r5). Transcribed as ⟨*stvrmh'r'dk'yk*⟩ in Topkapı Sarayı Hazine (1654, f. 346v3).

69 The manuscript reads سه *se* [three], but obviously سی *sī* [thirty] is intended.

70 Transcribed in Persian as ⟨*tr'kyš*⟩ in Rašīd al-Dīn (1433, f. 396v), and as ⟨ *tr'ystrnš* ⟩ in Topkapı Sarayı Hazine (1654, f. 346v).

71 Transcribed in Persian as ⟨*y'm*⟩.

72 Transcribed in Persian as ⟨*tšt*⟩.

73 The name is mentioned neither in Rašīd al-Dīn (1433) nor in Topkapı Sarayı Hazine (1654).

74 Transcribed into Persian as ⟨*prynrvyrvšrvty*⟩.

75 From this point on, the days and life spans of inhabitants in each heaven become very chaotic in the Persian manuscript and disagree with the Pali version.

76 The manuscript reads سه *se* [three] in Rašīd al-Dīn (1433, f. 397r9), but this is probably a scribal error for شش *šeš* [six].

At the end, Śākyamuni introduced the seventeen heavens[77] of the *Rūpadhātu* [form realm] and the four heavens[78] of the *Ārūpyadhātu* [formless realm] in a less detailed manner, without specifying the name of each heaven. *Rūpadhātu* (lit. 'realm of form') and *Ārūpyadhātu* (lit. 'realm of formlessness') are respectively described as *ǧesmānī* [corporeal] (derived from *ǧesm* [body]) and *rūḥānī* [spiritual] (derived from *rūḥ* [soul]). This calls to mind the dichotomy of body (*sōma*) and soul (*psuchē*) in Ancient Greek philosophy, which was transferred into Islamic philosophy through the Graeco-Arabic translation movement.

5 Case study: *Devatāsūtra*

Another Buddhist *sūtra* that Schopen (1982, 226) has identified is the *Devatāsūtra*, which is found in the sixteenth chapter of the Persian version (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 400v–401v) and the seventeenth chapter of the Arabic version (ed. Seleznyov 2020). Since the discovery of the Sanskrit manuscripts in Gilgit (ed. Mette 1981) and Potala (ed. Bhikṣuṇī Vinītā 2010, 264–303), and the Old Uyghur fragments in Turfan (ed. Zieme 2002), we now have at least six versions of this dialogue between a deity and the Buddha: Sanskrit, Tibetan (*lha'i mdo* [Sūtra of the Deity], Derge Kangyur, mdo sde, sa, 257a7–258b6),[79] Chinese (天請問經 *Tiān qǐng wèn jīng* [Sūtra of the Deity's Inquiry], *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* T592), Arabic, Persian, and Old Uyghur. While it is certain that the Tibetan and Chinese versions were both translated from Sanskrit, there is no information concerning the immediate *Vorlage* [pretext] of the Persian and Arabic versions. The Arabic and Persian texts follow the order of verses of Chinese T592, but they contain verses found only in the Tibetan *lha'i mdo* version but absent from the Chinese. Despite many cultural translations that "Islamicise" the Buddhist elements, the Persian and Arabic versions generally agree with the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions in content, except that the order of questions and answers is slightly different in the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions. While the Sanskrit and Chinese texts are in poetic forms (Sanskrit in *śloka*, Chinese in 伽他 *jiā tā* [Gathā]), the Arabic and Persian translations are in prose. According to Zieme (2002, 228), the Old Turkic fragments were probably translated from Chinese. However, the Old Turkic fragments

77 *Brahmapāriṣadya, Brahmapurohita, Mahābrahmā, Parīttābha, Apramāṇābha, Ābhāsvara, Parīttaśubha, Apramāṇaśubha, Śubhakṛtsna, Anabhraka, Puṇyaprasava, Bṛhatphala, Abṛha, Atapa, Sudṛśa, Sudarśana, Akaniṣṭha,* according to the Buddhist cosmology.
78 *Ākāśānantyāyatana, Vijñānānantyāyatana, Ākiṃcanyāyatana, Naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatana*, according to the Buddhist cosmology.
79 In Silk's (2019, 239–240) preliminary survey of Chinese *sūtra*s in Tibetan translation, *lha'i mdo* belongs to the "questionable cases." An English translation of the Tibetan text by Sakya Pandita Translation Team ("The Devatā Sūtra" 2024) and a comprehensive bibliography of primary sources are available. I thank the anonymous reviewer for this reference.

have additional parts that find no parallel in T592. It is uncertain whether the expansion points to a *Vorlage* different from T592, or if it was added by the Old Turkic translator. A fragment of the 天請問經 *Tiān qǐng wèn jīng* (T592), T II T Ch 5517, was also discovered in the Tarim basin.

The most remarkable cultural translations are the Persian *fereštegī* [angel] and Arabic *malāʾika* [angel], which are used in place of the Skt. *devatā* [deity], Tib. *lha* [god, deity], and Chin. 天 *tiān* [god].[80] Unlike all the other versions, in the Old Turkic fragments, it is a brahmin (Old Turkic *braman*[81]) rather than a deity that raises the questions to the Buddha. Zieme (2002, 232) suggests that the Old Turkic translator might have (mis)understood 天 *tiān* in Chinese as an abbreviation of 梵天 *fàn tiān*, which translates to Skt. *Brahman* and can easily be confused with Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa* [brahmin].

Furthermore, many typical terms of Buddhist ethics find their corresponding concepts in Persian and Arabic, for example Skt. *ajñāna* [ignorance] (Chin. 無智 *wú zhì*, Tib. *mi shes pa*) is rendered by Arab. *ǧahl* [ignorance] and Pers. *nādān* [ignorance]; Skt. *jñāna* [wisdom] (Chin.智 *zhì*, Tib. *shes pa*) is rendered by Arab./Pers. *ʿaql* [reason, intellect]; Skt. *tyāga* [abandonment, donation] (Tib. *gtong pa*) is rendered by Arab. *saḫāwa* and Pers. *ǧawānmardī* [generosity]; Skt. *puṇya* [merit] (Chin. 福 *fú*, Tib. *bsod nams*) is rendered by Arabic *ʾafʿāl al-ḫayr* and Pers. *kārhā ḫayr* [good actions]; Skt. (*paramaṃ*) *sukha* [(highest) happiness] (Chin. 樂 *lè*, Tib. *bde ba*) is rendered by Arab. *ʾaṭyab* and Pers. *ḫūštarīn* [best]; Skt. *pāpa* [evil] (Chin. 罪 *zuì*, Tib. *sdig pa*) is rendered by Arab. *ḏanb* and Pers. *gonāh* [sin]; Skt. *lobha* [greed] (Chin. 慳貪 *qiān tān*, Tib. *zhen pa*) is rendered by Pers. *ḥasad* [envy] and Arab. *buḫl* [avarice]; Skt. *kāma* [desire] (Chin. 欲愛 *yù ài*, Tib. *ʾdod*) is rendered by Pers. *donyāvī* [wordly, mundane] and Arab. *dunyā* [world].

In Śākyamuni's answer to the fourth question of the angel, the Buddhist concept of *śīla* [ethics, morality] is interpreted as "fear of God" in the Arabic and Persian translations:

> Pers.: *Ǧawāb-e šākamūnī goft har ke qāneʿ ast wa be-kafāfī raḍā šode āswade ast wa-har ke be-dānče dārad qāneʿ ast tawāngar ast ṣāḥib libās an-ast ke* ***taqwā šeʿār ast wa-ṣalāḥiyat deṯār-e ḫod sāḫte ast*** *wa har ke gūyad parhizgāram tawāngar-ast wa nabāšad sālūs ast.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 401r1–3)
>
> [Hereupon Shākamūnī gave the following answer: "He who is easily contented and is satisfied with his substance lives in peace; he who is content with his possessions is rich; a hypocrite is he **who wears the fear of God and virtue as his upper clothing**; a deceiver is he who avouches himself to be a fearer of God but is not such."] (tr. Jahn 1965, lxii)

80 天 *tiān* literally means 'sky, heaven.' In Chinese Buddhist translations, 天 *tiān* typically renders Sanskrit *deva* or *devatā*.

81 The Old Turkic form *braman*, ultimately loaned from Sanskrit *brāhmaṇa*, is possibly intermediated by a language similar to Gāndharī *braṃmana*, Tocharian A *brāmaṃ* or Sogdian *prʾm(ʾ)n*.

Arab.: *ʾaǧāba Šākamūnī man qanaʿa wa-raḍā bimā yakfīhi fa-huwa l-mustarīḥu l-qāniʿu l-ġannīyu wa-ṣāḥibu l-libāsi man ǧaʿala* ***t-taqwā wa-ṣ-ṣalāḥīyata diṯāra-hū*** *wa-man iddaʿā ʾannahū muttaqin wa-huwa kāḏibun fa-huwa sālūsun.* (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2075r35–2075v1; cf. Seleznyov 2020, 247)

Skt.: *bhagavān āha / alpecchaḥ sukhito jñeyaḥ saṃtuṣṭo parameśvaraḥ* ***śīlavāṃ vibhūṣito*** *nityaṃ bhraṣṭaśīlo viḍaṃbitaḥ.* (Mette 1981, 143)

Chin.: 天復請曰:少欲最安樂, 知足大富貴,持戒恒端嚴, 破戒常醜陋。(*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* T592, p. 124c6–7)

Tib.: *bcom ldan ʼdas kyis bkaʼ stsal pa / ʼdod chung bde bar shes par bya / chog shes dbang phyug dam pa yin /* ***khrims ldan rtag tu rnam par brgyan*** */ tshul khrims nyams pa mtho btsams yin//* (Derge Kanjur, mdo sde, sa, 257b7)

The third hemistich in the Buddhist version stresses that one who possesses *śīla* (Chin. 戒 *jiè*, Tib. *khrims*) will always be well-clad. However, the Persian and Arabic versions interpret this negatively – one who shows fear of God (*taqwā*) and goodness (*ṣalāḥiya*) only through superficial garb (*diṯār*) is deemed an impostor (Pers. *sāḫte*) or a liar (Arab. *kāḏib*). The Buddhist concept of *śīla* is rendered by the Quranic term *taqwā* [fear of God], which connotes the moral virtue of piety, abstinence, and faith (Lewisohn 2012 [2004]).

In Śākyamuni's answer to the eighth question of the angel, the Buddhist pursuit of *mokṣa* [liberation (from the cycle of transmigration)] is interpreted as reading *al-Ḥaqq* (lit. 'the Truth'):

Pers.: *Šākamūnī goft az ǧavānmardī dūstān besyār šowand wa az dūstī namūdan-e došmanān kam wa az ḫodāyī* ***tarsī wa rāstī be-behešt rawand*** *wa čūn az ʿaql-e koll begoḏarand* ***ḫaqq rasand.*** (Rašīd al-Dīn 1433, f. 401r20–21).

[Hereupon Shākamūnī replied: "Through generosity the number of one's friends increases and through friendship that of one's enemies decreases; through **piety and honesty** one enters Paradise and when one rises beyond innate intellect one **reaches God**."] (tr. Jahn 1965, lxiii)

Arab.: *ʾaǧāba Šākamūnī ʾanna s-saḫāwata sababun li-ziyādati l-ʾaṣdiqāʾi wa-bi-t-tawaddud ʾʾilā l-ḫalqi yaqillu l-ʾaʿdāʾu* ***wa-l-ʿalāniyyatu wa-ṣ-ṣidqu*** *fī l-ʾumūri yudḫilāni l-ǧannata wa-muḫāwaratu ʿaqlu l-kulli wa-l-ʿubūru ʿanhu* ***yuṣilu ʾilā l-ḥaqqi.*** (Rašīd al-Dīn 1314/1315, f. 2075v10–11; cf. Seleznyov 2020, 248)

Skt.: *bhagavān āha / tyāgān mitrāṇi vardhante maitryā śāmyanti śatravaḥ* ***śīlāt svargam avāpnoti*** *jñānān* ***mokṣaṃ ca gacchati.*** (Mette 1981, 145)

Tib.: *bcom ldan ʼdas kyis bkaʼ stsal pa / gtong bas mdzaʼ bshes ʼphel bar ʼgyur / byams pas dgra rnams zhi bar byed/* ***tshul khrims kyis ni mtho ris thob*** */ shes pas* ***thar par ʼgro bar ʼgyur*** *//* (Derge Kanjur, mdo sde, sa, 258a5)[82]

82 There is no parallel of this verse in Chinese T592.

Similar to previous examples, Skt. *śīlāt svargam avāpnoti* (Tib. *tshul khrims kyis ni mtho ris thob*) [he reaches the heaven by means of morality] is rendered in Persian as *tarsī wa rāstī be-behešt rawand* [with fear (of God) and righteousness they go to heaven]. Skt. *mokṣaṃ ca gacchati* (Tib. *thar par 'gro bar 'gyur*) [he achieves liberation] is rendered in Persian as *ḫaqq rasand* and in Arabic as *yuṣilu al-haqq* [he reaches al-Ḥaqq] (Yoeli-Tlalim 2013, 208). *Al-Ḥaqq* (literally 'the Truth') is one of the ninety-nine names of Allah in Islam (MacDonald and Calverley 2012 [1971]). In this way, the Buddhist goal of *mokṣa* [liberation] is reshaped as the Sufi ideal of coming close to Allah.

6 Conclusion

The Buddha biography in Rašīd al-Dīn's *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* is an important vestige in Arabic and Persian literature that, following Rašīd al-Dīn's predecessors al-Bīrūnī and al-Šahrastānī, introduced Indian religions to the Islamicate world. With his *interpretatio Islamica*, Rašīd al-Dīn localised Buddhist ideas with equivalent Islamic concepts, which not only made Buddhism more accessible to his Muslim audience but also nativised Buddhism under the framework of Islam, aligning with the political ideology after the conversion of Ilkhanate from Buddhism to Islam. On the one hand, references to Indian deities are translated and transformed to fit an Islamicate cultural context: *Māla* in Buddhism becomes *Iblīs* or *Šayṭān* in Islam, Mount *Meru* becomes Mount *Qaf*, Skt. *deva* [god] becomes Pers. *ferešte* / Arab. *malāʾika* [angel], and the seven Buddhas of the past become *ʾanbiyāʾ* [prophets]. On the other hand, Buddhist technical terms are cited in their original Sanskrit forms, transcribed into Perso-Arabic script, and supplemented with etymological glosses introduced by *yaʿnī* [that is]. Moreover, in the case studies presented above, we see that Buddhist practises and goals are adapted into an Islamic framework: following Buddhist ethics (Skt. *śīla*) becomes 'God-fearing' (Arab./Pers. *taqwā*), the pursuit of awakening (Skt. *bodhi*) and *nirvāna* becomes the pursuit of Paradise (Arab. *ǧinna* / Pers. *behest*), attaining liberation from the cycle of rebirths (Skt. *mokṣa*) becomes approaching Allah (Arab. *al-Ḥaqq*). The form of Buddhism displayed in the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* reflects the multicultural, multilingual, and multireligious exchange on the Silk Road. Through the use of Central Asian Buddhist terms such as *burḫān* [Buddha], *Ḫanšī* [Avalokiteśvara], *Qašūrdī* [Kanjur], *baḫšī* [title of Buddhist monk], *nom* [dharma], the form of Buddhism in the *Ǧāmiʿ al-tawārīḫ* reflects the cosmopolitan nature of Ilkhante, influenced not only by Indian Buddhism, but also by Tibetan, Chinese, and Uyghur-Mongolian Buddhism.

Abbreviations

Arab.	Arabic
Chin.	Chinese
Mong.	Mongolian
Pers.	Persian
Skt.	Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
Syr.	Syriac
Tib.	Tibetan

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Jonas Müller

The Reciprocity of Paul's Identity Formation

An Analysis of Gal 3:28 through the Lens of Cultural Transfer

Abstract: In this chapter, I employ an approach from cultural transfer studies to understand and interpret Paul's interaction and encounter with his Galatian congregations, thus contributing to a newly developing perspective on the Pauline letters. I will argue that Paul, in the process of cultural transfer of the Gospel of the Jewish Messiah Jesus, not only construes a new identity for his addressees but is also affected in his self-understanding showing the reciprocity of cultural transfer. The main question is thus: how does Paul understand and interpret the encounter with the Galatian congregations and what strategies does he employ for this cultural transfer to work? I will firstly describe how the concept of cultural transfer and biculturality is applied in newer research on Paul. This then functions as a hermeneutical frame for the following case study of Gal 3:28 in the context of Paul's letter to the Galatians.

Keywords: cultural transfer (studies), letters of Paul, Epistle to the Galatians, New Testament studies, identity construction

1 Introduction

The apostle Paul is one of the most important figures in early Christianity, which developed in the first century CE. Seven of his authentic letters[1] have been transmitted in the corpus of the New Testament, and they provide an interesting textual example for tracing the transcultural encounters explored in this volume. In this chapter, I employ an approach from cultural transfer studies to understand and interpret Paul's interaction with his Galatian congregations, thereby contributing to a newly developing perspective on the Pauline letters. I view this historical encounter as a premodern example of Connected Philology, understanding it as a form of non-monodirectional cultural transfer. I will argue that in the process of cultural transfer of the Gospel of

1 The letters to the Romans, 1&2 Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, Thessalonians and to Philemon. For further information, see Horn (2013, 165–226). For a minority opinion which considers the case of

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the Jewish Messiah[2] Jesus,[3] Paul not only shapes a new identity for his addressees but is also affected in his self-understanding, illustrating the reciprocity of cultural transfer. Here, Paul acts as a cultural mediator, whose reasoning is deeply embedded in an argument centring on Israel's forefather and figure of identification,[4] Abraham. He draws upon the textual tradition of the Old Testament, and in his citations from Genesis, as well as his grammatical and allegorical approach to the figure of Abraham, he employs methods that can be called philological in a premodern sense.[5] The main question, then, is: how does Paul understand and interpret the encounter with the Galatian congregations, and what strategies does he employ to ensure the success of this cultural transfer?[6]

First, I will describe how the concept of cultural transfer and biculturality has been applied in recent research on Paul. This functions as a hermeneutical frame for the then following case study of Gal 3:28 in the context of Paul's letter to the Galatians. The verse is especially promising as the theoretical paradigm has previously been applied mainly to Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (Ehrensperger 2013; Kobel 2019). Thus, this new case study expands the textual base for this approach in Pauline studies, thereby testing its broader applicability. In it, I will first introduce the historical and argumentative context of the letter. Then, I will explore Gal 3:28 and interpret corresponding self-depictions of the apostle.

2 Paul and cultural transfer studies

In recent research on the apostle, concepts from cultural studies have been applied to the Pauline corpus. For this chapter, the monographs by Kathy Ehrensperger and, more recently, Esther Kobel are particularly important (Ehrensperger 2013; Kobel 2019). Both establish a new perspective on Paul's identity and his role in the communication with his congregations. Ehrensperger and Kobel understand Paul as having had a bicultural identity (Ehrensperger 2013, 51–62, 214–216; Kobel 2019, 55–62, 153–214). This means that he participated in Jewish culture[7] and drew upon its tradi-

a canonical redaction of Paul's letters in the second century CE, particularly concerning the role of Abraham in Galatians, see Klinghardt (2018).

2 For the understanding of Χριστός not only as a title but as a concept, see Novenson (2016).

3 For the term Jewish Messiah Jesus, see Thiessen (2023, 71–81).

4 For Abraham as a figure of identification, see Mühling (2011, 343–370).

5 See 3.2.

6 The language of cultural transfer is, of course, etic language. But as such it may help in better understanding some aspects of Galatians. As will become clear in this chapter, the concept of cultural transfer is not just applied to Paul but is used to highlight Paul's specific strategies.

7 Of course, the concept of one uniform Jewish culture is illusory. What is of interest here is not that Paul is compatible with a scholarly construct of norm Judaism, but that he himself identifies as belonging to this culture. For an ethnological perspective on this question of belonging to Judaism or considering Paul within Judaism, see Van Maaren (2023).

tions, which can be seen, for example, in his frequent citations[8] from the Old Testament (Kobel 2019, 2). His identification with Jewish culture is evident in his letters and clearly part of his self-understanding. Paul identifies as a correctly circumcised (Phil 3:5) Jew (Gal 2:15; Rom 9:3) and situates himself within the genealogical matrix of Judaism and its groups in the first century CE, describing himself as a part of the tribe of Benjamin and a Pharisee (Phil 3:5). But Paul is also part of the Greek-speaking Hellenised cultural sphere. This is most clearly reflected in the language he uses in his letters: Koine Greek. Describing Paul as bicultural, or bilingual with respect to the form of his letters, helps these scholars to better understand his mediating role for his congregations.

Ehrensperger and Kobel criticise paradigms that emphasise the cultural fusion and indistinguishability of different cultures under the influence of Hellenism. Challenging this concept of cultural amalgamation, they focus on the cultural differences between the apostle and his congregations (Ehrensperger 2013, 17–38; Kobel 2019, 39–55). Kobel, in particular, seeks to understand the communication process between Paul and his congregations from the perspective of cultural transfer studies.[9] Cultural transfer takes place between the sender from a source culture and a receiver from a target culture, and has both a procedural and reciprocal character.[10] "Betrachtet wird also bei der Kulturtransferforschung der Prozess, der zwischen Sendenden, Vermit-

8 Paul mainly seems to use the Greek translation, the Septuagint (LXX), though sometimes his citations are closer to the text of the Hebrew Bible. This may be explained through a use of a different *Vorlage* or Paul's knowledge of the Hebrew text. For a thorough analysis of Paul's use of scripture, see Koch (1986).

9 Kobel attributes the origin of this approach to Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, who established a research group at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (Kobel 2019, 20). For Espagne and Werner's work, see also Espagne and Werner (1985; 1988). For the analytical model of cultural transfer, see Werner (1995); Kortländer (1995); Lüsebrink (2005; 2016, 143–188). Common critiques of this approach include the presupposition of a bilateral scheme of cultural transfer and its focus on print media. The second point, for obvious reasons, is not relevant to this chapter. The first critique is more pertinent, but as this chapter focuses specifically on reciprocity, the hierarchy often presupposed in a bilateral schema will be questioned.

The cultural transfer approach was further developed into *histoire croisée*. Kobel combines the two approaches with the goal of countering a common critique of the original theory: that it fails to fully account for the reciprocity of such processes (Kobel 2019, 25–28). Werner and Espagne serve as links between these two approaches, using the critique of the cultural transfer paradigm to refine the new approach of *histoire croisée*. For *histoire croisée*, see Werner and Zimmermann (2002; 2006). *Histoire croisée* is very closely related to other methods like the Connected History. For connected history, see Subrahmanyam (2022).

10 See Lüsebrink (2005, 27): "es beschreibt keine komplexen interkulturellen Räume oder Sphären, wie etwa die Konzepte des *transkulturellen Raums* und der *multikulturellen Gesellschaft*, sondern *prozessuale Verlaufsformen*, durch die kulturelle Artefakte verschiedenster Art zwischen Kulturräumen *zirkulieren*" (emphasis in the original) [it does not describe complex intercultural spaces or spheres, such as concepts of transcultural space and multicultural society, but rather processual forms through which cultural artifacts of various kinds circulate between cultural spaces.].

telnden, Empfangenden sowie vermitteltem Kulturgut abläuft" (Kobel 2019, 22) [In the research on cultural transfer, the process that occurs between senders, mediators, recipients, and the mediated cultural goods is considered].[11]

When applying this approach from cultural transfer studies to Paul's communication in his letters, we consider the apostle communicating the gospel of the Jewish Messiah Jesus – an immaterial cultural artefact from the Jewish source culture – to a largely gentile, that means non-Jewish, target culture in his congregations (Kobel 2019, 20–28).[12] His mediating role is not only an etic category but also reflected in the emic language of Paul's letters, where he calls himself the apostle to the gentiles (Gal 2:8; Rom 11:13, 15:16).[13] However, this process should not be imagined as one-sided. In the cultural transfer, a reciprocal effect on both sender and receiver can be observed. In the case of Paul, this is reflected in his bicultural identity which allows him to also participate in the target culture (Kobel 2019, 3). In this model, Paul assumes the role of a cultural mediator who, by participating in his target culture, facilitates the successful cultural transfer of the gospel of the Jewish Messiah, Jesus.

In the following, this model of cultural transfer will be applied to Paul's letter to the Galatians.[14] This analysis will consider the effects of the cultural transfer of the gospel of the Jewish Messiah, Jesus, on both the gentile congregations and Paul's sense of identity. I will argue that in Gal 3:28, Paul reflects on the process of transfer itself. This can be observed in his flexible self-identification along the lines of already diminished ethnic, social, and gender differences in relation to Christ, as depicted in Gal 3:28. Thus, the reciprocal character of the cultural transfer Paul is striving to achieve is emphasised.

3 The case study: Galatians

In the following, a key verse from Paul's letter to the Galatians will be analysed with regard to the process of cultural transfer in which it is embedded. First, I will describe

11 Unless indicated otherwise, the translations are my own.

12 For the gospel as the content of Paul's communication, see Rom 1:1; 15:16.19.25; 1Cor 4:15; 9:14.18; 15:1; 2Cor 2:12; 10:14; 11:4.7; Gal 1:11; 2:2.7; Phil 4:15; 1Thess 1:5; 2:4.8.9.

13 These letters and the underlying personal contact between the congregations and Paul represent cultural encounters. Lüsebrink (2005, 29): "Kulturtransferprozesse im definierten Sinn sind genuine Bestandteile von Kulturkontakten, die von ganz unterschiedlichen politischen Kontexten und sehr verschiedenen sozio-kulturellen Konstellationen gekennzeichnet sein können" [Cultural transfer processes in the defined sense are genuine components of cultural contacts, which can be characterised by very different political contexts and very different socio-cultural constellations]. Concerning the significance of the letterform in these encounters, see Kobel (2019, 71–88).

14 Strecker's suggestion to examine Gal 3:28 (Strecker 2020) is taken up here to provide a response to the criticism directed at Kobel's specific focus on 1 Cor 9:19–27.

the Galatian addressees and the situation in their congregations. As a second step, I will consider the context of the main argument of Paul's letter in Gal 3–4. Paul appeals to the Old Testament and uses the Genesis story of Abraham to establish a connection between his gentile audience and the forefather of Israel through a Christological interpretation of this authoritative text. The primary focus of this chapter – Gal 3:28 – will then be translated and analysed. I will demonstrate how this verse not only leads to the construction of a new identity for the addressees but also shapes Paul's self-understanding. Gal 3:28 can be understood as Paul's reflective understanding of the process of cultural transfer, which he interprets through a Christological lens. In this way, the object of cultural transfer becomes the subject of a redefinition of both sender and receiver.

3.1 Paul's addressees and the historical situation

Paul's addressees are the congregations in Galatia,[15] which he founded, resulting in a close relationship with him (Gal 4:12–13.19). The exact location of Galatia has long been an object of debate in New Testament studies. Two main hypotheses can be distinguished. On the one hand, the south Galatian hypothesis locates Galatia in the Roman province of the same name (Riesner 1994, 243.250–259; Breytenbach 1996, 99–173; Witulski 2000, 224; Schäfer 2004, 290–315; Sänger 2010 = 2016; John 2016, 133–159). This region is known for its Jewish influence and the presence of Jewish communal life (Acts 13:14; 14:1; 16:1–3). Regarding the profile of the congregations, a presence of both gentile and Jewish Christ believers is therefore possible. On the other hand, several scholars also support the north Galatian theory (Schnelle 2013, 121–122; Betz 1988, 34–40; Koch 2014, 296–300). Here, Galatia is identified to be part of the region Galatia, for which no evidence of a Jewish presence has been found (Riesner 1994, 252–253). Both hypotheses are to be considered with care and evaluated in light of the evidence within the letter itself.

Paul's primary purpose in sending the letter seems to involve be to address a problem that mainly concerns the gentiles of his congregations. Paul's argument is shaped by this problem. From the text of the letter, the following can be recon-

15 From an ethnohistorical perspective, the Galatians were Celts that migrated to Asia minor starting in 279 BCE and settled in the regions of Gordion and Ancyra, which were later named Galatia after them. Around 25 BCE, this region was incorporated into the Roman province of Galatia "die auch Teile südlich gelegener Landschaften wie Pisidien, Lykaonien, Isaurien, Paphlagonien, Pontus Galaticus und (zeitweise) Pamphylien [umfasste]" (Schnelle 2013, 119) [which also [included] parts of southern regions such as Pisidia, Lycaonia, Isauria, Paphlagonia, Pontus Galaticus and (temporarily) Pamphylia]. In the context of the chronology of Acts, the south Galatian hypothesis presupposes Paul's first mission trip (Acts 13:4–14:28) and the north Galatian hypothesis the second or third trip (Acts 16:6–8; 18:23).

structed: after Paul had left Galatia, his relationship with the Galatian congregations[16] was tested when other preachers[17] introduced a different teaching. This teaching required the gentiles to undergo circumcision and become a part of Israel (Gal 6:12–13). It is thus likely that the majority of the congregants had not previously considered themselves Jews and were not circumcised, but were instead non-Jewish gentiles.[18] Even if some members of the congregation were Jews, Paul is mainly concerned not with their Jewish identity but with the attempt to alter their gentile identity. While the location of the Galatian congregations is of historical interest, it does not alter the fact that Paul mainly addresses Christ-believing gentiles.

For the preachers, the Galatian reception of the gospel of the Jewish Messiah posed a religious and ethnic dilemma, which they sought to clarify by advocating for circumcisions. They understood the gospel of the Messiah Jesus as being solely directed at Israel. Conversion to the gospel was therefore seen as requiring membership or at least bodily association with Israel through circumcision.[19] With his letter to the Galatian congregations, Paul responded to this difficult situation. Paul identified these other preachers as his opponents and took a very polemical stance against them. He attempted to address the ethnic confusion by connecting the gentiles to Israel's forefather Abraham without directly incorporating them in Israel. Paul's letter concerns the very future of the Galatian congregations, a future he tries to shape by appealing to the sacred past.

16 I use the plural because, according to Gal 1:2, several congregations are the addressees of the letter (ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας [to the congregations of Galatia]).

17 Different descriptions of this ominous group exist. Scholars have called them preachers, opponents, teachers, etc. All of these are etic descriptions. Paul himself does not identify the group, referring to them only as τινές [some] (Gal 1:7). This opposing group appears in only five passages (Gal 1:6–9; 3:1; 4:17; 5:7–12, and 6:12–13). The identity of these opponents is still up for debate. However, most scholars interpret them as Christ-believing Jews who had a judaising intention. See Eckert (1971, 236–238); Lüdemann (1983, 144–151); Betz (1988, 43); Mußner (1988, 25); Howard (1989, 19); Dunn (1993, 9–11); Lang (1996); Martyn (1997, 117–126); Becker (1998, 12–14); Sumney (1999, 134–159); Hurd (2005); de Boer (2008); de Boer (2011, 50–61); cautious: Lührmann (1988, 106); Vouga (1998, 159–162); recently: Sänger (2019); Bachmann (2021).

See also the introductions to the New Testament: Schnelle (2013, 125–128); Broer (2016, 428–432); Theobald (2020, 358–361).

18 This becomes evident in Gal 6:12, where circumcision emerges as the central issue of the letter. Concerning the circumcision in Galatia, see Gal 5:2–6.11–12. Paul also mentions that his companion Titus was not forced to undergo circumcision in Gal 2:3.

19 This differentiation is necessary because it is not entirely clear how exactly Paul's opponents understood circumcision, though it is most likely that they intended it as a means of incorporating gentiles into Israel. Paul hints at this when, at the end of his letter, he mentions Israel (Gal 6:16) only shortly after addressing his opponents (Gal 6:12–13).

3.2 Paul's argumentation in Gal 3–4

Paul reacts to the Galatian confrontation with a complex argument that he develops in Gal 3–4. In the structure of the letter, these chapters constitute the main part of his argument.[20] Especially in Gal 3:6–29 and 4:21–31, the apostle draws upon the Abraham narrative from Genesis (Gen 11:26–25:10), thereby demonstrating his familiarity with the Jewish traditions of the Old Testament. Paul invokes the figure of the patriarch to integrate the gentile Galatians into God's history with Abraham and in a broader sense his relationship with Israel. In an attempt to refute the necessity of circumcision, Paul argues that God's promise to Abraham already foreshadows the inclusion of the gentiles in His plan. He uses various strategies to connect his gentile audience with the patriarch. On the one hand, he describes the structural parallels in their relationship to God, which is constituted by their faith (Gal 3:6–9). On the other hand, Paul establishes a genealogical link between the gentiles and Abraham via Jesus Christ, who is understood to be Abraham's true heir (Gal 3:10–18, esp. 15–18). Paul, after addressing the role of the law (Gal 3:19–25), connects the gentile Galatians with Jesus Christ, portraying their relationship as a union in Christ (Gal 3:26–29). He reinterprets the story of Abraham's two wives, Sara and Hagar, as an allegory to underscore the Galatians' link to the patriarchal era (Gal 4:21–31).

Assuming a broad definition of philology,[21] Paul's argumentation can be identified as philological in a premodern sense, as he draws on the written sacred tradition of the Jewish people. The specifically philological nature of his argument is reflected in three aspects of this passage: his use of citations, a grammatical argument, and an allegorical argument.

To begin with, Paul cites from different sections of the Genesis story to connect the gentiles to Abraham. While the citation in Gal 3:6 can be identified with Gen 15:6,[22] Paul also employs composite citations that are more difficult to trace to a single section in Genesis. This is evident in Gal 3:8, where he quotes a verse with elements drawn from both Gen 12:3 and Gen 18:18.[23] Another example appears in Gal 3:16, where Paul uses the phrase τῷ σπέρματί σου [your seed], which could be drawn from

20 Structure of the letter: (A) Beginning: Prescript: 1:1–5; Prooemium: 1:6–10; (B) Letter corpus: Autobiographical sequence: 1:11–2:21; Theological argument 3:1–5:12; Parenetical sequence: 5:13–6:10; (C) Closing: 6:11–18 (Frey 2021, 369–370).

21 I am following Sheldon Pollock's definition: "What I offer instead as a rough-and-ready working definition at the same time embodies a kind of program, even a challenge: philology is, or should be, the discipline of making sense of texts" (Pollock 2009, 934). This applies all the more to the interpretation of authoritative religious texts, as seen in Paul's argumentation connecting the gentiles to Abraham.

22 Although the text in Gal 3:6 is also very close to the Hebrew Bible, the similarity to the Septuagint is remarkable. Only the conjunction καί [and] and Abraham's name in the LXX, which are omitted in Galatians, can be identified as differences with Gal 3:6.

23 Similar formulations can also be found in Gen 22:18 and 26:4.

Gen 17:7 but also appears in several other places in Genesis (Gen 12:7; 13:15; 15:18; 22:15; and 24:17). Lastly, a citation of Gen 21:10 is found in Gal 4:30. Although Paul's use of Genesis is selective, his argument is clearly rooted in the text.

A second philological aspect that Paul uses to identify the plural "seed of Abraham" with the singular person Jesus Christ is found in a grammatical argument in Gal 3:16.

> τῷ δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐρρέθησαν αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ. οὐ λέγει· καὶ τοῖς σπέρμασιν, ὡς ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐφ᾽ ἑνός· καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου, ὅς ἐστιν Χριστός.
>
> [But the promises were told to Abraham and to his seed. It does not say: and to his seeds, as with many but as with one: and to his seed, which is Christ.]

Although Paul must be aware of the plural sense of the word "seed" (זרע in Hebrew and σπέρμα in Greek) when referring to offspring (Rom 1:3; 4:13.16; 9:7–8; 11:1; 2Cor 11:22), in this instance, he chooses to apply a grammatical argument that aligns the singular τῷ σπέρματί σου [your seed] with Jesus Christ. This allows Paul to construct a direct genealogical link from Abraham, through Christ, to the believers who are connected with him.

Paul calls the argument in Gal 4:21–31 allegorical, although even Gal 3:16 can be classified as such (Lanzinger 2016, 277–293):

> 4:24 ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα·
>
> [These things are spoken allegorically]

Without delving deeply into the intricate argument in these verses, it is evident that the apostle himself understood his argument as using a widely practised method of textual interpretation (Lanzinger 2016, 200–236).[24] Having briefly established the context and philological nature of the verse, we can now explore the cultural transfer reflected in them.

3.3 A translation and analysis of Gal 3:28

After presenting a translation, I will analyse the structure and content of the verse.[25]

> 28αα οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλλην,
> 28αβ οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος,

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24 For an overview of different uses of the allegorical method in antiquity, see Lanzinger (2016, 52–186).

25 A similar statement can be found in 1Cor 12:12–13: "Καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἕν ἐστιν καὶ μέλη πολλὰ ἔχει, πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος πολλὰ ὄντα ἕν ἐστιν σῶμα, οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός· 13 καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, εἴτε Ἰουδαῖοι εἴτε Ἕλληνες εἴτε δοῦλοι εἴτε ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ πάντες ἓν πνεῦμα ἐποτίσθημεν" [12 For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. 13 For in the one Spirit

28aγ οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ·
28b πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.[26]

[28aα There is neither Jew nor Greek
28aβ There is neither slave nor free
28aγ There is not male and female
28b All of you are one in the Messiah Jesus.]

The verse consists of two distinguishable parts: first, a part in which Paul presents three parallel sentences, and second, a part that gives the reason behind these statements.[27] In v. 28a, the first two sentences follow the same structure, while the third diverges in its use of the copula καί [and] instead of οὐδέ [nor]. In each sentence, Paul juxtaposes a pair of terms and resolves their difference in a Christological perspective

we were all baptized into one body – Jews or Greeks, slaves or free – and we were all made to drink of one Spirit] (Tr.: *New Revised Standard Version*, Updated Edition).

Here Paul uses very similar word pairs. The first two pairs are practically identical, though he uses the plural in 1Cor 12:13 and connects the pairs with εἔτε [or]. What is missing is the third pair, which focuses on gender. 1Cor 12:12–13 is also more concerned with the corporal dimension, which is expressed in the frequent usage of the word σῶμα [body]. The context of baptism is more pronounced and connected with the giving of the spirit. The union with Christ is not described with the same emphasis as in Gal 3:28.

See also Col 3:11, which is connected to the Pauline school of thought: "ὅπου οὐκ ἔνι Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν Χριστός" [There is not Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, slave, free, but all and in all Christ]. Col 3:11 focuses primarily on ethnic differences, including references to barbarians and Scythians and, like Gal 3:28, it also references slaves and freemen.

What this comparison shows is that Paul does not simply reproduce a traditional formulation. In Gal 3:28, he notably adds the perspective of gender differences. Moreover, the first two word pairs seem to be highly adaptable to their context, an adaptability that will be examined in the case of Gal 3:28 (Keener 2019, 305–306).

For a sociological approach to the aforementioned topic of Greek and Jew, see Horrell (2000).

26 The interpretation of this verse is intensely debated in New Testament Studies. Stegemann, for example, differentiates four interpretations: (a) a radical egalitarianism; (b) the suspension of differences being only of interest for the relation to God; (c) in the context of a baptismal tradition (Gal 3:27); (d) not as a suspension of differences but as a subordination under the identity in Christ. This chapter follows most closely the last option (Stegemann 2014, 23). For the fourth interpretation, see also Hodge (2007, 117–136, esp. 129).

27 De Boer (2011, 244) understands the communicative value mainly in the first word pair, while the two following pairs are to be understood as complementary. Against this, Keener (2019, 305–306) stresses that via the topic of the circumcision, the last two word pairs can be explained since slaves and women are excluded from this practice.

of unity. The verb ἔνειμι [to be][28] takes up the motif of the leading preposition ἐν [in] in Gal 3:26–29.[29]

The first pair of terms refers to ethnic distinction between the Jews and the Greeks. Surprisingly, Paul utilises the term Ἕλλην [Greek] here, despite previously speaking of ἔθνη [gentiles] (Gal 1:16; 2:2.8.9.12.14.15; 3:8.14). In his use of ἔθνος [gentile] or the corresponding adjective (ἐθνικός), it is noticeable that the word never appears in the singular.[30] It is therefore likely that Paul employs the word Ἕλλην [Greek] primarily to preserve the formal structure of the sentence, rather than to signify a substantial deviation from his previous use of ἔθνος [gentile].[31] The word οὐδέ [nor] reinforces the contradictory nature of each pair through its adversative connotation. The second pair of terms consists of δοῦλος [slave] and ἐλεύθερος [free], that is, a noun and a nominalised adjective. This is followed by the last pair of terms, which consists of two adjectives: ἄρσεν [male] and θῆλυ [female], introducing the dimension of gender. Paul may have deliberately avoided using the adversative οὐδέ [nor] in this last pair because it does not form a contradiction in the same way as the previous pairs. It is possible that the change to καί [and] is a reference to Gen 1:27 (Martyn 1997, 376; Keener 2019, 308; Meiser 2022, 181), where the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible (the Septuagint) here uses the same expressions.[32] Paul may be referencing the natural division of humanity into male and female as it is depicted in Gen 1:27.[33]

In summary, Paul uses these pairs of terms to traverse ethnic, social, and gender differences, seeking to resolve the corresponding tensions in Christ. It is not Paul's aim to eliminate all differences, nor is he advocating for revolutionary transformation. Instead, Paul's main interest lies in establishing a perspective of unity (Keener 2019, 308). After the succession of pairs, Paul provides a reason for this unity in v. 28b. He uses the universal term πάντες [all] and ascribes a unified identity to the Galatians: πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε [All of you are one].[34] This, however, is not the end of the verse, as Paul adds the prepositional phrase: ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ [in the Messiah

28 Concerning the form ἔνι, see Blass et al. (2001, §98 n. 4).

29 The preposition is frequently used in Gal 3:26–29. In verse 26, the status as sons of God is connected with the prepositional phrase ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ [in Christ Jesus]; in the next verse the preposition is part of a verb which explains the relationship to Christ as that of putting on clothes: Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε [you put on Christ]. Finally, in Gal 3:28 again the prepositional phrase ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ [in Christ Jesus] is used.

30 The singular is only used in a direct citation from Dtn 32:21 (LXX) in Rom 10:19.

31 It was suggested that here Paul cites an early Christian baptismal tradition (de Boer 2011, 245–247). Against this hypothesis, see Lategan (2012).

32 Gen 1:27 (LXX): "καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κατ᾽ εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς" [And God created the human, corresponding to the image of God he created him, male and female he created them].

33 See also Gen 5:2 and, concerning the animals entering the ark, Gen 6:19–20; 7:2–3.9.16.

34 This union already leads up to Christ as the masculine form of the number word is used (Martyn 1997, 377; de Boer 2011, 244).

Jesus].[35] He thereby emphasises that the union in Christ appears to be the main expression of the Galatians' relationship with Christ.[36] What is important for this study is that the dissolution of the distinctions is not to be understood as a call for transforming the social structures of the congregation but rather as an expression of the relationship with Christ.

This verse is not separated from Paul's argument with Abraham. On the contrary, it prepares one of Paul's argumentative climaxes in Gal 3:29:

> εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, ἄρα τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ σπέρμα ἐστέ, κατ᾽ ἐπαγγελίαν κληρονόμοι.
>
> [If you belong to Christ, you are Abraham's seed, heirs according to the promise.]

The connection of Christ and the Galatians is one argumentative step for Paul to reimagine their genealogy and to connect them with Israel's patriarch Abraham (Hodge 2007, 131).

3.4 Gal 3:28 and cultural transfer

Gal 3:28 can be understood in light of the cultural transfer which takes place between Paul and his Galatian audience. More than just facilitating the transfer, it seems that Paul is reflecting upon the process of transfer itself in this verse. While the formal model addressed before posits a clear separation between the source culture and the target culture, Pauls seeks to bridge this gap. He does this by drawing upon the object of transfer, the gospel of Jesus, an immaterial cultural artefact. The differences between sender and receiver are reinterpreted through the perspective of their mutual relationship to this object of transfer. The addressees are unified across ethnic distinctions, as well as differences in social status and gender identity.

The relationship between sender and receiver is not hierarchical or characterised by juxtaposition. Instead, sender and receiver are unified through the process of transfer itself. For Paul, this approach is only logical as the relationship to the object of transfer is not purely intellectual nor is it just an act of speech or writing, but it is a relationship to an actual person. This leads me to the conclusion that in Gal 3:28, the object of transfer is dealt with not purely as an object but is understood by Paul as a subject: Jesus Christ himself. Thus, the unified identity Paul envisions is not actively constructed or grounded in human communication but passively received. This seems

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35 See the variant in P^{46}, א*, and A. Those witnesses read "ἐστε Χριστοῦ" [you are of Christ] instead of "εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ" [you are one in Christ Jesus]. The reference to the unity and preposition is omitted, resulting in a formulation more closely aligned with Gal 3:29 "εἰ δὲ ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ" [but when you [are] of Christ], which also uses the genitive.

For a thesis that argues for this variant as a better reading, see Herzer (2017, 134–142).

36 The category of relationship was also understood in the terms of liminality, see Russel (2014).

to reflect a distinctly premodern perspective on the communication of the gospel, which considers not only the subjects of sender and receiver but the presence of another supreme subject behind the verbal and written communication of the gospel of Jesus.

3.5 The Addressees' Identity Construction

In their pursuit of ethnic uniformity, Paul's opponents proposed circumcision as a means to unify the Galatian congregations. Paul rejects this solution and chooses a different path. He approaches the issue of ethnic diversity not by suggesting a change in the addressees' identity but by offering a completely new interpretation of the model of sender and receiver. It is not only the gentile Galatians' identity which is transformed in the relationship to the Jewish Messiah Jesus; the Jewish identity is also affected. Paul's approach is undergirded by a Christological reasoning, which focuses on the relationship to the object of transfer instead of the ethnic dimension of the issue. Paul begins this argument by making a point about ethnicity and then goes on to expand it to include the social status and the gender identity of the Galatians. In relation to Paul's message of Christ, differences lose their divisive power. Paul argues that the transformation which the Galatians sought to achieve through circumcision had already taken place through their acceptance and belief in the Messiah. No other marker of identity is required beyond their relationship with Christ.

3.6 Paul's identity construction

The reciprocity of the relationship to Christ affects not only the Galatian addressees but also Paul himself. This is evident across all three juxtapositions in Gal 3:28. In the following section, Paul's argumentative strategy will be described and interpreted through the lens of cultural transfer occurring in Gal 3:28.

Beginning with the first juxtaposed pair of terms, "neither Jew nor Greek," it is important to note that, in recent decades, Paul's Jewish identity has been a closely examined topic within Pauline studies.[37] This ongoing effort has led to a rediscovery of the importance of Jewish thought in Paul's letters, helping to place his writings in the broader context of Second Temple Judaism. Paul's self-identification as Jewish, however, is undisputed. In Galatians, Paul makes a clear statement of his identity during his retelling of the Antiochene incident (Gal 2:11–14), where he criticises Peter for dis-

37 In research of recent years, this especially applies to scholars trying to situate Paul within Judaism. For an overview over this scholarly approach, see Nanos and Zetterholm (2015); Thiessen (2016; 2023); Runesson (2022); Bühner (2023).

tancing himself from gentile Christians.[38] Recalling his speech to Peter, he states in Gal 2:15:

> Ἡμεῖς φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοί
>
> [We are Jews by nature and not gentile sinners.]

Paul's self-identification as Jewish is reenforced by the dative φύσει (by nature).[39] This signals that Paul's belonging to the Jewish nation is not a matter of choice but an intrinsic quality. Interestingly, Paul addresses his Jewish identity in order to juxtapose it with a gentile identity. Gentiles are disqualified in this verse by being depicted as sinners (ἁμαρτωλοί). This harsh distinction between Jews and gentiles is common in Second Temple Judaism.[40] What is remarkable, however, is that Paul seems to mention a further ethnic identification for himself in the letter.

A verse in Gal 4:12 focuses on Paul transcending the ethnic boundaries between Jew and gentile:

> Γίνεσθε ὡς ἐγώ, ὅτι κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς, ἀδελφοί, δέομαι ὑμῶν.
>
> [Become like me, as also I became like you, brothers, I beseech you.]

Paul directly addresses the Galatians with an imperative,[41] urging them to become more like himself. He justifies this appeal by referencing his own transformation that made him more like the Galatians.[42] This rhetorical strategy is not unique to his letter to the Galatians; a similar passage can be found in 1Cor 9:19–22.

> 19 Ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων πᾶσιν ἐμαυτὸν ἐδούλωσα, ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω· 20 καὶ
> ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος, ἵνα Ἰουδαίους κερδήσω· τοῖς ὑπὸ νόμον ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον, μὴ
> ὢν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον, ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον κερδήσω· 21 τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὢν ἄνομος θεοῦ
> ἀλλ' ἔννομος Χριστοῦ, ἵνα κερδάνω τοὺς ἀνόμους· 22 ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν ἀσθενής, ἵνα τοὺς
> ἀσθενεῖς κερδήσω· τοῖς πᾶσιν γέγονα πάντα, ἵνα πάντως τινὰς σώσω.
>
> [19 For though I am free with respect to all, I have made myself a slave to all, so that I might gain
> all the more. 20 To the Jews I became as a Jew, so that I gain Jews. To those under the law I

38 The Antiochene incident is the story of a direct confrontation between Peter and Paul. It was caused by Peter's behaviour when those from James (τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου) were visiting Antiochia. Before, he had eaten with gentiles but after their arrival, he separated himself from them. Paul criticises Peter's hypocritical behaviour.

The connection of Gal 2:11–14 and Gal 2:15–21 has been thoroughly discussed. Based on Keener (2019, 167), I take Gal 2:15 to be a short summary of Paul's speech to Peter. For a different approach, see Meiser (2022, 117).

39 The differentiation of Jew and gentile by nature is also found in Rom 2:27; 11:21.24.

40 A possible parallel is found in Jub 23:23: "sinners from the gentiles." See Keener (2019, 170 n. 766).

41 See also 1Cor 4:16; 11:1; Phil 3:17; 1Thess 1:6; 2:14.

42 This verse can also be understood against the background of the ancient rhetoric of friendship. For this interpretation, see Keener (2019, 369).

became as one under the law, though I myself am not under the law, so that I might gain those under the law. 21 To those outside the law I became as one outside the law, though I am not outside God's law but am within Christ's law, so that I might gain those outside the law. 22 To the weak I became weak, so that I might gain the weak. I have become all things to all people, that I might by all means save some.] (Tr. NRSVUE = New Revised Standard Version Updated Edition)

As in 1Cor 9:19–22, Paul reflects on becoming like one of the gentile Galatians in Gal 4:12. This corresponds to what he describes in 1Cor 9:21 (Mußner 1988, 305–306; by contrast, see Meiser 2022, 203), where he recalls becoming like those outside the law. This makes sense in the context of the Galatian crisis, as Paul is fighting against his opponents who attempt to convince the Galatians that they need to live under the law. The apostle urges the Galatians to become like him, recalling how[43] he acted when he was among them, living as one not under the law to convince them of the gospel. This argument reveals a certain flexibility in Paul's self-identification. While he clearly asserts his Jewish identity in Gal 2:15, in Gal 4:12, he highlights his transformation into someone not bound by the law, aligning himself more closely with his gentile addressees. These identifications do not seem to be mutually exclusive; rather, Paul emphasises different identifications based on the argumentative context.

This flexibility is not only apparent in the first word pair in Gal 3:28 but also in the second. Here, Paul shifts his focus from the ethnic to a social perspective, describing both the social status of the slave and the free man. Both social categories are also related to Paul's identity construction in Galatians. First, I will analyse Gal 1:10:[44]

Ἄρτι γὰρ ἀνθρώπους πείθω ἢ τὸν θεόν; ἢ ζητῶ ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκειν; εἰ ἔτι ἀνθρώποις ἤρεσκον, Χριστοῦ δοῦλος οὐκ ἂν ἤμην.

[Do I persuade people or God? Or do I seek to please people; if I still were to please people, I wouldn't be Christ's slave.]

At the beginning of the letter, Paul identifies himself as Christ's slave, an expression he frequently uses in his writings (Rom 1:1; 2Cor 4:5; Gal 1:10; Phil 1:1). In Galatians, however, this term serves a specific purpose, as it connects to the theme of Gal 3:28.[45] Paul is not only diminishing the differences between a slave and free man but also using the unity in Christ to identify himself with the social status of the slave. The social status is not primarily envisioned in its horizontal dimension, as part of the so-

43 Of course, ὅτι κἀγὼ ὡς ὑμεῖς [for also I like you] is a highly elliptical expression that provides no clear indication of the exact time. However, given the context of Gal 4:13–20, the past is the most probable reference point. For more speculative reconstructions of the meaning of the verse, see Mußner (1988, 305) and Meiser (2022, 203–204).

44 For the exegetical difficulties of this verse, see Keener (2019, 67–70).

45 Meiser (2022, 61) concludes: "Der Appell Gal 1,10 ist somit ein indirekter Aufruf an die Galater, dieses ἦθος sich zu eigen zu machen" [The appeal in Gal 1:10 is therefore an indirect call to the Galatians to make this ἦθος their own]. He rightly stresses the relational aspect of the verse. In light of Gal 3:28, as this chapter argues, Meiser's idea of a call to identification with Paul becomes clear.

cietal structure of men, but in a vertical dimension, as a special form of relationship to Christ himself. This fits well within the literary context, as in Gal 1:6–9 and Gal 1:11–2:10, Paul is defending the gospel he preached in Galatia against the differing interpretations of his opponents, pointing to his biography and the apocalyptic revelation of the gospel. The expression "Christ's slave" thus emphasises Paul's special connection to Christ, reflected in both his preaching and life.

The identification contradicts Paul's actual social status as a free man, who may have even possessed the Roman citizenship (Acts 22:28). This is not dealt with directly in Galatians. Instead, Paul picks up the topic of freedom later in the letter, formulating the following verse in Gal 5:1:

> Τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἠλευθέρωσεν·
>
> [Christ set us free for freedom.]

It is significant that Paul includes himself in the process with the use of the first-person plural (ἡμᾶς). Once again, in relation to Christ, Paul identifies not only as a slave but also as its exact opposite: a free man. This corresponds to Gal 3:28 (Keener 2019, 438). In his identifications as both a slave and freeman, Paul mirrors the word pair in Gal 3:28, demonstrating that in the relation to Christ, not only are the social differences diminished, but there is also a flexibility in how he navigates these identities. This becomes part of Paul's broader argumentative strategy.

Similar observations can be made concerning the last word pair, "male and female." While Paul obviously depicts himself as a male,[46] this does not seem to be exclusive either. In Gal 4:19 he explores a different identification:

> τέκνα[47] μου, οὓς πάλιν ὠδίνω μέχρις οὗ μορφωθῇ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν·
>
> [My children, whom I again give birth to in travail until Christ is formed in you.]

In a complex metaphor, Paul identifies himself as the mother of the Galatians. The verse is difficult to understand, as it shifts between the image of Paul as a mother to the Galatians and the idea of a birth leading to Christ being formed in them.[48] What is of interest here is Paul's ability to transcend boundaries – even those between gen-

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46 This can be seen in the grammatical use of masculine forms. See for example Gal 1:1: Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ δἰ ἀνθρώπου ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. [Paul apostle not from humans and not through humans but through Jesus Christ].

47 Several accounts (see Nestle Aaland apparatus) include the reading τεκνία [small child], which emphasises the congruence with the Verb ὠδίνω [to suffer from birth-pains].

48 It is somewhat unexpected that Paul alters his language of being in Christ to Christ being in you. Meiser (2022, 211) correctly points to Gal 3:26–29. It could also be translated as 'with you'. Mußner (1988, 313) comments on an ambiguity of the preposition ἐν [in].

ders – identifying with the female role of the birth-giver and mother.[49] This verse can be understood in the light of Gal 3:28. As with the second word pair, a direct connection is drawn to the figure of Christ. In an argumentative context where Paul aims to express his special relationship to the Galatians as the founder of their congregations (Gal 4:12–20), he draws upon maternal imagery to demonstrate that, in Christ, identity is understood to be flexible and not exclusive.[50]

The importance of the word pairs is not limited to Gal 3:28 alone but also seems to be integral to Paul's self-depiction in his letter to the Galatians. He not only transforms their identity in light of their relationship to Christ but uses this redefinition for his argumentative self-depiction. Throughout the letter, Paul presents himself as Jewish and gentile, slave and freeman, and male and female. The relationship to Christ functions reciprocally, affecting not only the Galatians but also Paul himself. The cultural transfer is thus formative for sender and receiver. While its importance for the receiver is more clearly evident, this chapter explored the formative impact of the transfer on the sender, contributing another dimension to this debate. This sheds new light onto the interpretation of Gal 3:28. The analysed argumentative strategy clarifies that Paul did not set out to erase the different categories of identity described in Gal 3:28. Rather, he subordinates them to the relationship with Christ, allowing him to freely associate with these contrasting identities. By shaping his self-depiction according to the word pairs found in Gal 3:28, Paul acts as an example for the Galatians, demonstrating that it is only through their relationship with Christ that they can eliminate the ethnic tension among them.

4 Conclusion

This chapter explored the application of cultural transfer studies on Gal 3:28 and the corresponding self-depiction of the apostle in his letter to the Galatian congregations. A helpful hermeneutical framework for understanding Paul's reasoning was identified. A closer look at Gal 3:28 revealed insights into the process of cultural transfer from Paul's perspective. It was argued that this verse presents a theological reflection

49 This is not the only verse in which Paul envisions himself in a parental role towards his congregations. See 1Cor 4:14–17; 2Cor 12:14; Philm 10; Paul as father: Phil 2:22; 1Thess 2:11; Paul as mother/wet nurse: 1Cor 3:1–3; 1Thess 2:7.

50 Some scholars suggest that an eschatological scene is implied in this verse, as can be seen in Rom 8:22 (Keener 2019, 392–393; Gaventa 2007, 31). However, I do not understand Paul's struggle to be connected with his health, which may have suffered under persecution (Eastman 2007, 110), or to an eschatological scenario. Rather, Paul's struggle arises directly from the Galatian situation. While eschatological connotations may be intended, the relational aspect of the verse is more pronounced. In the context of Gal 4:21–31, it appears that Paul conceives the topic of kinship as being the most important. This topic already shaped his argument in Gal 3:6–4:7.

on the transfer of the gospel of the Jewish Messiah Jesus, which is deeply embedded in Paul's philological argumentation concerning Israel's forefather Abraham. Paul conceives of what, in the formal model of cultural transfer, would be the object of communication not as an object but a subject: Jesus Christ. This enables him to understand the relationship between sender and receiver not as hierarchical but as constituted by the message itself. The relationship with Jesus alters the identities of both sender and receiver, exemplifying the reciprocity inherent in cultural transfer. While Gal 3:28 focuses on the receiver, an analysis of Paul's self-depiction in Galatians revealed the impact on the apostle himself. Paul uses the three sets of paired words from Gal 3:28 to transform his own self-identification in line with his argumentative goals. Thus, identity differences are left behind in the relationship with the Messiah, enabling the apostle to shift between different ethnic, social, and gender descriptions. What is termed a bicultural identity is, from Paul's perspective, not only a prerequisite for the communication with his congregations; rather, the communication, understood as a relationship with Christ, first allows Paul to fully utilise his bicultural identity – not only in an ethnic context but also in a broader sense. The results of the case study presented above thus contribute significantly to the understanding of Paul within the frame of cultural transfer studies, revealing a unique premodern reflection on this transfer and its reciprocity.

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Textual Networks and Transcultural Encounters

Andrea Acri

Tracing Transregional Connections through References to Sanskrit Texts in the Śaiva Old Javanese Literature from Java and Bali

Abstract: This chapter investigates (Sanskrit–)Old Javanese Śaiva literature belonging to the tantric *tutur* and *tattva* genres, the *śāsana* normative genre, as well as poems (*kakavin*) of Śaiva persuasion, to trace transregional textual connections between the Indian subcontinent and Java and Bali in the light of allusions to or citations of Sanskrit texts. It identifies the specific sources that were in circulation and were considered authoritative, and which may have been prototypical to form the textual "canon" that informed prevalent religious, ritual, and social ideas and practices in pre-Islamic Java as well as Bali. This analysis will reveal text-building and hermeneutical techniques, as well as authorisation strategies, employed by premodern Javanese and Balinese authors to anchor their textual and religious tradition to either a timeless or mythological dimension or a scholastic tradition inspired by Indic norms. This will facilitate our understanding of the transregional textual flows that shaped the literary, cultural, and religious landscapes of the premodern Javanese-Balinese cultural sphere.

Keywords: Old Javanese, Sanskrit, Śaivism, *kakavin*, *tutur*, *śāsana*, Java, Bali

1 Introduction

A rich and extensive body of literature written primarily in Old Javanese and Sanskrit was composed in Java and Bali in the period from approximately the ninth to the sixteenth century. This literature has been preserved up to the present on palm-leaf manuscripts from Bali, Lombok, and to a much lesser extent, Java,[1] in what is now the modern Indonesian archipelago. This literature documents an interesting case of

1 Unlike in Bali (and enclaves in Lombok), where Hinduism is still practised by the majority of the population, Java gradually became Islamised from the fifteenth century onward. As a result, the Islamicate/Persianate (paper) manuscript tradition superseded the Hindu-Buddhist/Indic palm-leaf manuscript tradition.

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transregional connectivity between South and Southeast Asia, and in particular the transmission and "localisation" of Indic linguistic, cultural, and religious elements. These dynamics are pertinent to the issues of multilingualism and vernacularisation, as well as to the "language order" of premodern Java and Bali in the wider framework of the "Sanskrit Cosmopolis" and the ensuing "vernacular millennium" theorised by Sheldon Pollock (2006).[2]

Old Javanese or "Kawi"[3] has been defined by Pollock as a "transregional vernacular" in the Sanskrit Cosmopolis, that is, a language used by literati and religious agents in Java from around the eighth to the sixteenth or seventeenth century, as well as in Bali (and the Balinese enclaves in Lombok) until the modern period. While Old Javanese is one of the Malayo-Polynesian languages, whose grammar and lexicon are very different from Sanskrit, it consists of around 50 per cent Sanskrit loanwords and also exhibits some syntactical influence from that language.[4] Strikingly enough, the ancient Javanese used Sanskrit words even in cases where local words already existed.[5] This, along with local developments in the Sanskrit texts composed or transmitted in Java and Bali – such as a "non-standard" (i.e. non-Pāṇinian) Sanskrit grammar, semantic shifts, or even a hybrid language that has been called "Archipelago Sanskrit" – reflects the significant extent and depth of the penetration of Sanskrit language and Sanskritic culture into the social matrix of the elites and, perhaps, commoners.

This chapter investigates the South Asia–inspired, culturally and linguistically hybrid Old Javanese (and Sanskrit–Old Javanese) literature, with particular attention to Śaiva religious texts of the *tutur* and *tattva* genres,[6] but also including relevant nor-

2 Pollock has theorised the Sanskrit Cosmopolis as a transregional cultural formation extending from the Indian subcontinent to Central and Southeast Asia, where the Sanskrit language articulated politics not as material but as aesthetic power, serving as the vehicle for the elites' self-representation. Further, he has elaborated on the existence of an ensuing "vernacular millennium," during which "cosmopolitan vernaculars" (like Old Javanese) gained ascendancy from around the end of the first millennium onwards in expressing concepts that had previously been the exclusive preserve of Sanskrit.

3 This is the word used in Bali to refer to the language, whose indigenous name is, however, not attested in any pre-Islamic texts from Java. Such Old Javanese *kakavin*s like the *Smaradahana* (1.23) and the *Sumanasāntaka* (182.3) use the form *pinrākṛta*, "rewriting (retelling) in another medium (from Sanskrit to Javanese, from poetry to prose)," suggesting that the Javanese may have conceptualised their literary language as a Prakrit (i.e. vernacular), and as having the same relationship as that of a Prakrit towards Sanskrit.

4 This is especially evident in the *tattva* literature (on which, see below): see Acri (2017, 26–28).

5 For instance, in the case of words used to denote kinship: see *anak* vs. *putra*, *strī*/*bharyā*/*vadhū* vs. *vini*, etc.

6 These terms are hard to translate. The former can be approximately rendered as "memory, recollection, consciousness" and "to tell, report" (*Old Javanese–English Dictionary*, henceforth OJED, see Zoetmulder (1982), s.v.); it is thus perhaps akin to the Sanskrit word *smṛti*, meaning "memory, thinking of or upon," and can also denote a body of sacred texts that are remembered by human teachers. The latter can be broadly translated as "reality, metaphysics, ontological categories," and denotes a body of speculative texts mainly concerned with theological, philosophical, and soteriological matters.

mative texts of the *śāsana* legal genre and poems (*kakavin*) of Śaiva persuasion. The analysis centres on concrete transregional textual connections, specifically allusions to or citations of titles of Sanskrit texts from the Indian subcontinent. While the quotation or borrowing of portions of Sanskrit scriptures in (Sanskrit–)Old Javanese texts has already been described in scholarly literature (see e.g. Goudriaan 1981; Acri 2006, 119–124), references to the actual titles of Sanskrit scriptures have yet to be investigated in a systematic manner.[7] This approach is useful in that it can identify the specific sources that were in circulation and were considered authoritative in a given period, which may have served as prototypes to form the textual “canon” that informed prevalent religious, ritual, and social ideas and practices in pre-Islamic Java as well as Bali. By doing so, we can gain a deeper understanding of the transregional textual flows that shaped the literary, cultural, and religious landscapes of those Southeast Asian islands in the premodern period.

2 *Tutur* and *tattva* literature

An extensive body of religious literature, known as *tutur* and *tattva*, was composed in Java and the neighbouring (and still predominantly “Hindu”) island of Bali in the period from the ninth century to the sixteenth century. This literature is mainly concerned with the reconfiguration of Indic metaphysics, philosophy, soteriology, and ritual along localised lines. It is often structured in the form of Sanskrit verses accompanied by an Old Javanese prose exegesis – each unit forming a “translation dyad” (Acri 2006). The Old Javanese prose parts document cases of linguistic and cultural localisation that can be regarded as broadly corresponding to the European categories of translation, paraphrase, and commentary, but which often do not fit neatly into any one category (Acri and Hunter 2020). These “cultural translations” document a creative reuse of Indic material. As such, they reflect the ways in which local agents (re-)interpreted, synthesised, fractured, and restated the messages conveyed by the Sanskrit verses in the light of their contingent contexts, agendas, and prevalent exegetical practices.

Unlike much of the Buddhist literature from premodern Tibet and China, this corpus of Old Javanese and Sanskrit–Old Javanese texts cannot be regarded as a “translation literature.”[8] Instead, it is characterised by the original reuse of Sanskrit material

7 Due to space constraints, my discussion is not going to be comprehensive. Besides leaving aside Buddhist works (see below, footnote 9), I will not include the Parva literature, or such texts as the *Sārasamuccaya* (mentioning Vararuci as the author who produced an abridged version of the *Mahābhārata* attributed to Vyāsa).

8 Examples of translation or close rendition are known in Old Javanese literary genres, but are extremely rare (see e.g. the partial rendition of about half of the seventh-century Sanskrit *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or *Rāvaṇavadha* by Bhaṭṭi in Old Javanese, known as the *Rāmāyaṇa kakavin*, the earliest core of which is dateable to around the ninth century).

to create original works that reveal a propensity for elaborating a synthesis and hybridisation of different religious-philosophical streams, such as Śaivism, Vedānta, Sāṅkhya, and Yoga. Whether this textual activity is primarily attributable to individual authors or "reading committees" – similar to the Chinese translation assemblies or the modern Balinese institution of *mabasan*/*pepaosan*, that is, "reading clubs" – gravitating around the court and urban or rural religious institutions, is not known. However, sources from around the fifteenth century suggest that during the late "Hindu-Buddhist" period, such activities may have occurred in the hermitages known as *patapan*, *maṇḍala*, *kabuyutan*, etc. These hermitages, which dotted the mountainous landscape of Java, doubled as institutions where knowledge was produced and transmitted, and were bastions of the Hindu-Buddhist culture even at a time when Islam was becoming dominant in the more accessible flatlands. In any case, the linguistic and intellectual undertakings performed by premodern Javanese and Balinese authors may be regarded as a form of "translation as commentary," simultaneously involving multiple processes: the translation from an Indo-European language into a Western Malayo-Polynesian idiom, the exegesis or reconfiguration of Indic material, and its adaption into a familiar cultural context, aligned with the expectations of both the producers and consumers of literature.

Recent comparative research has shown that the *tutur* and *tattva* textual corpus stems from an early, pre-ninth century, pan-Indian Sanskrit Śaiva Saiddhāntika prototypical tradition.[9] This tradition can primarily be reconstructed through manuscript archives from Nepal and South India, as it had almost disappeared from the manuscript traditions of other regions of the subcontinent. The first pioneering identification of a "quotation" from a Sanskrit Śaiva text from the subcontinent in a Sanskrit text from Bali was made by Goudriaan (1981). He identified two verses belonging to the *Vīṇāśikhatantra* – an early "magical" Śaiva Tantra – in the *Māyātattva* Tantric hymn from Bali (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971, 274–281). More recently, scholars have traced verses of texts belonging to the *tutur* Sanskrit–Old Javanese literature to early Siddhāntatantras, including the *Svāyambhuvasūtrasaṅgraha*, *Kiraṇatantra*, *Niśvāsatattvasaṁhitā*, *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama*, and Puranic texts like the *Agnipurāṇa*.[10] These verses, nearly all in the *anuṣṭubh* or *śloka* metre, are usually "quoted"

9 This chapter, dealing with Śaiva literature, will not discuss references found in Old Javanese Buddhist texts – which, to my knowledge, may be limited to the single mention of the as yet unidentified *Saṅ Hyaṅ Tantra Bajradhātu Subhūti* in the colophon of version C of the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Saṅ Hyaṅ Kamahāyānikan*: see Kandahjaya (2016, 93); compare the mention of a *Tantra Subhūti* in *Deśavarṇana* 43.3. Previous scholarly efforts to trace the verses "quoted" in Sanskrit–Old Javanese Buddhist ritual manuals may be found in de Jong (1974), Ishii (1992), Lokesh Chandra (1995, esp. 295–300), Kandahjaya (2016), and Kanō (2020).

10 See Acri (2006, 118–124), mentioning *Vṛhaspatitattva* 7–10 ≈ *Svāyaṁbhuvasūtrasaṁgraha*, Vidyāpāda 4.3–6; *Vṛhaspatitattva* 37–46 ≈ *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 10.3cd–13ef, *Agnipurāṇa* 2.214, 3cd–14ab, *Jñānasiddhānta* 19.5, *Gaṇapatitattva* 43 ≈ *Kiraṇatantra*, *Vidyāpāda* 1.23; *Jnānasiddhānta* 8.3 ≈ *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 1.8, 38; *Jnānasiddhānta* 25.6 ≈ *Niśvāsatattvasaṁhitā*, *Mūlasūtra* 6.8

anonymously, without reference to their original sources. They appear to have been extrapolated from their original context and collated to form new texts – sometimes in quite a logical and organic way, such as in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Vṛhaspatitattva*, but often in a more random manner.

A remarkable instance of such "quotations" is found in the *Jñānasiddhānta*, a Sanskrit–Old Javanese *tutur* probably compiled in Bali at a relatively late date using a core of earlier material,[11] where verse 5 of chapter 19 corresponds to *Kiraṇatantra*, Vidyāpāda 1.23. This passage may help trace the line of transmission of this early Saiddhāntika scripture to ancient Java and Bali (see Acri 2006, 123–124). The second half-line is found in neither the Nepalese manuscripts nor Rāmakaṇṭha's commentary (see Goodall 1998, 221 n. 188). However, it appears in the later South Indian redactions, such as the Devakoṭṭai edition, and in the version commented upon by Tryambaka-śambhu, who places it after 1.23d (see Goodall 1998, 29). This suggests a late South Indian transmission to Java or Bali, which is consistent with the doctrinal outlook of the text and its probable authorship (see Acri 2022a).

Elsewhere (Acri 2012, 2021a, 2021b) I have reconstructed the doctrinal influence of the early Śaiva scriptures of the Vāthula/Āgneya corpus on Old Javanese Śaiva texts, especially the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Bhuvanakośa* ("The Compendium of the Worlds"),[12] for

(≈ *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama* 19.4). On a widespread verse on *ṣaḍaṅgayoga* in early Siddhāntatantras, see Grönbold (1996, 9–10) and Vasudeva (2004, 388). See also Acharya (2020) on the parallels between the *Saurasaṁhitā* and the Sanskrit hymn from Bali known as *Sūryastava*; Rastelli (2022) on the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, *Sārdhatriśatikālottarāgama*, and *Agnipurāṇa* parallels in a section dealing with yoga and subtle physiology. Contextual similarities as well as verses echoing (rather than exactly corresponding to) verses of the *Rauravasūtrasaṅgraha* and *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* are found in the *Bhuvanakośa* (BhK 7.20d and 10.36b = RauSS 8.10d; BhK 10.36a = RauSS 8.10c; BhK 7.20c, 10.36c = RauSS 8.13a; BhK 4.23b ≈ MatPār VP 18.85d; BhK 4.24b ≈ MatPār VP 18.84d).

11 While the dating of the texts of this corpus remains highly problematic, one could mark the fifteenth century as a "turning point" in Javanese-Balinese literary history; indeed, that period witnessed the fall of the Hindu (mainly Śaiva) and Buddhist Kingdom of Majapahit in East Java and its progressive Islamisation, and an influx of Śaiva and Buddhist texts to the nearby island of Bali, carried by literati as well as the priestly elites. A significant part of the Old Javanese textual corpus recovered from Balinese manuscripts may date back to this period.

12 This text shares numerous verse-quarters with various recensions of the *Kālottara*, like the *Śatikakālajñāna*. Although I believe that this is statistically significant, these shared fragments are too short to be attributable with certainty to the aforementioned Sanskrit sources. On the other hand, the fact that part of this text, as well as many other *tutur*s, are arranged as a dialogue between Śiva and Kumāra (and the Goddess), as in the case of the *Kālottara* as well as other texts related to the Āgneya corpus (like the early *Skandapurāṇa*, the *Sarvajñānottara*, etc.), supports the view that this corpus may have been prototypical for Old Javanese texts. For a more detailed discussion, see Acri (forthcoming). Contrast Goodall (2022a, 546) on the absence of clear epigraphic evidence of the study of the *Kālottara* by the Khmers.

instance through an analysis of metaphors that tend to be found in nondualistic Sanskrit sources rather than "orthodox" dualistic mature Saiddhāntika sources.[13] Additionally, I have demonstrated the influence of the early Śaiva exegete Bṛhaspati (c. 650–750 CE) on the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and other *tattva*s, like the Old Javanese *Tattvajñāna* and *Dharma Pātañjala*. I have also investigated the Sanskrit *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* – commonly known as the *Yogasūtra* with the *Bhāṣya* commentary (mis)attributed to Vyāsa – as the prototypical source of the latter Old Javanese text (Acri 2012, 2017). The question of the influences of historical authors and sources from the subcontinent on the *Vṛhaspatitattva* and *Dharma Pātañjala* is relevant to the present discussion. Since it is clear that the Javanese author of the *Dharma Pātañjala* drew directly from the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra* or a versified version of the *sūtra*s plus one or more commentaries, I argue that the word *Pātañjala* in the title alludes to the fact that the text was based on the *Pātañjalayogaśāstra*, while also conflating Patañjali (the Sanskrit word *pātañjala*, meaning "of Patañjali") with the "local" (i.e. Javanese) Pātañjala/Pṛtañjala, the manifestation of Śiva that is probably a synonym of Agastya. Besides constituting a central character in the early Śaiva doctrinal landscape of Java, Pātañjala does indeed feature in a rather lengthy mythological account in the *Dharma Pātañjala* describing the previous manifestations and earthly incarnations of Śiva (see Acri 2014a). Along similar lines, the title *Vṛhaspatitattva* ("the Book of Vṛhaspati") is a double-barrelled reference both to the work of the South Asian exegete Bṛhaspati and to Vṛhaspati, the interlocutor of Śiva in the text, who is by no means a prominent god in Javanese Śaivism and never appears as such – or as an interlocutor in the frame-story – in any other Śaiva texts known to me. Both titles would thus appear to reflect a strategy of anchoring the revealed text to a mythical figure outside of human space and time, by transforming a historical author from the Indian tradition, who was likely unfamiliar to most of the local readership, into a (semi-)divine figure.

While the *Dharma Pātañjala* does not allude to any of its prototypical sources, it contains an interesting and unique passage (pp. 208–210) that refers to Brahmins along with other ethnonyms[14] denoting Persians,[15] Pujut (negritos?),[16] and Nambi[17] as people from overseas whose physical appearance is different. Further, it mentions the

13 See e.g. the metaphors found in the Saiddhāntika (albeit doctrinally not clearly dualistic) *Niśvāsakārikā* and *Trayodaśaśatikakālottara* (Acri 2021a, 2021b).

14 Thus, Brahmins may have been regarded as a distinct ethnic group. Interestingly, the same appears to have been the case in premodern Thailand (see McGovern 2017, 284 n. 1).

15 The ethnonym *parasi* also occurs in the *Ṛṣiśāsana* (4), along with East Africans (*jəṅgi*), South Indians (*kliṅ*), negritos (*pujut*), etc.; it is also attested in Old Sundanese sources (see Aditia Gunawan (2023), note on the occurrence of this word in *Siksa Kandaṅ Karəsian* 9.11.31, mentioning also the *Kavi Katanian*), as well as earlier Old Javanese inscriptions.

16 According to OJED (s.v.), and more recently Jákl (2017), the term *pujut* denotes dark-skinned Negritos who came to Java as enslaved war captives, either from Sumatra or eastern Indonesia (including Papua).

17 The referent of this ethnonym is not known, although one may point at the occurrence of the word *nambi* in a Tamil inscription from Bagan in Myanmar related to a South Indian merchant guild, religious teachings of the people from foreign lands in the same context, thus providing us with a rare glimpse of how “indigenous” sources theorised the transfer of texts and religious knowledge from the Indian subcontinent to Java:[18]

> [208] [. . .] *nihan deyani janma yan mahyun samyajñāna, təlu kvehnya, pratyakṣapramāṇa, anumānapramāṇa, āgamapramāṇa, nāhan saṅ pramāṇa təlu ṅaranya, pratyakṣapramāṇa ṅaranya, ikaṅ vastu tan parakva, yekā pratyakṣapramāṇa ṅaranya, anumānapramāṇa ṅaranya, hana vastu tan katon, ndan siddha hiḍəpniṅ vvaṅ iriya, apan hana cihna paṅavruh iriya, nihan padanya, kadyaṅgāniṅ deśa ri sabraṅ, dadi hiḍəpniṅ vvaṅ riṅ hananya, apan hana katon ikā vvaṅ dudū rūpanya kadyaṅgāniṅ brāhmaṇa lāvan pujut, nambi,* [209] *parasi, ya tikā tinonta, athavā hana kəta vastu tan katon, ri deśa ri nūsa kahananya, kadyaṅgāniṅ maṇik, kasturi, kapur kunaṅ, yekā byaktanyān hana nūsa ri sabraṅ, ikā ta jñāna humiḍəp hananikā, yekānumānapramāṇa, āgamapramāṇa ṅaranya, varah-varahniṅ vvaṅ saṅke deśāntara, ndān yan pacihna ikā, yāpvan tan pacihna adva ikā, yapvan hana cihna, ya ta sinaṅguh āgamapramāṇa ṅaranya, nāhan yaṅ pramāṇa təlu ṅaranya, yatānyan tan kasasar i jñāna, tinut saṅ viku,*
>
> [The way of acting of the human beings who desire the right knowledge is as follows. It numbers three [elements]: the valid means of knowledge of direct perception, the valid means of knowledge of inference, the valid means of knowledge of testimony of scripture. Thus are the three valid means of knowledge. The valid means of knowledge of direct perception means: the entity that is not a matter of guess. That is the valid means of knowledge of direct perception. The valid means of knowledge of inference means: there is an entity which is not visible, but the thought of men about it is sure, for there is a sign by means of which one can recognise it. *For example: like the foreign countries across the sea, it is possible that men know about their existence, for one sees thus, namely that there are men of different appearance, like the Brahmans and the Pujut, the Nambi, the Persians.* These are seen by you. And further, there still are entities which are not seen, they originate in [foreign] lands, in [other] islands, such as gems, musk, camphor. These constitute the evidence that the islands across the sea exist; it is the mind that infers that they exist. That is the valid means of knowledge of inference. *The valid means of knowledge of testimony of scripture means: the teachings of the people from the foreign lands, but [only] if there is a proof; if there is no proof, they are [to be considered] false.* If there is a proof, that is designated as the valid means of knowledge of testimony of scripture. Thus are the three valid means of knowledge, so that there is no going wrong of the knowledge according to the men of religion.] [Emphasis added]

The passage quoted above suggests that Brahmins coming from overseas were a social reality in ancient Java, and that they must have been the prime carriers of the “foreign” religious teachings mentioned in the same paragraph.[19]

recording the construction of a front hall in a Viṣṇu temple by Irāyiran Siṟiyan alias Śrī Kulaśekhara Nambi of Magodayar-paṭṭaṇam in Malaimaṇḍalam (Karashima 2002, 15).

18 All the Old Javanese texts quoted thereafter have been silently standardised, while more significant corruptions or variants have been recorded in footnotes, serving as a critical apparatus. All translations are my own.

19 See also the mention in the *Deśavarṇana* (93.1) of the presence of the Brahmin Mutali at the court of the fourteenth-century East Javanese King Rājasanagara, alongside the Buddhist literate Buddhāditya from Kañcipuram in South India.

What may be a rare instance of direct knowledge of a Sanskrit text composed in the Indian subcontinent is found in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Bhuvanakośa*, which refers to the *Dhīśāstra* (3.31) when describing the generation of the elements from the subtle elements and their respective organs. While the term *Dhīśāstra* is not known from Sanskrit literature, it can be understood as a synonym of *Buddhiśāstra* ("Treatise on the Intellect"), which would allude to an early form of / treatise on Sāṅkhya.[20] The expression *dhīśāstroktaṁ* [. . .] *vākyam* [I am going to tell [you] what has been declared in the *Dhīśāstra*] is not glossed in the exegesis to verse 3.31. However, 3.36 contains the clause *buddhīndriyāni pañcamyāṁ proktāni paramarṣiṇā* [The Organs of Perception have been taught by the supreme seer as a pentad], which the exegesis attributes to Kapila [The Organs of Perception have been taught by the Lord Kapila as being fivefold in nature].[21] Thus, against the interpretation given by the Old Javanese commentary, one can understand *pañcamyāṁ* as meaning "in the pentad [of verses above, i.e. 3.31–35]," referring to the five verses quoted from a work by Kapila. Kapila, whom the Sāṅkhya tradition often calls *paramarṣi* or Supreme Sage, is traditionally credited with the authorship of the lost early authoritative Sāṅkhya work *Ṣaṣṭitantra* ("Treatise on the Sixty Categories", c. fourth century),[22] which was known to Dignāga, Mallavādin and Bhartṛhari (Bronkhorst 1994, 315). The work is referred to in the Sanskrit portion of dyad 4.22 as "This is the doctrine [taught] in the Treatise on the Sixty Categories of the great seer Kapila" ("*ṣaṣṭī tattvam idan tantre | kapilasya mahārṣiṇaḥ*"). This treatise is referred to in the exegesis as the source of the series of fifty categories, whose essence is extracted in verses 4.21–22: "Thus are the fifty categories, which constitute the doctrine (or: 'treatise') of the divine Kapila. The essence has been spoken."[23] This example suggests that the quasi-mythical status of Kapila reflected in South Asian sources was retained in the *Bhuvanakośa*, but that the author of the commentary did not elaborate further on the possible "quotation" (whether actual or imagined) of a portion of text from a prototypical source.

References to South Asian philosophical and religious systems, and the scriptures belonging to them, are found in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Brahmoktavidhiśāstra*.[24] This text describes, through the mouth of the Lord Paśupati, the origin of the world and of the four Vedas, using a series of Sanskrit verses listing various auxiliary scien-

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20 Cf. the occurrences in *Mahābhārata* 13.134.57d, 12.2.6006, and 12.343.8.

21 "*ikā taṅ buddhīndriya | vinarahakən bhaṭāra kapila | an lima lvirnya.*" Cf. also the expression *liṅ mahāmuni*, [[according to] the words of the Great Sage], found in the exegetical portion of dyad 3.68.

22 Such is the view of the *Yuktidīpikā* (Larson and Bhattacharya 1987, 127); other sources attribute the authorship to Vārṣagaṇya or Pañcaśikha. See Oberhammer (1960).

23 4.22: "*nāhan taṅ tattva limaṅ puluh, pinakāji bhagavān kapila, ukta sāra.*"

24 Although, strictly speaking, these references are general, i.e. they do not contain actual titles of scriptures, the passage quoted below is significant enough to warrant a treatment here, and moreover it refers to systems that are also mentioned in other texts discussed in this chapter, namely the Alepaka, Mahānātha, Mīmāṁsā, and Pāśupata.

ces (*vedāṅga*) and other philosophical systems. Each one of these is connected with a part of the body of the Veda (verses 2–3):

> *kāmatantro 'pi viguhye kukṣau mīmāṁsaḥ*[25] *saṁsthitaḥ* |
> *pāśupato 'pi hṛdaye mahānāthaś ca urake*[26] ||
> *kaṇṭhe vaiśeṣikaś caiva jihve śikṣā*[27] *tathaiva ca* |
> *alepakas tu śīrṣāyām*[28] *iti vedaśarīra*[29] *vai* ||
>
> [The teaching of the Ars Amatoria is in the genital organ; in the belly is placed the Mīmāṁsā. The Pāśupata is in the heart and the Mahānātha on the chest. On the neck there is the Vaiśeṣika, the Śikṣā is on the tongue; the Alepaka is in the head.]

The Old Javanese commentary paraphrases the verses by stating that the "scriptures/system of knowledge of the Alepakas" (*alepakajñānaśāstra*) represents the head of the Veda ("*kunaṅ ikaṅ alepakajñānaśāstra pinakasirsa pakenanika de saṅ hyaṅ veda*"), while the "scriptures/system of the Pāśupatas" (*pāśupataśāstra*) represents the heart ("*ikaṅ pāśupataśāstra pinakahati pakenanika teka saṅ hyaṅ veda*"). It is remarkable that the Pāśupatas, Mahānāthas, and Alepakas, which in the case of the latter two, probably represent streams of early Śaivism, are mentioned in these verses as belonging to the Vedic stream, alongside such orthodox systems as the Mīmāṁsā and the Vaiśeṣika. As for the Alepakas, they are likely to be a local variation of the Vaimalas known from South Asian sources.[30]

Another remarkable passage is found in the monumental Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Śivāgama* (also entitled *Pūrvāgamaśāsana*), composed by the Balinese priest and intellectual Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen in the late 1930s. While this source, a compendium of Śaiva (cum Buddhist) doctrinal and ethical precepts set within a mythological and narrative framework, is the most recent discussed here, it draws from earlier sources of the *tutur* genre, like the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Vṛhaspatitattva*, as well as other seminal Old and Middle Javanese texts, like the *Tantu Paṅgəlaran*. The passage in question (f. 305r–306r in the single palm-leaf manuscript used here), where the epic character Yudhiṣṭhira teaches a sermon to Candravicandra, features references to Śaiva scriptures/systems known from South Asian Sanskrit literature, which do not

25 Declined as a masculine (unmetrical).
26 *ca urake* features a non-standard hiatus to avoid hypometrism, although the Anuṣṭubh pattern is still irregular.
27 Em.; *śikṣa* mss.
28 Em.; *śirṣayam* mss.
29 Declined as a masculine with irregular *sandhi*, metri causa.
30 For a reference to the Alepakas in the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, see below, section 5. For a discussion of the above-quoted verses and the issue of the identification of the Alepakas, see Acri (2008).

occur anywhere else in the corpus of Old Javanese texts accessible to me. Given the significance of this passage, I quote it in its entirety below:[31]

> *gumanti śrī yudhiṣṭhira sira mojar, liṅnira, ḍūh anaku candravicandra, valuyakən taṅ carite ṅūni, sakiṅ ruhur pūrvakaniṅ mavaraha, lvirnya, ikaṅ mamakā, ṅamətvakən aji kaulikā ṅaranya, vənaṅ paṅākarṣaṇa phala bhoga kabhukti təkapnya, mvaṅ amətvakən kasiddhyan kapuruṣan, lavan kaiśvaryan, təkeṅ kamokṣan kasiddha denya. i sornya muvah, nanasa*[32] *ṅaranya, dadama ṅaranya vaneh, ṅamətvakən tattva buddherika, i təṅah muṣṭiniṅ aji ikā, agəṅ kottamaniṅ saṅ hyaṅ aji,*[33] *paṅākarṣaṇa kavijilanira bhaṭāra buddha, nimittaniṅ pāpa karma, mvaṅ lara roga, pupug punah vināśa denya, makadon vruh iṅ śūnya səḍəṅiṅ yoga sira, lāvan dūradarśaṇa, dūrasarvajña. kapiṅtiganya, iyama ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən aji siddhānta, mvaṅ aji kiraṇerika, i təṅah muṣṭiniṅ aji ika, agəṅ kottamaniṅ saṅ hyaṅ aji, prokta upadeśa donya, paṅākarṣaṇa kinasihaniṅ rāt kabeh, kapiṅpātnya, śavala ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən aji mahānātha ika, paṅākarṣaṇa kasanmatan*[34] *de saṅ prabhu donya, mvaṅ śakti viśeṣa təkapnya, uttara vatəkiṅ aji ika, śrī ləṅkeśvara paṅajyanye*[35] *ṅūni, ya sinaṅgah khaḍgarāvaṇa*[36] *rakva. kapiṅlimanya ta*[37] *śiva ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən aji bhūtatantra ṅaranya, akveh phalanya, təhər agəṅ prabhavanya, atəguh taṅ śarīra denya, kumavruhi daitya rākṣasa sira, vatəkiṅ paścima, neriti, vayabya, aji ika. i piṅnəmnya, bāma ya ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən aji picu,*[38] *aji maṅgala, aji tilaka ṅaranya vaneh, avyavṛtti*[39] *sarvaguṇa denya, praṇata bhaktīkaṅ rāt kapuharanya, watəkiṅ dakṣiṇa aji ika. kapiṅpitunya, śanaha ṅaranya, anaha*[40] *ṅaranya vaneh, ṅamətvakən aji gāruḍeya*[41] *ika, ṅamrəddhyakən vvaṅ viśeṣa, mvaṅ kavaśa, sakarəpnya siddha, atīndriya phalanya, magave kadīrghāyuṣan, vatək aji pūrva ika. kapiṅvvalunya, manahu ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən aji prethivijñāna sira, amaṅuṇakən viśeṣa, mvaṅ putusiṅ śivatattva, magave kayovanan sadā phalanya. kapiṅsaṅanya, avaku ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən aji hora ngaranya, vənaṅ ṅamətvakən asmaratantra, magave kinonəṅanta riṅ rāt phalanya. kapiṅdaśanya, avighna ṅaranya, ṅamətvakən saṅ hyaṅ mahāvindu sira, magave kavruhanta riṅ rāt, rakṣaka bhakti agave kamokṣan phalanya, ika saṅ hyaṅ daśamūrti ṅaranya.*
>
> [The illustrious Yudhiṣṭhira spoke in his turn: o, my child Candravicandra, let us go back to the story of the past; the origin of teaching was from above, here is how it looked like: Mamakā brought forth the Kaulikā scriptures, which can act as a means to attract results [like] pleasures; their way is what is enjoyed. Also, they brought forth the status of supernatural prowess and manliness, and the state of lordship. Because of them, release and perfection are obtained. Else,

31 Unless otherwise indicated, the critical notes are based on the palm-leaf manuscript only, rather than the printed edition, which largely derives from the same manuscript and contains several mistakes.

32 The editors of the printed version of the *Śivāgama* read *manasa*.

33 The portion of text *i təṅah muṣṭiniṅ aji ikā, agəṅ kottamaniṅ saṅ hyaṅ aji,* is not found in the printed edition.

34 Em.; *kasanmatha* ms.

35 Em.; *paṅajinye* ms.

36 Em.; *kaḍgaroravaṇa* ms. (printed edition: *khadga rowana*).

37 Em.; *kapiṅlimanya,* ta ms.

38 Em.; *vicu* ms.

39 Em.; *avyaavṛtti* ms.

40 The ms. actually reads *anaa*.

41 Em.; *gurudheya* ms.

below those [scriptures], there is Nanasa (or: Mānasa?), who is also called Dadama, which brought forth the doctrines of the Buddha. Inside the innermost part of those scriptures, great is the excellence of the holy scriptures, being a means to produce the Lord Buddha, the cause of sin and [bad] karma and also suffering and disease to be ineffective; because of them, they are overcome and utterly annihilated. They have as a result the knowledge of emptiness at the time of yoga, along with [the supernatural faculty of] seeing from afar and omniscience. The third is Iyama (Īśāna?), who brought forth the Siddhānta scriptural system, and the *Kiraṇa* scripture within it. Inside the innermost part of those scriptures, great is the excellence of the holy scriptures: their aim is to enunciate the teachings. They are a means to attract the affection of the entire world. The fourth is Śavala (=Śabara), who brought forth the Mahānātha scriptures, their aim is to attract the kind disposition of the king. Further, by way of them, the highest power [is obtained]. Those belong to the category of Northern scriptures. The illustrious king of Laṅkā was the one who taught them in the past, he is called Khaḍgarāvaṇa, as they say. The fifth is Śiva, who brought forth the Bhūtatantra scriptures. Their fruits are many: one's might quickly becomes great, and the body becomes firm by way of them. He knows the Daityas and Rākṣasas. Those scriptures belong to the Western, Southwestern, and Northwestern category. As for the sixth, his name is Bāma, bringing forth the *Picu* scripture, and the *Maṅgala* scripture, whose other name is the *Tilaka* scripture. All kinds of magical practices are averted[42] by way of them: they cause the people to be submissive and devoted. They belong to the category of Southern scriptures. The seventh is Śanaha; his other name is Anaha, who brought forth the Gāruḍeya scripture. They cause eminent people to flourish and [cause other people to be] subdued; whatever they desire is accomplished. Their result is [to become one who is] beyond the cognisance of the senses. They cause long life. They belong to the category of Eastern scriptures. Eighth, his name is Manahu, who brought forward the *Prethivijñāna* scripture. It causes superiority, and also disappearing in the principle of Śiva; its result is to cause eternal youth. Ninth, his name is Avaku, who brought forward the Hora scriptures, which are able to produce the scripture of the practice of love, whose result is to make you to be obeyed by the people. Tenth, his name is Avighna, who brought forth the holy Mahāvindu, causing you to know the people, [becoming] a protector and a devotee; their result is to cause release. These are called the illustrious Ten Incarnations.]

This passage describes the revelation of sacred scriptures and their fruits by a set of ten deities, referred to as the Ten Incarnations (*daśamūrti*). In so doing, it teaches a system whereby certain scriptures are connected to the directions of the compass, just as it happens in analogous passages of Śaiva scriptures from the Indian subcontinent. While its character is apparently localised, and the name of some scriptures and divine figures possibly garbled, it retains certain interesting correspondences with Śaiva texts from the subcontinent. For instance, the list starting with the third divine entity (Iyama [Īśāna?], the revealer of the Siddhānta, including the *Kiraṇa*, which could be arguably placed at the top/zenith), is also associated with directions of the space, as in the case of the *Mṛgendratantra* (Caryāpāda 1.35–36a) and *Pūrvakāmikā-*

42 This verbal form, as well as its stem, are not attested in OJED, but appear to derive from Sanskrit *vyāvṛtti*, "turning away, deliverance from, getting rid of, exclusion, rejection, removal;" compare *vyāvṛtta*, "turned away from, freed from, rid of, averted, turned back" (Monier-Williams 1899, s.v.).

gama (1.21–27, summed up in Brunner-Lachaux 1985, 363 n. 1), connecting the five currents (*srotas*) with each of the five faces of Sadāśiva,[43] as can be appreciated from Table 1:

Table 1: The five Śaiva currents (*srotas*) and their counterparts in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Śivāgama*.

	Mṛgendratantra* Caryāpāda, *Pūrvakāmikāgama		***Śivāgama* (*Pūrvāgamaśāsana*)**		
Direction	Face of Sadāśiva[44]	Current	Direction	Deity	Scriptures
Up	[Īśāna]	Siddhānta (Kāmika etc.)	Up	Iyama (Īśāna?) (3rd)	Siddhānta (Kiraṇa)
East	[Tatpuruṣa]	Gāruḍa	East	Śanaha/Anaha (7th)	Gāruḍeya
South	[Aghora]	Bhairava	South	Bāma (6th)	Picu, Maṅgala/Tilaka
West	[Sadyojāta]	Bhūtatantra	West [+ Southwest, Northwest]	Śiva (5th)	Bhūtatantras
North	[Vāmadeva]	Vāma	North	Śavala (4th) (& Khaḍgarāvaṇa)	Mahānātha

Several of the scriptures mentioned in the passage are worthy of note. For instance, the Kaulikā scripture, associated with the enjoyment of pleasure, but also with the obtainment of the power of lordship and perfection, is apparently given the highest status in the revelation hierarchy; it could correspond to the Kaula scriptures, a synonym of which is, indeed, Kaulika. Another option would be to emend the reading to *Laukika* ("worldly"), which would be in harmony with the enjoyment of pleasure, but much less so with the higher supernatural status, as well as the uppermost position in the hierarchy. Further, the *Kiraṇa,* listed among the Siddhānta scriptures, apparently corresponds to the *Kiraṇatantra*, a relatively early and influential Siddhāntatantra, one verse of which, as I have mentioned above, is attested in the Sanskrit–Old Javanese *Jñānasiddhānta*. Particularly striking is the occurrence of Khaḍgarāvaṇa (emended from *khaḍgaroravaṇa*), the "illustrious king of Laṅkā" (*śrī ləṅkeśvara*), as a primordial teacher of the Mahānātha scriptures[45] revealed by Śavala (=Śabara). Khaḍgarāvaṇa was an early Rudra attested in Tantras of the Bhūtatantric Paścimasrotas streams, and also men-

43 See also *Mṛgendratantra,* Kriyāpāda 3.18–19.
44 This fivefold arrangement is not made explicit in the *Mṛgendra* and *Pūrvakāmika*, but is common throughout the Saiddhāntika corpus, and it clearly underlies the system described in both texts.
45 See the passage from the *Brahmoktavidhiśāstra* quoted above.

tioned in Sanskrit hymns from Bali (Goudriaan 1977). According to Slouber (2023, 73–74), one may compare magical practices revolving around this deity with those of the shamanic traditions of the Sora people inhabiting parts of Odisha, whose Sanskrit name was Śavara (Śabara). The present textual instance would suggest a connection between Khaḍgarāvaṇa and a Śabara, understood in the sense of a teacher from a tribal community. A scripture called *Picu* (my emendation from *Vicu*), revealed by Bāma (i.e. the Vāmadeva aspect of Śiva), might represent the *Picumata-Brahmayāmala* (c. sventh century), a Śākta-Bhairavatantra; its connection with magical practices causing submission, which indeed are found in that scripture, is intriguing, as is the fact that the *Picu* – with its cognates *Maṅgala* and *Tilaka*[46] – is placed in the South, instead of the North, as in the case of Sanskrit sources. Further, its connection with submission is in harmony with the perception of the character of the Vāmasrotas in Sanskrit post-scriptural sources: for instance, a work by the early fourteenth-century Tamil Śaiva Siddhānta teacher Umāpati connects this current with the "subjugation of everything" (*sarvavaśīkaraṇa*: see Brunner 1988, 226 and 250 n. 3). This is also confirmed by the Vāmasrotas sources themselves: indeed, the *Vīṇāśikhatantra*, an early Tantra belonging to this current, is replete with subjugation practices. As for the Gāruḍeya scripture, it could represent the class of the Gāruḍatantras, a category of texts mainly devoted to the protection and cure from snakebites. I wonder whether the *Hora* scripture could be a corruption for *Sora* – that is, *Saura*, a class of early scriptures revolving around the cult of Śiva as the Sun.

It is to be stressed that, as I have mentioned above, many of the titles of the scriptures listed in the passage, like the Bhūtatantras, the *Kaulikā*, the *Kiraṇa*, the *Picu*, and so on, are not only unattested in the Old Javanese corpus known to me (as is their association with directions), but were also virtually unknown to scholarship until at least three or four decades after the approximate date of composition of the *Śivāgama*, that is, no later than 1938 CE.[47] The present passage is unlikely to be the result of a modern, late-twentieth-century interpolation, since the manuscript in which it is found bears a colophon dating back to 1960 CE; hence, it constitutes evidence of the existence of now-unknown texts from which Ida Made Pedanda Sidemen drew to compile this system of Śaiva (and Buddhist, in the case of Mamakā)[48] scriptural revelation, or of an undocumented oral tradition, both of which preserve the names of authoritative Śaiva scriptures and systems from the subcontinent.

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46 Both names are too general and common to allow for any precise identification (compare the *Jñānatilaka* and the *Śāradātilaka*).

47 I thank Putu Eka Guna Yasa for this information, which he drew from the chronicle *Babad Brahmana Mas* (f. 44v–45r), where Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen, the author of that text, states to have composed the *Pūrvāgamaśāsana* (= *Śivāgama*) in 1860 Śaka or 1938 CE.

48 Could this be a modification of the name of the Buddhist goddess Māmakī, consort of Ratnasambhava, in the Tantric system of the five cosmic Buddhas?

A striking case of precise referencing to Old Javanese texts is documented in a corpus of Śaiva texts in Old Sundanese occasionally mixed with Old Javanese and "pseudo-Sanskrit," likely composed around the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. Although this corpus does not, strictly speaking, belong to Old Javanese Śaiva literature, it is relevant to mention it here briefly, as it provides a pertinent contrast to the dynamics discussed in this chapter concerning the Old Javanese and Sanskrit traditions. As demonstrated by Aditia Gunawan (2023, 83), the *Siksa Kandaṅ Karəsian* mentions as many as twenty-six Old Javanese texts, including *kakavin*s like the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Sumanasāntaka*, and *Bhomāntaka*, and also recommends intellectuals to go to Java and learn its language in order to receive training in religious matters. Another Old Sundanese text, the *Svavarcinta*, contains allusions to the Old Javanese–Old Sundanese texts *Śikṣā Guru*, the Old Sundanese *Siksa Kandaṅ Karəsian*, and the Old Javanese *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu*, which it calls "the Great Book" (*vataṅ agəṅ*).[49] These texts served as authoritative sources for the transmission of religious doctrine and, judging by the number of manuscripts in existence – especially in the case of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* – must have circulated widely in West Java. This suggests an effort by the diglossic literary, religious, and cultural tradition of pre-Islamic Sunda to anchor itself in the Old Javanese tradition, which was perceived as prestigious, authoritative, and normative.

The discussion above shows that precise references to Sanskrit texts – especially those that were perceived to be composed by human authors rather than revealed by divine entities – are extremely rare in Sanskrit–Old Javanese Śaiva texts of the *tutur* and *tattva* genre. This may be due to the need to preserve the timeless spatio-temporal dimension of these texts, which were regarded as both revealed and seminal rather than as second-hand compendia derived from revealed scriptures.[50] This suggests that Javanese and Balinese authors may have tried to produce "new texts" that were not authorised via their allegiance to a prototypical canon of sources, including "foreign" sources. Instead, they anonymously embedded Sanskrit verses or words as a way of authorising the discourse. However, by the study of the contents of such texts and other rare references, it is clear that prototypical Sanskrit Śaiva sources played a significant role in shaping this "local" – and simultaneously "cosmopolitan" – Javanese-Balinese genre of medieval Śaiva literature, which must thus be regarded as the hybrid product of cross-cultural transactions.

49 See *Svavarcinta* 759–762: "*lipi lupa di pitutur, mupuṅkur na siksa guru, ṅaləmpaṅan siksa kandaṅ, ṅahantəkən vataṅ agəṅ*" [[for he] forgets the advice, leaving behind *Siksa Guru*, transgressing the *Siksa Kandaṅ*, denying the Great Book] (Aditia Gunawan 2023, 82). A colophon of a manuscript of the *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* explicitly refers to it as the "Great Book," which matches the description quoted above, also found in other Old Sundanese texts (Aditia Gunawan 2023, 100, 109, 117). The oldest dated manuscript of this work is from 1435 CE.

50 While this is not the right place to undertake a comparative discussion, I should like to mention that this state of affairs may be contrasted with Khmer inscriptions, referring to Śaiva Saiddhāntika scriptures like the *Sarvajñānottara*, the *Vīṇāśikhatantra*, the *Niśvāsatattvasaṁhitā*, and the *Pārameśvara*: see Sanderson (2001, 7–8 n. 5; 22–23; 2003–2004, 356–357); Goodall (2017, 136–138).

3 The *Ṛṣiśāsana*

A striking – and, indeed, unique – case of reference to, and quotation of, actual Sanskrit Śaiva scriptures from the subcontinent is found in the *Ṛṣiśāsana*, an Old Javanese–Sanskrit normative text on ascetics' rules of conduct preserved in Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts. At the very outset (par. 1, Sanskrit verse and Old Javanese exegesis), the text refers to itself (or to the prototypical text or teaching from which it stems) as the *Śaivaśāsana*, which was revealed by Śiva himself as he was incarnated in the world as the mythical ancestor Manu. This text is introduced as a guide for the Śaiva masters of the Bhujaṅga category, who would in turn relentlessly petition for the welfare of the world, the state bureaucracy, and the king. This incipit is interesting as it traces the sacred genealogy of the text and authorises it as a revealed scripture of sort. The text continues with a Sanskrit quotation followed by an Old Javanese exegetical portion, in a section describing the regulations for the treatment of the property of a deceased hermit (par. 12):[51]

ajinya nihan:

> *svaryātasya hi svadṛvyam, yat kiñ cit pustakādikam |*
> *tad guror vaśam āpannam, bahnaye dātum arhati ||*
> *guror abhāvāt tad bhāgaiḥ, tribhiḥ kāryaṁ mahātmabhiḥ |*
> *devadevasvabhāgo 'nyaḥ, dvitīyaś cāpy athāgnaye ||*
> *bhojanaṁ 'pi tṛtīyasya, niḥsvaḥ syād athavā yatiḥ |*
> *tanmātraṁ yasya tan nāsti, tat tasmai sampradīyate ||*
> *svāryagurur dravyaṁ mahat, devāya vinivedayet |*
> *kartavyaṁ hi vibhos tena, prāsādādikam ādarāt ||*
> *pustakānāṁ yathājyeṣṭha,-krameṇa paripālanam |*
> *kartavyam abhiyuktais tu, śiṣyair nyāyena sarvadā ||*

nāhan tāji bvat saṅ hyaṅ mataṅga, nihan ajinya ri saṅ hyaṅ vāthula

> *yatīnāṁ putra yad dravyaṁ, yat kiñ cit pustakādikam |*
> *grāmyebhyas tan na dātavyaṁ, gurūtsedho 'bhidhīyate ||*

maṅkana liṅ saṅ hyaṅ āgama, sira ta kinonakən śrī mahārāja kayatnakna mpuṅku riṅ kaśaivan makabehan, təka ri mpuṅku tamolah riṅ panaivāsikan, saṅkā ri gəṅny ārəmbha mahārāja manu ri mpuṅku riṅ kaśaivan,

[The authoritative texts [have this to say] about it:

51 The edited text corresponds to the in-progress edition established by Marine Schoettel, Arlo Griffiths, and Timothy Lubin in the ERC DHARMA online repository; the underlying XML data will remain accessible indefinitely on https://github.com/erc-dharma/tfd-nusantara-philology, while the translation is my own.

> The personal property of the deceased one, in whatever small amount, beginning with manuscripts etc., that had entered in the possession of the guru, it is proper to give it away to the fire.
> Because of the absence of the guru, it should be turned by the great souled ones in three parts: one is the part owned by Śiva (*devadeva*), the second [should be given] to the fire;
> There is consumption of the third part. Or, if there be a destitute ascetic, who does not even have a trifle, then it is given to him.
> The property of the great guru who has gone to heaven, it should be offered to the divinity [i.e. Śiva], indeed temples and so on should diligently be built with it for the Lord,
> Of his manuscripts, great care should be taken by his disciples, who have been appointed [for this task] according to their order of seniority, always following the proper rules.

Such are the instructions in accordance with the holy *Mataṅga*. As follows are the instructions according to the holy *Vāthula*:[52]

> O son, whatever the property of ascetics [may be], in whatever small amount, beginning with books etc., it is not to be given to the village community. [That, indeed,] is called "the body of the guru."

Such are the words of the sacred scriptures. They have been given as a command by the Great King [Manu], [ordering that] all the masters of the Śaiva division be treated with great attention, including the masters dwelling in the permanent establishments, because of the great efforts of Great King Manu toward the masters of the Śaiva division.]

The attribution of the quoted Sanskrit verses to the *Mataṅga* is striking especially because those verses can indeed be traced, with slight variations, to the section on observances (Caryāpāda) in the edited version of the *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama*, 10.77–81,[53] an important and relatively early Tantra of the Śaivasiddhānta.[54] As for the Vāthula, it arguably refers to a designation of the *Āgneyatantra*, one of the twenty-eight main Siddhāntatantras which has not survived. However, a good number of subsidiary works of "sections" (*upabheda*), including various recensions of the *Kālottara*, present themselves as redactions of the Āgneya/Vāthula (Goodall 1998, xlv–xlvi; 2004, xxiii–xxv). It is rele-

52 This is an emendation of *bakula* (mss. AC) and *barkula* (ms. B), which is easy to justify from a palaeographical point of view. The letter *b* is often a variant spelling of *v*, and *t* is frequently confused with *k* in Balinese manuscripts; the oscillation between *th* and *t* is also common.

53 "*tadguror vaśam āpannam anyebhyo datum arhati | guror abhāvāt tadbhāvabhāvāc chāstrāṇi kārayet* ||77|| *mahaddhi devadevāya dvitīyaṁ cāpy athāgnaye | bhājanādi tṛtīyaṁ tu nisve syād athavā yadi* ||78|| *tanmātraṁ yasya tan nāsti tat tasya tu pradāpayet | svaryātasya guror dravyaṁ devāya vinivedayet* ||79|| *kartavyaṁ ca vibhos tena prāsādādikam ādarāt | pustakānāṁ yathājyeṣṭhakrameṇa paripālanam* ||80|| *kartavyam abhiyuktais tu śiṣyair nyāyena sarvadā | svaṁ svaṁ vṛttam ihopāttaṁ tatpālyam ucitaṁ tataḥ* ||81||." Note the variant *anyebhyo* ("to others" in 77a vs. *bahnaye* "to the fire" in the *Ṛśiṣāsana*).

54 Marine Schoettel, with whom I read relevant passages of the *Ṛṣiśāsana* between 2020 and 2021, is to be credited with this discovery. A presentation on the same topic, entitled "'Thus Are the Words of Saṅ Hyaṅ Mataṅga': Quotations of the *Mataṅga-Pārameśvara* in an Old Javanese Treatise," was delivered by her at the 2021 International Indology Graduate Research Symposium in Vienna.

vant to mention here, as briefly discussed above (p. 105–106; n. 12–13), that many Śaiva *tutur*s bear traces of doctrines found in this corpus.

The passage quoted above suggests that, unlike most of Śaiva doctrinal *tutur*s and *tattva*s, the *Ṛṣiśāsana* – while setting its origin in the mythical time linked to the ancestral Manu, conceived of as a worldly incarnation of Śiva – does refer to two treatises in Sanskrit. This is probably because, rather than presenting itself as a text revealed directly by Śiva to a divine interlocutor in a timeless temporal dimension, as in the case of many other *tutur*s and Sanskrit Tantric texts, it authorises its discourse in a "scholastic" or śāstric manner. This approach mirrors that found in the Sanskrit commentarial tradition on revealed Śaiva texts. Thus, the Sanskrit and Old Javanese scholastic discourses appear to share similar strategies of exegesis and textual authorisation in this instance. The reference to and quotation of the *Mataṅgapārameśvarāgama* and the lost *Vāthula* suggest that those texts were considered authoritative in Java and Bali and support the general perspective that the corpus of early Siddhāntatantras was the textual basis from which premodern Javanese authors drew to form new scriptures. Furthermore, the latter quotation reinforces the specific view that the *Vāthula* corpus may have played an important prototypical role for the formation and historical development of Śaivism in Java and Bali.

4 *Pratasti Bhuvana*

References to the titles of Sanskrit and Old Javanese texts in connection with the four eras of Hindu mythology and rulers of Java are found in the Old Javanese *Pratasti Bhuvana*,[55] a relatively late source related to texts written in the Majapahit period (late thirteenth to late fifteenth century), like the *Rājapatiguṇḍala*, the *Tantu Paṅgelaran*, and so on. While late and remarkably corrupt, the *Pratasti Bhuvana* is highly interesting, as it appears to have preserved early genealogical material that includes the names of kings known from the Central Javanese period, otherwise only attested in inscriptions.[56] The transmitted text, which I have constituted from three manuscripts (hereafter: A, B, and C), is too corrupt to attempt a full translation of even a few paragraphs. Instead, I will present the edition and translation of a brief excerpt below,[57] along with a concise analysis of subsequent relevant passages:

55 The word *pratasti* may be a corruption of *praśasti*, "royal eulogy," i.e. "charter, inscription," while *bhuvana* means "world."

56 And yet it has received scant scholarly attention, a summary of it having been published by Pigeaud (1924, 294–295) in his edition and translation of the *Tantu Paṅgəlaran*. See also Robson and Hadi Sidomulyo (2021, 110–111) and Sundberg (2022, 170–171 n. 2).

57 I have silently standardised the spelling (including vowel quantity) of words occurring in the three manuscripts used for this edition (see the section "primary sources" at the end of this chapter).

> *kunaṅ pva kvehiṅ ratu samana, 6, kunaṅ kṛtābhiṣekaniṅ*[58] *ratu, śrī jayapuntā, śrī panaraban,*[59] *śrī puntāpirad,*[60] *śrī pūrvaśeṣara, śrī vārphalandaṅ,*[61] *śrī lokapāla,*[62] *samaṅkāna kvehiṅ ratu duk dvapara, paḍa bhakti riṅ deva, kaṅ vvaṅ samana, saṅ prabhū təkā*[63] *saṅ viku, samana mətu liṅgapurāṇa*[64]
>
> [As for the number of kings at that time, [they were] 6; now, those [who were] consecrated among the kings [were] the illustrious Jayapunta, the illustrious Panaraban, the illustrious Puntapirad,[65] the illustrious Pūrvaśeṣara,[66] the illustrious Vārphalandaṅ, the illustrious Lokapāla, such was the number of the kings at the time of the Dvapara [age]. The people at that time, the [from] kings to the clergymen, they were all devoted towards the gods. At that time the *Liṅgapurāṇa* came out.]

The schema of six kings per *yuga* seemingly integrates the names of historic individuals into a mythic structure. The reference to the arrival of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* in association with the six kings of the mythical Dvapara age, among which we can recognise the historical names of Rakai Panaraban (r. 784–803) and Dyah Lokapāla (= Rakai Kayuvaṅi, r. 855–885), is most striking. This is especially the case because the text characterises the period after the reign of the latter king as the transition to the Kali age, which appears to reflect the dynastic chaos mentioned in later Old Javanese inscriptions referring to the period after Lokapāla's death (Wisseman Christie 2001, 46–47). Although no copies of the *Liṅgapurāṇa* have survived in Java or Bali, and the text is not mentioned anywhere else in Old Javanese literature, its reference and attribution of mythical status may reflect a historical memory of a Sanskrit source that might have been in circulation in the Central Javanese period. This possibility is supported by the fact that echoes of its Śaiva doctrines have been detected by Sundberg (2022, 171–171, 192, 197–198) in the architectural layout of the Loro Jonggrang Śaiva sanctuary at Prambanan, which was probably built during Dyah Lokapāla's reign.[67]

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58 A; *kṛttabhikṣekaniṅ* B; *krettabhiksakaniṅ* C.
59 AC; *vanaraban* B.
60 AB; *pintā pirad* C.
61 AB; *varpa landhaṅ* C.
62 Norm.; *lākāphalā* A; *lokapala* B; *kaphala* C.
63 BC; *təkāniṅ* A.
64 AB; *liṅga prana* C.
65 Could this be Ḍapunta Pirad? The word *ḍapunta*, equivalent to the Old Javanese honorific prefix (*m*)*pu*, is found in the name of King Dapunta Hiyan Śrī Jayanāśa (or Jayanāga), mentioned in a series of late seventh-century Śrīvijayan inscriptions in Old Malay, including the Kedukan Bukit inscription.
66 Could this be Pūrvakeśara? (*keśara* or *kesara* = [lion's] mane).
67 Having said this, I must express the caveat that what we now refer to as *Liṅgapurāṇa* (as reflected by the edited text) may not correspond to the text(s) that existed and circulated in the ninth century, for Purāṇas have complex and multilayered textual histories. See, for instance, Hazra (1940, 92–96), who, having defined the *Liṅgapurāṇa* as "a manual for Liṅga-worshippers" formed by two textual entities, points out that none of the quotations found in numerous early Sanskrit works can be traced in the edited *Liṅgapurāṇa*, suggesting that the text "*is most probably the result of a destructive recast to which the earlier Purāṇa was subjected*" [emphasis original], and that, while most of the text might

After the six kings mentioned above, another series of six kings follows, among which we can recognise Balituṅ (as *balintuṅ*; Rakai Vatukura Dyah Balituṅ, r. 898–910) and Siṇḍok (as *sedek*; Rakai Halu Dyah Siṇḍok Śrī Īśānavikrama Dharmottuṅgadevavijaya, r. from c. 928 to the mid-ninth century), during the age of Kali that brings the final dissolution (*kalisaṅhāra*). This period is associated with all kinds of vices by the people, the reign of a Malay king in Sunda, and the arrival to Java of the texts *Kuṭāramānava*[68] and *Sārasamuccaya*[69] as well as all the *dṛvyāgama* (= *dravyāgama*), which may perhaps be translated as "scriptures about property," arguably belonging to the *śāsana* genre. In fact, the text adds that *śāsana* texts were moved (*tumular*) when the destruction hit. Furthermore, the texts of *Manuśāsana* [*Ordinances of Manu*], *Ṛṣiśāsana* [*Ordinances of the Sages*], *Kuṭāramānava*,[70] and *Sārasamuccaya* [*Compendium on the Essence [of the Mahābhārata]*],[71] *dṛvyaśāśaṇa* (= *dravyaśāsana*, [*Ordinances on Property*]), and *āgama*[72] [*Revealed Scripture / Sacred Book*] are mentioned in connection with King Batati, who reigned during the period of the catastrophe.[73] All the aforementioned titles correspond to the titles of actual Old Javanese(–Sanskrit) works on legal matters as well as rules for Śaiva ascetics and priests (see e.g. the *Ṛṣiśāsana*) that have survived in Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts. These are difficult to date and probably stem from post-eleventh-century East Java (some perhaps even from the Majapahit period), but this does not exclude the possibility that their earlier cores were already in circulation in the period of the shift of the political and cultural power from Central to East Java in the late tenth century.

The *Pratasti Bhuvana*'s historiography reflects a conventional idea of the four mythical eras (*caturyuga*), but with the intriguing addition of a few names of real Javanese kings. However, I am inclined to interpret the comment that the *śāsana* texts needed to be moved because of the catastrophe that struck Java during the Kali age as a mythicisation of actual events. According to a widely accepted scholarly opinion, primarily based on archaeological data, Central Java was struck by a geological and environmental catastrophe – likely a series of volcanic eruptions and earthquakes leading to localised destruction of the centre of power – during the early tenth cen-

have been composed by 1000 CE, many passages could have been inserted significantly later than that date.

68 *kutāmanava* ABC.

69 *samuccaya* AB; *samurcaya* C.

70 *thamanava* AB; *kutāmanava* C.

71 *sarmuccaya* AB; *samurcaya* C.

72 *gama* ABC.

73 Most of these texts are mentioned in the *Ṛṣiśāsana* (3.3) as being collectively denoted as *Rājaśāsana*: "*Rājaśāsana* means the precepts for kings, those who devote themselves to warfare: the Compendium of the Essence of Policy (*Sārasamuccaya*), the Laws of Manu, [*Kuṭāra*?]*Mānava*, in the past, future and present. These are called the precepts for kings" ("*rājaśāsana ṅaranya, śāsana saṅ prabhu, sirāmrayatna irikaṅ yuddha, sārasamuccaya, manuhāgama mānava, atītānāgatavartamāna, rājaśāsana ṅaranika*").

tury. This disaster is believed to have prompted the transfer of the centres of power and culture to East Java.[74] At the same time, the *Pratasti Bhuvana*'s association of the texts with past historical eras and their contemporaneous Javanese rulers reflects a strategy to authorise the texts by anchoring them to a quasi-mythical cosmic as well as worldly time, whose divisions are characterised by either the virtues or vices of society.

5 Old Javanese *kakavin*s: *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Smaradahana*

In addition to their literary and aesthetic merits, many Old Javanese poems in Indic metres can also provide valuable information about the religious landscape of their period. An early *kakavin* of Śaiva persuasion that offers important and rare insights about ascetic groups, philosophical schools, religious factions, and texts in ancient Central Java is the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, most of which can be dated to around the second half of the ninth century.

The chapters that are the most interesting for the present enquiry are chapters 8 and 24–25, which can neither be found in the text's main prototype, the seventh-century *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or *Rāvaṇavadha* by Bhaṭṭi, nor the more famous, and older, *Rāmāyaṇa* attributed to Vālmīki. These chapters can therefore be regarded as the product of "local genius," drawing from a shared discourse found in Sanskrit *kāvya* transmitted literature as well as inscriptions. Chapter 8, among other topics, includes a description of a Śaiva temple in Laṅkā, which has been interpreted as an allegorical representation of Candi Śiva in the Loro Jonggrang complex in Prambanan (Central

74 See Wisseman Christie (2015, 51). Even though inscriptions of the early tenth century suggest that the shift of political gravity may have been more gradual than scholarship has hitherto assumed, geological, archaeological, and textual research still support the catastrophe scenario: for instance, some Śaiva temples were found buried – virtually intact, and with complete ritual deposits – under several metres of volcanic debris that covered them while they were still active places of worship (see Indung Panca Putra et al. 2019, 94; Sastrawan 2022, 21). The fact that some temples, like Liyangan, show signs of (attempted) repair and rebuilding, does not invalidate the natural catastrophe hypothesis, but rather suggests that a chain of events triggered by one or more eruptions and earthquakes might have gradually led to the decline of the Central Javanese civilisation. Indeed, Sastrawan (2022, 23) thinks that "[i]t is certainly plausible that ongoing eruptive activity placed stress on the Javanese state's infrastructure and that such stresses may have contributed to the decision to move the palace." Another possibility is that the royal palace and/or its palladium were struck by a localised eruption, which would have been taken as a bad omen, and prompted the political and religious elites to abandon the region and resettle in East Java. The historical memory of this shift– whether sudden or gradual – may have been preserved in later Old Javanese transmitted textual sources, like the *Pratasti Bhuvana*, in the guise of a sudden catastrophe, which would have agreed with the kind of mythological/cosmological framework within which such historical narratives were elaborated.

Java). Meanwhile, the highly allegorical and satirical chapters 24–25 describe the peace in Laṅkā by means of an extended allegory of animals – mainly birds – serving as alter egos of human religious and political actors (see Acri 2008, 2010, 2011, 2014b).

Chapter 8, referring to the play of the geese in 71d, mentions a text called *Indrāṇiśāstra* in relation to the knowledge of amorous play, including a posture called "the play of swans" (*haṅsalīlā*);[75] a similar allusion is found in 11.27d–28ab, mentioning Indrāṇī and Śācī (wives of Indra) in connection with erotological manuals.[76] The *Indrāṇiśāstra* may be a reference to the eponymous Old Javanese treatise (probably based on Sanskrit prototypes) on erotology and "sexual yoga" that has survived in Balinese manuscripts, which is just one of many sources forming a specific genre (see Creese and Bellows 2002). Furthermore, the mention of *śāstra vəgig* in the clause *sanənəhnikaṅ maṅaji śāstra vəgig*, "befitting those who practise evil scriptures," in 8.31a, which refers to demons madly laughing and engaging in magical practices resembling acts of sorcery (*ṣaṭkarmāṇi*) described in Sanskrit Tantric manuals, may allude to a genre of "evil scriptures"[77] on black magical practices. These texts would be described in modern Indonesian and Balinese languages as *ilmu hitam* and *aji leyak* – witness the eponymous Old Javanese–Balinese text *Aji Vəgig* preserved in the Gedong Kirtya collection of Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts in Singaraja, Bali (No. IIIc 2218/1).

Chapters 24 and 25, besides mentioning animals representing human characters affiliated to the Śaiva "sects" such as the Pāśupatas ("The followers of the Lord of Cattle"), Alepakas ("The Spotless Ones"), (25.20c), and so on,[78] also refer to the titles of Sanskrit religious and philosophical texts associated with these groups. For instance, 25.20b refers to the followers of the sage Jaimini, that is, the Mīmāṁsakas:

> *si paraṅjaṅan jaṅan ujar majajar*
> *aji jaiminīnujarakənya kəna*
>
> [The *parañjaṅan*-birds stand in a row, constantly [engaged] in lengthy conversation;
> they are reciting the works of Jaimini properly.]

75 8.71cd (with reference to Rāvaṇa's heavenly nymphs): "They understood about amorous sports and the practice of 'swan's play' and had finished their study of the Indrāṇī text" (tr. Robson 2015); "*vruh riṅ krīḍā riṅ ulah haṅsalīlā, riṅ Indrāṇīśāstra sāmpun paṅajyan.*"

76 11.27d–28ab (reporting Sītā's letter to Rāma): "You understood about love-play and everything that the best love manuals say. You were accomplished in the Indrāṇī and Śācī modes and were not uninformed at all. Regarding the distinct feelings of them – you knew about them all" (tr. Robson 2015); "*riṅ kridhā vihikan kite savinuvus riṅ kāmaśāstrottama, riṅ Indrāṇi lavan Śacī tama tuvin tātan mapuṅguṅ kita, ri pratyekanike rasanya ya kabeh sāmpun kita vruh rikā.*"

77 See OJED s.v. *vəgig*: "naughty, mischievous, insolent, wanton."

78 On the verses alluding to those sects, see Nihom (1995) and Acri (2008).

The expression *aji jaimini* could refer to the early (*pūrva*) Mīmāṁsaka doctrine[79] in general or, more probably, to the Sanskrit treatise entitled *Mīmāṁsasūtra* attributed to Jaimini (c. 300–200 BCE). While no traces of Mīmāṁsā tenets have been found in the surviving Old Javanese literature,[80] this reference suggests that the seminal text attributed to Jaimini would have been known at least by name to the audience, even if it probably never actually circulated in Java.[81]

In 25.23a–c, a general reference to revealed scriptures or "Āgamas," which in Śaiva context specifically refers to the corpus of (Saiddhāntika, but not necessarily so) Tantric scriptures, is found in association with bees, apparently representing a type of wandering hermit:

viku bhikṣukaṅ bhramara nitya mahas
gumuruh hyaṅ āgamanikān paṅinum
mavərə̄ varəg madhu ya matta cala

[Begging wandering ascetics are the bees, always travelling about;
they roar their sacred scriptures (*hyaṅ āgama*) while drinking.
They are intoxicated and satiated of honey, mad and agitated.]

Given the description of bees as intoxicated (*mavərə̄*), drinking the nectar of flowers (*madhu*, obviously alluding to a drinking bout in the case of their human alter egos, where *madhu* would stand for alcohol),[82] mad (*matta*) and agitated (*cala*),[83] it appears that the human counterparts alluded to here could be the antinomian Śaiva ascetics of the Kāpālika type. These ascetics were notorious for their transgression of dietary norms of purity and were stereotypically represented in Sanskrit literature as drunken and mad villains, as well as deceitful conmen masquerading as holy men (Acri 2014b, 2022b). Furthermore, the fact that they "roar" like bees may be a reference to the recitation of mantras. If my identification is correct, the reference to their scriptures as "Āgamas" is intriguing, since no first-hand Kāpālika sources have survived to us.

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79 This was an orthodox Brahmanical system of scriptural hermeneutics and ritual, as opposed to the Uttara Mīmāṁsā, i.e. what is generally referred to as "Vedānta."

80 See, however, the reference to Mīmāṁsā in the verses of the *Brahmoktavidhiśāstra* quoted above, section 2.

81 Goodall (2022b, 14), discussing the rare references to Mīmāṁsā found in the Sanskrit inscriptions from the Khmer domains, concludes that this state of affairs "points up how insignificant Mīmāṃsā seems to have been, generally, among the Khmers."

82 See Monier Williams (1899, s.v. *madhu*): "the juice or nectar of flowers, any sweet intoxicating drink, wine or spirituous liquor."

83 See OJED s.v. *cala* I, "moving, trembling, quivering, unsteady, agitated," and compare *cala* II for a different meaning: "II annoyed, displeased, upset, angry. Is there a connection with I, via the meaning 'disturbed', or 'shaking' the head?"

An allusion to an actual Sanskrit text may be found in 25.18a–c, which refers to parrots as exponents of the logical-epistemological school of Buddhism:

tuhu tarka taṅ(ṅ) atat atatva humuṅ
macəṅil cumodya si jalak magalak
paḍa niścayeṅ aji viniścaya ya

[Truly logicians are the green parrots, busy with categories,[84] making loud noises.
Engaged in debate [with them] and raising difficult questions are the passionate starlings.
They all have a fixed opinion about (*niścayeṅ*)[85] the "Teaching on ascertainment" (*aji viniścaya*).]

In my view, the expression *aji viniścaya* in line c (associated with *tarka*, "logic" or "logician," in line a) alludes to the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* [*Determination of Valid Knowledge*], a fundamental treatise on argumentation in philosophical debate by the famous seventh-century philosopher Dharmakīrti, a seminal figure of the logical-epistemological school of Buddhism.[86] The starlings are likely meant to represent (Brahmanical?) opponents.

The mention of *Aji Sāṅkhya* in 25.21d ("*aji sāṅkhya saṅ kaliraṅan laraṅan*" [The Sāṅkhya treatises are prohibited to the grasshoppers]) is likely a reference to treatises of the Sāṅkhya philosophical school (i.e. the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, *Yuktidīpikā*, *Sāṅkhyavṛtti*, *Gauḍapādabhāṣya*, *Suvarṇasaptati*, *Sāṅkhyasūtra*, etc; compare the *Ṣaṣṭitantra* and *Dhīśāstra* mentioned above, p. 108–109), general allusions to which are found in some Old Javanese texts and inscriptions.[87] Alternatively, it could be understood as a synonym of "philosophical Śaivism," or "Śaiva metaphysics," given that Śaivism incorporated the twenty-five ontological principles of the Sāṅkhya into its ontology and cosmology as both principles and ontological levels. For instance, the booklet entitled *Aji Sāṅkhya* by the modern Balinese intellectual Ida Ketut Jlantik (1947) draws from Sanskrit–Old Javanese Śaiva treatises to create a new, synthetic treatise in Balinese that articulates the main tenets of "Modern Balinese Hinduism" to a broad audience.

Stanza 25.24cd refers to peacocks in the following terms:[88]

84 See OJED s.v. *atattva*, "to debate the *tattwa*?"
85 See OJED s.v. *niścaya,* "(Skt inquiry, ascertainment, fixed opinion, conviction; resolve, fixed intention, purpose) certain, sure, convinced, feeling sure, feeling safe, sure of oneself, confident, resolved, trusting."
86 He was one of the primary theorists of Buddhist atomism, which holds that the only items considered to exist are momentary Buddhist atoms and states of consciousness.
87 See, e.g. *Sārasamuccaya* 170.2 ("*saṅ hyaṅ sāṅkhya, saṅ hyaṅ purāṇa*"); *Abhimanyuvivāha* 4.1, 4.8, 6.4, 28.1 (references drawn from OJED s.v. *sāṅkhya* II); Buṭak inscription of 1294 CE, 2b ("*sāṅkhyavyākaraṇaśāstraparisamāpta*") (texts cited in OJED s.v. *Sāṅkhya*); *Saṅ Hyaṅ Hayu* 3.2 ("*aji kāvya saṅkhya prakaraṇa kalpa purāṇa nyāya, viniścaya chanda gaṇita*").
88 Compare the "sister stanza" 24.106: see Acri (2014b, 16–17).

aji saṅ kumāra ajiniṅ mrak arūm
majule makuñcir agələm maṅigəl

[The teaching of the illustrious Kumāra is the teaching of the graceful peacocks;
They act thoughtlessly, wear a tuft on the top of the head, and are never tired of dancing.]

These lines apparently allude to the sect known in Sanskrit sources from South Asia as the Kaumāras, who worshiped Skanda-Kumāra (Śiva's son) as their primary deity. This group was especially popular in the southern regions of the Indian subcontinent. The reference to the strenuous practice of dance apparently alludes to the dances of ritual or devotional character performed in honour of Kumāra – possibly by Kaumāra practitioners: a Kaumāra source, the Caṅkam Tamil poem *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, dating to the sixth or seventh century, devoted to the worship of Skanda/Murukaṉ, describes the *kuravai* dance as performed by hillmen inebriated by the liquor made from honey (Hardy 1983, 618). As in Old Javanese *aji* could refer to either a written text or, more generally, to a transmitted teaching or body of knowledge, the expressions *aji saṅ kumāra* ("the teaching of the illustrious Kumāra") and *ajiniṅ mrak* ("the teaching of the peacocks") in the line may refer to a specific "Book of Kumāra" as a prototypical source of the Kaumāras, or to the Kaumāra doctrine more generally.

An intriguing allusion to a "book of the illustrious Kumāra" (*pustaka saṅ kumāra*) which originated in Kashmir and eventually turned into the island of Java is found in the twelfth-century *Śaiva kakavin Smaradahana* by Mpu Dharmaja (38.13–15):

vvantən pradeśa katuduh girināthakanyā
ṅhiṅ rāmya dakṣiṇapathe java madhyadeśa
kāntargateṅ lavaṇasāgara meru tulya
pāvitra lot paraparan bhagavān agastya. 13
tatvanya ṅūni riṅ uśāna rəṅən kramanya
riṅ kāśmirān pratita pustaka saṅ kumāra
siṅsal yuga kṣaṇa śināpa təkap bhaṭāra
nūṣātirāmya təmahanya magəṅ halimpuṅ. 14
ndah ṅkā tikin vəkasi janma bhaṭāra kāma
śrīśānadharma makapuṇya huripnirāsih
saṅ hyaṅ ratih sira muvah tumutur tan imbā
riṅ jaṅgalāsi masəkar sira yan dadi strī. 15

[There is a land designated by the daughter of the Lord of the Mountains (i.e. Umā); the only charming one in the South, [i.e.] Java, the central land, surrounded by the Salt Sea, like the Meru, sacred and always visited by the Lord Agastya.

Listen to the course of its history in ancient times! In Kashmir, when the Book of Kumāra was well-known, and an era was blown away, it was immediately enchanted by Śiva, becoming a very charming, extensive elongated island.

Now, that is the place of what is left of the incarnation of the Lord Kāma. He is the ancestor of the loving illustrious [prince] Īśānadharma. The holy Ratih once again thinks about him constantly. In Jaṅgāla indeed she has become, as it were, a flower among women.]

The association between the Book of Kumāra and Java is obscure. It might be attributable to the island's elongated shape, which resembles that of a palm-leaf manuscript. A reference to the island of Sri Lanka (*parṇadvīpa*) as having the name of Kumāra, next to the mention of the island of Java, is found in the Sanskrit Śaiva Tantric text *Kubjikāmatatantra* (21.10cd).[89] All these locales could have been perceived as belonging to the ninth island of the Bharatavarṣa continent – probably denoting the southern regions of India, Sri Lanka, and islands of the Indian Ocean – customarily mentioned (as K[a]umāradvīpa, Kumārīdvīpa, or Kumārikadvīpa) in accounts of sacred geography found in Sanskrit sources.[90]

The aforementioned instances of mention of, or allusion to, Sanskrit religious and philosophical texts drawn from the *Rāmāyaṇa* highlight the deep and sophisticated knowledge of Indic literature that would have been necessary to grasp the allegorical and satirical intent of the author and produce the intended comedic effects for the audience. On the other hand, the *Smaradahana*'s conceptualisation of Java as a sacred text originating from Kashmir and turned into an island reveals the high status of written texts as manuscripts in the Javanese imagination. This portrayal may also reflect an effort to authorise and lend prestige to Javanese society and its contemporary royalty by tracing their pedigrees to divine ancestors and a sacred text from the Indian subcontinent belonging to the Śaiva mythological framework.

6 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to frame the connections between the Indian subcontinent and Java and Bali in the premodern period in terms of the transfer of linguistic elements, literary conventions, and religious norms. This transfer formed a dynamic conversation between Sanskrit cosmopolitan elements and local responses that led to the adaptation and "vernacularisation" of the former. The references – in the form of citations or allusions – to Sanskrit texts as well as Old Javanese texts inspired by the Sanskrit tradition found in Old Javanese Śaiva literature have provided a relevant case study to discuss prevalent text-building and hermeneutical techniques, authorisation strategies, and religious norms adopted by premodern Javanese and Balinese authors. Instead of presenting the parallels between South Asian and Javanese-

89 "*parṇadvīpaḥ kumārākhyaḥ, yavadvīpaḥ tathāparam.*" The same text attributes this appellative also to Śrīparvata (in Andhra Pradesh) in 2.23 ("*śrīparvataṁ kumārākhyam*"); compare 2.24, "*śrīmatkaumāraparvatam.*"

90 See e.g. *Vāmanapurāṇa* 13.10: "*ayaṁ tu navamas teṣāṁ dvīpaḥ sāgarasaṁvṛtaḥ, kumārākhyaḥ parikhyāto dvīpo 'yaṁ dakṣiṇottaraḥ*"; *Suprabhedāgama* Kriyāpāda and Caryāpāda (3.125–130, section captioned Jñānapāde-Śivasṛṣṭividhipaṭalaḥ, "*tato bhāratavarṣañ ca navabhāgaṁ prakalpitam . . . navamā tu kumārākhyā teṣāṃ bhedāḥ*"); *Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha* 24.37ab ("*ayaṁ ca navamo dvīpaḥ kumārīdvīpasaṁjñitaḥ*").

Balinese texts in a general manner, the focus was placed on actual citations and allusions to Sanskrit texts found in Old Javanese texts belonging to various genres. This approach uncovered a web of intertextual connections that provides new insights about the attitudes of the ancient Javanese and Balinese authors towards a "foreign" literary and religious tradition.

A few interesting facts have emerged from this analysis:

1. The rarity of precise references to Sanskrit texts in Sanskrit–Old Javanese Śaiva *tutur*s and *tattva*s may reflect an effort to preserve the timeless spatio-temporal dimension of the texts, which were regarded as revealed literature, in spite of the fact that their contents, and quoted or appropriated material, reveal a direct indebtedness to a prototypical Śaiva canon from the Indian subcontinent. This argument extends to the possible allusions to premodern Indian authors in the titles of Old Javanese Śaiva texts, in which the authors were mythicised to anchor the texts in an India-derived local religious discourse that would not betray their human origin. Furthermore, the *Dharma Pātañjala*'s mention of authoritative teachings or texts brought to Java by foreign people (i.e. Brahmins), provides us with a rare glimpse of how local sources theorised the transfer of texts and religious lore from the Indian subcontinent to Java by intellectuals who acted as cultural brokers. Finally, the elaboration by Ida Made Pedanda Sidemen in his *Śivāgama* of a localised version of the system of Śaiva revelation linked to the directions of the compass and some prototypical divine figures who taught specific scriptural corpora found in Śaiva sources from the subcontinent reveals a continuity – and at the same time an original approach – in the desire to anchor the Śaiva tradition to ancestral revealed textual canons. This is all the more remarkable as the names of most of such canons, known from Sanskrit scriptures, are either unattested in other Old Javanese sources, and only traces of their scriptures have survived until the modern period in the Old Javanese corpus preserved in Balinese palm-leaf manuscripts. This suggest the existence of an oral tradition that was still alive by the time of Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen, a priest of extraordinary learning.
2. The citation of Sanskrit verses explicitly attributed to two Sanskrit Saiddhāntika scriptures in the *Ṛṣiśāsana* reflects a different strategy of authorisation, namely the anchoring in a scholastic discourse that mirrors that found in the Sanskrit śāstric exegesis on Śaiva texts.
3. The mention of the Sanskrit *Liṅgapurāṇa* in the *Pratasti Bhuvana*, alongside references to Sanskrit–Old Javanese texts of the *śāsana* genre in connection with Javanese kings and cosmic eras, might reveal a historical memory of the *Liṅgapurāṇa*; of the natural catastrophes that caused the gradual shift of power from Central to East Java; and of the actual dislocation of the *śāsana*s in an attempt to preserve them. Additionally, it reflects an effort to authorise those texts by attributing them a quasi-mythical status.

4. The allusions to Sanskrit religious texts and doctrines, as well as the human actors associated with them, in the allegorical and satirical chapters of the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* reveal a deep knowledge of Indic literary and religious tropes by both the author and his audience. Meanwhile, the *Smaradahana*'s depiction of Java's origin as a sacred text originating from Kashmir highlights the prestige of (Indic) texts and manuscripts in Java. It also reflects an effort to authorise and enhance the prestige of its ruling elites by presenting them as earthly incarnations of deities belonging to the Śaiva mythological landscape.

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Max Deeg

Making Sense of the Other: Reading and Contextualising Xuanzang's Representation of India

Abstract: This chapter focuses, as a kind of scholarly self-reflection, on the reading of the interpretation of Indian culture and society by the Chinese monk and traveller Xuanzang (600 or 602–664) in his *Record of the Western Regions of the Great Tang* (*Datang-Xiyu-ji*). Xuanzang was not only a prolific translator of Indian Buddhist texts into Chinese but also a skilful "translator" of Indian culture for his Chinese audience. The chapter addresses the hermeneutical "double bottom" which philologists and historians have to take into account when reading and analysing historical sources which represent cultures that are foreign to both the original author and the modern academic. I argue that a meaningful approach to such texts is only possible when the interpretative agenda of the "Urtext" (or the "author") when "describing" the "other" is reconstructed through means of a careful philological reading – not only of the text but also of its dual context, which, in the case of Xuanzang, is both Chinese and Indian. After reflecting on some of the methodological and philological issues when translating and contextualising the text, I will discuss selected examples from the second chapter of the *Record*. I argue that a careful reading – applying both traditional philology and a cultural studies approach – will lead to a deeper understanding of the text, its complex structure of meaning, its intentionality and possible impact and reception beyond the usually assumed "descriptive" or documentary dimension.

Keywords: Xuanzang, India, Datang-Xiyu-ji, Sanskrit, translation

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Note: I would like to dedicate this chapter to the memory of the "triad" of the "ancestral" extraordinary and brilliant French scholars and philologists Sylvain Lévi (1863–1935), Édouard Chavannes (1865–1918), and Paul Pelliot (1878–1945), whose "connected philology" has been a great inspiration and role model for my own modest research.

I am aware that my practice of using Chinese *pinyin* transliteration with heavy hyphenation (e.g. *Datang-Xiyu-ji*) may, at the very least, raise the eyebrows of sinologists. However, I maintain this idiosyncratic use of hyphens not only because it is used in the comparable Hepburn system for Japanese transcription, but also for what I deem to be sound philological reasons: a philological/linguistic parsing of Chinese terms, names, and titles does rather suggest that most of these are compounds and the separation in standard *pinyin* (e.g. *Datang Xiyu ji*) does not allow for a distinction between compounds and syntactic elements or units.

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1 Introduction

Before even attempting to "do" philology, one must acquire a set of linguistic skills and methodologies. On the one hand, these are determined and shaped by the textual material that is to be read and analysed. Studying the textual material of religious traditions which historically spread beyond their cultural and linguistic centre of origin often requires engaging with a variety of source languages by the simple fact that the texts were translated into different languages. Many Buddhist texts – including those I work with – clearly belong to this category and their study requires a complex philological approach across different languages. On the other hand, those linguistic skills and methodologies shape our understanding of the corresponding texts. Therefore, I would like to start my contribution with a brief reflection on my own philological "roots," which enable me to integrate study and self-reflection in the approach I take in this chapter.

I studied in Germany in the 1980s, at a time when there were no university curricula as such. As a humanities student, without a clear focus but with a strong interest in ancient and old languages, I was free to explore a wide range of subjects. This exploration led me to Germanic philology (Old High German, Gothic, Old Norse), classical Indology (Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan languages), linguistics, and Japanese studies, while also dabbling in several other Indo-European languages.[1] My training in the first two subjects followed the classical philological tradition of Lachmann (textual criticism) and Bopp (comparative linguistics) – an approach that could have naturally led me towards a path in Indo-European comparative philology. However, rather than following that path, I ended up combining all the "strange" languages I had studied, to varying degrees of depth, into a content-oriented approach to (comparative) religious studies. The focus on Buddhist studies, which I initially approached in a very philological manner, led me to apply – or at least attempt to apply – the philological methods I acquired through the study of languages like Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan. These are "classical" Buddhist languages essential for conducting meaningful textual philology on Buddhist canonical texts, as many of these originally Indic texts were translated into Chinese and Tibetan, with some only surviving in their translated versions. My impression at that time was that these languages had not been studied in the same rigorous philological way as, for instance, the other Buddhist languages Sanskrit and Pāli.

From a common-sense perspective, this approach extended beyond the typical scope of philological comparison, as the languages compared differed more strongly

1 For instance, I quit studying Hittite after one semester because, in a naïve way, I considered it not Indo-European enough due to its many foreign interspersed Sumerograms and Akkadograms. I studied Middle Cymric, the predecessor to the Cymraeg or Welsh of my current academic environment, for two semesters but was frustrated by the difficulty of finding the respective dictionary entries because of the euphonic mutation (*sandhi*) of the word initials.

than the ones an Old Testament scholar might study. In the latter case, only Hebrew belongs to a different language group and is arguably still an inflective language, while Latin and Greek are both Indo-European languages and therefore share similar lexical, morphological, and syntactical structures. In the Buddhist "triad," Sanskrit (or the other main Indic Buddhist language, Pāli[2]) is inflective, Tibetan is agglutinative, and Chinese is typologically called isolating and written in a non-alphabetic and non-syllabic script. Thus, the comparative philological study of Buddhist texts ideally occurs on three linguistic "levels."[3] The differences can be demonstrated by the introductory formula of canonical Buddhist *sūtras*, as exemplified by the randomly chosen from the voluminous *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*:[4]

> Sanskrit (Skt.): *Evaṃ mayā śrutam: ekasmin samaye bhagavān Rājagṛhe viharati sma . . .* (Falk and Karashima 2012, 28)
> Pāli: *Evaṃ me sutaṃ: ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā Rājagahe viharati . . .* (ed. Waldschmidt 1950–1951, 102)[5]
> Gāndhārī: +++ *ś(r)udo ekasamae bhagava rayagaha viharati . . .* (Falk and Karashima 2012, 28)
> Chinese: *rushi wo wen yi shi bojiafan zhu Wangshe-cheng* 如是我聞一時薄伽梵住王舍城 . . . (T.220.1b.8)[6]
> Tibetan: *'di skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na bcom ldan 'das rgyal po'i kham na . . . bzhugs te . . . (bka' 'gyur*, *brgyad stong*, ka, 1b2*)*
>
> [Thus have I heard: once, the Blessed One (i.e., the Buddha) stayed in Rājagṛha . . .][7]

2 It is assumed that during a period of several centuries preceding the Sanskritisation of Buddhist texts, these texts were transmitted in Middle-Indo-Aryan dialects, of which Pāli is just one. The discovery of new textual material from the Indian North-West, specifically from the ancient region of Gandhāra, written in a dialect called Gāndhārī, provides another piece of evidence of the vernacular transmission of Buddhist texts before Sanskritisation.

3 This comparison of versions of the same Buddhist text in different languages (translations) was, not least, necessitated by the differences between different versions. Following the discovery of often fragmentary Buddhist Sanskrit texts in Central Asia (Chinese Turkestan), philologists like Sylvain Lévi, Heinrich Lüders, and Ernst Waldschmidt, as well as more recent scholars like Paul Harrison, Jan Nattier, Jonathan Silk, Seishi Karashima, and many others, have made use of the comparative philological study of these texts to elucidate their origin and textual history.

4 For an overview of the various studies and interpretations of this formula, see Nattier (2014).

5 There is no Pāli version of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*; the formula cited is the correspondent phrase of the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*.

6 Xuanzang's translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (T.220.1b.8) which reflects what Nattier (2014, 40) calls the "standard rendition" of the formula as used by the famous translator Kumārajīva. This contrasts with other, earlier renderings of the formula, such as *wen rushi* . . . 聞如是. Interestingly, in Kumārajīva's translation and in most translations of the canonical collections of the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, the *Āgama*s, the term *Buddha* (Chinese *fo* 佛) is used instead of the expected *bhagavat*. See, for instance, Kumārajīva's translation of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (T.223.217a.7).

7 All translations are my own.

The Tibetan and the Chinese are more or less interlinear translations of the Indic original – with the Tibetan postponing the verb ("stayed") in a semi-final form (*te*). If one somewhat disregards the autochthonous syntax of these languages,[8] the analysis of the terminology, particularly but not exclusively in Chinese, reveals what could be called a connected philological approach inherent in the original translation processes.[9] The attempts to either render terms phonetically – such as the Chinese *bojiafan* 薄伽梵 / **bɔ*^{h}*-gɨa-buam*^{h},[10] for Skt. (nom. sing.) *bhagavān* – or to analyse them semantically – such as *Wangshe* 王舍 [lit.: "Royal Residence"] for Skt. *Rājagṛha* – result in new and sometimes inventive interpretations of Indic terms, names, and toponyms.

In a way, what is done here could be called text-immanent[11] – inasmuch as such a thing is possible – philology, in the broadest sense of the phrase: "how to make sense of texts" (Pollock 2015, 1; and one may add: "words"). Things become more complicated when we look at Chinese Buddhist[12] texts that have no extant parallel – either in Indic languages or other languages like Tibetan – or that are not translations from an Indic original but still refer to Indic Buddhist ideas and concepts. Here sometimes the scholar or philologist must use imaginative skills to infer what the correspondent Indic term or concept of the Chinese text might have been. We are supposed to, as it were, look into the mind of the "author" if we want to understand the meaning of the text or a specific passage. In both cases, philological work requires not only the funda-

8 Considerable scholarly energy – and emic Buddhist discussion – has been dedicated to the "correct" parsing of this sequence, particularly the question where the Skt. phrase *ekasmiṃ samaye*, [. . . once . . .], belongs syntactically: to the first phrase ([Thus I have heard once: . . .]) or to the second phrase ([. . . once the Blessed One . . .]). It is obvious that this discourse is a philological one aimed at detecting the "original" function of the formula as an authenticating "tool" at the start of a *sūtra*.

9 On the underlying emic philological analysis of early Buddhist translations into Chinese, see Deeg (2008/2010).

10 In this chapter, the asterisk * marks the phonological reconstruction of the Early Middle Chinese, following Pulleyblank (1991). Xuanzang and the slightly later Buddhist traveller and translator Yijing use the transliteration instead of the older "translation" term *shizun* 世尊 [lit.: World Honoured One] or alternatively *tianzun* 天尊 [lit.: Honoured by the Gods]. These earlier renderings are not easily explained philologically, but it is likely that the last element *zun* 尊 [honoured, revered] is meant to correspond to the Indic (Skt.) suffix *-va(n)t* (via a Middle-Indic *-vand*): see Deeg (2004). The Tibetan *bcom ldan 'das* reflects an attempt to analyse *bhagavat* in yet another way.

11 The close reading (see Nünning 2013) required in this paradigm of literary theory (see, for instance, Borgmeier 2013) is clearly a *conditio sine qua non* of Buddhist and other forms of text philology (for an assessment of an Old Testament hermeneutical approach, see e.g. de Villiers 2019). However, it can only be a starting point, since a real understanding of the text and its components often necessitates a con-textual analysis – comparing one text (or its elements) with others – as well as a careful historical examination.

12 Although the Buddhist tradition was the first foreign religion introduced to China, other religions such as Christianity, Manichaeism, or Islam arrived later and more or less followed the Buddhist model of adaptation or "translation."

mental skill of commanding the language(s) but also the understanding of the broader historical and religious context.

Sometimes, particularly in the case of Buddhist commentaries and dictionaries produced from the Tang period onward, we catch a glimpse into the "workshop" of the Chinese Buddhist philological mind. In these texts, names or terms are glossed in a mixture of Indic semantic analysis and Chinese critical assessment, partly informed by and following Indian hermeneutical tradition. A random example can be found in the earliest extant Chinese Buddhist dictionary, the *Fan-fanyu* 翻梵語 [*Translating Sanskrit*], dated to the year 517 and generally considered to be compiled by the monk Baochang 寶唱 (466–518). It explains the term Skt. *arhat* [saint] (i.e., someone who has reached enlightenment through the teaching of the Buddha) here being used as one of the epithets of the Buddha:

> 阿羅呵, 亦云阿梨訶; 論曰: 阿羅名賊; 呵名為殺; 亦云應供。 (T.2130.981b.4)[13]
>
> [*aluohe*, also *alihe*; the *Śāstra* says that *aluo* means 'enemy'; *he* means 'to kill'; [the term] also means 'worthy of offerings.']

All of this is, of course, completely unintelligible without some knowledge of the Indic and Chinese linguistic context and philological interpretation. The Chinese pronunciation of *aluohe* and *alihe* does not directly lead to the Indic original *arhat* (or Pāli *arahat*, Gāndhārī *araha*; see Baums and Glass 2002, s.v. *¹araha*, n.); what is needed is the reconstructed Early Middle Chinese of the time when the gloss was written (i.e. **ʔa-la-xa*, and **ʔa-li-xa*), which, again, does not closely correspond to the Skt. term *arhat*. The semantic analysis given in the gloss – *aluo* (or *ali*), meaning 'enemy,' and *he*, meaning 'to kill' – suggests that we are dealing with a "traditional" Indian semantic explanation (*nirvacana*) of the word *arhat* (or more accurately, the nominative singular *arhān*) as Skt. *ari* + √*han-* which shows a remarkable continuity, as it is also the basis of the translation of the term into Tibetan (*dgra bcom pa*, lit.: 'having defeated the enemy') several centuries later. Although none of the Buddhist Prakrits reflects the form **arihan*, in the Ārdhamāgadhī of the Jain the form *arihaṃta* is attested (Ratnachandraji 1977, 393b, s.v.) so that it is quite likely that a similar form of the word existed in a dialect used by the Buddhist as well.

The gloss in the *Fan-fanyu* is a quotation from a well-known treatise or *śāstra* / *lun* 論, the *Da-zhidu-lun* 大智度論 / *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*, "translated" by the Central Asian monk Kumārajīva (T.1509.71b.19–21). However, the *Fan-fanyu* improves upon it by offering the alternative form *alihe*, which was not given by Kumārajīva (344–413) and corresponds more closely to an Indic **arihā(n)*. The alternative explana-

13 In the case of the *Record*, I used the punctuation in Ji's edition (1985); the punctuation of other texts quoted is my own.

tion “worthy of offerings” then is the “correct” philological etymology of *arhat*, derived from √*arh*- [to be worthy].

If one takes this example seriously, along with numerous similar philological notes in Chinese Buddhist texts, and seeks to understand how they came into being and how they function in a broader hermeneutical context of Chinese Buddhism – rather than dismissing them as unsound and incorrect from a modern philological perspective – one must consider multiple philological levels, what I refer to as a “double bottom” in my abstract. This involves at least two emic levels, which may be called “connected” because they are what I would call contextual,[14] that is, one relies on the other, as well as the etic approach of a contemporary philologist. The two emic levels are the Indian and the Chinese, which are, of course, asymmetrical, as the Chinese commentator or lexicographer had to rely on information given by an Indian “expert.” The etic aspect, then, involves applying modern philological tools and methods to understand the possible interrelation between the Indian and Chinese levels, as well as the meaning and function of the gloss.

2 Connected Philology in Xuanzang’s *Record of the Western Regions*

In what could be called Asian interconnected history, no other person arguably represents cultural connectivity through textual sources and the collection of knowledge about India more prominently than the seventh-century Chinese monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664). He is regarded as one of the most productive Chinese Buddhist translators of Buddhist Sanskrit texts – some of them extremely large, like the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* quoted above – which he and his team translated from Sanskrit into Chinese. While his translation work could be the subject of an entire study, Xuanzang is perhaps most known for is his record of a sixteen-year-long journey (629–645) through Central Asia to India and back to China.

I would like to start with a remark on what I consider to be Connected Philology in the case of the *Record*. I do not claim, of course, that what I dub as Connected Philology in this text is a premodern example of Connected Philology as outlined in this volume’s introduction or, for instance, in Islam Dayeh’s programmatic article “The Potential of World Philology” (2016). Rather, I want to highlight an intellectual activity underlying Xuanzang’s text that goes beyond the usual translation process by employing what I would call a comparative approach – comparing, at least implicitly, China

14 I am hesitant to call this contemporaneous as, in most cases, we do not know which Indian material and data the Chinese author or compiler relied on.

and India. This approach has to be taken into account when trying to apply a modern philological method to understand the composition and working of the text.

Some preliminary remarks seem appropriate. The adaptation process of Buddhism in China – often referred to as the conversion or conquest of China[15] – represents a continuous intellectual exercise that lasts roughly until the end of the Tang dynasty (618–907). It involved negotiating the Chinese cultural and intellectual legacy against the religious practice and "ideology" of a foreign Indian religion and culture, which were not always easily reconcilable. Within a Buddhist worldview, India, the land of the Buddha and of the origin of his teaching, assumes the role of the "Middle Kingdom" (Skt. *Madhyadeśa*, Chin. *Zhongguo* 中國, see e.g. Cheng 2018), presenting a challenge to China's claim of this spatial, almost cosmological, position. In this context, China was considered a Buddhist borderland (*biandi* 邊地, see e.g. Nicol 2014) over a long period of time. Chinese Buddhists often had to negotiate a strong cultural identity with a feeling of religious inferiority. Understanding and explaining India from a Buddhist perspective to themselves and to a sometimes-hostile environment that questioned or negated the Buddhist worldview was a constant challenge for Chinese Buddhists. To some extent, Xuanzang's *Record* tried to address these issues by comparing India with China in cultural and political terms, portraying the homeland of Buddhism carefully as equally culturally refined as China and, in some places, even as a *primum inter pares* (Deeg 2021). This approach was quite successful, as the *Record* remained the source of standard knowledge about India across and beyond dynastic changes.[16]

When Xuanzang travelled to India in the year 629,[17] Chinese Buddhism had already been shaped by several centuries of religious and cultural influence from India. Texts had been translated (sometimes multiple times),[18] ideas and concepts had been transmitted (and adapted and changed),[19] and Indian material culture had taken root in China (Kieschnick 2003). There was a significant interest in Indian geography,[20] architecture, art, and so on, as reflected in Chinese Buddhist texts and material culture. As we have seen, certain aspects of an emerging Chinese philology clearly developed under the influence of Indian semantic analysis (so-called etymology or *nirvacana*;

15 Following the title of Erich Zürcher's groundbreaking study (2007), originally published in 1959.

16 Bits and pieces of information about India were still used and introduced not only into Buddhist historiography (西域記云: . . . [The Xiyu-ji says: . . .]) but also into the respective geographical sections (*Dili* 地理, [*[On] Geography*]) dealing with India in the dynastic histories until the Mongol period.

17 There is some discussion about the right date of Xuanzang's departure from China, but 629 is the generally accepted date: see, for instance, de la Vaissière (2010).

18 Although not completely up to date, the most comprehensive overview of Chinese translations in a Western language is Bagchi (1927 and 1938). A recent critical evaluation of translations of the earliest translations and their ascription to individual translators is given by Nattier (2008).

19 For a general overview one may still consult Chen (1973).

20 The earliest documented attempt to retrieve information about Buddhist India was Shi Daoan's 釋道安 (312–385) *Xiyu-zhi* 西域志 [*Memoirs of the Western Regions*]: see Petech (1966 and 1974).

see Deeg 1995; Bronkhorst 2001; and Visigalli 2017), as well as Indian grammar[21] and phonetics.[22]

Xuanzang's *Datang-Xiyu-ji* 大唐西域記 [*Records of the Western Regions*] could be called an encyclopaedic overview of Buddhist India.[23] Commissioned by and submitted to the second Tang emperor Taizong 太宗 (598–649, r. 626–649) in 646, less than one year after Xuanzang's return from India, it provides an account of the geography, nature, agriculture, customs, political circumstances, and religious practices of the regions he visited. In the second fascicle (*juan* 卷) of twelve, Xuanzang presents the reader with a general description of India, covering topics such as customs, hygiene, agricultural products, law, military affairs, and education. His expertise as a well-trained and, at points, almost dogmatic philologist is evident not only in his translation work but also in his frequent corrections of earlier transliterations of Indian names in the glosses or notes – such as the example of older terms for India in the passage discussed below – inserted into the *Record* and the Chinese semantic renderings which he gives of these transliterations.

For the philologist attempting to interpret this description of India, a dual philological approach that considers both the Indian and Chinese aspects of the text is essential. This is more crucial compared to other Chinese Buddhist texts because Xuanzang, the author himself, is deeply engaged in a philological task of translating not only Indian words and names but also cultural concepts to his Chinese audience, particularly to the Chinese emperor and to relevant parts of the Tang court.

In some cases, quite a lot of philological ground has to be covered to understand what is in the text. I will demonstrate this with Xuanzang's discussion of the names for India at the beginning of the second fascicle:

> 詳夫天竺之稱, 異議糺紛, 舊云身毒, 或曰賢豆, 今從正音, 宜云印度。印度之人, 隨地稱國, 殊方異俗, 遙舉總名, 語其所美, 謂之印度。印度者, 唐言月。月有多名, 斯其一稱。言諸群生輪迴不息, 無明長夜, 莫有司晨, 其猶白日既隱, 宵燭斯繼, 雖有星光之照, 豈如朗月之明! 苟緣斯致, 因而譬月。良以其土聖賢繼軌, 導凡御物, 如月照臨。由是義故, 謂之印度。印度種姓, 族類劾分, 而婆羅門特為清貴, 從其雅稱, 傳以成俗, 無云經界之別, 總謂婆羅門國焉。 . . . 北廣南狹, 形如半月。畫野區分, 七十餘國。 (T2087.875b.16–29)

21 While no direct evidence of a reflective reception of Indian grammar is found in Chinese (Buddhist) texts, certain features of Indic languages have obviously exerted some influence on the Chinese language via the translations of Buddhist texts. From the Tang period, there are some attempts to illustrate or explain the function of Sanskrit declension and other grammatical features (see van Gulik 1956; Staal 1972; Chaudhuri 2011; and Kotyk 2021).

22 For instance, the *fanqie* 反切 method of indicating a pronunciation of a Chinese character by the initial and the final of two homophonic characters is considered to have been influenced by the Indian way of "breaking down" or analysing the rendering of the Sanskrit sounds into writing. For discussions of this method, see, for example, Mair (1991), who offers a more sceptical view on Indian influence, and Branner (2000).

23 The number of publications on Xuanzang and his biography is large. For a first orientation one may consult Brose (2021); on the biography, see Mayer (1992).

[As for all the [different] names of India (*Tianzhu*), the disagreement [about the correct one is quite] drastic: in former times [it] was called *Xiandu*, or named *Xiandou*, [but] now, according to the correct sounds, [it is] appropriate to call [it] *Yindu*. The people of *Yindu* call [their] kingdoms according to [the name of] the [specific] land; the different regions have different [name] traditions, [but] for a long time a general name has been used to express its beauty, [and in this context the country] is called *Yindu*. *Yindu* means 'moon' [in the language] of the Tang. The moon has many names, [but] this [term *Yindu*] is one of its designations. [It is] said [that] all living beings [are reborn] in the incessant circle [of rebirth], [are engulfed] in a long night of ignorance with no herald of daybreak, just as if the bright sun has already sunk,[24] [and only] the glow-worms continue [to glow]; [and] even when the stars are shining – how could [they] be as bright as the moon! According to this very fact, [*Yindu*] is compared with the moon. This land excels in a continuous lineage of sages[25] [who] guide [its] inhabitants like the moon is shining down [on earth]. Because of this reason, it is called *Yindu*. The castes and clans of *Yindu* are multiple, but the *poluomen* (*brāhmaṇa*) are considered to be particularly pure and distinguished, [and] from their noble name it has become a custom – without referring to the different [internal] borders – to call [it] generally the 'Kingdom of the *brāhmaṇas*'. [. . .] [Its] northern [part] is wide, [and] its southern [part] is narrow, [so that its] form is like a half-moon. [It] is divided into more than seventy kingdoms.[26]]

This discussion of the different names for India, describing the subcontinent inside the borders indicated by Xuanzang, is clearly presented from a Chinese perspective, as noted by Thomas Watters (1904, 131). It seems as if Xuanzang wants to make a point of the "correct" name for India, *Yindu*, though Yijing 義淨 (635–713), the other famous Chinese traveller to India, emphasises in his *Nanhai-jigui-neifa-zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 [*Record of the Inner Law Sent Back [to China] from the Southern Sea*] that this name is not very widely used:

或有傳云: 印度譯之為月; 雖有斯理, 未是通稱。 (T.2125.222a.18)

[There is another tradition calling [India] *Yindu* and translating this as 'moon'; although this is correct, [it] is not a common name.]

As far as I know, no Indian source refers to India as a geographical unit called *Indu*; the most common term in Indian texts that could be identified with the subcontinent

24 The metaphor in this phrase is a clear reference to the common Buddhist comparison of the Buddha after his *parinirvāṇa* as a sun which has disappeared and has left the world – or rather the part of the world which ignores the *dharma* of the Buddha – in the darkness of ignorance (Skt. *avidyā*, ambiguous in Chinese *wuming* 無明, which can mean both 'without light' and 'without knowledge').
25 This may be an allusion to Skt. *Āryavarta* (see below).
26 This does not correspond to the number of Indian kingdoms which are actually described in the *Record* (c. 80) but seems to be based on the traditional symbolism of the number: according to the classical Chinese sources, King Wu 武 (trad. 1076–1043 BCE), who is considered the founder of the of the Western Zhou 西周 dynasty in Chinese tradition, had established seventy-one enfeoffed kingdoms (*Xunzi* 荀子, *Ruxiao* 儒效, ICS 8/27/16).

is *Jambudvīpa*,[27] a name which was already used in this meaning by the Mauryan emperor Aśoka.[28] Nevertheless, Xuanzang's efforts proved effective, as evinced by the frequent references to his explanation in the Chinese Buddhist sources, as well as by the fact that *Yindu* became the standard name for India in Chinese – a usage that persists to this day. It should be pointed out that the similarity of the Western onomastic *India* and *Yindu* is purely coincidental.[29]

There is some philology at work when Xuanzang presents and criticises the old Chinese names for India and tries to establish *Yindu*, Skt. *Indu*, as the correct one. Starting from the most common Chinese name for India, *Tianzhu* 天竺, his argument for rejecting the others – interestingly, not *Tianzhu* itself – is that they are diverse. Xuanzang translates *Yindu* as "moon" (*yue* 月), and from this meaning, he develops two aetiologies, both allegorically linked to the enlightening capacity of the moon. The first is more Buddhist, obviously playing on the metaphor of the sun disappearing – representing the Buddha who has entered *nirvāṇa* and no longer "enlightens" the world. The second draws from the same metaphorical aspect but in a more generalised way: India is called "moon" because it has been and is populated by sages who enlighten its population. Although this allows for the inclusion of eminent Buddhist monks like the Buddha's disciples and their successors, this explanation almost seamlessly leads to the more "Brahminical" name of India as the "Kingdom of the *Brāhmaṇas*" (*Poluomen-guo* 婆羅門國). It is slightly odd that Xuanzang does not pick up the more rational explanation based on the half-moon shape of the subcontinent given by himself some lines further down. This may be due to the fact that in other Buddhist texts the shape of the continent *Jambudvīpa* is given as that of a chariot or wagon (broad chassis and narrow at the drawbar). Furthermore, in the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* translated into Chinese by Xuanzang (and his team) it is the continent *Pūrvavaideha* which is described as possessing a half-moon shape:

> 東勝身洲周匝八千踰繕那量, 形如半月, 人面亦爾。 (T.220.957c.11–12)

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27 For an overview of the cosmological aspect of *Jambudvīpa* in the three major Indian traditions (Brahmanism-Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism), see Kirfel (1920).

28 Minor Rock Edict I (Rūpnāth): *yā [i]māya kālāya Jaṃbudipasi amisā devā husu te dāni m[i]s[ā] kaṭā* (Ed. Hultzsch 1969 [1925], 166 and 228–229) [But during that time men [i.e. when Aśoka had become more active as a Buddhist layman] in *Jambudvīpa*, who were unmingled with gods, were made to mingle with them] (tr. Olivelle 2023, 279). As Olivelle observes, the term *Jaṃbudipa* (var. *Jaṃbudīpa*, [land mass]) is used for the subcontinent here rather than for a polity like the Mauryan empire which was not in control of the whole subcontinent; see Olivelle (2023, 19, 45, 47, passim).

29 As is well known, the name India (German: *Indien*, French: *Inde*, etc.) goes back to classical Greek geography. In Greek, this is a loan from the Iranian name for the river Indus, *Hindu*, Skt. *Sindhu* (Iranian *h* vs. Indic *s*). See Wecker (1916, 1268).

> [The continent 'Eastern Excellent Body' [i.e.: *Pūrvavaideha*] has a circumference of eight thousand *yojana*s, has the shape of a half-moon, and the face of the people is also like that.][30]

Looking at the onomastic range of the Chinese terms for India from a "connected" and etic philological standpoint, there are some points to be examined and explained. First, all the name forms given by Xuanzang, including his preferred term *Yindu*, likely go back, like the classical Greek name, to an Iranian form of the name of the river Indus (Skt. *Sindhu*), as shown in the following list:

Tianzhu 天竺 / **thɛn-truwk*: Iranian **hinduka* (see Pahlavi *hindug*).
Shendu 身毒 / **ɕin-dəwk*:[31] via Han pronunciation (*shen* 身 / **xin*) Iranian **hinduka*.
Xiandou 賢豆 / **ɣɛn-dəwh*: Iranian *hindu*.
Yindu 印度 / **ʔjinh-dɔh*: Skt. *indu*.

While the three "old" names derive from an Iranian name or word, Xuanzang's proposed name *Yindu* is irregular, as it drops – like the Western forms of the name derived from Greek – the consonantal initial of the Iranian form (aspiration or fricative). The reconstructed Sanskrit form *indu* (originally meaning 'drop,' then *soma*, the ancient Indo-Aryan sacrificial intoxicant offered to the Vedic gods) is indeed one of the Sanskrit words for "moon," but, as far as I can tell, it is not attested as a toponym. So, one could assume that Xuanzang's name for India, *Yindu*, is the invention of a folk-etymologist who, rather forcefully, wanted to make a connection of a Sanskrit word with the old Iranian *hindu(ka)*, by simply ignoring the initial *h*.

There is, however, evidence of similar *h*-less name forms coming from Central Asia: in Tokharian B we find *yentuke* [Indian] (Adams 1999, 505); (Iranian) Sogdian has *induka* – with forms like *'ynt'wk* / *induk*, etc., *'yndwkstan* / *indukastan*, *yntwk'ny* / *indukānē* (Gharib 1995, 87, no. 2207–2209, and 447, no. 10996); the (Iranian) Bactrian adjective *hindugān* very likely had an unstable initial *h.*[32] The Uigur word for India or Indian is *änätkäk* ('N'TK'K) which is explained as a loanword from a Sogdian form of the name (Röhrborn 1998, 378–379, s.v.). In this respect, Xuanzang's biography seems

30 In the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* also translated by Xuanzang, only the half-moon-shaped faces are mentioned (T.1545.868a.9–10): 毘提訶人面如半月。 [The faces of the people of *Videha* [look] like a half-moon.] This idea that one of the continents has the shape of a half-moon, however, is already old: in the *Shiji-jing* 世記經 of the *Dīrghāgama* / *Changahan-jing* 長阿含經, which has no parallel in the Pāli *Dīghanikāya*, the continent *Godanīya* is described exactly in the same way (T.1.115b.17–18): 須彌山西有天下, 名俱耶尼; 其土形如半月, 縱廣八千由旬; 人面亦爾,像彼地形。 [West of Mount *Sume*[*ru*] is a world called *Godanīya*; the shape of this land is like a half-moon with a breadth and length of eight thousand *yojana*; the faces of humans are also like that, resembling the shape of this land]; see also *Ekottarikāgama* / *Zengyi-ahan-jing* 增壹阿含經 (T.125.656b.14–15).

31 The underlying name here cannot be an Indian one starting with a sibilant (**sindhuka*), as the Chinese standard transliteration reflects an initial *ś* (**śindhuka*), which does not exist in Indic languages (Prakrit; see Gāndhārī *sidhalavaṇa* [salt from Sindh], Baums and Glass 2002, s.v. *sidhalavaṇa*, n.).

32 Personal information by Nicholas Sims-Williams from 6 May 2012.

to be astonishingly correct when it has the Turkic *khagan* say that Xuanzang should not go to *Yintejia* 印特伽 / **ʔjin^h-dək-gɨa*:

> 因留停數日, 勸住曰: “師不須往印特伽國 (謂印度也) 彼地多暑, 十月當此五月。觀師容貌, 至彼恐銷融也。其人露黑, 類無威儀,不足觀也。” (T.2053.227b.22–26)
>
> [Because [Xuanzang only wanted to] stay for a [certain] number of days, [the Turkic *khagan* tried to] persuade [him] to stay with the words: “There is no need for the teacher to go to the kingdom of *Yintejia*[33] (which means *Yindu*) [as] this land is very hot [for a period of] ten months, equivalent to the five months [of heat] here [in our region]. [When I] look at the [physical] appearance of the teacher [I] fear that [he] will melt away as soon as [he] arrives there. The people there are naked and dark[-skinned and] are not worth looking at.”]

Another interesting piece of evidence supporting the Central Asian (Tokharian / Kutchean) origin of the name *Yintejia*’s comes from a treatise on translating from Sanskrit (*fan* 梵) and Central Asian languages (*hu* 胡) into Chinese in the biography of the Central Asian monk Manyue 滿月 (Tang period) in the *Song-Gaoseng-zhuan* 宋高僧傳 [*Biographies of Eminent Monks from the Song [Dynasty]*]:

> 如據宗本而談, 以梵為主。若從枝末而說, 稱胡可存。何耶?自五天至嶺北, 累累而譯也。乃疑琮公留此, 以待今日亦不敢讓焉三; 亦胡亦梵。如天竺經律傳到龜茲, 龜茲不解天竺語 – 呼天竺為印特伽國者 – 因而譯之, 若易解者, 猶存梵語。 (T.2061.723c.11–17)
>
> [If [one] discusses the essence of the teaching [of the Buddha, one should] make Sanskrit the basis. If [one] explains the minor points, what is called Hu[34] [languages] can be retained. From the Five Indias[35] to the North of the mountain ranges there are countless translations; hence, there is doubt that the original teaching[36] is preserved in [them], so that at present no one dares to let the [texts be translated through] three [different languages]: [it is] either the Hu [language] or Sanskrit. When the *sūtra*s and the *vinaya*s are transmitted to *Qiuci* (i.e., Kucha), the Kucheans do not understand the language of India – [they] call India (*Tianzhu*) kingdom of *Yintejia* – and therefore the [texts] are translated. If it is easy to understand [however], it should completely remain in Sanskrit.]

Historically, it is quite plausible that an unaspirated form of the Iranian name *Hindu* made it back to India from a Central Asian context, likely during the Kuṣāna empire, which aligns with the period from which most of the early Chinese name forms origi-

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33 It is striking that Li (1995, 43) translates the name as Indica, borrowing the famous title of the Greek author Megasthenes’ work on India, even though the two names are similar only by coincidence (see above).

34 *Hu* 胡 – often translated as “barbarian” – refers to Central Asia, explained a few lines earlier (and alluded to later in this passage) in the text as the regions north of the mountain range (of the Pamir-Karakorum).

35 *Wu-Tian(zhu)* 五天(竺) refers to the five major (schematic) parts of India: South, North, East, West, and Central.

36 I read *conggong* 琮公 as *zonggong* 宗公 [ancestor] here.

nate. In this unaspirated form, it may have undergone a reinterpretation as Skt. *indu* [moon], which would then form the basis for the explanation given by Xuanzang.

Beyond the historical contextualisation and explanation of the different names, the broader question related to the passage discussed is the following: what was the intention behind Xuanzang's strong insistence on the correctness of and his promotion of the "new" name for India (*Yindu*)? The presentation of India as a single entity – both topographically and politically – was not self-evident and is informed by geographical and cultural-religious factors. On the one hand, the Buddhist cosmological name or term *Jambudvīpa* [Continent (lit.: Island) of the Rose-Apple Tree],[37] while obviously based on the geographical shape of the Indian subcontinent, extends beyond this scope to include other regions of the known (or partly known) world.[38] On the other hand, the Brahminical concept of an *Āryavarta*, or something similar to Xuanzang's *poluomen-guo* 婆羅門國 [Kingdom of *Brāhmaṇa*s], which may be reconstructed as Skt. **Brāhmaṇadeśa* or **Brāhmaṇarāṣṭra* – a *Brāhmaṇavarta* [Region of the *Ārya* / *Brāhmaṇa*] – is too narrow for a comprehensive idea of India, as it is restricted to certain regions in the Northwest of the subcontinent where the "ideal" *brāhmaṇa*s live (Minkowsky 2010). What then is Xuanzang trying to "sell" or to "translate" as India to his Chinese readership?

I suggest that conceptualising and presenting India under a specific name not yet known in China was crucial for "selling" the Indian empire as a comparable polity or realm (*tianxia* 天下 [Under Heaven]) to the Tang emperor and court – a theme which recurs several times in the *Record* (Deeg 2012; 2016). Even though Xuanzang does not describe this India in political terms, and despite the fact that the contemporary North Indian king Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya (r. 606–647) only ruled over a fraction of the north of the subcontinent, the monk's educational-didactic intention was to present the Indian ruler as equal, or even superior in terms of being a Buddhist ruler, to the Tang emperor (Deeg 2016). The Indian king therefore had to rule over a united empire like the Tang monarch. That this was behind the concept of a Greater India is suggested by Xuanzang in his own narrative of the ascension to the throne of Harṣa, where it is prophesised by the *bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara that the prince-to-be-king

37 For a critique of the common translation of *jambu* as "roseapple tree," see Wujastyk (2004).

38 Chinese Buddhists used this open idea of *Jambudvīpa* for locating themselves in this Buddhist sphere of bliss. For instance, they allegedly found Buddhist relics, which, according to the Buddhist tradition, were distributed by king Aśoka throughout the whole *Jambudvīpa* in their own region. It is interesting to see that, despite the propagation of the concept of *Yindu* in the *Record*, the old and obviously more powerful notion of *Jambudvīpa* was reintroduced into East-Asian Buddhist mapping. However, the reintroduction retained the details from Xuanzang's geographical pattern in the *Record*, thereby overwriting the cosmological implications of the term (central Mount *Sumeru*, the four main rivers flowing into the four cardinal directions) and thus creating near unity between *Jambudvīpa* and the India (*Yindu*) of the *Record*. For these Buddhist maps and their development, see Moerman (2022).

"will rule the whole of India."[39] This is even more clearly expressed in the encyclopaedic works of Xuanzang's collaborator Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) in the *Shijia-fangzhi* 釋迦方志 [*Memoirs of the Regions of Śākyamuni*] and his contemporary Daoshi 道世 (?–683) in the *Fayuan-zhulin* 法苑珠林 [*Forest of Pearls of the Dharma Garden*] who, after quoting the respective passage about the seventy polities, both add that India is, like China, "under one rule."[40]

3 As a kind of conclusion

Reflecting on one's own philological approach is and should be an ongoing self-critical process which can hardly be conclusive. I hope to have demonstrated that reading and interpreting premodern texts like Xuanzang's record involves multiple connected levels of philology which have to be fully appreciated before an attempt can be made at reaching a more contextual understanding of the text. For me, Xuanzang's presentation of his material exemplifies what James Turner (2014, x) defines as philological work: it is "comparative" – translating "India" to "China" – and often employs a "genealogical" approach by tracing the origins of words, phenomena, or stories. In following this emic philological approach – following the implicit comparisons and the genealogical-etiological explanations of the text's agent (*auctor-cum-compilatore*) – I am just trying, like an old-fashioned philologist, to come to a more complex understanding of the text and its multiple layers of meaning and intentionality. I am very aware that, by employing traditional philological methods, I am not (yet) "beyond comparison."[41] However, the Tang monk certainly has transcended this worldly sphere in many ways, embodying the Buddhist virtue of a *bodhisattva*: *pāramita*, "having gone beyond."

39 慈悲為志, 傷愍居懷, 不久當王五印度境。 (T.2087.894b.17–18) [By making compassion your will and having sympathy for the trouble of the people, [you] will soon become ruler of the five [parts of] India].

40 *Shijia-fangzhi*: *tong yiwang-ming* 同一王命 (T.2088.954b.9–10, and in Xuanzang's biography in Daoxuan's *Xu-gaoseng-zhuan* 續高僧傳 [*Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks*], T.2060.448b.2); that Zhipan's 志磐 (c. 1220–1275) encyclopaedic historiography *Fozu-tongji* 佛祖統紀 [*Comprehensive Record of the Buddha and the Patriarchs*] from the Song period (960–1279) quotes this phrase as being in the *Datang-Xiyu-ji* (T.2035.315c.25) may be an indication of a version of the *Record* which contained this phrase. *Fayuan-zhulin*: *yi yiwang-ming* 依一王命 (T.2122.498a.15–16).

41 [Note by editors: This volume is the outcome of the conference "Beyond Comparison: Towards a Connected Philology."]

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Korinna Gonschorek

Imagining Male Fairies in European Literature of the Middle Ages

Abstract: This chapter engages with the depiction of male fairies in Old French, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English literature. While the figures of female fairies have been examined thoroughly, research on their male counterparts is scant. This chapter aims to provide an overview of the different types of male fairies and their narrative functions. In doing so, transcultural connections are highlighted by drawing on a large corpus of Old French, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English texts. The first part is concerned with the relationships between human women and fairy knights which result in the birth of a hero, while the second part examines the fairy as a supernatural helper. Finally, the more threatening figure of the male fairy as an abductor comes into focus. It becomes clear that, even though there are certain characteristic traits which help us group the male figures within different categories, there are strong differences in the functionalisation and distribution of mythical elements taken from the oral tradition of Celtic mythology.

Keywords: Celtic mythology, fairy, Old French literature, Middle English literature, otherworld, *lai*, Middle English Breton lay, romances

1 Introduction

In studying European medieval romance, one cannot help but come across numerous depictions of fairies, be they benevolent, malevolent, dangerous, or beautiful. The relationship between a human and a supernatural partner, termed *gestörte Mahrtenehe*[1] by Friedrich Panzer in the early twentieth century, is especially prevalent in those texts: the hero meets a fairy mistress, often in an otherworld and through her cunning; they fall in love, and she issues a taboo, which he then breaks. After being sent away, the hero needs to prove his valour in order to win back her favour.[2] The

1 Literal translation: 'disrupted marriage of a mare'. A mare is a mythological figure believed to produce nightmares by sitting on a person's chest while they sleep.

2 There have been several attempts to grasp the narrative pattern of these stories. Friedrich Panzer (1902) applies a strongly folkloric perspective and attempts to determine an ideal type of narrative and its mythological origin. He considers medieval texts as adaptations of this ideal, original narrative – a statement which is impossible to prove due to the orality of mythology. Ralf Simon (1990) tried to distinguish nine narrative functions by considering Middle High German texts, but his conclusions remain rather generic. Anne Wawer (2000) argues very generally that there is a rationalisation of the fairy, through which it becomes assimilated to the human world.

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opposite of the beautiful fairy mistress is the fairy godmother. In the mythical imagination, she is present at the birth, and she weaves the fate of the child. In literature, the fairy godmother can bless the child with magical material gifts,[3] and she can take the role of the stepmother by taking the child to the fairy realm with her (Wolfzettel 1984, 947–948).[4]

Researchers have long been convinced that the belief in fairies is strongly – although not solely – influenced by Celtic mythology[5] and its representation of highly ambiguous figures. While fairies were sometimes seen as supernatural, beautiful beings, they were also depicted as small, pixie-like creatures which were more mischievous than sublime (Wolfzettel 1984, 947–952). However, in medieval literature, fairies are most commonly portrayed as powerful beings with magical powers, superior to humans. Although numerous researchers have devoted considerable attention to female fairies and their role within narrative patterns,[6] the figures of male fairies have largely been neglected. Even though they appear less frequently in medieval literature, they are featured in prominent roles and deserve closer examination.

To address this lack of attention, I examine the different types of male fairies in Old French, Anglo-Norman,[7] and Middle English texts. Even though it is impossible to draw certain lines of textual transmission, there is a clear intercultural, interlingual, and intertextual entanglement. The texts utilise previously existing mythical concepts, which are adapted to the dominant cultural background. As Helen Cooper has demonstrated, the belief in fairies, which has its origins in Celtic mythology, has remained continuously popular – particularly in the British Isles and Ireland – since the early Middle Ages.[8] Cooper notes that "the more literary kind of fairy was conveyed into

3 Examples for magical gifts and abilities granted by a fairy godmother can, for example, be found in the *lai* (see n. 11) of *Tyolet* (45–48), *Huon de Bordeaux* (3520–3583), and *L'Âtre Périlleux* (7112–7113).

4 See, for example, Ulrich von Zatzikhoven's *Lanzelet*, or *Floriant et Florete*.

5 Laurence Harf-Lancner (1984) and Friedrich Wolfzettel (1984) connect the *fées marraines* [fairy godmothers] and *fées amantes* [fairy lovers] with the classical Parcae or Fates, the goddesses of fate. Wolfzettel also includes both Celtic and Germanic origins.

6 James Wade (2011) offers a comprehensive and detailed overview, but he focuses heavily on female fairies. Male fairies are only included as supplements to different thematic aspects. Harf-Lancner (1984) analyses the role of fairies in medieval literature in great detail. However, her focus is solely on Old French and Anglo-Norman texts. Lucy Allen Paton (1960) studied fairy mythology in detail, but her focus is on Morgain la Fée and hardly includes any of the male fairies considered in this chapter.

7 Even though Anglo-Norman is, from a linguistic perspective, a variety of Old French, I want to treat them separately, as this chapter is concerned with literary traditions based on content. In this, there should be a distinction between Old French texts which were produced on the Continent, and Anglo-Norman texts written on the British Isles.

8 Defining the term *Celtic* is difficult in itself, since it refers to several communities within Western Europe. In research, the very heterogenous group of "Celts" has been defined by their language, encompassing all speakers of a common Indo-European language (i.e. "Celtic"), which is related to Germanic and Latin (Maier 1994, 187). *Celtic mythology* originally refers to religious tales. However, it must be kept in mind that what we perceive as "the Celts" were not one people but rather consisted of

French literature by way of parallel Celtic traditions in Brittany, and from there back across the Channel to England" (Cooper 2004, 177–178). This statement highlights the difficulty of separating the different literary circuits: the Celtic mythological elements, which were used to depict (male) fairies in different languages (i.e. Old French, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English), stem from a common source. Even though the texts are written in different languages, the fact that Anglo-Norman, a variety of Old French, was effectively written on the British Isles makes the textual relation even more significant. It seems that transcultural encounters did not just occur at the level of content, through the adaptation of a common mythological source, but later at the level of production as well, especially in the process of translating from one language to another.

The aim of this chapter is to explore the connection between male fairy figures in Old French, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English texts.[9] In the examination, it becomes clear that the texts utilise different mythological elements, which stem from common sources, to create their male fairies.[10] Viewing these texts alongside each other, even though they were composed in different languages, is promising as this can demonstrate the development of mythical thinking in the Middle Ages. This can help clarify the distinctions between different cultural circuits, while the overarching connection remains visible. The first part of this study will be concerned with three texts depicting the relationship of human women with male fairy knights, which can be considered a reversal of the *gestörte Mahrtenehe*. I will explore the Anglo-Norman *lai*[11] *Yonec*, written by Marie de France in the late twelfth century, in which the fairy knight Muldumarec visits a young lady imprisoned in a tower and engages in a sexual relationship with her. Additionally, I will examine the Old French *lai* of *Tydorel* (c. 1170–1230), in which the fairy knight seduces a married woman, which results in the

multiple distinct groups, each with their own mythologies (Maier 1994, 245). Mythological texts were transmitted orally, and in only a few places – mainly Ireland and Wales – were they written down, and only after Christianisation (Green 2016 [1993], 10–11). When I refer to Celtic mythology, I mean the content of those texts from the British Isles and Ireland, even though they had already lost their "pure" mythological quality by the time they were written down and had taken on a "folkloric" character.

9 This chapter is a first attempt to give an overview of Old French, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English texts containing male fairies, and to consider as many texts as possible – without, however, claiming to be comprehensive.

10 In this context, it must be kept in mind that mythological knowledge was largely transmitted orally, resulting in a high degree of *mouvance* in medieval texts (Zumthor 1972, 65–75). It is thus not productive to search for an author's intention in the creation of the figures, as medieval authors often used common prototypical figures. Instead, the focus should lie on the representations and roles of the figures within the text, and on the question of how this mythological knowledge was utilised in their creation.

11 The Old French *lai*, as well as the Middle English Breton lay, refers to a specific form of medieval romance literature. *Lais*/lays are usually short texts written in rhymed verse, and their content often includes themes of chivalry, love, and the supernatural deriving from Celtic mythology.

birth of Tydorel, who exhibits clear signs of his fairy ancestry. The focus will then shift to the Middle English Breton lay *Sir Degaré*, composed in the early thirteenth century, in which Degaré is the result of the fairy knight raping a young princess. What all these texts have in common is that the relationship between a mortal woman and a supernatural fairy knight produces a superhuman hero.

The second part will focus on male fairies as helping figures, which appear several times in Old French literature. In *L'Âtre Périlleux* (mid-thirteenth century) and *Amadas et Ydoine* (c. 1190–1220), we encounter supernatural opponents whose function is to test the hero. In *L'Âtre Périlleux*, the hero needs to prove his physical strength, while *Amadas and Ydoine* adds a moral dimension to the test. Once the heroes pass, the fairy knights change their roles and they become helping figures. The fairy figure Auberon in the Old French text *Huon de Bordeaux* (c. 1260) can also be classified among the fairy helpers, though he is quite unique in medieval literature. On the one hand, he is the product of fairy godmothers, to whom he owes his powers; on the other hand, he is one of the most powerful fairy figures depicted in medieval texts. In *Huon de Bordeaux*, he is presented as a helper to Huon, yet it is clear that he pursues his own agenda in seeking an heir to his fairy realm.

While the male fairy figures in the texts mentioned above are somewhat threatening but ultimately prove to be more or less positive figures, this is not the case for the male fairies who abduct mortals and take them to the otherworld. The texts considered here are the Anglo-Norman romance *Gui de Warewic* (c. 1232–1242), as well as its Middle English adaptation *Guy of Warwick* (c. 1300), in which Gui's son Rainbrun saves the imprisoned knight Amis from a fairy knight in his otherworldly palace. Additionally, the Middle English Breton lay *Sir Orfeo* (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century) will be examined, in which Orfeo's wife Heurodis is taken by the fairy king. In these cases, the male fairies are introduced as otherworldly opponents who operate outside the norms of a courtly code. The heroes are forced to travel to the otherworld in order to win back the mortal.

2 The creation of a hero: Fairy lovers and fairy rapists

In the *lai Yonec*, the figure of the supernatural fairy mistress is mirrored in the fairy knight Muldumarec who visits the lady in her tower. Like the fairy mistress in Marie's *Lanval*, he claims to have loved the lady from afar for a long time before he could appear to her, which was made possible by her wish. The fairy knight Muldumarec is essentially a male counterpart of the courtly *fée amante* [fairy lover] who rescues a typical *mal mariée* [unhappily married woman]: a young and beautiful lady was married to an old and jealous man who locks her in a tower. This results in the lady's loss of beauty, as well as complete unhappiness. The audience witnesses an outburst of despair, in which the young lady wishes for a noble knight to rescue her (*Yonec* 65–104). It is not only the desire for freedom which comes across in her speech but also the desire for love. Her prayers are immediately answered by the appearance of the fairy knight who has been summoned by her wish, and he declares his enduring love for the lady:

> Jeo vus ai lungement amee
> E en mun quor mut desiree;
> Unkes femme fors vus n'amai
> Ne jamés autre n'amerai.
> Mes ne poeie a vus venir
> Ne fors de mun paleis eissir,
> Si vus ne m'eüssez requis.
> Or puis bien estre vostre amis! (*Yonec* 127–134)
>
> [I have loved you for a long time and I have desired you much in my heart; I have never loved another woman besides you, and I will never love another. But I could not come to you or leave my palace if you had not wished for me. Now I can truly be your lover!][12]

It seems odd that the fairy knight suffers such limitations to his ability to approach the human he desired, but these limitations can be interpreted as a reflection of his fairy nature. He is summoned by the wish of the human, a motif which can also be found in texts depicting the relationship with female fairies, such as Anglo-Norman *Lanval* or Middle High German *Der Ritter von Staufenberg*. Even though Muldumarec has to wait for the lady to call him, his ability to reach her sets him apart from human lovers. Marie's *lai Laüstic* seems to present a counterpart to *Yonec*, even though it does not include a fairy figure. The basic narrative structure of the *lais* is very similar: two lovers are kept apart by a jealous husband. However, while Muldumarec is able to come to the lady's tower in spite of her sister-in-law, who keeps watch over her, the situation is presented differently in *Laüstic*:

> N'unt gueres rien ki lur despleise,
> Mut esteient amdui a eise,
> Fors tant k'il ne poent venir
> Del tut ensemble a lur plesir,
> Kar la dame ert estreit gardee
> Quant cil esteit en la cuntree. (*Laüstic* 45–50)
>
> [Hardly anything displeased them; both of them were at ease, except that they could not get together at all as they liked, for the lady was closely guarded when he [i.e. the husband] was away.][13]

12 All translations are my own.
13 For a discussion of possible translations of this text passage, see Burgess (1992).

The lady's guards pose an insurmountable problem for the two lovers, as opposed to the lovers in *Yonec*. It seems like it is ultimately Muldumarec's superhuman power which enables the couple in *Yonec* to come together, a quality which the human lover in *Laüstic* is missing.

This leads to Muldumarec's most distinguishing feature: his ability to transform into a hawk. This narrative element, as well as others, can already be found in Celtic texts (Illingworth 1961, 505–511). However, it is not the aim of this study to identify Celtic narrative motifs and patterns as they have been examined extensively.[14] Instead, I want to take a closer look at how this element of transformation, which is rooted in Celtic mythology, is used throughout the text. His ability to transform places the knight in the realm of the supernatural.[15] When he first comes to the lady's tower, she is afraid of his magical abilities:

> Quant ele ot fait sa pleinte issi,
> L'umbre d'un grant oisel choisi
> Par mi une estreite fenestre;
> Ele ne seit que ceo pout estre.
> En la chambre volant entra;
> Giez ot as piez, ostur sembla,
> De cinc mues fu u de sis.
> Il s'est devant la dame asis.
> Quant il i ot un poi esté
> E ele l'ot bien esgardé,
> Chevaliers bels e genz devint.
> La dame a merveille le tint;
> Li sens li remut e fremi,
> Grant poür ot, sun chief covri. (*Yonec* 105–118)
>
> [When she had lamented thus, she saw the shadow of a large bird above a narrow window; she did not know what it could be. It came flying into the chamber; it had leather straps on its claws; it seemed to be a hawk, and it had moulted five or six times. It sat down in front of the lady. When it had stayed there a little, and when she had beheld it clearly, it became a handsome and noble knight. The lady thought this was a marvel, and her blood welled, and she trembled; she felt great fear and covered her head.]

It becomes clear that the supernatural bears a threatening quality, but in the case of Muldumarec, it is soon relativised both by his adherence to courtly ideals and his as-

14 For a detailed analysis of Celtic mythological elements, see, for example, Johnston (1905); Cross (1913); Illingworth (1961); and Sergent (2014).

15 The fairy knight who can take animal form also appears in the *lai* of *Tyolet* (early thirteenth century). When Tyolet, who has been brought up in the forest, sheltered from the life of chivalry, follows a stag, he watches it turn into a knight who introduces him to chivalric ideals and way of life. This recalls *Le Conte du Graal* by Chrétien de Troyes, in which Perceval, who has been removed from society by his mother, meets a group of knights in the forest, and then resolves to become one of Arthur's knights himself.

surance that he is of Christian belief. He tells the lady: “Dame, [. . .] n’eiez poür: / Gentil oisel ad en ostur!” (*Yonec* 121–122) [Lady, do not be afraid: the hawk is a noble bird!]. He links his appearance as a hawk to the virtues of chivalry by calling it ‘noble.’ As Schneider argues, “[h]is words reveal that his transformation into a human does not remove the hawk from his identity, and that the hawk is consistent with his masculine role in chivalry, courtship, and love” (Schneider 2016, 28). After his proclamation, the lady is comforted, but she makes his belief in God a condition for their union (*Yonec* 137–140). Muldumarec complies with her demand and uses his ability of transformation once again, this time to become the lady and receive the communion (*Yonec* 161–188). In this narrative, the concept of the fairy knight becomes closely connected with courtly and religious norms. The intrusion of the supernatural does not cause a problem in the text as long as it is in accordance with concepts of courtliness and religion. This is an aspect which also appears frequently in the depiction of female fairies. In *Partonopeus de Blois*, for example, Partonopeus loses his fear of the supernatural mistress when he hears her utter the name of the Virgin Mary (*Partonopeus de Blois* 1159–1164).

Still, the fairy knight is clearly marked as an otherworldly being. Not only his shapeshifting is telling in this respect but also his prophetic knowledge about the birth of their son – a motif commonly used in folk tales (Hodgson 1974, 25). When he is mortally wounded by the lady’s jealous husband, he foretells the future of their son.

> De lui est enceinte d’enfant.
> Un fiz avra, pruz e vaillant;
> Icil la recunforterat.
> Yönec numer le ferat.
> Il vengerat e lui e li,
> Il oscirat sun enemi. (*Yonec* 327–332)
>
> [She has become pregnant by him with a child. She will have a son, noble and excellent; he will comfort her. She will have him named Yonec. He will avenge him and her; he will kill his enemy.]

Muldumarec specifies the manner of their revenge when he talks to the lady again on his deathbed. He describes the circumstances under which Yonec will avenge his father’s death, and he gives the lady two gifts: his sword, which Yonec will use when he takes revenge, and a magic ring, which will let the lady’s husband forget her infidelity (*Yonec* 414–436). Everything he says comes true, and Yonec, after having gained knowledge of his true origin, uses his father’s sword to kill his stepfather (*Yonec* 529–546). In this, he delivers justice to the man who has murdered his father.[16] In Mul-

16 William Calin calls Yonec’s revenge “a classical case of oedipal conflict” (1994, 28), which seems rather far-fetched in this case. Even though Yonec does indeed kill his stepfather, I prefer Frederick dumarec's death, Marie creates another opposition between the otherworldly being and the human man in the *lai Laüstic*. When the fairy knight is mortally wounded in his bird form, he ultimately provides an opportunity for the lady to escape her prison and to follow her lover to the fairy realm. In *Laüstic*, the lady claims to be listening to a nightingale in the middle of the night while she is in truth looking at her lover through the window. Enraged, the husband orders the nightingale to be killed. He effectively ends all interaction between the lovers by killing the bird. In Marie's *Yonec*, otherworldly elements are integrated into a system of courtliness and religious belief. The superior character of the fairy knight is not tarnished at any point of the text. Instead, his otherworldly nature and his magical abilities enhance his figure, and they are used to mark the hero of the text, Yonec, as superior.

The fairy knight is depicted very differently in the lay of *Tydorel*. Even though there are some structural similarities to Marie's *Yonec*, Tydorel's father, a male fairy, appears in a more ambiguous form than Muldumarec. As is the case with Muldumarec, the fairy knight's supernatural character is revealed very early on. The association of the fairy knight with the supernatural is already established in the couple's first meeting. When the queen is in an orchard, she becomes tired and lies down beneath an "ente" (*Tydorel* 30), a grafted fruit tree, a motif frequently found in medieval literature in connection with the supernatural (Jirsa 2008, 142). The image of the grafted tree in which two different kinds are merged into one is metaphorically connected to the merging of the otherworld with the human one, and thus it is often used as a symbol for the world of fairies (Saunders 2001, 228). Marie-Thérèse Brouland links the image of the fruit tree to the Celtic legends *Echtra Cormaic Maic Airt* and *Imram Brain*, in which the main figures are led to the otherworld through branches of fruit trees (Brouland 1990, 59). Furthermore, the grafted tree is an image of fertility, since grafting actually increases the tree's fertility (Allen 2019, 131), which implicates the conception of Tydorel – the child that will result from the union with the fairy knight. When the queen wakes up, she cannot find her companions; instead, a fairy knight approaches her:

> Contreval le jardin garda,
> Si vit un chevalier venir,
> Soef le pas, tout a loisir:
> Ce fu li plus biaus hon du mont,

Hodgon's interpretation: "The fusion of the two realities, first indicated in the motif of a child born of one mortal and one supernatural parent, becomes complete in the dénouement where the supernatural knight from the fairy world has been transformed into a *this-world* king whose tomb provokes Yonec's revenge. The combination of the two realities [. . .] results in the violence perpetrated against the fairy knight and allows the ultimate justice provided by Yonec's vengeance" (Hodgson 1974, 25).

De toz iceus qui ore i sont;
De raineborc[17] estoit vestuz,
Genz ert et granz et bien membruz. (*Tydorel* 40–46)

[She looked down towards the garden, and she saw a knight coming with soft steps and without haste: he was the most beautiful man in the world of all those who are there now; he was clad in precious fabrics; he was noble and tall, and he had strong limbs.]

The extraordinary beauty of the fairy knight recalls the depiction of Muldumarec. It is a feature commonly used to mark both male and female fairies. The fairy knight is distinguished by both his great physical beauty and the splendour of his clothing. He appears to the queen in a manner which leads her to believe that he is a nobleman who has come to speak to the king. However, when the knight reaches her, he takes her hand, and declares his love:

"Dame," fet il, "ci sui venuz
Por vos que molt aim et desir:
Si me dites vostre plesir,
Se vos savez et vos cuidiez
Que vos amer me peussiez
D'itele amor con je vos quier,
Ne me fetes longues proier:
Je vos ameré loiaument;
Et si ne puet ester autrement,
Je m'en irai, vos remaindrez:
Sachiez ja mes joie n'avrez." (*Tydorel* 58–68)

["Lady," he says, "I have come here for you, whom I love and desire very much: tell me what you want, whether you know and think that you could love me in the way which I seek from you. Do not let me beg for long: I will love you truthfully; and if it cannot be otherwise, I will go, and you will stay: know that you will never again feel joy."]

At first glance, this declaration bears a strong similarity to the *lai* of *Yonec*. However, one striking difference is that the lady's wish does not seem to play a role in this text. Instead of being summoned by the loved one, the fairy knight himself decides that it is time to find her and make her his lover. He appears to give her a choice in the matter, since he will leave if she decides to stay faithful to her husband, but at the same time he foretells that she will give up happiness for the rest of her life if she refuses him. The motivation behind the queen's decision to accept the fairy knight as her lover remains unclear, but it appears like she does indeed fall in love with him on account of his immense beauty.

17 The Old French word *raineborc* probably refers to the German city of Regensburg, which was known for trading in costly fabrics (see e.g. Heimpel 1954). Wolfram von Eschenbach, for example, also writes of *Regenspurger zindâl* (*Parzival* VII, 377, 30) in the description of costly material. See also *Tobler-Lommatzsch, Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (1925–2018, s.v. *raineborc*, n.).

> La dame l'a molt esgardé
> Et son semblant et sa biauté;
> Angoisseusement l'aama,
> Otroie li qu'el l'amera,
> S'ele seust qui il estoit,
> Conment ot non et dont venoit. (*Tydorel* 69–74)
>
> [The lady looked at him for a long time, and at his appearance and his beauty; she loved him violently, and she agreed to love him if she knew who he was, what his name was, and where he came from.]

Unlike the lady in *Yonec*, the queen does not demand proof of the fairy knight's Christian faith in order to love him. Instead, she requires information about his ancestry and origin. Even though he denies the queen knowledge of his name, he shows her to the lake from which he came, and in which he proves his supernatural abilities. The fairy knight shares Muldumarec's knowledge of the future. He foretells both the birth and the fate of their children and grandchildren, even before they consummate their union. Then, he takes the queen back to the orchard, and they have intercourse: "La l'amena ou il la prist, / Toute sa volenté en fist" (*Tydorel* 151–152). This sentence is very ambiguous as it offers two possible translations. It could either mean 'He led her there, where he took her; he did all he desired from this,' or 'He led her there, where he took her; she complied with all his desires.' In this formulation, it remains unclear whether it is the fairy knight who takes what he wants, or whether the queen offers herself up willingly. The Old French word *volenté* has a wide semantic range, reaching from 'wish, desire' to 'control, power,' and even 'impulsive act' (*AND* s.v. *volenté*, n.). This ambiguous wording mitigates the suspicion of a rape, much like the fact that the queen had previously expressed that she would love him. Additionally, the fairy knight is called her *ami* (*Tydorel* 159) [friend; lover] only a few lines later, which creates the impression of a reciprocal relationship. This is intensified by the narrator who informs the audience that the queen and the fairy knight often meet afterwards (*Tydorel* 159–160).

One aspect which deserves closer examination in the two *lais* considered above is the detection of the relationship through a third party. Even though the detection has grave consequences for Muldumarec, it is not his fairy nature which forces him to leave his lady, but the jealous husband's attack on him. Tydorel's father, however, makes clear from the very beginning that the relationship can only continue until they are "aparceu" (*Tydorel* 112) [discovered]. The necessity to keep the union secret serves as another indicator of the knight's supernatural origin, since it proves that his presence is not compatible with the human world. A wounded and impoverished human knight who discovers the lovers must die as a result (Lecco 2022, 400). Tydorel's father suddenly disappears and is never seen again, and while Yonec is destined to avenge his father and become king, Tydorel is left without a clear purpose. However, he immediately displays characteristics of his supernatural origin in his inability to sleep.

It is important to note that Tydorel's descent from a fairy knight is less problematised than in other texts, weakening the association between fairies and demonic beings. In the Middle English text *Sir Gowther*, for example, the lady is seduced by a "fende" (*Sir Gowther* 74) [demon/devil] who has assumed the form of her husband. She is impregnated, and the child shows signs of its demonic origin from the very beginning: Gowther kills nine wet-nurses and bites off his mother's nipple (*Sir Gowther* 113–132), he forces her to flee when his father dies of grief (*Sir Gowther* 154–159), and he burns down a nunnery (*Sir Gowther* 181–192). Tydorel, on the other hand, is an exemplary knight, which weakens the association of the otherworld with evil. In this, the lay of *Tydorel* shows closer similarities to *Yonec*. However, the two fairy knights have very different effects on their sons. While Yonec grows up like a normal knight and eventually uses his knowledge and power to overthrow the evil stepfather, Tydorel, who shows signs of his fairy origin all along, follows his father into the lake to test his immortality, never to be seen again (*Tydorel* 475–490). In the texts considered above, the fairy knights are explicitly distanced from any demonic suspicion. Instead, they are presented as fairy lovers who father heroic children.

This is different in the Middle English Breton lay *Sir Degaré*, in which the fairy knight is portrayed highly ambiguously. Instead of encountering a fairy lover, the audience is confronted with a fairy rapist. When he is first introduced, the fairy is described as a noble knight by the narrator:

> Toward hire comen a knight,
> Gentil, yong, and jolif man;
> A robe of scarlet he hadde upon;
> His visage was feir, his bodi ech weies;
> Of countenaunce right curteis;
> Wel farende legges, fot, and honde:
> Ther nas non in al the Kynges londe
> More apert man than was he. (*Sir Degaré* 90–97)
>
> [A knight came towards her, a gentle, young, and handsome man; he wore a scarlet robe; his face was fair, and his body, too, in every way; of his manners he was very courteous; his legs, feet, and hands were well-shaped: there was nobody in the king's country more attractive than him.]

The knight is introduced as the epitome of courtly knighthood. As is the case in the other stories considered above, his extraordinary beauty sets him apart from human men and places him within the realm of the supernatural. His description and the place of their first meeting also recall the *lai* of *Tydorel*, in which the knight is clearly marked as a supernatural being. In *Sir Degaré,* the princess finds herself alone at noon, a time when humans are most vulnerable to demonic interference, according to a literary tradition which dates back to antiquity (Friedman 1966, 28). In addition, the location of the forest is telling in this context. It is a space in which the laws of court do not apply, and in which the supernatural can find its way into the human world, a "locus of danger and adventure" (Saunders 2001, 213).

This proves to be true when the knight, who first kindles the hope of rescue in the young princes, reveals his otherworldly nature and acts accordingly. Even his greeting seems to imply some sort of prophetic knowledge of her coming.

> "Damaisele, welcome mote thou be!
> Be thou afered of none wihghte:
> Iich am comen here a fairi knyghte;
> Mi kynde is armes for to were,
> On horse to ride with scheld and spere;
> Forthi afered be thou nowt:
> I ne have nowt but mi sword ibrout.
> Iich have iloved the mani a yer,
> And now we beth us selve her,
> Thou best mi lemman ar thou go,
> Wether the liketh wel or wo."
> Tho nothing ne coude do she
> But wep and criede and wolde fle;
> And he anon gan hire at holde,
> And dide his wille, what he wolde.
> He binam hire here maidenhod,
> And seththen up toforen hire stod. (*Sir Degaré* 98–114)

> ["Lady, you must be welcome! Do not be afraid of any man: I, a fairy knight, have come here; it is my habit to wear arms, and to ride on a horse with shield and spear; therefore, do not be afraid: I have brought nothing but my sword. I have loved you for many years, and now that we are here by ourselves, you must become my lover before you go, whether you like it or not." Then she could do nothing but weep, and she cried and wanted to flee; and he and he seized her immediately, and he did his will, as he desired. He took her maidenhead, and soon afterwards he stood before her.]

It seems as if the fairy knight aims at soothing the princess's fears. Even though he reveals his nature, he is careful to show that he does not pose a danger. His lack of weapons (except for his sword) serves as proof here – even though the sexual connotation of the sword implies a different sort of threat. He also proclaims his lasting love for the princess, which recalls the lays of *Yonec* and *Tydorel*, but with a quite aggressive turn: he clearly states that he intends to make her his lover, regardless of her desires, and does not even give her the chance to react to his words before he rapes her.

In medieval literature, it is common for the (female) fairy to offer sexual pleasures to the objects of their affections. One of the most prominent examples in this case is the *lai Lanval* as well as its Middle English adaptations, in which the fairy mistress brings the hero, whom she has loved from afar, to her otherworldly pavilion in the forest. He finds her naked there, and she promises him both sexual fulfilment and wealth. In cases like these, it seems as if sexual pleasures are exchanged merely for the fairy's delight, even though James Wade argues that the fairy bestows her body as a gift and thus "the sexual gratification given by the fairy mistress creates a unique bond between giver and receiver that leads to a certain *bondage of the gift*, a bondage that reveals not only the indebtedness of the receiver, but also the *interestedness* of the gift itself" (2011, 114; emphasis in the original).

Opposed to this are the texts in which the fairy is male, as is the case in *Tydorel* and *Yonec*. Here, the aspect of sexual wish-fulfilment is secondary, and the union between fairy and human is aimed at the conception of a hero who is enhanced through his supernatural lineage. While there is no clear evidence of rape in either of the Anglo-Norman texts, and in the case of *Yonec* it is even overtly stated that the woman consents freely (*Yonec* 137–141), this is not the case in *Sir Degaré*. As in the other two texts, the fairy knight prophesies the birth of Degaré, which, especially in connection with the rape of the princess, evokes the idea of a demon-incubus (Saunders 2010, 199). However, Degaré shows no signs of violence and destruction. Like Yonec and Tydorel, he is the image of courtly perfection and shows his chivalric superiority, which seems to stem from his superhuman lineage, throughout the text (Saunders 2001, 215). As the child of the superhuman being, he can master challenges easily, as shown, for example, when he defeats a dragon in the forest shortly after he has left his foster parents (*Sir Degaré* 343–384). The most distinguishing – and confusing – victory is that over his grandfather. He succeeds where many others have failed: unknowingly, he wins his mother's hand in marriage when he defeats the king (*Sir Degaré* 573–584).[18]

It is striking that, in all his victories, the text depicts the superiority of the human world over the fairy realm as Degaré acts in perfect opposition to his fairy father (Eckert 2018, 39–40). He shows restraint concerning his sexual urges on several occasions: when he is married to his mother, Degaré remembers to let her try on the glove which will fit only her before he consummates the marriage (*Sir Degaré* 654–658). Furthermore, when he then sets out to find his father, he comes to an enchanted castle and saves the lady there from a hostile knight. She offers herself to him, but he refuses (*Sir Degaré* 969–983). As opposed to the fairy knight who forced himself on Degaré's mother, he controls himself completely. The victory of the world of mortals over the fairy world culminates in the battle between Degaré and his father. It soon

18 Much recent research has focused strongly on Oedipal interpretations and a suspected incestuous relationship between the king and his daughter: see Chery Colopy (1982), and more recently Sharon Rowley (2014), and Lesley Lawton (2016). These lines of interpretation do not seem convincing. As Kenneth Eckert (2018) points out, the princess has to confess to her father that she is not a virgin anymore, which eliminates the suspicion of a sexual relationship with her father. Furthermore, while Degaré's marriage with his mother and the fight with both his father and grandfather does indeed invite an Oedipal interpretation, this would neglect the other textual implications, rendering the human world superior to the otherworld, as proposed in this chapter.

becomes clear that Degaré is the superior fighter. He defeats the fairy knight, and here he also shows restraint when he decides not to kill him. After they have recognised each other, the fairy knight tries to convince Degaré to accompany him to the otherworld. Degaré refuses, and the fairy knight comes to the human court instead and marries Degaré's mother (*Sir Degaré* 1076–1090). The fairy knight is thus integrated into the human courtly system: the otherworld loses its power, and the human realm prevails.

As the examination of these three texts has shown, there are, on the one hand, considerable differences in the depiction of fairy knights in relationships with human women in Anglo-Norman and Middle English literature. The most striking aspect is the level of violence employed by the supernatural knight in ravishing the lady. On the other hand, there are certain traits, such as prophetic knowledge and supernatural beauty, which all these knights share. These traits, as well as the conception that the most powerful heroes are born from supernatural lineages, are extant elements of Celtic fairy mythology.

3 Supernatural helpers

By contrast with the male fairies who take a woman as a lover in order to father a child, there are also numerous depictions of fairies who first appear as opponents of human knights but then become supernatural helpers. In this section, I will consider three texts: the Old French *L'Âtre Périlleux* and *Huon de Bordeaux*, and the Anglo-Norman *Amadas et Ydoine*. In these texts, the fairy knights seem to be introduced to test the hero. In *L'Âtre Périlleux*, this is a test of physical strength, while in the other two it is a test of morality. One aspect which is of special interest here is the source of the fairies' magical powers. While the fairy knights considered above are inherently supernatural, it will be shown that the supernatural powers of the fairies examined in this chapter are gifted either by God or fairy godmothers. This reduces the threatening quality of the fairy.

In *L'Âtre Périlleux*, Gauvain encounters the fairy knight Orgellox, who is clearly marked as a supernatural being. Not only is his fairy nature underlined by the used vocabulary – during the fight with Gauvain and after his defeat, he is called *li Fées Orgellox*, *li Faés*, *l'Orgellox Faé*, *l'Orgellox qui ert faé*, and *l'Orguillous* – but also by the superhuman power of his character (Harf-Lancner 1984, 66). Orgellox is introduced as an opponent who needs to be subdued by the hero. His depiction as a supernatural being enhances the figure of Gauvain: the latter is strong enough to overpower even a monstrous knight. In this, the power dynamic which appeared in the texts considered above is reversed. It is not the fairy or their descendant who proves superior, but the human hero. After Gauvain's victory, Orgellox offers himself up, and he becomes a supernatural helper. The extent of his powers becomes apparent when he reanimates a dismembered knight.

> Et le Faé sans delaier
> A le bras de l'escrin osté,
> Et el cors ariere posé;
> Puis fu plus sains que nul poisson.
> Et tels en orent fait le don
> A l'Orgelleus, qu'erent faé. (*L'Âtre Périlleux* 7108–7113)
>
> [And the *Faé* took the arm out of the coffer without delay, and he placed it behind the body; then he [the dismembered knight] felt better than a fish in water. Those who had given Orgellox this gift were *faé*.]

One aspect that stands out in this passage is the narrator's comment that Orgellox has received his magical powers as gifts from other supernatural beings. He himself soon clarifies how he came by these powers:

> Et Tristran et toute sa gent,
> Qui ont la merveille veüe,
> De demander forment s'argue
> Qui li dona tel destinee.
> Et cil dit: "El me fu donee
> En cele nuit que je fui né." (*L'Âtre Périlleux* 7124–7129)
>
> [And Tristan and all his people who had witnessed this marvel asked insistently who had given him such power. And he said: "It was given to me the night I was born."]

Magical powers given at birth recall the image of the fairy godmother. Orgellox was blessed by a supernatural being, which Harf-Lancner reads as a justification of his supernatural qualities: instead of possessing an inherent superhuman power, Orgellox is reduced to a regular human who was granted his abilities by a female fairy (Harf-Lancner 1984, 66–67).[19]

19 A different representation of the gift of supernatural powers can be found in *Le Romans de la Dame a la Lycorne et du Biau Chevalier au Lyon*. In this romance, the "Chevalier Feés" (*La Dame a la Lycorne* 2001) [fairy knight] owes his power, which he was granted at birth, to "Amours" (*La Dame a la Lycorne* 1963). The story of his conception is similarly interesting: while his mother was waiting for her lover in an orchard one day, she saw a beautiful blossom on an apple tree. "Amours" (*La Dame a la Lycorne* 1945) told her that this was the likeness of her lover, and by looking at it intently, the lady became pregnant and gave birth to the fairy knight (*La Dame a la Lycorne* 1918–2019). This depiction of *Amours* recalls the typical personification of love, which frequently appears in medieval romances. However, this could also be a link to the classical tradition, in which Cupid (Old French: *Amour*; Latin: *Amor*) is the god of love. While the supernatural conception is usually connected to the birth of a hero, as was also shown above, this is not the case in *Le Romans de la Dame a la Lycorne et du Biau Chevalier au Lyon*. The fairy knight is marginalised throughout the story: after he has been saved by

In *Amadas et Ydoine*, however, the source of the fairy knight's magical powers remains unexplained. As Harf-Lancner points out, he mirrors those female fairies who take the object of their desire with them to the fairy realm (1984, 67). After the knight has tried to abduct Ydoine, she falls into a death-like sleep and is thought to be dead (*Amadas et Ydoine* 4628–4663, 5171–5192). The tale reaches its climax in the confrontation at the graveyard, where the fairy knight appears as the leader of a host and must be defeated by Amadas before ultimately offering himself as a helper (*Amadas et Ydoine* 5584–6453). In the depiction of the host, the author intertwines mythological elements with Christian ones. The host counts more than a thousand people, divided into two groups: an assembly of clerics who bring a dead body on a bier, and a fairy host made up of a richly dressed company of males and females. In these two groups, which are not allowed to cross the boundaries of the cemetery, the author incorporates both elements of the Wild Hunt.[20] It evokes the association with otherworldly beings who cross over into the mortal world – a motif which is also known from the myth of King Herla.[21] The fairy host is grouped around a riderless white horse, which gives the impression that they are looking for one of the dead to take to the otherworld (Harf-Lancner 1984, 67). James Wade, too, has remarked upon the ambiguous qualities of the fairy knight as a being "somewhere between fairy and angel" (2011, 36). However, before Amadas's victory, the fairy knight is repeatedly demonised within the text by being called a *maufé* (*Amadas et Ydoine* 6685; 6712; 6925; 7133) [demon]. As an otherworldly opponent, the fairy knight enters the graveyard as an aggressor and challenges Amadas for the body of Ydoine. In his declaration, "Avoir le voel tout a estrous. / Le cors de li enporterai, / car longement amee l'ai [. . .]" (*Amadas et Ydoine* 5776–5778) [I want to have her at once. I will take away her body, because I have loved her for a long time] he suggests that he intends to take her to the fairy realm. He tries to convince Amadas that Ydoine was his lover (*Amadas et Ydoine* 5734–5753), even though this is later relativised. In his bold proclamation, the fairy knight lays claim to the woman, a claim which does not seem to be justified: he is presented as the prototypical fairy who takes the object of his desire. However, combined with Ydoine's false confession of infidelity to Amadas before her apparent death (*Amadas et Ydoine* 5009–5046), the fairy knight's proclamation becomes a hard test. James Wade very convincingly argues that the fight which results from this confrontation is not merely a test of Amadas's physical strength but of his morality (2011,

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the hero, he is merely a counsellor, and he serves as a messenger between him and his lady. Further research is needed to produce a more detailed analysis and interpretation.

20 For more information on the Wild Hunt, see for example Schmitt (1994); Lecouteux (1999); and Ueltschi (2008).

21 The myth of King Herla tells how Herla is invited to the fairy realm, and when he returns after what seems like three days, he discovers that he was gone for several hundred years. He and his companions are doomed to roam the earth as a ghostly host, as anyone who dismounts and touches the earth immediately turns to dust (Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium* I, 11).

36). The supernatural being serves as a moral authority which needs to be persuaded before helping the protagonist. The fight is long and hard, but the fairy knight's declaration at its end proves that he only intended to test Amadas.

> Et si vous di, amis, de moi,
> que par armes ne puis morir:
> ma nature nel puet sosfrir,
> n'a Diu ne plaist que vous mesface.
> A demorer n'ai plus d'espace,
> car li jors vient: a Diu m'en vois. (*Amadas et Ydoine* 6430–6435)
>
> [And I tell you about myself, friend, that I cannot die through weapons: my nature does not allow it, and it does not please God that I injure you. I have no more time to stay, because day comes: I go to God.]

The fairy knight connects his own motivation directly to God. While the source of his supernatural ability to survive any weapon attack remains unexplained, he clearly states that he does not wish to harm Amadas as this would displease God. The need to depart before sunrise is something he shares with the fairy knight in Hue de Rotelande's *Protheselaus*. Even though the knight in *Amadas et Ydoine* is never actually called *faé*, he certainly evokes the association with the otherworldly beings, especially as part of the Wild Hunt (Ueltschi 2008, 195). After Amadas has passed the fairy knight's test, the fairy knight changes his attitude towards him: he confesses to having put an "anel faé" (*Amadas et Ydoine* 6444) [enchanted ring] on her finger, causing her to appear dead. In reuniting the lovers, he changes his position from being an otherworldly opponent to being a supernatural helping figure.

The elements considered above are combined in the figure of Auberon in *Huon de Bordeaux*.[22] However, unlike the fairy knights in *L'Âtre Périlleux* and *Amadas et Ydoine*, he is driven by a clear agenda. On the one hand, he acts as a helper, but on the other, his actions are motivated by his desire to find an heir for his fairy realm. In the prologue, he is introduced as "the little wild king who spent all his time in the forest" ("le petit roi sauvaige / Que tout son tans conversa en boscage," *Huon de Bordeaux* 6–7). Through the use of the word "sauvaige" he is initially placed in a sphere separate from the world of the court, clearly establishing his fairy nature. His lineage – he is described as a descendent of Morgan le Fay and Caesar – further confirms this.[23] Because of the limited scope of this study, a complete analysis of the figure of

22 *Huon de Bordeaux* was a highly influential text during the Middle Ages and the early modern period, as the numerous adaptations show. For a detailed examination of these adaptations, see Vial (2002).

23 Auberon is also a hybrid figure in the sense that he does not only exhibit typical characteristics of the Celtic fairies, but he also integrates similarities to Germanic dwarves (Rossi 1975, 347). However, Claude Lecouteux concludes after his very thorough study of medieval dwarves that Auberon and the Germanic variants of Alberich should in no way be equated. Instead, he convincingly argues that they

Auberon is not possible here. Instead, I will focus on the most important aspects of his characteristics and the role he plays in the text.[24]

Auberon shares some of the characteristic traits attributed to Celtic fairies, though with notable differences (Rossi 1975, 323). His dwelling place is the forest, which is a space of confrontation with the categorical other – a realm that is established as the opposite to the courtly world and its rules of behaviour and expectations of restraint and self-control (Schulz 2003, 516). This is certainly true for numerous medieval fairy stories. Tyolet, for example, meets the "chevalier beste" (*Tyolet* 155) – a knight with the ability to transform into a stag – in the forest, and Partonopeus, the hero in *Partonopeus de Blois*, gets lost in the Ardennes after hunting a wild boar sent by the fairy queen Melior. One of the most prominent encounters with a fairy can be found in Marie de France's *Lanval.* While the forest is not explicitly described in this *lai* but only implied, "in later versions of the story the forest is specified and even characterised as dense, suggesting the development of its symbolic potential" (Saunders 1993, 55).

Auberon initially appears to be quite similar to those mischievous fairies. Besides being a wood-dweller, he is of small stature and possesses magical powers. Humans are afraid of him, which becomes apparent when Géraume, Huon's companion, first describes the fairy king and warns Huon of his dangerous powers:

> Et la dedens maint uns nains, par vreté;
> Si n'a de grant que trois piés mesurés,
> Mais tout a certes est mout grans biautés,
> Car plus est biaus que solaus en esté.
> Auberons est par droit non apelés.
> Il n'est cors d'omme, s'il est u bos entrés,
> S'a lui parole, ki li puist escaper;
> Et puis qu'il est aveuc lui demorés,
> N'em partira ja mais en son aé. (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3174–3182)
>
> [And in there lives a dwarf, truly; and he measures no more than three feet, but he is certainly of great beauty, because he is more beautiful than the sun in summer. His true name is Auberon. He that has entered into the forest and talked to him and could escape him afterwards is not human, because whoever has stayed with him will never leave again while he is alive.]

Géraume highlights Auberon's extraordinary beauty, but the sense of danger is conveyed in his warning that whoever speaks to Auberon will be caught forever. This danger is further emphasised by the description of Auberon's magical powers: he can control the weather and the elements, and Huon would be lost to him if he spoke a word to him. When Huon encounters Auberon, the fairy immediately wants him to

are the result of oral folkloric transmissions which influenced the creation of the figures (Lecouteux 1988, 87–88).

24 For a detailed description of Auberon and his magical abilities, see for example Rossi (1975) and Prosenc (1998).

speak. When Huon ignores the fairy king and refuses to speak, Auberon becomes enraged and demonstrates his magical abilities by conjuring a wild tempest.

At the same time, Auberon's threatening nature is relativised by the narrative voice, which describes him as a "noble chevalier" (*Huon de Bordeaux* 26) [noble knight]. This characterisation blends the traditional courtliness and the sense of the marvellous attributed to fairies (Vial 2002, 205). While he does indeed possess magical powers, it is clearly stated that he is *faé* (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3781), a term that can be translated as both 'enchanted' and 'magical' (*AND* s.v. *faé*, a.) and thus gives an ambiguous quality to his abilities. On the one hand, this hints at his lineage and inherent magical power, indicating that he is not necessarily subject to incantation but contains the ability within himself. On the other hand, this phrasing could also suggest that Auberon has received his abilities as gifts at his birth. He himself later describes that he was blessed by fairies when he was a child: he knows the thoughts and the heart of humans; he can move himself to where he likes; he can create a palace and food at will; he can command animals; he does not age; he knows the secrets of Paradise and he can hear angels singing; when he decides to end his life, he will go to Paradise and sit at God's side (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3533–3583). His only unfavourable gift, given to him by a malevolent fairy, is his small stature. However, this is soon rectified by the fairy, who, regretting her spitefulness, compensates him with the gift of extraordinary beauty (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3520–3530).

This description of the sources of Auberon's powers opens up some interesting perspectives. In comparison to the other male fairy figures considered in this chapter, Auberon is one of the most powerful fairies in Old French literature. However, it becomes clear that he owes most of his power to female counterparts. While his lineage would justify inherent magical powers, he is framed in the tradition of gifted human figures: he receives his powers as gifts from fairy godmothers, folkloric figures which decide over children's fate by bestowing positive or negative gifts (Harf-Lancner 1984, 27). Auberon's self-characterisation in this context is also significant. When he hears Huon call him a *malfé* (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3360) [demon], he clarifies:

> Je ne fui onques anemis ne maufés;
> Ains te di bien, se me puist Dix salver,
> Je suis uns hom com uns autres carné. (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3364–3366)
>
> [I have never been a fiend or a demon; but I tell you truly, if God may save me, I am a human like others, of flesh and blood.]

Auberon places himself in one category with humans. The humanisation of fairies can be found in numerous other texts (e.g. *Partonopeus de Blois*; *Lancelot en prose*), in which magical abilities are learned like other arts instead of inherited and inherent in supernatural beings.

However, he is simultaneously placed above ordinary humans. Not only is he granted the power to manipulate the human world, but he also appears to be an almost god-like figure. When he tells Huon about the gifts granted by the fairy godmothers, he states:

> De paradis sai jou tous les secrés
> Et oi les angles la sus u ciel canter,
> Nen viellirai ja mais en mon aé,
> Et ens la fin, quant je vaurai finer,
> Aveuqes Dieu est mes sieges posés. (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3579–3583)
>
> [I know all the secrets of Paradise, and there I hear the angels sing in the heaven; I will never age in my lifetime, and in the end, when I want to finish it, my seat will be placed by God.]

He has intimate knowledge of Paradise, and he can choose the hour of his death. In addition, he will take his place beside God, a position of highest honour. It is an extraordinary aspect in *Huon de Bordeaux* that Auberon's magical abilities and his fairy nature seem to be perfectly compatible with Christian beliefs. He insists numerous times that his powers were granted by God: "Le grant pooir que Jhesus m'a donné" (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3674) [The great power which Jesus has given to me], and on a narrative level, the terms *féerie* and *Dieu* are often combined to explain the source of his fairy characteristics (Prosenc 1998, 44). The use of an appeal to the Christian faith in order to de-demonise fairies is a recurring theme in medieval literature, as seen in Marie's *Yonec*, discussed above, and in *Partonopeus de Blois*, in which Melior soothes Partonopeus's fears by proclaiming her faith (1159–1164). However, the portrayal of Auberon's fairy qualities as a gift of God is rather unusual. In this case, the text seems rather provocative: Auberon is clearly marked as a mythical being, yet he seems to also be placed in one tradition with God, Jesus, and saints. This tension between Christianity and mythology is resolved when Auberon declares in the end that he enters Paradise by the will of God himself:

> Je ne veul plus au siecle demorer,
> La sus m'en veul em paradis aler,
> Car Nostre Sires le m'a, certes, mandé,
> Et je ferai la soie volente. (*Huon de Bordeaux* 10510–10513)
>
> [I do not want to remain in the world; I want to go up to Paradise, because our Lord has demanded it of me, certainly, and I will comply to His will.]

In Auberon's case, the intertwining of Christianity with his fairy nature results in an increased emphasis on morality. Auberon chooses to help Huon only after he has successfully completed the test of the cup:[25]

25 The motif of the magic cup of truth can already be found in the Irish tale *Echtra Cormaic*, in which King Cormaic is removed to an otherworld and, after having completed some trials, is given a magical cup which will break if it hears a lie and repair itself when the truth is told.

> Car je te di en fine loiauté
> Nus n'i puet boire s'il n'est preudom, par Dé,
> Et nés et purs et sans pecié mortel. (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3691–3693)
>
> [Because I tell you sincerely that nobody can drink from it if he is not a worthy man, by God, and noble of birth, and true, and without mortal sin.]

In choosing Huon and granting him many magical gifts, Auberon is aligned with the tradition of female fairies who grant gifts to the hero but also impose taboos.[26] Among the gifts bestowed by Auberon is a horn with magical properties with which he can summon the fairy king (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3734–3743). At the same time, he places restrictions upon its use, warning Huon to never sound the horn unless he is in deadly peril (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3747–3752). However, when Huon breaks this taboo, there are no consequences. This is different when Huon breaks taboos which are related to his moral conduct. When he lies about his faith in order to escape execution at the hands of pagans (*Huon de Bordeaux* 5461–5467), Auberon refuses to help him. Similarly, when Huon gives in to his sexual desire towards Esclarmonde, a great tempest breaks out (*Huon de Bordeaux* 6821–6828) and Auberon refuses his help (*Huon de Bordeaux* 5605–5629). In this respect, Auberon functions as a moral authority in the text. Considering that Auberon intends to make Huon his heir in the fairy realm, this distinction between taboos which are related to a moral code and those which are not makes sense. Auberon needs proof of Huon's worthiness, and when his expectations are not met, he refuses to uphold his own promises.

The gifts which Auberon has received by the fairy godmothers make him one of the most powerful fairy figures in medieval literature. It is worth examining how he uses his gifts in the text. He does not merely act on his own behalf, but he serves as a helper to Huon, the protagonist of the text. Why he decides to help remains mostly unexplained. When Huon decides to speak to Auberon, it seems as though the little fairy king gains a strange satisfaction from that. In this respect, the realm of the fairy gains a courtly dimension, drawing it closer to the world of humanity. Adding to this is the portrayal of Auberon as a ruler within his court. Each time he comes to Huon's aid, he is accompanied by an entourage (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3866), and his palace, though presented as an otherworldly space, adheres to all the courtly ideals (*Huon de Bordeaux* 3619–3623). In this respect, the dynamic between Auberon and Huon could be compared to the relationship of a lord and his vassal in the feudal system (Rossi 1975, 356). In this, the fairy king is removed from the otherworldly imagination and placed within a mundane social role. This impression is reinforced by the fact that Auberon is looking for an heir, as becomes clear throughout the course of the text. He

26 In medieval fairy stories following the pattern of the *gestörte Mahrtenehe*, the female fairy usually issues a taboo, such as forbidding her human lover from speaking about or seeing her. When her human lover breaks this taboo – a necessary narrative step – they have to separate. In some cases, he can win the fairy back through heroic deeds.

chooses Huon for his moral superiority over many other humans and ultimately decides to leave this world and claim his place in Paradise.

As the texts considered above show, the helping fairies share some common features. They do not choose the hero unconditionally, as female fairies frequently do, but they test the humans before granting them their favour. Not only physical strength is necessary but, in some cases, also unquestionable morality. Here, the male fairies seem to function as a counterpart to the female fairies who choose their lover, impose a taboo later, and then require proof of their strength and valour in order to take them back. Furthermore, even though the male fairies considered in this section appear to be extraordinarily powerful, they owe their power to the favour of benevolent female fairies who grant them gifts at birth – regardless of the place of composition – and they share a close connection to God. Even though the figures are depicted quite distinctly, it is possible to connect them through their common mythological background.

4 The fairy as an abductor

While the male fairies considered in the section above either owe their powers to God or place them in his service, this is not the case for male fairies who are depicted in their otherworld. Instead of integrating fairies in a Christian belief system, the fairy otherworld, which is derived from Celtic mythology, stands in opposition to it. In this context, male fairies depicted in their own otherworldly realms are portrayed as substantially more threatening than the figures considered above. They appear to align more closely with the dangerous figures from mythological sources.[27] This section will examine the Anglo-Norman text *Gui de Warewic* and its Middle English adaptation *Guy of Warwick*, as well as the Middle English Breton lay *Sir Orfeo*, with a particular focus on the role of the fairy as an abductor.

In the Anglo-Norman tale *Gui de Warewic* and its Middle English adaptation *Guy of Warwick*, which closely follows the Anglo-Norman version,[28] the "chevalier faé" (*Gui de Warewic* 12229) [fairy knight] or "eluysch knyȝt" (*Guy of Warwick* 11317) [otherworldly knight] has taken the knight Amis as prisoner. The fairy is first introduced by a recounting by Amis's wife, describing their life in an enchanted country and how Amis was taken when he crossed the boundary of the forest (*Gui de Warewic*

27 In this, the male fairies considered in this section also stand in strong contrast to female fairies inhabiting the otherworlds, as they are often presented similar to courtly ladies, and they frequently assure the hero of their Christian faith.

28 This only refers to the content. As Julie Burton has shown in her article "Narrative Patterning and *Guy of Warwick*" (1992), the structure of some Middle English adaptations varies strongly from the Anglo-Norman text.

12224–12244; *Guy of Warwick* 11315–11332). Rainbrun, Gui's son, is determined to rescue Amis and crosses the border to the otherworld. He finds an entrance in a hillside (*Gui de Warewic* 12287–12292; *Guy of Warwick* 11379–11382), a motif reminiscent of the Celtic fairy mound, which is one of the most frequently used elements in Celtic tales (Patch 1950, 46). This first description of the otherworld shows some similarities to Marie's *Yonec*. However, while the figure of Muldumarec is associated with courtliness and Christian values, the fairy knight in *Gui de Warewic* is immediately cast in a more threatening light. His crime of abducting a human clearly marks him as dangerous. Furthermore, the otherworld seems to be set in opposition to Christian belief, which becomes apparent when Rainbrun crosses himself before entering the fairy hill[29] (*Gui de Warewic* 12289; *Guy of Warwick* 11381). This emphasised othering occurs when Rainbrun has to cross a swift river before he can reach the fairy knight's castle. Once again, he comes to a boundary which marks the Celtic otherworld (Patch 1950, 28–44), he crosses himself, and he continues to the rich and splendid palace (*Gui de Warewic* 12341–12364; *Guy of Warwick* 11427–11442).

One aspect in which the otherworld in *Gui de Warewic* and its Middle English version differ considerably from otherworlds presented in Celtic mythology, however, is that the depicted kingdom appears as a space which has no allure for mortals, even though it displays many otherworldly elements. Instead, it is presented as a place of danger in which a human is kept by enchantment (Byrne 2016, 53). After Rainbrun has found Amis, he is informed that the supernatural being cannot be killed by a mortal's weapon (*Gui de Warewic* 12436–12442; *Guy of Warwick* 11515–11520). In this portrayal, the fairy knight is depicted in a similar way as the otherworldly knight in *Amadas et Ydoine*. However, unlike that figure, the fairy knight in *Gui* and *Guy* does not function as a moral authority to test the protagonist. Instead, his only narrative function is to showcase Rainbun's strength and superiority since he is a "larger-than-life enemy, who, like Grendel's mother, is subject only to his own weapon" (Saunders 2010, 205). The adventure ends quite anticlimactically: there is a short description of the fight, after which the fairy knight submits to Rainbrun, promising to release all prisoners in exchange for his life (*Gui de Warewic* 12469–12498; *Guy of Warwick* 11546–11570). The ease with which Rainbrun triumphs raises questions about the true supernatural power of the fairy knight.

Compared to the romances and lays considered above, it becomes clear that, although the author of *Gui de Warewic* expressly builds on the Celtic otherworld by including typical topological elements, such as the overflowing splendour and the seemingly overpowered knight, the lack of detail and the anticlimactic fight suggest a

29 From a structural perspective, the text presents an opposition between two spaces separated through a noticeable border, see Lotmann (1989). In connection to the Celtic otherworld, the hill and the river are reminiscent of the borders between the human realm and the world beyond: the crossing is symbolic for the Christian world of humans, while passing the border brings the hero to the otherworld disconnected from the norms of this world.

diminished interest in the otherworld and the fairy knight as central themes. Corinne Saunders highlights this problematic constellation:

> Yet the programmatic and paradigmatic quality of this otherworldly adventure, the lack of development, suspense and enigma, renders the narrative ultimately unadventurous. Whereas Sir Orfeo is memorable for its evocation of a sinister otherworld of the undead, and for the eeriness of Heurodis' taking and of the faery hunt, the tale of Reinbrun seems pedestrian in its failure to invest detail with meaning. Its conventions are exotic, escapist, and readily escaped by the hero, rather than sinister, life-threatening and transformative in their effect. (Saunders 2010, 205)

As Saunders observes, the Middle English Breton lay *Sir Orfeo* uses the material available for the creation of the otherworld much more effectively by linking the motif of death with the fairy realm. As Elizabeth Allen (2019) has shown, the crossing to the otherworld can actually be interpreted as a descent to an underworld, where people are exhibited in various states of torture, mutilation, and in different scenarios of death.[30] Early research on this lay has focused heavily on examining multiple literary traditions – mainly Celtic, classical, religious, and historiographical – as potential sources.[31] In this sinister representation of the fairy king, the folkloric element of the fairy who seizes a human of their choosing is taken to an extreme. This is supported by the fact that Heurodis, the king's wife, falls asleep at noon, much like the princess in *Sir Degaré*. The fairy king comes to her in a dream while she sleeps beneath an "ympe-tree" (*Sir Orfeo* 70), a grafted tree. In this respect, *Sir Orfeo* closely resembles the lay of *Tydorel*. In both texts, the fairy king uses the liminal space to approach the queen, and he is depicted in a wonderous manner:

> Tho com her king, also blive,
> With an hundred knightes and mo,
> And damisels an hundred also,
> Al on snowe-white stedes;
> As white as milke were her wedes.
> Y no seighe never yete before
> So fair creatours y-core.
> The king hadde a croun on hed;
> It nas of silver, no of gold red,
> Ac it was of precious ston –
> As bright as the sonne it schon. (*Sir Orfeo* 142–152)

> [There came the king, just as quickly, with a hundred knights and more, and also a hundred maidens, all on white steeds; their garments were as white as milk. I have never before seen

30 Allen does not only compare the otherworld with the world of death, but also Orfeo's court which is depicted as completely static. As opposed to the otherworld, Orfeo's kingdom is presented as a paradise, an "artifice produced by the king's music [i.e. his harp]" (Allen 2019, 131). She connects this with the threat of a fading genealogy: even when Heurodis returns to the kingdom, she is barren. Orfeo appoints his steward as his heir, thus giving up the expectation of producing an heir himself.
31 See e.g. Davies (1936; 1961); Friedman (1966); Knapp (1968).

such a fair and exquisite creature. The king had a crown on his head; it was not of silver or red gold, but it was made of precious gems – it shone as bright as the sun.]

In this description, the fairy king is clearly marked as an otherworldly being. His appearance with an entourage of several hundred knights and ladies recalls the story of *Amadas et Ydoine* at the graveyard. Furthermore, Heurodis describes the fairy king as the most beautiful creature she has ever encountered – a motif which appears in connection with all otherworldly fairy knights. Additionally, he is adorned with a crown made of the most precious gems, which radiates light. This foreshadows the depiction of the fairy king's otherworldly realm later in the text, when Orfeo follows the hunting party through an entrance in a rock:

> Al that lond was ever light,
> For when it schuld be therk and night,
> The riche stones light gonne
> As bright as doth at none the sonne. (*Sir Orfeo* 369–372)
>
> [This whole country was always bright, because when it should be dark and night, the precious stones began to shine as bright as the sun at noon.]

It becomes clear in the very beginning that Heurodis will have no chance of escaping the fairy king: if she refuses to come with him, he will take her by force. It can be assumed that the different mutilated and dead bodies which Orfeo sees in the fairy king's palace have suffered just such a fate (*Sir Orfeo* 387–404). Immediately after Heurodis wakes up from her dream, the audience is confronted with a disturbing scene:

> Ac, as sone as sche gan awake,
> Sche crid, and lothly bere gan make;
> Sche froted hir honden and hir fete,
> And crached hir visage – it bled wete –
> Hir riche robe hye al to-rett
> And was reveyd out of hir wit. (*Sir Orfeo* 77–82)
>
> [But as soon as she woke up, she cried and cried out loathsomely; she rubbed her hands and feet, and she scratched her face – it bled profusely – she tore her robe all to pieces, and she was driven out of her mind.]

As Saunders has shown, Heurodis's reaction is the result of the "most jarring and intrusive action" (2001, 231) within the text. Even though the fairy king does not physically harm her, and it remains unclear whether her soul has been taken or she merely experienced a dream vision, this invasion of her mind is the first manifestation of her eventual physical abduction. Heurodis's reaction, as described in the text, reflects this violation: "crying out suggests fear; scratching her face and rending her garments looks like mourning; rubbing her limbs seems like madness" (Allen 2019, 129). The intensity of the scene, coupled with Heurodis's scattered reaction, suggests that her unwilling displacement – she tells Orfeo that the fairy king took her, “Wold ich, nold ich” (*Sir Orfeo* 154) [whether I wanted it or not] – is an act of aggression. It becomes clear that the intrusion itself, rather than the content of the fairy king’s speech, caused the queen such profound disturbance.

> Loke, dame, tomorwe thatow be
> Right here under this ympe-tre,
> And than thou schalt with ous go
> And live with ous evermo.
> And yif thou makest ous y-let,
> Whar thou be, thou worst y-fet,
> And totore thine limes al
> That nothing help the no schal;
> And thei thou best so totorn,
> Yete thou worst with ous y-born. (*Sir Orfeo* 165–174)
>
> [Lady, see to it that you will be right underneath this grafted tree tomorrow, and then you shall go with us and live with us forever. And if you make a hindrance of us, you will be fetched, wherever you might be, and all your limbs will be torn apart, so that nothing shall help you. And even if you are so torn, you will still be taken with us.]

Even though the fairy king does threaten to dismember Heurodis if she does not comply with his wishes, the sense of danger is weakened by the delay. Instead, it seems like the fear of the supernatural is internalised in the figure of Heurodis. The world of fairies is threatening and unfamiliar and being confronted with it so unexpectedly causes Heurodis to temporarily lose her mind.

It seems rather odd that the fairy king should warn Heurodis of her kidnapping before he actually takes her.[32] The arbitrariness of fairies is one of their most characteristic features in medieval literature, as has been shown above. Mostly, their actions lack motivation or are driven solely by sensual desire. In this case, the fairy king seems to desire Heurodis as part of his collection because he admires her beauty. This becomes apparent when Orfeo, disguised as a haggard minstrel, comes to the otherworld to reclaim his wife. Despite the fairy king having given his word, he is clearly dismayed:

> A sori couple of you it were,
> For thou art lene, row and blac,
> And sche is lovesum, withouten lac;
> A lothlich thing it were, forthi,
> To sen hir in thi compayni. (*Sir Orfeo* 458–462)

32 Andrea G. Pisani Babich reads this delay as a challenge for Orfeo: by stealing Heurodis, who is under the protection of a thousand knights, the fairy king proves his superiority over the human realm and destroys the orderly kingdom of another powerful ruler (Pisani Babich 1998, 479). This reading seems rather unconvincing since there is no evidence in the text to support it.

> [You would be an ill-matched couple, because you are lean, rough, and dirty, and she is beautiful without blemish; therefore, it would be a loathly thing to see her in your company.]

Saunders offers a convincing interpretation of the fairy king's motivation, which, in comparison to the fairies considered above, moves the fairy king closer to the dangerous and mythical figures of fairies.[33] He engages in the Wild Hunt, which has its equivalent in *Amadas et Ydoine*. While Orfeo is in the wild, he occasionally catches glimpses of the fairy king and his company. The victims seem arbitrarily chosen at this point, but when considered alongside with the horrific display of bodies in the fairy realm – which will be explored later in this chapter – it becomes clear that they are deliberately selected by the fairy king (Williams 2012, 545). The design of the hunt is shown very clearly in the text:

> He might se him bisides,
> Oft in hot undertides,
> The king o fairy with his rout
> Com to hunt him al about
> With dim cri and bloweing,
> And houndes also with him berking;
> Ac no best thai no nome,
> No never he nist whider they bicome [. . .] (*Sir Orfeo* 281–288)

> [He could see them nearby, the king of fairyland with his company, who had come to hunt all around with dim cries and horn-blowing, and he also had barking dogs with him; but they took no beast, nor did he ever know where they went.]

In this passage, it is specified that the otherworldly hunt takes place "in hot undertides," the exact time when Heurodis first encountered the fairy king (*Sir Orfeo* 65). This suggests that Orfeo witnesses the fairies' hunt for other humans, abducted just like his wife, an impression reinforced by the fact that the fairies do not take any beasts. However, in comparison with the Wild Hunt depicted in *Amadas et Ydoine*, the Middle English text reveals a more threatening aspect: the fairies are not merely seeking the dead to bring to the otherworld. Instead, they also choose the living and force them to come with them. When Heurodis is taken, she has no chance of escape, even though she is surrounded by a thousand knights. In this immense display of power, it becomes clear that the otherworldly forces are not to be defeated by human ones. Humans are abducted at will, and the gallery of human bodies which Orfeo encounters

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33 The question of the fairy king's motivation has already been posed by Constance Davies (1961), who states that Heurodis could not have been taken for love, since the fairy king already has a queen. This point is taken up by James F. Knapp (1968). However, Saunders recognises that "neither possession of a wife nor the commitment of the beloved to another have ever negated the possibility of love, particularly not in a genre and period where Tristram and Launcelot represent the archetypal lovers; nor is there any reason why the king of faery should imitate human morality – indeed, in taking Heurodis, he does not do so" (2001, 230).

in the fairy king's realm illustrates that the fairies "both are drawn to suffering and produce it" (Williams 2012, 545).

> Than he gan bihold about al,
> And seighe liggeand within the wal
> Of folk that were thider y-brought
> And thought dede, and nare nought.
> Sum stode withouten hade,
> And sum non armes nade,
> And sum thurth the bodi hadde wounde,
> And sum lay wode, y-bounde,
> And sum armed on hors sete,
> And sum astrangled as thai ete;
> And sum were in water adreynt,
> And sum with fire al forschreynt.
> Wives ther lay on childe bedde,
> Sum ded and sum awedde,
> And wonder fele ther lay bisides
> Right as thai slepe her undertides;
> Eche was thus in this warld y-nome,
> With fairi thider y-come. (*Sir Orfeo* 387–404)

> [Then he beheld everything around him, and he saw people lying within the wall who had been brought there and who seemed dead but were not. Some were standing without a head, and some had no arms, and some had wounds through their bodies, and some were lying there, mad and bound, and some were sitting armed on horses, and some choked as they ate; and some were drowned in water, and some were all shrivelled through fire. Wives lay there in childbed, some dead and some driven mad, and wonderous many lay beside them just like they were sleeping at noon; each had been taken to this world like this and had come there with the fairies.]

In this horrific display of bodies, there is one intriguing element which eludes clear explanation: the bodies appear to be dead, but despite appearing decapitated or burned, they are actually alive. Dorena Allen explains this contradiction through the mythological belief from the British Isles, where fairies are said to take the dying with them and leave behind unmoving changelings in their place (1964, 104). This reading may also help explain the resurrection of the dismembered knight in *L'Âtre Périlleux*: the fairy knight possesses the power to remove the human from this world to the otherworld and, similarly, has the power to return him unscathed. The gallery also serves as a means of othering. Tara Williams has closely examined the role of the frozen victims, arguing persuasively that it is proof of the fairies' morality – one that stands in opposition to human morality: "Although the suffering figures might appear to confirm his [i.e. the fairy king's] lack of ethics (because he caused the suffering and/or found it appealing), the spectacle ironically reinforces that he adheres to at least one moral standard: keeping his word" (Williams 2012, 546). The fairy king's threat to Heurodis that she would be taken violently if she refused is proven to be true: some of the bodies are missing limbs or are otherwise mutilated, which suggests that the fairies took them by force.

While the fairy king's displays of power have so far been used for the abduction of humans, this works against him towards the end of the text. When Orfeo comes to the fairy king's court disguised as a minstrel, he enters a courtly sphere which closely resembles the human one.[34] The fairy king grants a rash boon in exchange for a song (*Sir Orfeo* 449–452), a motif which is often found in medieval literature of various cultural circuits.[35] However, there is one striking difference to the Old French fairy stories considered above: Orfeo does not fight the fairy king in order to win back his wife. Instead, he holds the fairy king to his promise which, as established earlier, must be kept (*Sir Orfeo* 463–468). Even though the fairy king was marked through his cruelty and arbitrariness before, he is somewhat de-demonised in this context. His obligation to keep his word places him in one line with human kings like Marke and Arthur. However, the rash boon often underscores the inadequacy of a king who is not able to protect his wife from abduction. Consequently, the fairy king himself is imagined as an unsatisfactory ruler, inferior to the human king Orfeo.

5 Conclusion

In the considerations above, it has become clear that, despite the separation of literary traditions by language, space, and time, the influence of a shared mythology created strong interferences across Old French, Anglo-Norman, and Middle English literature. Even if the specific connections can hardly be traced due to the scant transmission of Celtic texts, the movement and transference of literary motifs and structures are apparent. Depending on the intended function of the fairy figure, different elements from Celtic mythology were used and reinterpreted. This contribution demonstrates how this heterogenous group of figures displays connections in certain characteristics. Specifically, male fairies seem to serve two main purposes in medieval texts. They either test the heroes – both morally and physically – or they father supernatural children who bear the marks of their fairy lineage. They are seldom presented as unproblematic figures. Their otherworldly nature makes it necessary for them to proclaim their faith in God in order to avoid being placed in the same category as demonic beings. There are some motifs – such as the declaration of enduring love, the role of the helper, and the promise of the sexual encounter – which reappear frequently.

34 The otherworld in *Sir Orfeo* is clearly marked as Celtic and bears strong similarities to the otherworld depicted in *Gui de Warewic*, as E. B. Lyle (1979) shows.

35 For example, compare Chrétien de Troyes's *Le Chevalier de la Charrette* (168–179), Geoffrey Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* (989–998), or Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan* (13184–13196).

However, it is striking that, despite the shared textual tradition across different cultural circuits, male fairies in Middle English literature are depicted in a much more sinister manner compared to their Old French and Anglo-Norman counterparts. It can be hypothesised – although it is almost impossible to confirm this – that the integration of the mythical figure of the male fairy into a literary tradition shaped by Christianity posed a problem which was increasingly difficult to reconcile in the context of medieval romance, especially in the later Middle Ages. This may also explain why male fairies virtually disappear from later Middle English texts. It is true that there are some ambiguous figures such as Graysteel in *Eger and Grime* (around 1450), or the Green Knight, Gawain's opponent in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (late fourteenth century), the latter of which, however, is not inherently magical, but enchanted by Morgan le Fay. The source of Graysteel's waning and waxing powers remain unexplained, but evidence of his possible fairy nature is so scant that I am hesitant to place him in the same tradition as figures like the fairy king in *Sir Orfeo*. The difficulty of including male fairies in medieval literature becomes apparent when considering Middle High German literature. While female fairies appear frequently in romances,[36] there are no clear examples of male fairies. The closest equivalent is probably Joram in Wirnt von Grafenberg's *Wigalois*, who takes Gawan to his kingdom, but he is never clearly described as a fairy in the text. While the figure displays parallels with descriptions of male fairies, he certainly cannot be considered one himself (Selmayr 2017, 88). Although this chapter provides only a brief overview of one phenomenon that developed across different countries and languages, it shows the value of placing these texts in a single broader tradition for interpretation and understanding. In connecting different philological fields, it is possible to create a more comprehensive picture of medieval literature.

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36 See, for example, *Partonopier und Meliur* by Konrad von Würzburg, Konrad von Stoffeln's *Gauriel von Muntabel*, or *Die Königin vom brennenden See.*

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History and Politics of Connected and Connecting Philology

Nikola Wenner

Connecting Two Assyrian Dictionary Projects (1930–1935): James Henry Breasted and Bruno Meissner

Abstract: In the 1930s, James Henry Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute of Chicago, and Bruno Meissner, professor for Assyriology in Berlin, were both leading Assyrian dictionary projects. The correspondence between Breasted and Meissner shows that they were not competing but instead connecting their projects. When Breasted approached Meissner, he was looking for collaborators for the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD), the first *big science* project of Assyriology. On the other hand, Meissner was working on a concise dictionary (*Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*). This chapter analyses the interaction between the two scholars and argues that their relationship was unique, especially when compared to the CAD's association with other scholars. This chapter also examines the connection between two philological projects, and in doing so, offers a historical study of *Connected Philology*.

Keywords: big science, cooperation, collaboration, connection, Assyriology, dictionary writing

Note: This chapter is based on archival records I studied during my research visits to Berlin, Chicago, Leipzig, and New Haven. Firstly, I want to thank my graduate school, the IDK Philology, for funding these trips. Secondly, I wish to express my gratitude to the local archivists for giving me access to these materials, especially Dr Anne Flannery, archivist of the ISAC, the archive team of the Humboldt University of Berlin, Prof Dr Michael Streck (whose department at Leipzig University holds the remains of Meissner's lexicographical *Nachlass*), as well as Dr Agnete Lassen and Dr Ben Foster who are responsible for the letters kept at the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Yale University. Furthermore, I want to thank my supervisors at LMU Munich, Prof Dr Kärin Nickelsen and Prof Dr Karen Radner and my colleagues at IDK Philology and the chair of History of Science in Munich for their advice and enriching discussions while working on this chapter. I am extremely grateful for the language editing of this chapter done by Denise Bolton and Nanina Föhr. I had the idea for this chapter when I was in Chicago in autumn 2023, and Anne Flannery handed me the correspondence between Meissner and Breasted. I discussed the contents of these letters and Meissner's personal file with Dr Peter Raulwing, a specialist in the history of Assyriology during and after the Nazi era in Germany, who was kind enough to host me during my research visit in Chicago and provide me with many insights on his research as well as some excellent red wine.

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1 Two independent Assyrian Dictionary Projects

The history of science[1] provides examples of *Connected Philology* in the sense that two or more philological disciplines, projects, or individuals interacted; they informed each other, incorporated each other's methods and practices, cooperated, or even collaborated. Large-scale projects are particularly interesting case studies since they relied on tackling scientific tasks in a team. This meant that in smaller disciplines, such as Egyptology or Assyriology, scholars from other universities, institutions, and sometimes even different countries cooperated in a joint effort.

The first large-scale project of Assyriology was the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD) project of the former Oriental Institute (OI)[2] in Chicago (Roth et al. 1956–2010). James Henry Breasted (1865–1935), Egyptologist and director of the OI in Chicago, engaged Assyriologists from North America and Europe to work on a dictionary of the Assyrian Akkadian, which was only completed in 2010. The director's correspondences illuminate how scholars interacted with each other in the early times of the CAD. The later history of the dictionary, especially its development in the 1950s and 1960s, is depicted by Erica Reiner (2002), one of the editors of the CAD. However, the early history of the dictionary remains largely unexplored.[3] Breasted decided to compile the dictionary in a team and to include cooperation partners in the late 1920s and 1930s. Therefore, a study of how Breasted incorporated others offers a historical analysis of Connected Philology alongside insights into the early history of the CAD.

Among Breasted's correspondences with cooperation partners for the CAD, there is one unique example especially worth investigating: in September 1930, Breasted wrote to Bruno Meissner (1868–1947), professor for Assyriology and Semitic Studies at Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität[4] in Berlin:

> May I express to you our pleasure in cooperating with you in this great responsibility for the production of an adequate Assyrian Dictionary? In response to your inquiry I am glad to say that our plans are advancing rapidly and the Dictionary is making excellent progress. We have secured the cooperation of eighteen additional collaborators (fourteen of whom are abroad), besides our Chicago staff [. . .]. We should be grateful for any suggestions you might have to offer, and if there is

1 Here, the term *science* is used in the broad sense of the German term *Wissenschaft,* which also includes the humanities.

2 Since 2023, the Institute for the Study of Ancient Culture (ISAC). When discussing the Oriental Institute during Breasted and Meissner's time, I will refer to it with the abbreviation of the former name: OI.

3 With the exception of Meade (1974, 97–101), who describes the beginnings of the CAD based on published sources. In contrast, this chapter investigates archival records such as letters and focuses on the policies of the OI regarding the CAD project.

4 In 1949, Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität was renamed Humboldt University of Berlin.

> anything that we can do which would be of assistance to you in your own Dictionary work I should be interested to hear of it. (Breasted to Meissner on 17 September 1930)[5]

This letter expresses that Meissner was also compiling an Assyrian Dictionary in the 1930s. While Breasted was looking for collaborators for the Assyrian Dictionary project of the OI (later called *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, or short CAD), Meissner was working on a concise Assyrian dictionary in Berlin. At first glance, one might assume that Breasted and Meissner acted as competitors because of the similarity of their projects. However, the quote above suggests that Breasted and Meissner cooperated instead of competing. A closer look at the interaction between Breasted and Meissner reveals that neither the terms *competition* nor *cooperation* are fitting descriptions of their interaction. Their relationship was much more complex. I will, therefore, first introduce the projects and protagonists, and then explore their relationship. This chapter investigates the extent of their association and argues that they did *connect*.

2 Why compile an Assyrian Dictionary?

First, it is essential to explain how the situation of two concurrent Assyrian dictionary projects came to be in order to understand the dynamics between Breasted and Meissner. Why were both parties compiling a dictionary of the Akkadian language, of which Assyrian is a prominent dialect (the other being Babylonian)? Despite multiple attempts to compile one, since the breakthrough in deciphering cuneiform[6] in 1857, no sufficient dictionary had been completed by the beginning of the twentieth century. For example, Edwin Norris (1795–1872) published the first three volumes of an *Assyrian Dictionary* (1869–1872) but died before he could complete his task. The German Assyriologist Friedrich Delitzsch (1850–1922) tried to compile a dictionary based on all published and many unpublished cuneiform texts. However, the first three volumes of the resulting work (*Assyrisches Wörterbuch zur gesamten bisher veröffentlichten Keilschriftliteratur* 1887–1890) included many long discursions, making the books impractical for looking up words. Delitzsch soon realised that new cuneiform texts were being found and translated on a regular basis, repeatedly outdating his work. He eventually gave up on the idea of a dictionary based on a complete collection of cuneiform texts. Instead, Delitzsch wrote a concise dictionary (*Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* 1896). Except for these two attempts by Norris and Delitzsch at producing thorough dictionaries, only smaller lexicographical studies or concise dictio-

5 Emphasis in the original letter. All translations are my own if not indicated otherwise. At the end of this chapter, the two most relevant letters by Breasted and Meissner are fully transcribed in their original languages: one in German and the other in English.

6 Cuneiform is the wedge-shaped script that was used to write Akkadian and other languages such as Sumerian and Hittite.

naries were published. No single work of that time included all Akkadian words. Therefore, students of Assyriology had to consult various individual publications when translating cuneiform texts. In addition, individuals set up private lexicographical collections, usually in the form of card indexes (Meissner 1931a, 1–6; Breasted 1933, 378–383).

Both Meissner and Breasted recognised the need for an updated and extended Assyrian Dictionary that could replace the practice of using individual card indexes. Such a dictionary would make translating Assyrian Akkadian easier and the subject more accessible. Both parties aimed to fill this gap and thereby create an essential element of the necessary infrastructure[7] for the field, an infrastructure that was already there or, at least, a work in progress in other (older[8]) disciplines.

Projects compiling dictionaries were quite popular in the humanities from the late nineteenth century through the first half of the twentieth century, especially in Germany. However, many of these projects faced difficulties similar to those of the lexicographical studies described above. An early example is the German Dictionary (*Deutsches Wörterbuch*) by Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, often called "Grimmsches Wörterbuch." The first volume was published in 1852, the last in 1961, more than a hundred years after the project's initiation in 1838. Due to the long duration of the process, the German Dictionary was reorganised as a larger collaboration in 1908 (Hoffmann 2002, 113). The large scale of such projects called for a new organised work structure, best described with the modern term *big science*.

This term was initially coined by Derek John de Solla Price (1986) to describe large-scale projects in the natural sciences, particularly the Manhattan Project (Szöllösi-Janze and Trischler 1990, 13–14). Rüdiger von Bruch has argued that the first big science projects can be found in the humanities (2005, 128); the initiator of two large-scale projects in Ancient History, Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), called the new work structure "Großwissenschaft"[9] [big science]. His colleague Adolf von Harnack (1851–

7 In the sense of introductory books, dictionaries, important text editions, institutions, societies, conferences, and journals for a scientific discipline.

8 Assyriology was a young academic discipline at the beginning of the twentieth century: Eberhard Schrader was the first scholar of cuneiform who received the call as professor for the Studies of Semitic Languages at a German university (Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin) in 1875, even though Schrader originally studied the Old Testament. The first professionally educated Assyriologist was Friedrich Delitzsch, having qualified as a professor of Assyriology in Leipzig in 1874 (Renger 1979, 152–153). In the United States of America, the first Assyriologist was appointed to a professorship of Semitics at Johns Hopkins University in 1883; Paul Haupt had previously finished his studies in Leipzig under Friedrich Delitzsch (Foster 2006, 56–57).

9 "Auch die Wissenschaft hat ihr soziales Problem; wie der Großstaat oder die Großindustrie, so ist die Großwissenschaft, die nicht von Einem geleistet, aber von Einem geleitet wird, ein notwendiges Element unserer Kulturentwicklung" [Science, too, has a social problem; like the large state or large-scale industry, large-scale science, which is not performed by one person but directed by one person,

1930) used the term "Großbetrieb der Wissenschaft"[10] [large scientific enterprise] to describe large-scale editions and dictionary projects like *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (initiated in 1853 by Mommsen) or *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (initiated in 1893 by Eduard Wölfflin and Mommsen). Both terms describe a work form in which multiple people (not necessarily scholars[11]) join forces under one leading organiser to accomplish large-scale scientific tasks. In addition to the Latin dictionary *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (first proposed in 1857, publishing agreement with the Oxford University Press in 1879) and the Egyptian Dictionary (originally *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, initiated by Ermann in 1897) were structured like this. The number[12] and scale of these projects and the fact that they received funding reflect how important the compilation of dictionaries was at the time. Furthermore, these projects were considered prestigious:[13] firstly, they were crucial contributions to the infrastructure of the humanities, and secondly, they connected various scholars and students in order to accomplish the joint task.

To sum up, Breasted and Meissner started their projects independently and without initially being aware of the existence of the other project. Both recognised the need of an updated Assyrian dictionary, and, therefore, aimed to provide the field with an adequate one. At the same time, such projects had already been initiated for other philological disciplines, especially in Germany. Hence, the scholars were influenced by other philologies, such as Latin, English, and German Studies.

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is a necessary element of our cultural development] said Mommsen in his response to Harnack's inaugural speech for the Prussian Academy of Sciences (von Harnack 2001 [1890], 168–169).

10 "Den Großbetrieb der Wissenschaft, den das Zeitalter forderte, hat sie [die Akademie] aufgenommen und im Laufe der letzten Jahrzehnte mehr als zwanzig umfassende Unternehmungen ins Werk gesetzt, welche die Kräfte des einzelnen Mannes übersteigen und Menschenalter zu ihrer Durchführung erheischen" (von Harnack 2001 [1900], 193) [It [the Academy] has taken up the great enterprise of science demanded by the age and, in the course of the last decades, has launched more than twenty comprehensive undertakings that exceed the powers of the individual man and require ages to realise].

11 In addition to specialists, students, volunteers, and family members often worked for such projects (Jonker 2002, 131; Rebenich 1997, 88).

12 The dictionaries mentioned here are only examples. There were more dictionary projects emerging in the nineteenth century in Germany, such as *Mittelhochdeutsches Wörterbuch* (BMZ) or *Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch* (Hoffmann 2002, 101; Kössinger 2016).

13 In a letter to Breasted, Arno Poebel, a later editor of the CAD, suggested that he compile a list of Sumerian ideograms for the CAD. He explicitly mentions how this project would be a valuable contribution to the infrastructure of the field and add to the prestige of the Oriental Institute: "On the other hand, this list of ideograms, which, for the time being, would serve only the purposes of the Dictionary project, at some later time could be published separately and thus an old desideratum of Assyriologists could be realized. This would certainly greatly add to the prestige of the Institute" (Poebel to Breasted on 1 February 1932). Three years later, Poebel declares: "If we continue our work in the manner described, the writer of this report feels that he can state with full responsibility that the Dictionary will give American scholarship added prestige" (Poebel's report about "the Importance and the Needs of the Assyrian Dictionary Project of the Oriental Institute" on 27 December 1935).

So much for the general reasons for compiling an Assyrian dictionary. But what were Breasted's and Meissner's specific reasons for beginning Assyrian Dictionary projects? What qualifications did they have for working on a dictionary? How were the projects structured, which philological practices were used, and what role did Meissner and Breasted play within these projects? By answering these questions, I will examine the similarities and differences of the projects in order to analyse the reasons for their interaction. The following pages will evaluate the careers of the two scholars and the development of their respective projects as they relate to each other.

2.1 James Henry Breasted and the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary

By training, James Henry Breasted was not an Assyriologist but an Egyptologist.[14] He originally started studying theology under William Rainey Harper (1856–1906), a professor of Hebrew at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Harper encouraged Breasted to study Egyptology in Berlin because the emerging discipline was not taught in the United States at the time. Breasted followed his advice and received his doctorate from Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin in August 1894. He was trained and supervised by Professor Adolf Erman (1854–1937), who employed his students, including Breasted, to collect and translate texts for the Egyptian Dictionary (Abt 2011, 24–40, 78–79; Gertzen 2013, 223–244).[15] After completing his PhD and a subsequent trip to Egypt, Breasted returned to the United States. His former teacher at Yale, Harper, had been appointed president of the University of Chicago. Harper wanted to expand the department for the studies of Semitic languages and hired Breasted as an Egyptologist. Breasted was the first person to teach Egyptology in the United States. According to him, there were not sufficient teaching materials for English-speaking students available, so he began to create his own;[16] most prominent were his editions of the

14 Breasted and his works have been critically discussed recently. For example, Conrad (2024, 125) drew attention to Breasted's racist theories about the Egyptians belonging to the "white race" (Breasted 1926b, 43). Overall, Breasted argued that the roots of Western civilisation lay in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and, therefore, archaeological sites in these regions should be secured by European and American excavators (Breasted 2010 [1919], 115–117). In addition to these critical impulses, Jeffrey Abt provided a thoroughly researched biography of Breasted in *American Egyptologist* (2011) which superseded the first thorough biography of Breasted, written by his son Charles Breasted (1943). Short biographies can be found in Emberling (2010, 148), Larson (2010, 13), and Bierbrier (2012, 78–79), among others.

15 Breasted later secured funding for the Egyptian Dictionary from John Davidson Rockefeller Jr. For detailed information on Erman, the Egyptian Dictionary project, and Breasted's involvement in Erman's project, see Gertzen (2013, 194–260).

16 Breasted wrote in the preface of Luckenbill's *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*: "The present writer [i.e. Breasted], returning in 1895 from oriental studies in Europe and the Near East, found himself entirely without the tools and instrumentalities for teaching the ancient cultures he was sup-

Egyptian historical records with an English translation and a book on the history of Ancient Egypt.[17] However, Breasted aimed not only to establish Egyptology as a discipline taught in the United States. Inspired by German academic institutions, he wanted to create an American institute for the wide range of what was then called "Oriental Studies." In 1919, he founded the Oriental Institute (OI) in Chicago with funding from the American philanthropist John Davidson Rockefeller Jr. (1874–1960)[18] (Abt 2011, 120–121, 228–231). Breasted acted as the OI's director, supervising projects across various disciplines, including Assyriology. He described the first years after the founding of the OI as follows:

> Following closely upon the conclusion of the war, therefore, our interests were absorbed in the development of our new Institute which was to mobilize the old Department of Oriental Languages and transform it into the investigating staff of a research laboratory. Prominent in its scientific program, as we desired to see it develop, was the compilation of an Assyrian-Babylonian Dictionary based for the first time on *all* of the known cuneiform documents. It was placed under the able editorship of Professor D. D. Luckenbill. (Breasted 1926a, viii)

Having worked for the Egyptian Dictionary in Berlin, Breasted initiated a similar project for Assyrian Akkadian and made compiling an Assyrian dictionary a central task of the newly formed OI. Since Breasted was an Egyptologist, he appointed his assistant, the Assyriologist Daniel David Luckenbill (1881–1927), as the first editor of the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* (CAD). The project was innovative for two reasons: its methodological approach and the fact that it was compiled by a team.

The project used the same method as the *Oxford English Dictionary*, Erman's *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, and the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*.[19] This included collecting all known cuneiform texts, similar to Delitzsch's approach for his never finished *Assyrisches Wörterbuch zur gesamten bisher veröffentlichten Keilschriftliteratur* (1887–1890). Furthermore, the CAD aimed to investigate the interpretation of words in different contexts, depending on the text category (legal, administrative, mythological, etc.) and any possible changes in the meaning of words over time. Every collected text was divided into smaller paragraphs that were printed on file cards with translitera-

posed to represent, especially the Egyptian. The University of Chicago was in 1895 the first and at that time the only university of America to offer studies in Egyptian language and civilization. The first task was an obvious one: to make the historical documents of ancient Egypt accessible in English. The task consumed ten years" (Breasted 1926a, vii).

17 See Breasted's publications: *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest* (Breasted 1905) and *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest* (Breasted 1906–1907).

18 The Rockefeller family was already supporting the University of Chicago financially and took an interest in the exploration of the "Bible Lands," as Breasted called them in his letter to Rockefeller on 30 May 1903 (Abt 2011, 120–121).

19 It should be noted that the *Egyptian Dictionary* is the only other dictionary that, as a first step, had to edit and translate texts. As Jonker already pointed out, the Latin dictionary *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* worked with texts that had been known for 300 years and repeatedly edited (2002, 129 n. 6).

tion and translation. In the next step, one word was highlighted and grammatically classified on each file card (see Figure. 1; Breasted 1922, 288–305; 1933, 383–387). The intention was that multiple file cards on the same Akkadian word would provide insights into the word's interpretation. Possible word meanings could be narrowed down by comparing the cards. For example, Luckenbill was able to correct a former translation of the Akkadian word *abul zinim* by using the CAD file cards. Luckenbill wrote the following philological comment on one of his translations of a cuneiform text:

> But Meissner's rendering of *abul zinim* by "Kleinvieh-Tor" is questionable. [. . .] My suggestion that it was a postern gate is based on the Great Monolith Inscription of Assur-nâsir-pal (LAR, I, §493), Col. V, 11. 32 f., where we read: "Its beams he shall not break, its doorposts he shall not tear out, the passage of its *zini*-gate he shall not block (*mu-ṣi bâb zi-ni-ša la i-ka-si-ir*), its door he shall not close." Certainly in this inscription a sheep-gate would be out of the question. One does not need to be a specialist in military architecture to realize the importance of the postern. (Luckenbill 1927b, 212)

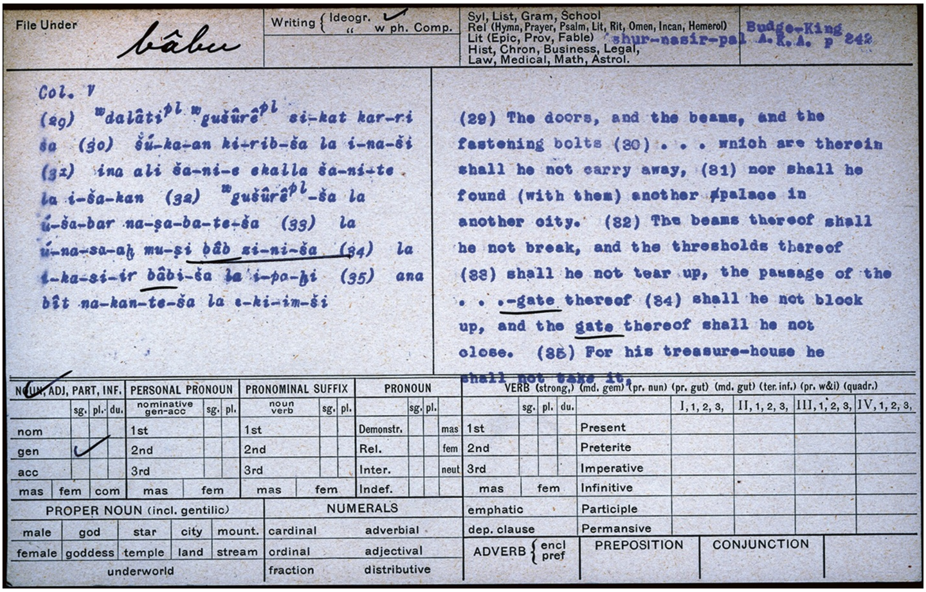

Figure 1: CAD file card for the word *bâbu* (gate): the inspected word is written in the upper left corner of the card and underlined in the following transliteration (left box) and translation (right box) of the text passage. The ticks in the table at the bottom of the card give grammatical information about the inspected word.

Luckenbill compared the meaning of *abul zinim* from a historical record of king Irishum to *bâb zini-ša* (see CAD file card, Figure 1) from a historical record of king Assurnasirpal. Due to the military context of the second text, he interpreted the word as "postern gate" (a type of fortification) instead of "Kleinviehtor" [gate for small livestock]. This shows that the CAD method relied on collecting and comparing texts to get more precise translations of the words.

That the dictionary was the result of the work of a team was not only unique for compiling an Assyrian dictionary but also for any other projects in Assyriology at that time.[20] From Breasted's experience with the *Egyptian Dictionary*, he knew that such a "great task" must not be tackled by one person alone, as in previous dictionary projects of the Akkadian language (Breasted 1922, 305; 1933, 381). He formed a team in Chicago to prepare the file cards and to collect and translate cuneiform texts and secured cooperation from American scholars at other universities. They were asked to provide the OI with unpublished copies and translations of texts. Since Breasted was an Egyptologist, the Assyriologist and assistant director of the OI, Luckenbill, took on the leadership of the project (Breasted 1933, 378–383, 387). The CAD not only used the same method as the Egyptian or Latin dictionary projects in Berlin but was also organised in the same way. This makes the CAD the first big science project of Assyriology.

However, as Reiner has argued, the staff members underestimated the task of compiling such a dictionary in the early history of the CAD (2002, xv). For example, Luckenbill wrote the following about the timeline and the collaborators' task on the CAD:

> I am hoping that with my assistants and with the help of a few more collaborators the preliminary task of filing the cards will be completed by the end of 1929. If so I shall ask for an indefinite leave to bring the work to completion. I daresay this will take from a year to a year and a half. (Luckenbill to Dougherty on 11 March 1927)

Luckenbill believed he could write the dictionary by himself within, at most, one and a half years, with collaborators and other staff members merely preparing his work. He estimated two years to prepare the dictionary and another one and a half years to write it. He died unexpectedly in 1927, before he could be proven wrong. Following Luckenbill's death, Breasted acknowledged that preparing the CAD was a bigger task than initially anticipated:

> Owing to the death of my colleague, Luckenbill, the progress of the Assyrian Dictionary has been somewhat delayed, and it has proven a longer and much costlier project than we had at first planned. (Breasted to Meissner on 18 December 1930)

Breasted was, therefore, looking for more collaborators to speed up the preliminary work of collecting and translating texts when he approached Bruno Meissner in 1930. During Luckenbill's time as editor, most of the collaborators were American. After Luckenbill's death, Breasted invited European scholars to participate in the CAD proj-

20 There had been earlier projects, such as *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* (1900–1918), in which a group of scholars contributed to a series of editions. Still, each book was the work of one or two scholars.

ect because they had better access to unpublished texts in the museums in Germany, France, and the United Kingdom. Another reason for recruiting European collaborators was to promote the OI abroad. The OI and the CAD could become more visible and gain greater recognition by including more collaborators. In numbers, the residential team of the CAD staff counted five people by the project's initiation in 1921. Edward Chiera (1885–1933), who took over as editor of the CAD after Luckenbill's death, added ten research assistants and four clerks to the workforce in 1932. In addition to the three American collaborators who had collected materials for the CAD since 1921, Breasted recruited twenty-three international collaborators until 1933. Consequently, between 1921 and 1933, a minimum of eight and a maximum of forty-two people were working for the CAD (Breasted 1933, 387, 390–392, 398–399).

2.2 Bruno Meissner and his *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch* [Concise Assyrian Dictionary]

Meissner was born in Graudenz (Grudziądz), a small city in former Prussia (now Poland).[21] He started studying Assyriology in Leipzig with Friedrich Delitzsch as his teacher. After one academic year there, Meissner went to Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin for the 1889 summer term, where he met Breasted as a fellow student.[22] Meissner completed his doctorate under the supervision of Eberhard Schrader (1836–1908) and habilitated in Halle in 1892. After that, he mainly worked in Berlin, teaching several Semitic languages. Meissner was first appointed professor for Oriental Languages in Breslau in 1904. He returned to Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität in Berlin in 1921, where he succeeded his two former teachers, Schrader (professorship in Berlin 1875–1899) and Delitzsch (professorship in Berlin 1899–1921), as professor of Assyriology and Semitic Studies. Despite his interest in the historical and art historical aspects of Assyriology, Meissner was mainly a philologist. His primary interest becomes especially apparent in his inaugural speech for the Prussian Academy of Sciences, where Meissner announced his dictionary project:

> In verschiedenen Publikationen habe ich sodann teils einzelne assyrische Wörter besprochen, teils lexikalische Texte, die uns der Boden Vorderasiens in reicher Fülle aufbewahrt hat, wiederhergestellt und ediert. Jetzt gegen Ende meines Lebens habe ich mich noch daran gemacht, unter Zugrun-

21 Currently, there is only one study on Meissner that exceeds a short biography (such as Renger 1979 and Weidner 1945–1951). In "German Assyriology: A Discipline in Troubled Waters," Renger (2022) discusses Meissner's devotion to the Nazi regime (among other German scholars) and how the Nazi ideology influenced German Assyriology.

22 Breasted reminded Meissner about their shared times in Berlin in a letter: "My dear Colleague, You will perhaps recall that many years ago, when we were both students under Professor Sachau, we used occasionally to meet in his seminar at his house in the Wormserstrasse" (Breasted to Meissner on 18 January 1930).

> delegung eigener, seit mehr als 40 Jahren vorgenommener Sammlungen und unter Benutzung des mir vom Hinrichsschen Verlage und Delitzschs Familie zur Verfügung gestellten DELITZSCHen “Supplements” ein neues “Assyrisches Handwörterbuch” zu verfassen. (Meissner 1931b, cxxii)
>
> [In various publications, I have discussed individual Assyrian words and restored and edited lexical texts, which the soil of the Near East has preserved in rich abundance for us. Now, towards the end of my life, I have started to compile a new “Assyrian Dictionary” on the basis of my own collections made over more than 40 years and using the DELITZSCH “Supplements” made available to me by the Hinrichs’s publishing house and the Delitzsch family.]

He edited and translated multiple cuneiform texts of different categories (e.g. legal texts, building inscriptions), wrote a short grammar of the Akkadian language (*Kurzgefasste assyrische Grammatik* 1907), a book on Assyrian ideograms (*Seltene assyrische Ideogramme* 1910), and advanced the lexicographical knowledge of Assyrian Akkadian. Meissner’s first lexicographical contribution was *Supplement zu den assyrischen Wörterbüchern* (1898), a book that added new expertise to Delitzsch’s *Handwörterbuch* (1894–1896). He continued his lexicographical research, which he published in multiple volumes[23] (Weidner 1945–51; Renger 1979, 157, 171–172, 177–178). Unfortunately, most of the unpublished material Meissner used for his dictionary is now lost. According to the quote above, these were his own lexicographical studies and an unpublished manuscript by Delitzsch. After Delitzsch’s death, the publishing house J. C. Hinrichs Verlag and Delitzsch’s family gave Delitzsch’s manuscript of a supplement to his concise dictionary to Meissner (Meissner 1931a, 3). Only a few word cards of Meissner’s lexicographical estate have survived to the present.

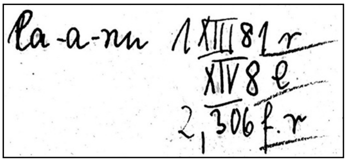

Figure 2: Meissner’s lexicographical card for the word *lānu* [form]: the numbers refer to a text edition of the Akkadian lists of synonyms by Wolfram von Soden (1933). For example, “1 XIII 81 r” refers to the collection 1 VAT, table 8, line 81, right column.

The surviving cards refer to only one edition of lists of Akkadian synonyms by Wolfram von Soden (1933). The cards have no translations of the Akkadian words (see Figure 2). Hence, Meissner used the surviving cards to find specific words in a published text edition. His publications on lexicographical studies illuminate the philo-

23 Six contributions called *Assyriological Studies* (*Assyriologische Studien* 1903–1913), two volumes called *Assyriological Research* (*Assyriologische Forschungen* 1916, 1920), four books of Studies on the *Assyrian Lexicography* (*Studien zur assyrischen Lexikographie* 1925, 1929–1940).

logical practices that Meissner used for his dictionary. The following example is a comment by Meissner on the meaning of the Akkadian word *ušû*:

> Es ist bekannt, daß die Steinnamen im Assyrischen häufig nicht eindeutig sind, sondern mehrere Bedeutungen umschließen. Bisher galt es als feststehend, daß der *ušû*-Stein nur den "Dolerit" bezeichnet [. . .]. Aber auch dieses Wort scheint nicht allein diesen einen Stein bezeichnet zu haben. Hilprecht hat BE. I Nr. 33 eine Inschrift veröffentlicht, die ein Diener des Königs Burnaburiasch auf einem vielleicht aus Ḫursagkalama herstammenden Mörser aus weißem Marmor [. . .] hat eingraben lassen. Z. 22ff. wird erzählt, daß der Stifter DUG.ZÁ.ESI "ein Gefäß aus *esi* (=semit. *ušû*)-Stein im Tempel von Ḫursagkalama, ihrem (der Göttin) geliebten Hause, am Ufer des Flusses Dan-Latarak, um reines (?) Wasser umzurühren (?) aufgestellt habe." (Meissner 1931a, 10)
>
> [It is well known that the names of stones in Assyrian are often not unambiguous but encompass several meanings. Until now, it was considered established that the *ušû* stone only denoted the "dolerite" [. . .]. But even this word does not seem to have denoted this one stone alone. Hilprecht has published BE. I No. 33 an inscription that a servant of King Burnaburiash had engraved on a mortar made of white marble [. . .], perhaps originating from Ḫursagkalama. L. 22ff. tells us that the donor DUG.ZÁ.ESI "placed a vessel made of *esi* (=semit. *ušû*)-stone in the temple of Ḫursagkalama, her (the goddess's) beloved house on the banks of the river Dan-Latarak, to stir (?) pure (?) water."]

Meissner concluded that the word *ušû* referred not only to dolerite as previous dictionaries had stated. He argued that *ušû* could also designate white marble. His reference was a white marble mortar with an inscription that explains that the donor had gifted the goddess a vessel of *ušû*-stone. This exemplary entry reflects that Meissner compared Akkadian words in different cuneiform texts and that he also integrated materiality. Through this method, he got closer to individual word meanings. Consequently, Meissner and the staff of the CAD used comparison as a philological practice to enhance their knowledge of word meanings.

Meissner's dictionary was intended to be concise, whereas the CAD was designed as a more thorough study. A CAD entry was set up to provide the reader with information on all known texts in which the words appeared. Therefore, the CAD could also be used as a starting point for studies on specific topics. For example, if you wanted to study slavery in ancient Mesopotamia, you could find all the texts available at the time containing the word *ardu* (slave) under the entry for "slave" (Breasted 1933, 393). The dictionary that Meissner envisioned lacked this feature.

Meissner intended to list the dictionary entries using the Hebrew alphabet. According to Ernst Friedrich Weidner (1891–1976), Meissner abided by this order despite criticism from fellow Assyriologists (Weidner 1945–1951, 174). The CAD entries were organised by the Latin alphabet, making the dictionary more user-friendly for American and European audiences.

Another main difference between the two projects was the number of people involved. Meissner's concise dictionary was more or less a one-man-project. He temporarily involved his colleagues Erich Ebeling (1886–1955), Ernst Friedrich Weidner, and

Gerhard Meier (1913–1945? [reported missing in World War II])[24] (Meissner 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943; Weidner 1945–1951, 174). Still, Meissner, who compiled the collected material and made all decisions concerning the books, was the author of the dictionary. At the beginning of the CAD project, Luckenbill attempted a similar one-man-approach for compiling the dictionary. But in contrast to Meissner, the Oriental Institute soon realised that the task was too great to be tackled by one scholar and increased the working force. By 1933, the CAD staff and collaborators totalled up to forty-two people working on the project (Breasted 1933, 387, 390–392, 398–399).

In conclusion, even though Meissner and Breasted were both working on Assyrian dictionaries, there were several differences between the two projects concerning the alphabetisation, the publishing language (German or English), and the scale (the intensity of the research, length of each entry, and working force). The projects were, therefore, not in competition. Instead, Meissner even stated that his concise dictionary was not competing with the CAD due to their different approaches (Meissner to Breasted on 12 February 1930).

3 Why did Breasted and Meissner connect?

So why did Breasted approach Meissner concerning their dictionary projects? As already elaborated, Breasted was looking for collaborators in Europe to provide the residential staff of the CAD with texts and word meanings. He knew a dictionary project of this scale could not be executed by one scholar alone (as previous attempts to write Assyrian dictionaries and his personal experience from the Egyptian dictionary project had demonstrated). However, when he approached Meissner, Breasted extended an invitation to him to be a collaborator in the CAD. In addition, he offered Meissner the opportunity to publish the results of his lexicographical studies in an OI series. Accordingly, Breasted's offer to Meissner to cooperate stands out from his enquiries to other cooperation partners.

Breasted had recently recruited Arno Poebel (1881–1958), a German Assyriologist and specialist in Sumerian, to be the CAD's new editor. Poebel told Breasted about Meissner's plan for an Assyrian dictionary and that Meissner wanted to publish the first results of his research as soon as possible. Even though the two dictionary projects differed in their aim, Breasted was careful not to offend other professors and avoided any semblance of competition. In another instance, Breasted delayed a long-planned edition project at the OI (*Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, Luckenbill 1926, 1927a) because Albert Tobias Clay (1866–1925), professor of Assyriology and Babylonian Literature at Yale University, had publicly declared his intentions to do something simi-

24 In the reports of the Academy for the years 1940–1942, Meissner explained that the slow process of the dictionary project was due to Meier being called to war in 1939 (Meissner 1940; 1941; 1942).

lar.[25] In this case, several other American Assyriologists were involved in the competing project as contributors for text editions. Breasted was afraid that continuing to edit the historical records of Assyria and Babylonia could lead to quarrels with the other scholars involved. He therefore sent a letter to Luckenbill, the designated editor of the OI's edition project, requesting a team meeting to discuss the situation:

> We shall have to consider very carefully, however, how we treat the men who have consented to contribute his series and whose names as contributors have been published. They went in good faith, not knowing there was any competing series in the field and we must be careful not to drive them into Clay's arms by proceeding on any course which would be in the least disagreeable or unfair to them. If we did this Clay and his contributors would form a party hostile to us. You and Smith and Price and I must, therefore, sit down and canvass the situation very carefully in the endeavor to find some policy towards these contributors to Clay's series which will show them that we mean to be fair and straightforward with them. (Breasted to Luckenbill on 10 August 1923)

The correspondence demonstrates that Breasted dealt with competition strategically and cautiously. He wanted to be seen as upholding fair and collegial interaction with other scholars and was careful not to start disputes. The fact that the OI dropped their edition project temporarily shows that Breasted thought it would seem inconsiderate regarding Clay's project if the OI had gone on with their plans.

When Breasted heard from Poebel about Meissner's project, he faced a similar situation. But this time, the OI's CAD project was already in progress and involved many cooperation partners. Still, the first letter he sent Meissner shows that Breasted was afraid that Meissner might disapprove of the CAD as a competitor to his own concise dictionary. After reminding Meissner of their shared time in Berlin, Breasted complimented Meissner on his career and publications.[26] He then explained that he had just heard of Meissner's interest in composing an Assyrian dictionary:

> I am writing you now especially because I have, within the last year for the first time, learned of your great interest in Assyrian lexicography. When my friend, Luckenbill, urged me to organize a staff in our Oriental Institute for the compilation of an Assyrian Dictionary, about eight years ago, I did not know of your interest in this subject, and it is only recently that I have heard from my colleagues that you have long been actually engaged in producing a dictionary of the Assyrian language. (Breasted to Meissner on 18 January 1930)

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25 Luckenbill wrote the following to Breasted about their decision to delay the edition project: "I believe it was thought best, at our Departmental conference the other day, to drop for the present that part of our publication plans which called for a continuation of the Ancient Record series. This in view of the fact that Prof. Clay of Yale University is in the field with plans which would be duplicated if we proceeded with our series. This leaves our plans in the following shape:

1) Ancient Records of Babylonia and Assyria (dropped for the present)" (Luckenbill to Breasted on 15 May 1918).

26 For a complete transcription of the letter, see the appendix to this chapter.

The passage is crucial and deftly formulated. Breasted attempts to excuse himself for starting a project that might be perceived as standing in competition with Meissner's by claiming that he was unaware of Meissner's plans. At the same time, it does not include a genuine apology and comes off strong and confident. Breasted then strategically continues with a tempting offer:

> Our mutual friend, Poebel, who is soon to join our staff here, has written us that you would be interested to begin to publish as soon as possible some of the results of your special studies of particular Assyrian words. We would be very glad if you would associate yourself with us in this enterprise, and the Oriental Institute would undertake to publish your investigations in a single volume [. . .]. (Breasted to Meissner on 18 January 1930)

Breasted knew from Poebel that Meissner wanted to publish parts of his lexicographical studies in advance. Thus, he deliberately based his invitation to collaborate on an offer that would be attractive to Meissner: the possibility of publishing a "volume of Word Studies in Assyrian." Breasted informed Meissner about the honorarium (of 300 to 9,000 marks, depending on the number of sheets) he could pay him. He even offered to publish the volume in Meissner's native language, German. The standard proposal to cooperate with the CAD followed later, towards the end of the letter:

> Meantime, if you have any manuscript translations of New Assyrian documents, or hitherto unsatisfactorily translated documents, would it be possible to make some arrangement with you by which your translations might be carefully typewritten at our expense and an appropriate remuneration paid to you? [. . .] I am quite well aware that the publication of your long-continued studies of the Assyrian language, and especially of rare and difficult words, will be a substantial contribution to science and one of the greatest value to all Orientalists.
>
> We would look forward, therefore, with especial interest and pleasure to your association with the Oriental Institute in our efforts toward a better understanding of the Assyrian language. (Breasted to Meissner on 18 January 1930)

The usual task that Breasted had recruited other scholars for, sending new translations of cuneiform texts, seems like a secondary proposition. It is not as prominent in the letter as the publication offer, which becomes especially apparent in the last paragraphs; here, Breasted referred back to Meissner's planned publication. Furthermore, he mentioned the scientific value of Meissner's work for Oriental Studies twice ("substantial contribution to science," "greatest value to all Orientalists"). In his last sentence, Breasted highlighted the benefits for the field of Meissner's cooperation with the OI ("in our efforts toward a better understanding of the Assyrian language").

This letter reflects Breasted's strategy of inviting (possible) competitors to avoid competition, a typical habit for the mid-twentieth century (Nickelsen 2014, 362). According to the sociologist of science David Edge, many scientists strategically avoided competition by choosing research topics that were mainstream enough but, at the same time, very distinct in their scientific aims. Through this strategy, they tried to avoid duplication (Edge 1990, 214). The same goes for Breasted. For him, the association with Meissner was very important. Therefore, Breasted allowed Meissner to issue his studies in German, albeit as part of an American series. Furthermore, in his letter to Meissner, Breasted dedicated considerably more space to the publication proposal than the proposition to work for the CAD. Breasted was avoiding competition with Meissner (and others) and made him a tempting offer instead. Especially since Meissner was a well-established professor in the field, cooperating with him meant that the prestigious German professor and a specialist in Assyrian lexicography supported the CAD project instead of asserting the superiority of his own dictionary project. The cooperation was introduced to the public by issuing Meissner's *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch* in a series of the OI. Therefore, the publication was a statement of Meissner's consent to the CAD project. Breasted secured the support of an established and renowned professor in Berlin, an important centre of philology and Oriental Studies. Such cooperation between the OI and renowned scholars reflected well on the reputation of Breasted's newly founded institute.

In conclusion, the cooperation had many benefits for Breasted and his OI. But why did Meissner take Breasted's offer to publish his studies in an OI series? This question can be answered by a close reading of Meissner's reply to Breasted:[27]

> Ich freue mich sehr, dass Sie der Anregung von Prof. Poebel gefolgt sind und mir die Möglichkeit geben wollen, in Chicago "Studien zur assyrischen Lexikographie" herauszugeben. Wie Sie wissen, arbeite ich selbst an einem "Assyrischen Handwörterbuch"; aber dieses soll keine Konkurrenz zu Ihrem Unternehmen sein, sondern es soll nur den grossen Stoff des von mir gesammelten lexikographischen Materials zusammenfassen. Leider geht die Arbeit nicht so schnell vorwärts, wie ich es wünsche. Ich habe zwar bereits 530 Quartseiten Manuskript fertig; aber das ist kaum mehr als ein Zehntel des Ganzen. Ich fürchte, bis zum Abschluss des Buches werden, selbst wenn mir Gott Gesundheit und Kraft schenken sollte, noch 10 Jahre vergehen. Vielleicht können Sie, wenn ich vorher sterben sollte, mein Material für Ihr Werk übernehmen. (Meissner to Breasted on 12 February 1930)
>
> [I am very pleased that you have followed Prof Poebel's suggestion and want to give me the opportunity to publish "Studies in Assyrian Lexicography" in Chicago. As you know, I myself am working on an "Assyrian Dictionary"; however, this is not intended to compete with your undertaking but merely to summarise the large amount of lexicographical material I have collected. Unfortunately, the work is not progressing as quickly as I would like. I have already completed 530 quarto pages of manuscript, but that is hardly more than a tenth of the whole. I fear that even if God should grant me health and strength, another 10 years will pass before the book is finished. Perhaps, if I should die before then, you could take over my material for your work.]

Meissner was hoping for a quick publication of his new interpretations of Akkadian words (in addition to his planned dictionary). He knew the value of his lexicographical research results and the need for an Assyrian dictionary for the field. At the same time, he knew that writing an Assyrian dictionary meant years of work. This is why he wanted his new results published in advance. He was not sure if he could finish

27 For a transcription of the complete letter in German, see the appendix to this chapter.

his dictionary in his lifetime;[28] he even offered to give his collected materials to the OI in case he should die before completing his concise dictionary. Additionally, he claimed not to compete with the OI and its CAD project. Like Breasted, Meissner avoided competition and clarified this intent to Breasted.

However, there was another reason why Breasted's offer was advantageous to Meissner. In another letter, Meissner wrote the following to Breasted:

> Was das Honorar anlangt, so bin ich natürlich mit Ihrem ersten Vorschlage, mir pro Bogen 300 M [Reichsmark] zu zahlen, einverstanden. Ich vermutete allerdings, dass in Amerika höhere Honorare gezahlt werden würden. Bei wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten erhalten wir ja hier in Deutschland nicht sehr viel für unsere Mühe [. . .]. (Meissner to Breasted on 11 April 1930)
>
> [As far as the honorarium is concerned, I naturally agree with your first proposal to pay me 300 M [German Reichsmark] per sheet. However, I assumed that higher fees would be paid in America. Here in Germany we do not get very much for our efforts when it comes to scientific work . . .]

The correspondence shows that Meissner expected a better payment for publishing in America than he could get in Germany. He originally asked for 100 USD per sheet, an amount equivalent to 419.20 German Reichsmark (Lawrence 2024). When Breasted offered him 300 Reichsmark, he agreed reluctantly. Hence, Breasted's strategy of sending Meissner a publishing offer with an honorarium was successful.

4 Did Breasted and Meissner cooperate or even collaborate?

Meissner accepted Breasted's invitation to publish the results of his lexicographical studies in an OI series called *Assyriological Studies* (AS). The two resulting volumes appeared in 1931 and 1932 under *Beiträge zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch* I (=AS 1) and II (=AS 4).[29] When Meissner approached Breasted in 1935 with a manuscript for a third

28 Meissner confessed similar fears and wishes in his inaugural speech for the Prussian Academy of Sciences: "Ob ich es aber allein werde zu Ende führen können, ist mir recht zweifelhaft geworden; denn die Arbeit geht leider nur recht langsam vorwärts. Vielleicht lassen sich aber doch Mittel und Wege finden, daß die Herausgabe des Buches sichergestellt oder wenigstens mein Material an einer Stelle deponiert wird, wo es nach meinem Tode von interessierten Gelehrten benutzt werden kann" (Meissner 1931b, CXXII) [Whether I can finish it alone has become quite doubtful; unfortunately, the work is progressing very slowly. But perhaps ways and means can be found to ensure the book's publication, or at least, to deposit my material in a place where interested scholars can use it after my death].

29 Meissner suggested printing the books with the printing house J. J. Augustin at Glückstadt (near Hamburg) to save printing costs, which were higher in the US. J. J. Augustin specialised in foreign languages and non-Latin scripts such as Greek, Chinese, Arabic, Coptic, Hebrew, Japanese, Sanskrit, hieroglyphs, runes, and cuneiform (Böhning and Boldt 2019, 47, 79–83). The first volume was printed volume of his *Beiträge zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch*, Breasted rescinded his offer to publish Meissner's research. The great depression affected the OI's publication funds, leaving Breasted with insufficient money to publish Meissner's work.[30]

In return for publishing the first volume of *Beiträge zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch* (1931), Meissner acknowledged the CAD project in the preface, expressing the wish that its completion would not take too long. However, Meissner at first declined Breasted's invitation to collaborate in the CAD and translate unpublished texts for the OI: "An den Übersetzungen neuer assyrischer Texte, nach denen Sie fragen, möchte ich mich nicht beteiligen, weil ich sonst mit meiner eigenen Arbeit zu sehr ins Hintertreffen kömmen [sic!] würde" (Meissner to Breasted on 11 April 1930) [I do not want to take part in the translations of new Assyrian texts that you are asking for because I would fall too far behind with my own work]. The correspondence between Breasted and Meissner, which lasted until 1935, shows that Meissner sent Breasted some of his publications that he considered useful for the CAD (Darr to Meissner on 25 April 1930).[31] However, he did not send unpublished materials to the CAD until later.

In Breasted's description of the CAD project, he mentioned the connection with Meissner as follows: "Professor Bruno Meissner of Berlin agreed to furnish a series of contributions to our new 'Assyriological Studies,' and invitations to collaborate were sent to a group of other European and American scholars" (Breasted 1933, 390). With this sentence, Breasted implied a cooperation between Meissner and the OI. However, he did not include Meissner in the list of CAD collaborators.

Nonetheless, later records show that Meissner changed his mind about cooperating with the CAD. Even though he never abandoned his own plans for this dictionary, nor did he send the manuscripts for his concise dictionary to Breasted for the use of the CAD, he did prepare materials for the CAD. In a list of collaborators of the CAD and their payment in 1935, Poebel mentioned Meissner twice, once in regard to his publication within the OI series and a second time as a collaborator who provided the

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and bound in Glückstadt and shipped to Chicago, where it was rebound in order to add some preliminary pages. The second volume was again printed in Glückstadt, but this time the unbound flat sheets were sent to Chicago, where they were bound and published by the University of Chicago Press (Correspondence of the University of Chicago Press about *Assyriological Studies nos. 1–3* of the Oriental Institute 1930–1931). The OI and the University of Chicago Press maintained their connection to J. J. Augustin in Germany, and the CAD volumes were composed by the University of Chicago Press and J. J. Augustin until 1984.

30 "The deliberate and intentional depreciation of the dollar by the government of the United States has involved the Oriental Institute in difficulties. [. . .] I regret to say that we shall be obliged to terminate this arrangement for further publication of your Assyrian Dictionary contributions" (Breasted to Meissner on 6 June 1935). After this letter, the next volume of the *Assyriological Studies* series appeared in 1940, in contrast to the years from 1931 to 1934, when one or two volumes appeared each year. The situation Breasted described, referring to the impact of the Great Depression on the finances of the OI, concurs with the publication list of those years.

31 Robert J. Darr was Breasted's assistant, who replied to Meissner on Breasted's instruction.

CAD with texts (Poebel to Breasted on 1 February 1935). According to Poebel's list, Meissner contributed texts referred to as "Magic" and "Hittite Letter." In the first volume of the CAD, the later editor of the CAD, Ignace Jay Gelb (1907–1985), named Meissner as a collaborator of the CAD, who had submitted his assigned work at least partly. Many collaborators did not finish their tasks, and the OI staff had to edit and translate many texts initially assigned to someone else. According to Gelb, Meissner was assigned the Šurpu series and corrections of Leonard W. King's edition *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery* (1896). Both text collections fit Poebel's description of "Magic" assigned to Meissner. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that Meissner ever prepared the Šurpu series, which is a collection of Sumerian and Akkadian incantations, prayers, and instructions for magical practices. These texts were later edited by Erica Reiner, who described the preliminary work that had been done by Chicago staff members on these texts in the foreword of her edition. She did not indicate that Meissner was a previous editor (Reiner 1958, III).

Consequently, the relationship between Breasted and Meissner regarding their dictionary projects differs from the cooperation between the OI and other scholars who only prepared unpublished materials for the CAD. This leads to the question of whether the term *cooperation* is an appropriate description of Breasted and Meissner's association. In a letter to Meissner, Breasted explicitly called their exchange cooperation: "May I express to you our pleasure in cooperating with you in this great responsibility for the production of an adequate Assyrian Dictionary?" (Breasted to Meissner on 17 September 1930). However, cooperation is a multifaceted notion.

In the theory of *cooperation*, the term refers to an interaction between two or more parties that have positively interdependent goals and act accordingly, often making sacrifices on an individual level. *Collaboration*, on the other hand, is a stronger form of cooperation that includes shared work contexts (Nickelsen 2014, 356). Applying this theory to our case study, we see that there is no shared work context in the case of Breasted and Meissner. They did not unite their dictionary projects or abort one project in favour of the other. Nor did either of the parties sacrifice anything in pursuit of a joint goal. On the contrary, the dictionaries differed in their aims. Since there was no duplication in the projects, the two scholars continued their individual projects in parallel. Therefore, neither the stronger term collaboration nor the weaker term cooperation describes Breasted and Meissner's interaction.

Nevertheless, they both benefitted from their arrangement: Meissner openly approved of the OI and its CAD project by publishing his lexicographical research in an OI series. By doing so, he diminished any claims to the superiority and originality of his own dictionary. Still, this was good for the OI's reputation: it publicly engaged a possible competitor in what they openly referred to as cooperation. This is especially crucial since Breasted avoided conflicts with other scholars and institutions. The CAD and, thus, the OI gained acknowledgement through the collaboration with, and the support of, many European and American specialists. Including others in OI publications was an important strategy that Breasted used to establish the newly formed OI globally. Meissner benefitted from the arrangement both in terms of time (with the opportunity it provided to publish quickly), and financially, since he received a more generous honorarium than he could have earned in Germany.

So, what term would best describe Breasted and Meissner's relationship? I suggest using the term *connection*. Even though Breasted and Meissner did not collaborate in the sense defined above – specifically, they avoided combining their dictionaries into a joint effort – they did publicly support each other's dictionaries by publishing Meissner's preliminary lexicographical results within the OI series *Assyriological Studies*. Thus, this chapter describes connection as a new form of interaction, in addition to already established concepts such as collaboration and cooperation.

Connection is a form of public acknowledgement and support, denying any form of competition. It benefits both parties without sharing unpublished research results or working for the other party's project. Instead, a connection offers legitimisation by mutually recognising and supporting each other's project. Hence, in order to form a connection, both parties need to publicly acknowledge and promote each other (in a publication or a public speech). Furthermore, creating a bond between projects, institutions, or people can weaken other competitors. However, connections can be time-limited; they may gradually fade, be broken up by one or both parties, or evolve into a cooperation.

The case of Breasted and Meissner presents a very literal example of Connected Philology in the past. The two scholars connected their dictionary projects (two philological projects). This interaction shows how different philologies – in the sense of different philological disciplines – influenced, supported, and engaged with one another. When Breasted and Meissner studied Semitic languages in Berlin, their respective disciplines were part of a broader philological curriculum. During the 1930s, the time they (re)connected, the process of specialisation and differentiation of academic disciplines was further enhanced. While different scholarly backgrounds (disciplines, teachers, schools) defined applied practices, they were also influenced by connections, collaborations, or competition between scholars or projects within the same field or across disciplines.

But what happened to Breasted's and Meissner's dictionary projects? Despite the help of many international collaborators of the CAD, the first volume of the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary was not released until 1956, and the final one of the twenty-one volumes appeared only in 2010. Breasted died before any of the results of his long-time project had been published. The same holds true for Meissner, who had almost completed the manuscript for the first volume of his concise dictionary when he died in 1947. His collected materials, however, were not given to the CAD project, as Meissner suggested in his letter to Breasted (on 12 February 1930). He left his academic legacy to the Inner Mission of the Evangelic Church for Berlin-Brandenburg, which gave the lexicographical materials to Wolfram von Soden (1908–1996), Meissner's successor to the chair of Assyriology in Berlin (von Soden 1965). Meissner was explicitly opposed to the appointment of von Soden as his successor because he considered him too inexperienced. Additionally, Meissner suspected that von Soden's supervisor, Benno Landsberger (1890–1968), a Jewish Assyriologist, had written large parts of his pupil's dissertation. According to Johannes Renger, who evaluated Meissner's personnel file in Berlin, the scholarly rivalry between Meissner's Berlin School of Assyriology and Landsberger's Leipzig School was the underlying cause for Meissner's rejection of von Soden (Renger 2022, 311).[32] The personnel file shows that Meissner originally suggested (1) Arno Poebel, (2) Erich Ebeling, (3) Ernst Friedrich Weidner, and (4) Carl Frank as possible candidates for the professorship of Assyriology in Berlin. The appointments committee replaced Meissner's suggestions of Poebel, Weidner, and Frank with Albert Schott and Wolfram von Soden. After that, Meissner tried to support the appointment of Ebeling, but he was disqualified by having refused to join the Nazi Party (Renger 2022, 311; in addition to Meissner undated, probably 1936). In the end, von Soden, a committed Nazi (Vacín and Raulwing 2025, 335–338), succeeded Meissner as the chair of Assyriology in Berlin and continued Meissner's work on a concise dictionary (*Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*), which he eventually published in three volumes (1965, 1972, 1981).

Both projects show that the compilations of Akkadian dictionaries were long-time projects that exceeded the capacity of a single scholar. The solution to succeeding with big science projects, therefore, lies in connection, cooperation, or collaboration.

Appendix

Copy of a letter written by Breasted to Meissner on 18 January 1930, Director's Correspondence, box 91, folder 3, ISAC Museum Archives, Chicago

My dear Colleague,

You will perhaps recall that many years ago, when we were both students under Professor Sachau, we used occasionally to meet in his seminar at his house in the Wormserstrasse. I have always remembered with pleasure this early association with you as I have watched your rise in the field of Assyriology to the commanding position in this science which you now occupy. Your two volumes on Babylonian and Assyrian civilization are the most comprehensive and valuable guides on this subject which I have in my library.

I am writing you now especially because I have, within the last year for the first time, learned of your great interest in Assyrian lexicography. When my friend, Luckenbill, urged me to organize a staff in our Oriental Institute for the compilation of an Assyrian Dictionary, about eight years ago, I did not know of your interest in this subject, and it is only recently that I have heard from my colleagues that you have long been actually engaged in producing a dictionary of the Assyrian language.

32 See Vacín and Raulwing (2025, 343–346) for more information on the controversy between the Meissner and Landsberger school.

Our mutual friend, Poebel, who is soon to join our staff here, has written us that you would be interested to begin to publish as soon as possible some of the results of your special studies of particular Assyrian words. We would be very glad if you would associate yourself with us in this enterprise, and the Oriental Institute would undertake to publish your investigations in a single volume, – let us say of twenty-five to thirty Bogen (450 to 500 pages). This volume would be published in the best possible form by our University Press, which is, mechanically speaking, one of the finest presses in America.

With reference to your remuneration, – let me say as you already know, that it is not easy in any country to secure publication subventions. Owing to the death of my colleague, Luckenbill, the progress of the Assyrian Dictionary has been somewhat delayed and it has proven a longer and much costlier project than we had at first planned. Nevertheless, the Institute would be able to offer you for a volume of Word Studies in Assyrian an honorarium of 300 marks a Bogen, – or, for a maximum total of thirty Bogen, a total honorarium of 9,000 marks.

If you find it possible to enter into this arrangement we would be glad to receive the material as fast as you find it possible to prepare it. If you wished to issue the publication in parts, as fast as you had put together four or five Bogen, we would be glad to arrange that these should be issued in this way, and after you had finished the series, that they should be bound together forming one volume under the general title, "Word Studies in Assyrian," or "Assyrian Word Studies." I take it that you would prefer to have the book appear in your own native German, rather than to have it translated, and if this is the case we can easily arrange to print the entire work in German.

Meantime, if you have any manuscript translations of New Assyrian documents, or hitherto unsatisfactorily translated documents, would it be possible to make some arrangement with you by which your translations might be carefully typewritten at our expense and an appropriate remuneration paid to you? I might add that the translation of a considerable range of ancient Assyrian documents for our Dictionary has already been made, and it would be necessary for us to take up with our Editor, Professor Chiera, the question of just what documents we could use, as we would like to avoid duplication with the work of other collaborators.

I am quite well aware that the publication of your long-continued studies of the Assyrian language, and especially of rare and difficult words, will be a substantial contribution to science and one of the greatest value to all Orientalists. We would look forward, therefore, with especial interest and pleasure to your association with the Oriental Institute in our efforts toward a better understanding of the Assyrian language.

Hoping that we may be able to make such an arrangement, therefore, I remain, with all good wishes and kindest regards

Very sincerely yours,

Letter by Meissner to Breasted on 12 February 1930, Director's Correspondence, box 91, folder 3, ISAC Museum Archives, Chicago

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Ich freue mich sehr, dass Sie der Anregung von Prof. Poebel gefolgt sind und mir die Möglichkeit geben wollen, in Chicago "Studien zur assyrischen Lexikographie" herauszugeben. Wie Sie wissen, arbeite ich selbst an einem "Assyrischen Handwörterbuch"; aber dieses soll keine Konkurrenz zu Ihrem Unternehmen sein, sondern es soll nur den grossen Stoff des von mir gesammelten lexikographischen Materials zusammenfassen. Leider geht die Arbeit nicht so schnell vorwärts, wie ich es wünsche. Ich habe zwar bereits 530 Quartseiten Manuskript fertig; aber das ist kaum mehr als ein Zehntel des Ganzen. Ich fürchte, bis zum Abschluss des Buches werden, selbst wenn mir Gott Gesundheit und Kraft schenken sollte, noch 10 Jahre vergehen. Vielleicht können Sie, wenn ich vorher sterben sollte, mein Material für Ihr Werk übernehmen.

Nun ist es ganz selbstverständlich, dass bei meinen Arbeiten eine Reihe neuer Funde zu Tage tritt, einerseits weil ich von der Interpretation meiner Vorgänger abweiche, andererseits weil ich eine Menge unpublizierter Texte zur Verfügung habe, wodurch vielfach strittige Fragen gelöst werden. Ich habe mir nun gedacht, diese neuen Funde, um sie nicht zu lange in meinem Manuskript zurückzuhalten, in Form von "Untersuchungen zur assyrischen Lexikographie" schon jetzt der Oeffentlichkeit zu übergeben. Eine Anzahl derartiger Untersuchungen habe ich ja bereits in meinen "Asyriologischen Studien" und an anderen Orten veröffentlicht.

Mir persönlich würde es am liebsten sein und Ihnen vielleicht auch – schon um der Oeffentlichkeit in Bälde etwas zeigen zu können –, wenn diese Untersuchungen in Lieferungen von etwa 5 Bogen erscheinen könnten. Ich habe bis jetzt im Manuskript etwa 4 Bogen fertig; dazu brauchte ich nur eine kurze Einleitung zu schreiben und noch einige weitere Artikel, zu denen das Material natürlich vorhanden ist, um dann in einigen Monaten bereits die erste Lieferung vorlegen zu können. Was die Sprache der Veröffentlichung anlangt, so wäre mir das Deutsche natürlich lieber. Mein Englisch ist jedenfalls zu mässig, um das Manuskript selbst in Englisch herstellen zu können. Falls Sie besonderen Wert darauf legen, müsste die Arbeit eben ins Englische übersetzt werden. Dass der Druck hier in Deutschland hergestellt wird, wäre gewiss praktisch; denn er würde dadursch [sic!] sicherlich sehr beschleunigt werden. Wir haben ja hier so gute Druckereien (ich erinnere nur an Drugulin, Pries, Holzhausen etc.), dass die Ausstattung gewiss würdig ausfallen wird. Das Honorar hätte ich lieber in Dollars als in RM., weil der erste gewiss wertbeständiger ist als die zweite. Ich möchte Sie bitten, mir als Honorar pro Bogen (etwa im Umfange des AJSL.) wenigstens 100 Dollars zu bewilligen, und verspreche Ihnen, dass Sie dafür wirklich Material erhalten werden, das Ihnen für Ihre Assyrisches Wörterbuch gute Dienste leisten wird.

An den Uebersetzungen neuer assyrischer Texte, nach denen Sie fragen, möchte ich mich nicht beteiligen, weil ich sonst mit meiner eigenen Arbeit zu sehr ins Hintertreffen kömmen [sic!] würde. Aber vielleicht könnte ich Ihnen zwei meiner Schüler empfehlen: Einer, Herr Dr. Schaawe, hat die Harper'schen Briefe auch sprachlich recht genau durchgearbeitet; ein anderer, Herr Dr. Krückmann, hat vor kurzem eine sehr hübsche Arbeit über die juristischen Texte aus der Seleuzidenzeit [sic!] gemacht, in der das sehr zerstreute Material vollständig gesammelt hat. Es würde ihm ein Leichtes sein, Ihnen eine Bearbeitung dieser Inschriften zu geben.

Anfang März gehe ich für etwa 4 Wochen nach Joachimstal, um dort Radiumbäder zu nehmen. Hoffentlich finde ich nach meiner Rückkehr bereits eine Nachricht von Ihnen vor, dass wir mit dem Druck dann bald beginnen können.

Mit den besten Empfehlungen bin ich

Ihr sehr ergebener

Bruno Meissner. [signed]

PS. Ich habe mir erlaubt, Ihnen das letzteHeft [sic!] meiner "Studien zur assyrischen Lexikographie" mit der gleichen Post als Drucksache zuzuschikken [sic!].

D.O. [signed]

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Natalia Kamovnikova

Clandestine Resistance Literature as the Literature of Trauma

Abstract: This chapter is devoted to examining the literatures of clandestine resistance as literatures of trauma. Clandestine literature emerges as a response to active aggression on the part of a power-holding group and therefore aims to inform and inspire people to protest and fight; it also serves a testimonial function. At the same time, clandestine resistance literatures channel collective and individual trauma, contributing to self-inflicted trauma. To illustrate general trends, the examples used in the chapter are deliberately taken from diverse literatures that differ in their social objectives, historical context, or aesthetics. These include the Soviet clandestine literature of the 1930s, the Dutch anti-occupation resistance literature of World War II, and the Soviet dissident literature of the 1960s.

Keywords: clandestine literature, marginalisation, power, resistance, trauma

1 Introduction: Philology of the unspoken word

Philological studies of the spoken and written word lead us to explore the opposite phenomenon: the word that is unspoken or spoken under circumstances that force one to remain silent. The painful overcoming of dumbness, and, even more so, doing so under conditions that endanger one's own life and well-being, is of undeniable interest to philology. Therefore, the approach to the literature of trauma in this chapter is interdisciplinary; incorporating physiological and cultural theories of trauma into the study of literary phenomena seems particularly necessary now that literature has acquired the additional function of a channel for trauma release. At the same time, however, trauma has always been among the interests of philology, if not always explicitly. As noted by Werner Hamacher, language is "the *euchē*, the plea, the prayer, the desire" (Hamacher 2009, 26). From this philological perspective, resistance takes the form of the desire to withstand, and of trauma – of a plea to be heard. The engage-

Note: This chapter owes its existence to the research fellowship provided to me in 2018 by Ghent University for my project "Clandestine Translation in Times of Fear: The Soviet Union and the Low Countries," in the course of which I gathered most of the illustrative material quoted here. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Ghent University and personal thanks to my fellowship supervisor turned friend Piet van Poucke, both for the opportunity and for the unforgettable period of serene and happy work on most turbulent research topics. This experience sparked many of my new research ideas and projects, including those on clandestine resistance and trauma.

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ment of philology with pain, trauma, and suffering was described in detail by Hamacher in reference to Paul Celan's verse.

> How does philology answer these verses of Celan? By refusing all attempts at measurement through a norm of language that shatters in them. By recognizing that the psychiatric diagnosis of these verses as manifesting an aphasic disorder is itself a disorder of language. By [. . .] adopting them as a memorandum of a language that would be human in a different way – a language of pain which can only say that it is allowed to babble but which injures its own law: which does not bring pain to language but language to pain. (Hamacher 2009, 34)

Literary texts studied in this chapter share a common background: they were all created under social conditions that militate against their writing. In other words, the chapter focuses on texts created in spite of the social situation. To varying degrees, all these texts call for disobedience and were thus created at the risk of the author's well-being, freedom, or even life. Working under such conditions has a lasting traumatic effect on the authors. Consequently, the philological material is explored here through the lens of research on trauma theory, both individual and cultural. Traumatic experiences of authors influence the content and style of their texts, while the reverse is also true: writing and reading these texts contributes to the constitution of the traumatic experience. Applying trauma studies to the material of clandestine resistance literature highlights the connection between resistance literatures that emerge at different times and places. It also offers a new perspective on the authors of resistance texts: not only as strong and brave figures, but also as humans confronting fear, confusion, and loneliness daily.

Combining literature, resistance, and trauma calls for engaging in a wide range of issues. On the one hand, it highlights what has been referred to as "Discourses of the Unsayable" (Coupland and Coupland 1997). On the other hand, studies in trauma require multidisciplinary perspectives, as they deal with "a set of centripetal tensions: between the everyday and the extreme, between individual identity and collective experience, between history and the present, between experience and representation, between facts and memory, and between the 'clinical' and the 'cultural'" (Wertheimer and Casper 2016, 4).

Another key aspect of the multidisciplinary approach in this regard is the relation between language and power and the language response to shifts in culture, politics, and ethics. The interdependence of language and social realities was addressed by Antonio Gramsci in 1935, when he observed that the question of language invariably foregrounds the issues of obtaining and holding power and reorganising cultural hegemony as such (Gramsci 2000, 357). Notably, this statement holds true for exploring issues of resistance in literature but is not necessarily applicable to discussions of the literature of trauma. The literature of trauma is undeniably means by which the authors and the communities they represent find their voices, but it is not always aimed at a total restructuring of powers. In other words, while literatures of resistance to war, occupation, and violence make an undeniable and intentional contribution to the active struggle for social power, the work of resistance literature under conditions of political pressure in totalitarian societies is sometimes more focused on preserving the author's identity and hope for justice. In this context, combining the study of literature, resistance, and trauma enriches their understanding, expanding their interpretation far beyond the classical paradigm.

2 Expressions of resistance in literature

The literature of resistance, which has experienced multiple surges throughout the twentieth century in Europe, continues to be relevant at the end of the first quarter of the twenty-first century. Physics defines resistance as "the opposition offered by a body or substance to the passage through it of a steady electric current" (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, s.v. *resistance*, n.), a definition that metaphorically applies to resistance movements and literatures of resistance. Conforming to the universal laws of physics, resistance literatures have persistently emerged in the face of violations of human rights and freedoms by occupations and totalitarian regimes. At its core, resistance to historical conditions and personalities is driven by a physical and moral desire for freedom. In Taiwo Afuape's words, the choice to engage in reactive or reflective resistance "is often heavily determined by the wider social context, such as the social circumstances, opportunities and restraints we experience" (Afuape 2011, 37). Resistance can manifest itself in multiple ways, including through creative activity, where it takes the form of reflections on the state of affairs as well as direct calls for disobedience and change. Literature of resistance is, therefore, as Barbara Harlow observed, a political and politicised activity, a conscious act of involving oneself in the struggle against ideological or cultural forms of oppression (Harlow 1987, 28–29). By its very nature, resistance to oppression calls for literary activity: the desire to fight injustice and change the environment requires communication with other dissidents or comrades-in-arms, and literature is ideally suited for building the emotional bonds necessary for such solidarity.

The contexts of resistance are diverse and can vary in the intensity and frequency of direct contact with opposing forces. Narratives of resistance have been widely studied in relation to post-colonialism (Carbajal 2014; Davies et al. 2017; Ward 2015), racism (Ernest 2012; Huggan 2007; Kerkering 2003), feminism (Beard 2009; Oldfield 2015; Sandoval 2008), queer studies (Grindstaff 2006; Rand 2014; van Klinken 2019), and disability and healthcare (Hall 2016; Krentz 2022). Research on these narratives of resistance has, therefore, focused on various contexts of human rights violations and on finding ways to restore justice. In this regard, resistance is both a destructive and a creative force, as it seeks to defy oppression and promote justice.

Among the diverse forms of resistance literature, a special place is occupied by those born in the underground and outlawed from their inception. Clandestine literatures are distinguished by their origin – unauthorised writing and distribution – and punishments imposed upon its authors and distributors, which can range from fines and public censure to imprisonment, compulsory psychiatric treatment, and even death. Even when the themes and objectives of clandestine resistance literatures align with more open forms of resistance, the traumatism of the underground narrative is exacerbated by the very conditions of their existence.

This chapter is devoted to examining the literatures of clandestine resistance as literatures of trauma. I deliberately choose very dissimilar examples – literatures that vary significantly in their social objectives, time and place of origin, and aesthetics. These include the Soviet clandestine writings during the Great Purge of the 1930s, the literature of the Dutch anti-occupation resistance of World War II, and the Soviet dissident literature of the 1960s. Against the background of the divergence in key parameters of these literatures, a unifying feature emerges: their clandestine origins and illegal status, which are associated with an ever-present danger of which the authors of clandestine works are acutely aware. This awareness contributes to the subsequent romanticising of clandestine literary activities over time. The halo of romanticism and the belief that clandestine authors and publishers knew neither fear nor pain has, it seems, impeded the active studies in clandestine writings in the context of trauma literature. In this chapter, I aim to dispel the remnants of stereotypes and explore the intersection of clandestine literary activity and trauma. I believe this approach holds great potential for further research on literature, resistance, trauma, and coping.

3 Resistance literature under clandestine conditions

Given its nature and purpose, the literature of resistance is never mainstream. The reverse, however, is not always true: not every non-mainstream work of literature can be classified as literature of resistance in the directly political sense of the word. In challenging existing power, resistance literatures also work towards empowering the communities they represent. The defining feature of clandestine literature is its official illegality, both in terms of its content and in terms of its reproduction and distribution to readers. Clandestine literature emerges as a reaction to active aggression on the part of a group holding power, which is sometimes local but more often national. The power-holding group imposes, among other things, explicit rules on the publication and distribution of literature or holds a complete monopoly on literary activity.

Clandestine literature thus represents an illegal alternative to the forcefully imposed mainstream. At the same time, involvement in clandestine literary activities is regarded by those in power as a criminal act deserving punishment, including, in extreme cases, death. Engaging in clandestine literary activity – whether through organised publishing or individual writing with little prospect to be read or heard – is always an act of social transgression, reflecting individual dissent and refusal to accept the prevailing state of affairs. The most acute and, probably, most powerful description of this feeling is found in the memoirs of Lidia Chukovskaia, who was a close friend and confidante of poet Anna Akhmatova for many years.

> The confine that materially had swallowed up entire city neighbourhoods and spiritually – our thoughts in sleep or in waking, the confine that shouted its own crafted lies from every newspaper page, from every radio broadcast, demanded of us at the same time that we should not mention its name in vain, even within four walls, one to one. We were disobedient, we constantly mentioned its name, vaguely suspecting that even when we were alone, we were not alone, that someone was keeping an eye, or rather ears on us. Surrounded by muteness, the confine wished to remain both omnipotent and nonexistent at the same time; it did not want to allow anyone's word to summon it out of the omnipotent nothingness; it was near, at hand, and at the same time it was as if it did not exist. (Chukovskaia 1997, 12–13)[1]

The withdrawal of literature into the underground and secrecy is directly related to its aesthetic and social goals of challenging oppression. From a genre perspective, confronting aggression can take many forms, including autobiographies, dystopias, reflective poetry, or defiant calls for active resistance (Harlow 1987). An optional but common feature of clandestine writings is their relative brevity, which greatly facilitates distribution. For instance, clandestine literature is often disseminated in manuscript form, which calls for shorter texts, as the dangerous circumstances and the required speed of production make it difficult to rewrite larger texts. Another method of dissemination is underground periodicals, which can sometimes publish larger literary forms in instalments; however, their existence is not stable enough to guarantee the publication of sequels. Consequently, an important feature of clandestine literature is its considerable slant towards poetry, which, due to its mnemonic qualities, is designed to be memorised to be later reproduced without visual support, as Chukovskaia did for Akhmatova in the 1930s (Chukovskaia 1997, 13).

Crucially, clandestine authors do not always view themselves as conspirers against the political powers. Regine Büchel notably observed that, concerning the German resistance, hardly any resistance fighters initially considered themselves as conspirers (Büchel 1975, 51). The reasons for joining the literary resistance are not typically framed as a great mission; rather, authors might speak of their inability to remain silent, their desire to resist injustice, or their search for like-minded people, or they may not comment on their literary activities at all. Nevertheless, clandestine literature is always a form of resistance and, as Sybil Oldfield put it, echoing Virginia Woolf, a "mental fight" against oppression (Oldfield 2015, 1). Another important aspect of defining clandestine resistance literature is its perception by the readership and its recognition as an act of forbidden resistance against authority. Quite importantly, the

1 All translations of literary examples in this chapter are mine unless otherwise indicated.

authorities' recognition of a work of literature as an act of defiance of their rule is also a marker of illegal resistance. Among the non-textual features of clandestine literature is also the heightened caution involved in its dissemination, if not on behalf of the authors, then on behalf of the publishers. Thus, a regular, though not obligatory, feature of clandestine literature is its anonymity or use of pen names as a means of self-protection from political persecution. Over time, the authorship of works can remain obscured; for example, the authorship of the new Geuzen songs in the Netherlands under the Nazi occupation was not revealed until the early 1960s (Dewulf 2010, 106).

Hindered by political circumstances and performed in dangerous conditions, the production of clandestine literature can be intermittent and hasty. In such precarious environments, the focus of attention can shift from form to content and the urgency to communicate the message to the reader quickly; consequently, editing may be minimal or even absent. Breaches in literary quality are more common in literature produced under official pressure compared to works written in more socially favourable circumstances. Describing the production of the new Geuzen songs mentioned above, Jeroen Dewulf noted the comparatively poor literary quality of the poems, which he ascribed to the authors' wish to reach the widest possible audience rather than to achieve artistic perfection. This led to post-war descriptions of Dutch clandestine literature as "unimportant rhymed propaganda," despite its significant cultural and social impact (Dewulf 2010, 106, 166).

On the other hand, the means of resistance in clandestine literature are not restricted to the content and topics of literary works. In the literatures of totalitarian regimes, for example, forms and genres often function as means of resistance, especially when the regime establishes a literary monopoly and dictates aesthetic principles. In February 1965, a group of young poets and writers in Moscow established a creative union called *SMOG*. The Russian acronym humorously stands for *Samoe Molodoe Obshchestvo Geniev* [Society of Youngest Geniuses] and reflects its slogan *Smelost', Mysl', Obraz, Glubina* [Courage, Thought, Image, Depth] and the creative motto *Szhatyi Mig, Otrazhennyi Giperboloi* [The Compressed Moment Reflected by Hyperbole]. The group's manifesto circulated at the time reads:

> We are very, very few. But we are the new sprout of the coming one, which has sprung up on fertile soil. [. . .] Now we are fighting desperately against everyone: from the Komsomol to the middlebrow, from the Chekists to the common herd, from the mediocre to the ignorant – everyone is against us. (Mal'tsev 1976, 85–86)

SMOG members were persecuted: some were expelled from educational institutions, others were banned from residing in the capital, and the most active members were forcibly placed in psychiatric hospitals. Until its forced dissolution in April 1966, *SMOG* members published several poetry collections and a single issue of the journal *Sfinksy* [*Sphynxes*]. The literary works published by *SMOG* were remarkable for their styles and images; see, for instance, the final paragraph of the story "Metempsychosis" by Mark Edvin published in *Sfinksy*: "The flat smelt strongly of gas, but he was still alive. (His soul was moving into the fish. A mistake occurred.) He was discharged from the hospital a month later and lived for twenty-six years" (Mal'tsev 1976, 87). The surrealism of the situation described clashed sharply with the principles of the Soviet literary mainstream, whose reaction was swift and cruel.

Even under military occupation, literary aesthetics and form may well become a means of resistance fit only for clandestine dissemination. A good example in this regard is the Dutch clandestine journal *De Schone Zakdoek* [*The Clean Kerchief*] created in one copy between April 1941 through March 1944 by Gertrude Pape and Theo van Baaren (van Baaren and Pape 1981). The journal focused on publishing modernist and surrealist literary works, which clashed with the Third Reich's policy against "degenerate art." The journal also published translations of works by authors like T. S. Eliot, Paul Eluard, Louis Codet, Benjamin Péret, Gerald Gould, W. H. Auden, Rainer Maria Rilke, Georg Trakl, and Langston Hughes. The editors and authors created surrealistic poetic *cadavres exquis* at private gatherings. These pieces were composed during a game involving folded paper, where a text was produced by different people, each unaware of what had been written so far. Some of these *cadavres exquis* were published by *De Schone Zakdoek*, with one of the most famous being by Eric Terduyn [Emiel van Moerkerken] and Christiaan Johannes van Geel (Terduyn and van Geel 1981, 18–19).

Given the above, one might assume that clandestine literature would have disappeared with the advent of the internet and social networks, which enable literature to reach a significant readership quickly and efficiently. The very definition of "clandestine" begins to acquire blurred contours when applied to the realities of the twenty-first century. However, clandestine literatures still exist today, though their movement to the internet can be metaphorically described as a shift from the "underground" of physical clandestine presses to the "overground," as they are communicated virtually by air. Despite this shift, the characteristics of clandestine literature have not changed as significantly as one might think. Firstly, the control of social networks, however regrettable it may be, has turned out to be quite effective. While Bill Clinton once likened the dream of controlling the internet to nailing Jello to the wall ("Clinton's Words on China" 2000), the first quarter of the twenty-first century has demonstrated that controlling and blocking internet access, individual sites, or social networks is quite possible. In a number of countries with stringent control over citizens, access to blocked sites or social networks may be possible through VPNs, but accessing these sources is automatically considered an offence by state authorities. Consequently, publishing on "banned" social networks and ignoring officially "authorised" ones has become a technique of clandestine literature, akin to the use of underground printing presses in the pre-internet era.

The subject matter of the works published in the internet underground closely resembles that of traditional underground literature, with the main distinction being the potential for collective discussion. This interactivity allows for additional comments, references to other texts, and allusions, which increases the impact of publications. However, the internet readership, not unlike that of paper editions, may include provocateurs – often in the form of real people, but increasingly in the form of bots – as well as informants. Unlike clandestine paper publications, the internet allows for the individual publication of large literary forms. Nonetheless, poetry continues to maintain a prominent role in resistance literature. The quality of published works varies, depending in particular on the discerning nature of the cohort of followers gathered around the author, who can impact the literary quality and encourage the author to edit. Despite this, editing of works clandestinely published on the internet remains challenging due to the necessity of VPNs, which work intermittently and are regularly jammed by the authorities. Authors are in constant danger of provocation or denunciation, with their lives and freedom at risk even if they publish under fictitious names. Given these circumstances, I do not think it is timely or sensible to speak substantively about the clandestine literatures that currently exist. In any case, the objective study of trauma requires a temporal distance from its source, which makes one hope that studies of this material will take place when the time is right.

4 Clandestine writing as trauma self-infliction

The classical view of trauma literature emphasises narratives of resistance describing war, physical violence, and discrimination. These themes are the predominant focus of major publications on trauma in literature (Alexander et al. 2004; Davis and Meretoja 2020b; Kurtz 2018), which is understandable given their prominence in contemporary life. Despite the direct relation of clandestine literatures to these narratives, their proportion on the world literary scene is comparatively small. In addition, the stereotype of the resistance fighter complicates the classification of clandestine resistance literature as trauma literature. To the uninitiated, a resistance author may appear to be a physically strong and fearless revolutionary leader, capable not only of inspiring the masses but also of fighting back against opposing forces. A close study of underground literatures, however, provides evidence to the contrary: the conditions of their production and dissemination, as well as their content, are profoundly traumatic and regularly have adverse effects on those involved in the literary process in the long run. Engagement with clandestine writing is not simply a conscious decision but a deliberate self-infliction of traumatic experience, as the clandestine author may come from a quite prosperous environment, mostly unaffected by the ongoing events. The decision to broadcast misfortune – and clandestine literature does not emerge in times of social optimism and justice – is a conscious act of self-inflicted moral suffering for a greater cause. The endeavour is undertaken with the clear awareness that it may increase moral suffering and potentially lead to physical deprivation, as well as endanger one's life and freedom. These sentiments are vividly expressed in the poem by Jan Campert “Rebel, mijn hart” [Rebel, my Heart], written shortly after the occupation of the Netherlands and Paris in 1940.

> Rebel, mijn hart, gekerkerd en geknecht,
> die aan de tralies van den al-dag rukt,
> weest om Uw tijdlijk lot geenszins bedrukt,
> al zijn Uw kluisters hard, de muren hecht. (Campert 2005, 104)
>
> [Rebel, my heart, imprisoned and enslaved heart,
> That shakes the bars of daily life around you,
> Be not distressed by your temporary fate,
> no matter how hard your shackles and thick the walls.]

The term “trauma,” derived from the Ancient Greek word for “wound” (τραῦμα), has come to encompass a much wider range of phenomena. Among other things, it is used to describe a psychological injury resulting by tragic events or severe distress (Davis and Meretoja 2020a, 1). Trauma can affect both individuals and social groups. In the latter case, it is a culturally mediated event that “occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways” (Alexander 2004, 1). While the term “trauma” can describe a traumatic event itself, it also refers to the psychological effect of the event on an individual or a community. According to the classic definition given by Kai Erikson, an individual trauma is “a blow to the psyche that breaks through one’s defences so suddenly and with such brutal force that one cannot react to it effectively,” whereas a collective trauma is “a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people together and impairs the prevailing sense of communality” (Erikson 1976, 154). Collective trauma affects the identity of a social group, which, in turn, seeks “to represent social pain as a fundamental threat to their sense of who they are” (Alexander 2004, 10). However, collectives do not engage directly in making claims about social reality and responsibilities; instead, they are represented by collective agents of trauma processes, otherwise called carrier groups. These carrier groups can come from various social origins, including generational, institutional, and national backgrounds, and can be part of any social stratum, including denigrated and marginalised classes (Alexander 2004, 11).

By linking the trauma process to the theory of speech acts, Jeffrey C. Alexander identified key components such as the speaker (the carrier group), the audience, and the situation within which the process takes place (Alexander 2004, 11). Applying this scheme to clandestine literature, we see that it occurs under oppressive or even life-threatening circumstances, under which an active carrier group endeavours to communicate its disagreement with the state of affairs first to fellow dissidents and then to a wider audience. The choice of fellow dissidents as an initial target audience is common in trauma narratives; as Alexander observes, expanding the audience of the traumatic claim is only possible after achieving the initial illocutionary success (Alexander 2004, 11). In the case of clandestine resistance literature, the need for the author to establish links to the carrier group is of even greater importance; in fact, sometimes the further broadening of the readership is unwise, as it increases risks. One of the primary functions of resistance literature is to create a community, which it often achieves despite the risks, the highly traumatic content of literature, and the profoundly traumatised members of the community, whose individual stories and opinions invariably increase stress. In this regard, as Erikson notes, "trauma has both centripetal and centrifugal tendencies. [. . .] The human chemistry at work here is an odd one, but it has been noted many times before: estrangement becomes the basis for communality" (Erikson 1995, 186). Uniting is one of the traditional themes of resistance; for example, in 1940, the resistance poet Klaas Heeroma spoke of its vital role for the Dutch nation.

> . . . Dit groote lijden
> Maakte ons tot één volk: niemand kan scheiden,
> Die staan vereenigd om eenzelfde graf. (Heeroma 2005, 47)
>
> [This great suffering
> made us one people: no one can separate
> those who stand united at the same grave.]

In the case of clandestine literature, engaging with the carrier group readership is difficult and gaining feedback in the case of paper presses or manuscript circulation can be next to impossible. Reading clandestine literary works is usually considered a criminal activity by authorities, and the consequences for readers might not differ much from those for writers and publishers. In contemporary online publications, the readership response can partially be gauged by likes, comments, and reposts; however, these metrics are not always indicative of the full reality. Likes, comments, and reposts may also be penalised, leading many readers to remain silent and invisible while closely following the author. In any type of media, authors of clandestine writings can experience the feeling of working in void, totally alone. Quite notably, this sense of isolation is often more pronounced for online authors, as paper publishing traditionally involves a collective effort, engaging a group of clandestine writers or publishers, whereas online publishing can be a very lonely business.

It is significant that, unlike authors writing freely, clandestine authors almost never openly complain about the absence of readers. However, the fact that the readership is blurred and unstructured is sometimes mentioned in their works, albeit metaphorically. Such references crop up in both anti-war and dissident literature. For instance, the collection compiled by Willem J. H. B. Sandberg in 1943 was entitled *Lectura sub aqua* [*Underwater Readings*], a metaphor for the necessity of many Dutch readers to go into hiding. Sandberg opened the collection by repeating the image: "Part of the Dutch nation lives under water, another part just manages to keep its head above water" (Sandberg 1943, 8 in Dewulf 2010, 86). The limited dissemination and the small circle of readers were referred to by the Russian poet-dissident Aleksandr Galich in 1966, as he described the dissident literature's opposition to the mainstream.

> Их имён с эстрад не рассиропили,
> В супер их не тискают облаточный:
> «Эрика» берёт четыре копии,
> Вот и всё!
> . . . А этого достаточно. (Galich 2006, 144)
>
> [Their names have not been turned to syrup by pop stages,
> They are not squeezed into super covers:
> "Erika" takes four copies,
> That's it!
> . . . And that's enough.]

The "Erika" mentioned by Galich is the name of the typewriter used for Soviet underground publishing. The GDR typewriter manufactured by "VEB Dresden" made it possible to simultaneously print four readable carbon copies on thin paper, though the top one was bold and the bottom one barely legible. The typewriter, however, is not the most unusual tool used in the history of clandestine literature. Because of electricity shortages, some Dutch resistance publishers had to power the printing press by hooking it up to a bicycle, which someone had to pedal continuously (Dewulf 2010, 90).

The feeling of alienation from the readership continuously intensifies the traumatic experience of clandestine authors, who are already facing a traumatic environment, traumatic messages of writings, and the constant threat of discovery. Yet the feeling of loneliness is not only a risk for clandestine resistance authors; it is also an object of struggle. Totalitarian and occupation regimes portray resistance as an anomaly, reducing it to isolated instances of protest led by individual protesters who are unstable, criminally inclined, or even mentally ill. In this context, the refutation of loneliness becomes an additional task that significantly increases traumatic stress. Even when clandestine literature is able to reach an audience and have an impact, the reaction of the central resistance group can sometimes be negative. For instance, some members of the Dutch resistance criticised clandestine literature of protest, arguing that the resources involved should rather be used to physically fight the occupiers, dismissing clandestine poetry as "silly romanticism" and "an elitist waste of paper" (Dewulf 2010, 161).

In cases of clandestine literary opposition to the political mainstream, the authors can be written off as graphomaniacs. With little feedback from the readership, it is difficult for writers to refute such accusations. The profound loneliness of a non-mainstream writer was poignantly described by Andrei Siniavskii (also known under his pen name Abram Terz) in his 1960 short story "Graphomaniacs."

> Admirers, bibliographers, memoirists . . . And who will write memoirs about me? Who will remember and immortalise me, I am asking you? [. . .] Then I broke loose, halting abruptly, stopping at full acceleration, and almost falling down, and looked spitefully into the dark sky that hung low over my forehead. I spoke not loudly, but weightily enough, addressing directly into there,
>
> Hey, you, you graphomaniac! Quit your job! Everything you write is worthless. How inept your writings are. You are impossible to read . . . (Terz 2008, 55)

Painful discussion topics, self-inflicted moral suffering, low readership response, potential denial, the necessity to keep up one's morale, and, finally, dangerous circumstances clearly qualify clandestine literature as literature of trauma. Clandestine literary works represent a channel for raising traumatic issues, seeking solutions, and hoping for justice and punishment for the perpetrators. It has been observed that any engagement in resistance is preceded by affect, which in turn is linked to a threat to one's own identity (Afuape 2011, 44; Smelser 2004, 40). The urge to communicate one's position on injustice under trauma becomes inevitable, as, in Cathy Caruth's words, "to be traumatized is precisely to be possessed by an image or event" (Caruth 1995, 4–5). This possession is comparable to the steady electric current that was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter; the reaction begins when the body and mind are pierced with pain. Authors of clandestine resistance works are carriers of trauma, be it wittingly or unwittingly; the initial traumatic trigger can be of any nature, from physical violence to vicarious trauma. The clandestine literature readership response is blurred to the degree that authors might feel completely invisible and muffled by the mainstream, which increases the traumatic experience.

Another important feature of clandestine narratives is that they acutely respond to ongoing events, reacting to what is happening in near real time. This feature clearly distinguishes clandestine narratives from other traumatic narratives: whereas most trauma literature is considered a delayed response to traumatic events (Davis and Meretoja 2020a, 3–4), clandestine resistance authors channel traumatic events with minimal distance from their occurrence. This absence of latency places clandestine authors' work in a very specific mode, in which the reliving and releasing of psychological trauma is sidelined for the sake of the social and aesthetic struggles. As a result, these authors continually live within the trauma, even self-inflicting it in the service of their cause.

5 Clandestine writing as fighting injustice

Clandestine literature, as a reaction to ongoing events, plays a crucial role in informing and inspiring its audience to resist pressure and injustice, while also functioning as potential testimony. In the framework of the Remember/Know paradigm (Jensen 2019, 36), clandestine writing aligns closely with "knowing" due to the immediacy of the creative response. The testimonial function is ingrained in resistance writing and especially clandestine literary activity. As Meg Jensen observed, testimonies are frequently constituted by “marginalized populations in response to oppressive systems and institutions” (Jensen 2020, 67). Testimonies in resistance literatures are not solely focused on finding allies and fighting aggressors; they also serve the more far-reaching purpose of preserving memory for the sake of restoring justice when the time comes. For clandestine literature, the act of testimony is particularly important given its inherent vulnerability: printed and handwritten copies are not plentiful, and online publications are often destroyed in a matter of minutes by authors or their families in moments of personal danger or a sudden escalation of social issues.

Literary testimonies written clandestinely can initially be created for dissemination or for introspective purposes: to ensure that events are not forgotten, to make sense of them later, and, crucially, to avoid being accused of exaggerating the scale of what occurred. At the time of writing, such works of literature already belong to the underground by virtue of their content and, if discovered, may serve as evidence of their author’s supposed criminal thinking and actions. Their circulation only increases the potential risk for the author. This is exemplified in Anna Akhmatova’s “Requiem,” an elegy about the terrible Great Purge of the 1930s, in course of which Akhmatova’s son and husband were arrested several times. Prefacing the elegy, Akhmatova gives an account of the event that inspired the work, emphasising that her primary motivation was to preserve the individual and collective memory – to serve as a testimony for the restoration of justice and a proof of personal sanity.

> In those dreadful years of the Yezhov terror, I spent seventeen months in Leningrad’s prison queues. On one occasion someone “recognized” me. A woman standing behind me, who of course had never heard of me, awoke from the stupor we all shared and murmured in my ear (for we all spoke in whispers there),
>
> “So can you describe this?”
>
> And I said,
>
> “I can.”
>
> And as I answered, something resembling a smile slipped briefly across what had once been her face. (Akhmatova 2016 [1957], translated by Rupert Moreton)

Akhmatova worked on her poem intermittently, starting it in the 1930s and returning to it in the 1950s. Manuscripts of “Requiem” were regularly burned by Akhmatova after reading them to people she trusted, as described in this chapter above. “Requiem” began circulating in Russian underground literature in the 1960s, but its first full publication occurred abroad, in Munich in 1964. It was not fully published in Russia until 1987, twenty-one years after its author’s death.

A similar fate of delayed recognition and justice befell Iulii Daniel’s poem “And at this time . . .,” which he wrote in a prison camp at the end of the 1960s while serving a sentence alongside Siniavskii for illegal literary activities and publications abroad. Daniel’s poem is also an attempt to record the fates of people imprisoned in Soviet labour camps and preserve their testimonies for posterity.

> Нам – не идиллия, не пастораль,
> Не бессловесный гимн –
> Обречены мы запомнить всё
> И рассказать другим. (Daniel' 1971, 84)
>
> [To us – this is no idyll, nor a pastoral,
> Nor a wordless hymn –
> We are doomed to remember it all
> And tell it to others.]

Clandestine resistance writing is, therefore, an activity with a potentially deferred effect, which is also a feature of trauma. Caruth describes the issue as "not, fundamentally, a problem of representation, but a question of address" (Caruth 2020, 79). The lack of a clearly defined readership and sometimes uncertainty about its minimal existence exacerbate the traumatic experience. Additionally, the longevity of clandestine works is questionable by the nature of the circumstances of their creation, making it difficult to imagine future readerships of people who would want to reconstruct the true state of affairs.

The stereotype of the underground hero fighting in the name of restoring truth and justice makes it very difficult to perceive the clandestine resistance author as a suffering party. Reference to the dictionary confirms the stereotype: for example, *Merriam-Webster* compares a "fighter" to a warrior, a soldier, or even a boxer (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, s.v. *fighter*, n.). A literary resistance fighter does not overtly conform to conventional notions of victimhood, which involve passivity, helplessness, and the uncomplaining endurance of suffering. This misrepresentation can lead, as Susana Onega ruthlessly puts it, to a shift in the society's "attitude to victims of trauma or loss if they do not fulfil their expected sacrificial roles" (Onega 2020, 94).

In this regard, the most important parameter of clandestine resistance literature is the constant struggle with fear. This struggle has both a social orientation, as it informs and inspires the readership and works towards building a community of fellow dissidents, and an individual introspective orientation, as it is a constant battle with the relentless fear of censure, obscurity, reprisal, and potential denial of readership. This dual struggle is captured by Siniavskii in "Graphomaniacs," in which he speaks of the suppression of creative endeavours, the imposition of limits on what is allowed in literature, and the enforcement of prescribed forms as forms of violence and injustice that authors must resist by continuing their independent work. The last paragraph, full of determination to persist despite all the fears and dangers of clandestine activity, resonates with underground literatures across eras. These are the words of a man who was crushed by adversity but who refuses to surrender, steadfast in his faith in the mission of his work.

> Write! Don't be afraid. Let them laugh at you and call you a graphomaniac. They're graphomaniacs themselves. Graphomaniacs are around us. We are many, many more than necessary. And we live in vain and die in vain. But one of us will get there. Either you, or me, or someone else.

> He'll get there, he'll bring it there. Write, Pavel, write your tales about your funny dwarfs. And I will write about mine . . . You and I will make up so many fairy-tales . . . A dime a thousand. Just don't say anything to Mum. (Terz 2008, 56–57)

6 Conclusion

Studying clandestine resistance literature in the context of trauma research allows us to expand our understanding of the nature of underground resistance in general. Clandestine literature is not a separate genre, theme, or singular historical phenomenon. However, it functions within a specific narrative that distinguishes it from other literatures of resistance and protest. The realisation that what one creates at a given moment has already been banned and thus renders oneself an outlaw – even if the content of one's writing is harmless on the universal human scale – is a source of trauma in itself. The traumatism of clandestine literature increases with the number of obstacles such literature encounters. The trauma of resistance inevitably translates into the themes and motifs of clandestine literature, further increasing the individual trauma of the author. Over time, the author is transformed into a fighter and conspirator in the eyes of the public, even if he or she never aspired to such roles.

This chapter aims to bring the clandestine resistance literary narrative into the framework of trauma literature research. This vision of clandestine literature presents us with a whole range of issues and challenges. For example, a crucial point for further consideration of trauma in clandestine resistance literature is the issue of victimhood and individual responsibility for the ongoing events. The burden of individual responsibility can have serious traumatic consequences, potentially even manifesting as perpetrator trauma. Regarding the structure of clandestine traumatic discourse, translations from other languages published in underground periodicals can be of particular interest. Traditionally studied for their selection criteria, literary translations must also be analysed as actions that contribute to the increase of collective and individual traumas. Translations tend to reduplicate the traumatic experience across languages, attesting to the universality of traumatic experiences and adding to the trauma experienced by translators themselves. Finally, it would be extremely interesting to apply a quantitative approach to the study of clandestine resistance literatures to measure changes in traumatic markers as the danger posed by historical events increases or decreases.

The literature of clandestine resistance, as was indicated at the beginning of the chapter, is in many ways a literature of loneliness. It is a literature of solitude by the fact of its creation, a literature of strength by the inner resilience of its authors, and often a literature of heroism by its impact on the contemporaries. Each of these elements – loneliness, strength, heroism – has the potential to participate in the formation and infliction of trauma. Therefore, an examination of clandestine resistance literatures that does not consider trauma theory cannot do them justice. Integrating trauma theory into the study of resistance literatures does not diminish the author's greatness and heroism; on the contrary, it recognises the power inherent in overcoming fear, which is where true greatness lies. Understanding how people find their voice in literature and confront the fear of death through language is a crucial philological task. By addressing trauma theory in philological studies, we gain deeper insights into the power of literature and its role in enabling humans to transcend their circumstances, thereby becoming true creators of their own destinies and a source of hope for others.

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Mert Moralı

Transformation through Translation: The Introduction of Bertolt Brecht and Epic Theatre into the Turkish Theatrical System

Abstract: This chapter investigates how epic theatre was introduced to the Turkish theatrical system in the late 1950s and mid-1960s through the translation and rewriting of Bertolt Brecht's plays. The early translations of Brecht's work into Turkish initiated the introduction of epic theatre as a genre into the Turkish theatrical system. These translations were accompanied by a plethora of paratextual materials, including extended prefaces that accompanied the in-print translations of Brecht plays, opinions in local newspapers, play reviews, and theoretical writings on epic theatre. The introduction of this novel genre was further encouraged by the inaugural Brecht performances on the Turkish stage by various theatre groups. The Turkish staging of Brecht led to heated debate and significant division not only among theatre professionals but also within the broader cultural landscape and public sphere. However, the Turkish translations of Brecht plays did not merely challenge the political and intellectual life of Türkiye during the 1960s; the innovative aesthetic and ideological nature of Brecht's works in Turkish translation also facilitated the production of the first Turkish epic plays such as *Keşanlı Ali Destanı* [*The Ballad of Ali of Keshan*] by the Turkish playwright Haldun Taner. The translations, rewritings, and indigenous epic plays collectively laid the foundation for a transformation in the cultural landscape, resulting in the emergence of a new Turkish epic theatre and the creation of a new repertoire.

Keywords: translation, rewriting, cultural transfer, theatre history, epic theatre

1 Introduction

Translation has always served as a driver of innovation within the Turkish literary and theatrical landscape. During the nineteenth century, the theatrical traditions of the Ottoman Empire diverged considerably from Western drama. In essence, drama as understood in the West was non-existent. The popular form of public entertainment was the traditional shadow theatre, known as *Karagöz*.[1] However, the *Tanzimat*

1 Further information about the theatre in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century can be found in *Tanzimat ve İstibdat Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu 1839–1908* [*Turkish Theatre during the Reformation and Despotism Period 1839 –1908*]. In this book, theatre historian and scholar Metin And (1972) provides extensive information on the theatre of the period. *Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi* [*The History of*

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[Reformation] period of the nineteenth century witnessed the introduction of new literary forms, such as the novel and play, into the Ottoman literary and theatrical system, facilitated by translations from Western literature (Berk 2006, 3). These translations, particularly those from French literature, spurred the creation of New Turkish Literature in the second half of the nineteenth century (Paker 1987, 31). Multiple actors played pivotal roles in the emergence of this new literary and theatrical system. During the early nineteenth century, an Armenian minority within the Empire, known for its vibrant cultural production, undertook the first translations of Western dramas, thus initiating a transformation in the Ottoman theatre system. Hasmik Stepanyan (2008, 1438) highlights that between 1727 and 1968, approximately 2,000 Turkish translations, including 500 plays, were produced in Armenian letters across fifty printing houses in 200 cities. Furthermore, the governor and statesman Ahmed Vefik Paşa's translations and unwavering support significantly bolstered the development of drama as a genre. Özlem Berk (1999, 95) notes that Ahmed Vefik Paşa aimed to promote theatre and drama within the Ottoman Empire through his translations and staging of plays by Molière.

Echoing its pivotal role within the Ottoman Empire, translation continued to have a formative influence on Turkish culture in the early years of the Republic of Türkiye. Following the abolition of the Sultanate in 1923, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk established a new Republic that looked to the West as a model and implemented policies aligned with the Westernisation movement. In this context, translation activities once again played a vital role in shaping the new Turkish identity and acculturating the public through a new repertoire heavily influenced by Western works (Tahir Gürçağlar 2008, 51). The Translation Bureau, founded by the Ministry of Education in 1940, compiled an extensive list of literary classics aligned with the Republic's Westernisation policy and undertook their translation (Karantay 1991, 98), resulting in the translation of 1,247 works into Turkish (Tahir Gürçağlar 2008, 71). These translations contributed to a diverse cultural atmosphere. Between 1923 and 1950, the majority of repertoires in orchestras, theatres, ballets, and operas consisted of translations of Western plays (Berk 2006, 11).

Turkish Theatre] by Refik Ahmet Sevengil (2015) focuses particularly on the theatre during the *Tanzimat* and *Meşrutiyet* [the Constitutional Era] in the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, Mehmet Fatih Uslu (2015) offers a novel perspective on nineteenth century theatre in the Ottoman Empire, with a particular focus on Turkish and Armenian drama, in his work *Çatışma ve Müzakere: Osmanlıda'da Türkçe ve Ermenice Dramatik Edebiyat* [*Conflict and Negotiation: Turkish and Armenian Dramatic Literature in the Ottoman Empire*]. For a more literary and comprehensive discussion of Ottoman literature during the *Tanzimat* period, please refer to *Tanzimat ve Edebiyat: Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Modern Edebi Kültür* [*Tanzimat and Literature: Modern Literary Culture of the Ottoman İstanbul*], edited by Mehmet Fatih Uslu and Fatih Altuğ (2020). Finally, for those seeking to gain insight into the role of translation in the *Tanzimat* period in the Ottoman Empire, Özlem Berk's (1999) *Translation and Westernisation (from the 1840s to the 1980s)* is an invaluable resource.

Turkish history witnessed significant upheavals in the 1950s during the rule of the Democrat Party (DP). After years of social turmoil, the extremely tense political climate eased with the adoption of a new constitution following the 1960 coup d'état against the DP. Thanks to the new constitution, theatre circles also celebrated a wave of relative freedom in the early 1960s (Gürün 2020, 40), which in return encouraged theatre activities within the country. The renowned translator, poet, and intellectual Talat Sait Halman (1972, 231), the first Minister of Culture, points out that the booming theatre activities of the 1960s could be the most significant development of the period for the Turkish intellectual life. Halman (1972, 231) also notes the coexistence of theatrical forms and styles, such as vaudevilles, modernised shadow theatre, musicals, and Brechtian epic theatre, alongside social and political satire. Regarding the richness of the theatrical atmosphere in this period, theatre scholar Müzeyyen Buttanrı (2010, 65) highlights the creation of the first politically engaged theatres such as the Dostlar Tiyatrosu, Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu, Ankara Birliği Sahnesi, and Devrim için Hareket Tiyatrosu.

In this atmosphere, Bertolt Brecht's works and epic theatre were introduced to the Turkish theatrical system through translations in the mid-1950s (Erkazancı Durmuş 2020, 87) and gained significant traction in the mid-1960s. These initial efforts to introduce Brecht can be interpreted as a response to a demand for a novel theatrical form based on new aesthetics. Brecht and his epic theatre could potentially revitalise the Turkish theatrical landscape and serve as a political tool by prompting audiences to engage in critical discourse regarding societal and political issues within the country. Brecht's epic theatre demonstrably possesses such potential as a distinct theatrical approach. It actively encourages audiences to critically analyse what unfolds on stage and fosters a critical perspective towards real-life socio-economic and political developments.

This chapter examines a modern instance of the emergence of a new theatrical form in the Turkish theatrical system with a focus on the notions of translation and rewriting.[2] To this end, it investigates how epic theatre was introduced to the Turkish theatrical system through the translations and rewritings of Marxist playwright Bertolt Brecht's works, which sparked heated debates within Turkish society in the 1960s and paved the way for the birth of the first indigenous epic works in Turkish. For

2 It is challenging to draw a clear line between the notions of translation and rewriting since the boundaries between original and translation may be blurred in numerous instances. Nevertheless, I refer to the notion of *translation* to denote translation proper, whereas I employ *rewriting* to refer to forms of textual production such as essays, interviews, reviews, columns and to a certain extent, indigenous texts, since these forms of textual production rewrite texts, authors/playwrights and on occasion, a whole theatrical tradition. Still, in certain instances, these "rewritings" can unite translations and original works within the same text. To illustrate, a theoretical essay may draw upon the translation of various sources and the original writing of the author, thereby blurring the distinction between the two.

understanding the introduction of novelties through translation and the impact of Brecht's work on the Turkish theatrical system, Itamar Even-Zohar's (2012 [1990]) polysystem theory offers valuable insights that facilitate conceptualising the entire transfer process and the interaction between the translated literature and target systems. In his theory, Even-Zohar (2012 [1990]) posits that culture is comprised of interconnected systems. These systems collectively constitute a polysystem where various systems coexist in a constant mode of change and interaction. In a literary polysystem, translation plays a pivotal role, even though it is often considered a secondary. It shapes the home literary system and leads to the creation of new repertoires. Even-Zohar (2012 [1990], 163) considers translated literature "not only as an integral system within any literary polysystem, but as a most active system within it." He emphasises that translated literature interacts with the target system in two ways: (1) In the selection of source texts based on the conventions of the target system and (2) in the adoption of "the norms, behaviours, and policies" prevailing in the target system – both evidently reveal Even-Zohar's view on translated literature (Even-Zohar 2012 [1990], 163). He explains that these positions can vary significantly, such that translation and translated texts may play different roles and affect the system in contrasting ways. If translation holds a "central" position in the target system, it plays an "innovatory" (primary) role that influences the creation of repertoire by importing new forms into the target system. On the other hand, when it holds a "peripheral" position, translation plays a "conservational" (secondary) role, preserving the established norms and conventions of the target system instead of serving as a source of innovation (Even-Zohar 2012 [1990], 163). There could be three situations in which translation will fulfil a central role in a target system:

> (a) when a polysystem has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is young, in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either peripheral (within a large group of correlated literatures) or weak, or both; and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature. (Even-Zohar 2012 [1990], 164)

The late 1950s and 1960s in Türkiye present a case study that aligns with the final situation outlined in Even-Zohar's framework. Faced with potential stagnation in the production of novel theatrical forms, intellectuals (authors, playwrights, translators, critics, etc.) in the early 1960s turned their gaze to new modes of expression within Western theatre. This shift can be interpreted as similar to the dynamics that unfolded in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Turkish Republic. In this context, it can be argued that translation facilitated the importation of novel theatrical forms into the Turkish theatrical system, ultimately leading to the emergence of epic theatre as a new form and repertoire.

However, it is essential to acknowledge that translation, despite its innovative and central role, is not the sole medium for introducing novelty into a target system. More often than not, it coexists alongside other forms of textual production, including rewritings and the composition of indigenous texts – the nascent forms of the same literary form expressed in the language of the target system. Much like translation, rewritings play an active and transformative role in the introduction of new works or theatrical forms altogether. However, it is crucial to recognise that this form is far from being objective or neutral. André Lefevere (1992, 9) posits that rewriting constitutes an effective form of manipulation. He elaborates that rewriters "adapt and manipulate the originals they work with to some extent, usually to make them fit in," ultimately constructing "images of a writer, a work, a period, a genre, sometimes even a whole literature [. . .] under the constraints of certain ideological and/or poetological currents" (Lefevere 1992, 5–8). It is through these manipulated representations that the target audience encounters the work. Consequently, Lefevere (1992, 4) argues that rewriting is not merely "ancillary" and is, in fact, "the lifeline [. . .] [between] high literature [and] the non-professional reader." In other words, individuals engage with literature through the lens of those who rewrite the original, regardless of the specific form this rewriting takes.

This chapter argues that diverse forms of rewriting, including essays, interviews, reviews, and columns, and translations occupied a central position and played an innovative role in the creation of a new epic theatre repertoire in the Turkish theatrical system. Rewriters, acting as social agents, contributed to shaping a particular image of Brecht's work and laying the groundwork for a new theatrical form during a period of crisis or vacuum within the Turkish literary and theatrical system. It is also important to emphasise that these rewritings often drew upon translation, frequently combining translated material and original writing to varying degrees, thus blurring the lines between the two. Furthermore, the roles of rewriters and writers often overlapped, with individuals functioning in both capacities.

Leveraging this theoretical framework, this study is structured into three sections. These sections aim to provide a comprehensive picture of the initial attempts to introduce Brecht and epic theatre to the Turkish literary and theatrical landscape. The first section focuses on *Der gute Mensch von Sezuan* [*The Good Person of Sezuan*], the first Brecht play translated into Turkish, and examines the political and social repercussions of this process. The second section investigates two sources classified as rewritings of Brecht in Turkish by the author of this study. The first source is *Bert Brecht Özel Sayısı* [*Bert Brecht Special Issue*] (1964), published by Istanbul City Theatres, which features introductory articles on Brecht in Turkish alongside translations of selected Brecht works. The second source is *Türkiye'de Brecht* [*Brecht in Türkiye*] (1976) by theatre critic, translator, and scholar Özdemir Nutku. Nutku's book includes his reviews of Brecht plays staged in the 1960s and 1970s alongside theoretical articles and translations on Brechtian theatre. The third and final section centres around the first epic play in Turkish, *Keşanlı Ali Destanı* [*The Ballad of Ali Keshan*] by renowned Turkish playwright Haldun Taner (1970 [1964]). This final section explores the play's international reception and draws comparisons between the traditional Turkish theatre, *The Ballad of Ali Keshan,* and Brecht's works from the perspective of epic theatre.

The common thread tying these three sections together is the involvement of the same individuals who were instrumental in the translation, rewriting, and original writing of epic theatre in Turkish. Through the examination of these diverse examples, this three-part structure illuminates the process by which Brecht was first introduced to the Turkish theatrical system and how this gradually ignited a transformative movement. Investigating how translators, theatre scholars and critics, and playwrights engaged in various processes of text production during the migration of Brecht and epic theatre into the Turkish theatrical system can broaden our perspective in multiple ways. Firstly, this study sheds light on how the migration of texts from one culture to another, an inevitable result of global connectivity, shapes the formation and transformation of new literary forms and culture in general. Secondly, it contributes to overcoming the methodological nationalism inherent in philology. An isolated methodology that does not take global connectivity into consideration will fail to illuminate the interconnected practices of textual production and the relationship between various actors and networks. In this sense, this chapter can serve as a testament to the value of a perspective based on Connected Philology[3] in elucidating the processes of textual production and the roles of multiple actors in the transfer of Brecht and epic theatre.

2 The introduction of Bertolt Brecht in Türkiye: The translation of *Der gute Mensch von Sezuan*

Epic theatre was introduced to the Turkish theatrical system via the translation of *Der gute Mensch von Sezuan* (hereafter referred to as *Sezuan*) – the first translation of a Brecht play into Turkish. *Sezuan* can be seen as the catalyst for a new repertoire within the Turkish theatrical system, illustrating the innovative role translation plays as suggested by Even-Zohar (2012 [1990]). The initial reception of *Sezuan* in Türkiye reflected the country's deep political divisions: while facing political bans and violent attacks fuelled by accusations of communism, it garnered praise and sparked heated debates, ultimately inspiring the production of similar works.

One of the most valuable bibliographical sources on Turkish theatre, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Tiyatro Bibliyografyası* [*Bibliography for the Turkish Theatre during the Republican Period*] (hereafter referred to as the *Bibliography*), compiled by Ahmet Borcaklı and Gülter Koçer (1973), provides a comprehensive listing of plays published within the Republican Era. Notably, it identifies *Sezuan* as the first Brecht play trans-

3 I would like to express my gratitude to the organisers of the conference "Beyond Comparison: Towards a Connected Philology" for providing all the participants with the opportunity to share their intriguing works and paving the way for the creation of this book.

lated into Turkish. Published in 1957 by Şehir Printing House, the translation was made by Adalet Cimcoz, with Teoman Aktürel handling the translations of the songs and poems within the play. After a five-year gap, *Sezuan* was followed by Ünal Üstün's translation of *Die Ausnahme und die Regel* [*The Exception and the Rule*], published by Sıralar Publishing House in 1962. This marked the beginning of a surge in Brecht translations into Turkish, with works such as *Die Gewehre der Frau Carrar* [*Senora Carrar's Rifles*] (tr. Teoman Aktürel), *Der kaukasische Kreidekreis* [*The Caucasian Chalk Circle*] (tr. Adalet Ağaoğlu), and *Leben des Galilei* [*Life of Galileo*] (tr. Adalet Cimcoz and Teoman Aktürel), all published in the same year. In 1963, the pace of both translations and the first performances of these works increased substantially. Brecht's popularity continued to grow, as evidenced by further translations in 1965, including *Die Dreigroschenoper* [*The Threepenny Opera*] (tr. Tuncay Çavdar), *Die Kleinbürgerhochzeit* [*A Respectable Wedding*] (tr. Hasan Kaya Öztaş), and *Herr Puntila und sein Knecht Matti* [*Mr Puntila and His Man Matti*] (tr. Adalet Cimcoz). All translated Brecht works are of major significance within the Turkish theatrical system due to their politically and aesthetically provocative nature. However, the first translation of *Sezuan* stands apart for two key reasons. Firstly, it can be argued that *Sezuan* paved the way for the introduction of a vast repertoire within a new theatrical form – epic theatre – and encouraged the translation of other Brecht works within the Turkish literary and theatrical system. Secondly, it ignited heated political and ideological debates, revealing the deep political divisions present in Turkish society during the 1960s.

The first Turkish translation of *Sezuan* was completed in 1957 by Adalet Cimcoz. Cimcoz had been encouraged by the well-known Turkish playwright Haldun Taner, who would go on to author the first Turkish epic play, *Keşanlı Ali Destanı* in 1964 (Yücekurt Ünlü 2019, 162). In an interview (n.d.), Taner recalls witnessing a rehearsal of *Sezuan* and seeing Brecht himself, an experience that left him with a deep admiration for the play, particularly the epic theatre technique. Upon returning home, he persuades Cimcoz to undertake the translation. According to information from the *Bibliography* (1973), the first edition of *Sezuan* in Turkish also includes various short stories and poems by Brecht. Taner confirms this in his interview, adding that he authored the first Turkish essay on the technique of Brechtian theatre specifically for this edition. This suggests that the *Sezuan* translation was likely conceived as an introductory work, aiming to familiarise Turkish audiences with Brecht's diverse artistic output and the theoretical framework of Brechtian theatre.

Sadly, the initial introduction of *Sezuan* to the Turkish theatrical landscape faced significant political and social challenges. Shortly after its publication in 1957, the book was banned over accusations of promoting communist propaganda (Yücekurt Ünlü 2019, 162). Although the ban was eventually lifted after an investigation had found no evidence of such content, the play had already lost momentum due to the controversy (Ay 1964, 5). Even the prestigious Istanbul City Theatres, which had initiated rehearsals in 1957, cancelled their planned staging. Despite these setbacks, 1964 marked a turning point, as the Istanbul City Theatres announced their intention to stage *Sezuan* in the 1963–1964 season.

However, in March 1964, this enthusiasm was tragically overshadowed by a reactionary attack on the Tepebaşı Dram Stage where the play was being staged. As reported by Lütfi Ay (1964), a mob stormed the theatre, vandalising and burning posters, accusing the play of communist propaganda. Strikingly, the attackers set fire to the printed translations of the play to reveal their supposed subversive content. This incident sparked a heated debate among intellectuals, reflecting the substantial political polarisation within mid-1960s Türkiye. While some viewed the attack as an assault on democracy and freedom (Nutku 1976, 61), urging the Istanbul City Theatres to stand firm against such reactionaries, others, like Tarık Buğra, condemned Brecht as a communist sympathiser (Gürün 2000, 83). Ultimately, although it is unclear whether this was directly or indirectly linked to this incident, Muhsin Ertuğrul, the esteemed head of the City Theatres, was removed from his position in 1966, and the theatre did not stage another Brecht play until 1975.

Despite the unfortunate events surrounding the attempted staging and their aftermath, *Sezuan* garnered significant appreciation from some theatre experts. In his column, Lütfi Ay (1964) lauded not only Beklan Algan's direction but also the translation by Adalet Cimcoz and Teoman Aktürel. Ay (1964, 32) praised Cimcoz's translation for its clarity and fluency, while commending Aktürel's translation of the poems for preserving their poetic value. He further noted that the play's most significant contribution to Turkish theatre was its introduction of epic theatre to both audiences and playwrights, potentially inspiring them to create similar works (Ay 1964, 32).

This tumultuous journey of *Sezuan* through the Turkish theatrical landscape highlights the resistance new forms can encounter, not only on aesthetic grounds but also politically. Texts inherently embody the ideology of their creators. When crossing cultural borders, they may face challenges due to their incompatibility with the norms of the target system. In this context, Even-Zohar's (2012 [1990]) observation regarding the two ways translated literatures engage with the target system is particularly relevant: the selection of source texts and their adaptation to the norms, behaviours, and policies in their use of target literary repertoire. Viewed from a broader perspective, it is unsurprising that Brecht – a figure perceived as novel and oppositional by certain segments of Turkish society – encountered resistance from conservative forces. However, as will be demonstrated in the following sections, this resistance ultimately could not prevent the transformative influence his works gradually exerted on the Turkish theatrical system.

3 Rewriting Bertolt Brecht in Turkish: The cases of *Bert Brecht Special Issue* (1964) and *Brecht in Türkiye* (1976)

Building upon the impact of *Sezuan* on Turkish theatrical system and intellectual discourse, this section investigates two significant contributions to the reception of Brecht's theatre in Türkiye. Firstly, the *Bert Brecht Özel Sayısı* [*Bert Brecht Special Issue*],[4] published by the Istanbul City Theatres in 1964, just prior to their unfortunate attempt to stage *Sezuan*, is examined. This dedicated publication serves as a historical document, revealing the Istanbul City Theatres' enthusiasm for staging the first professional Brecht play on the Turkish stage. An analysis of this publication provides valuable insights into the early theatrical engagement with Brecht's work in Türkiye. Secondly, *Türkiye'de Brecht* [*Brecht in Türkiye*] (1976) by renowned Turkish director, translator, scholar, and critic Özdemir Nutku is explored. This work compiles Nutku's own reviews of Brecht plays staged in Türkiye during the 1960s and early 1970s. Beyond mere reviews, the book also includes informative essays on Brechtian theatre that aim to educate the audience on the principles and techniques of epic theatre in a clear manner. Nutku's contribution goes beyond mere documentation; it serves as a valuable resource for Brecht's reception within the Turkish theatrical landscape.

3.1 *Bert Brecht Special Issue* (1964)

In 1964, as a prelude to their historic staging of *Sezuan,* the Istanbul City Theatres dedicated an entire issue of their renowned journal to Bertolt Brecht. This publication served as a platform for key figures involved in introducing Brecht's work to Turkish audiences, including the prominent playwright Haldun Taner. Taner's contribution to the special issue is noteworthy not only for its biographical information about Brecht and introductory overview of his work but also for its expression of profound admiration for *Sezuan*. This is particularly striking considering Taner's familiarity with Brecht's more established and canonical plays. It suggests that *Sezuan*, despite its relative obscurity in Turkish theatrical landscape at the time, held a distinct allure for Taner and potentially reflected a wider enthusiasm surrounding the play's upcoming Turkish premiere:[5]

> Adalet Cimcoz ve Teoman Ektürel'in Brecht'in sanatı hakkında Türk okuyucusuna, belki de seyircisine bir fikir vermek için çevirip sunduğu Sezuan'ın İyi İnsanı, epic tiyatro estetiğinin en usta

4 It is difficult to comprehend why the publishers decided to abbreviate Brecht's name. As I understand it, there are no explanations for this abbreviation.

5 All translations from Turkish are my own unless stated otherwise.

> ve canlı örneği olmak bakımından da ayrıca ilgiye değer. Bu piyeste mimic, söz, satir, müzik, şiir, şarkı tam dozda bir ahenk içinde birleşmişlerdir. Yabancılaştırma effektleri hiç bir piyesinde bundaki kadar Rahat ve güzel taksim edilmemiştir. *(Taner 1964, 7)*
>
> [*Der gute Mensch von Sezuan*, translated by Adalet Cimcoz and Teoman Aktürel to familiarise the Turkish readership with Brecht's art, deserves attention as one of the greatest and most colourful examples of epic theatre. The play masterfully harmonises gestures, lyrical elements, satire, songs, and poems, creating a nuanced and impactful theatrical experience. Alienation effect has never been created so delicately on the stage.]

Several factors might have contributed to Haldun Taner's praise of *Sezuan*. Firstly, it is significant that this play had marked his initial encounter with Brecht's work, experienced live during a performance in Munich. This first-hand exposure might have influenced Taner, fostering a strong emotional connection with the play. Secondly, it is plausible that Taner's enthusiastic description was aimed at attracting a large Turkish audience to the upcoming performance. The deliberately vibrant and slightly exaggerated tone could have served as an invitation to potential viewers. In other words, by highlighting the play's captivating elements, Taner might have aimed to arouse curiosity and encourage attendance at the Istanbul City Theatre's new production.

Another contributor to the special issue was the translator of *Sezuan,* Adalet Cimcoz. In her contribution, Cimcoz provides a thematic analysis of the play and connects it to the principles of epic theatre, informing the Turkish audience about this novel theatrical form:

> Oyunda insanın yalnız duygu yolu ile, acımakla iyi olamıyacağı, ama yalnız akıl yolu ile de tam bir iyiliğe ulaşılamayacağı verilen örneklerle belirtilmiştir. Seyirciye hiç bir öğüt verilmiyor. Tanrılar bütün dünyayı geziyor, çeşitli ülkelerde yaşayanlardan iyi insanı bulmak istiyor, ama bulamıyorlar. İyi insan olmak, mutluluğa ermek, aradaki ölçüyü bulmakla olur. Bu ollaydan yalnız biri ile mutluluğa varılamayacağını açıklayan Brecht, aradaki ölçüyü kendisi de gösteremiyor. Epik tiyatronun bir özelliği olarak bu ölçöünün bulunmasını seyirciye bırakıyor. Olayın Çin'de geçmesi, Brecht'in Batı tiyatrosuna aktardığı Epik tiyatro yurdunun Çin olmasından ötürüdür. (Cimcoz 1964, 9)
>
> [In the play, we see that it is not possible to be "good" merely via emotions or mercy or reason. In other words, the audience is not preached to by the playwright. The gods travel around the world, but they cannot find the good person they are seeking. To be "good" and "happy", one needs to find a balance between emotions and reason. However, Brecht himself cannot show how to find the balance. As a feature of epic theatre, the audience are expected to find it by themselves. The play is set in China because China is the homeland of epic theatre which was transferred to the Western theatre by Brecht.]

Apart from these remarks, there are two other contributions by Cimcoz in the special issue. Cimcoz translates a piece by Niessen "How *Sezuan* was performed in other countries?", offering detailed insights into the technique and aesthetic of epic theatre:

> Hannover'de oyunun daha çok lirik yanı ortaya konmuştu. Brecht'in istediği kuruluk ve kesinlik yoktu. Bu tiyatronun sanat gücü Berliner Ensemble ile boy ölçüşemediğinden Tanrılar sahnesinde halk gülmeğe başlamıştı. Dekorlar da pek başarılı sayılmazdı [. . .] Brecht'in istediği açıkseçiklik yoktu. Göz yaşından kaçınma ya da boş verilmişti. Başarıya ulaşamadı oyun. (Cimcoz in Niessen 1964, 27)
>
> [In Hanover, although the lyrical side of the play was highlighted, it lacked the dryness and precision Brecht wanted. Since this theatre group was no match for the Berliner Ensemble, the audience started to laugh at the scene where the Gods arrive. The prompts and stage design were also not very successful [. . .] There was no clarity that Brecht wanted. "Avoiding tears" was also ignored. The play was not a success.]

Furthermore, Cimcoz translates an essay by Bertolt Brecht, *Letter to Actors*, highlighting essential aspects of performance in epic theatre: "Halkın konuştuğu dile kulak verin, o dilden yararlanmayı bilin [. . .] Karşıtlıkları ortaya çıkartmayı bilin" (Cimcoz in Niessen 1964, 30) [Listen to the language spoken by the people, know how to make use of that language [. . .] Know how to reveal contrasts]. All these contributions by Cimcoz bear a particular significance since they highlight the features of epic theatre plainly. Cimcoz thus contributed to the Turkish theatre system not only by translating the play, but also by actively taking part in the production of theoretical information on Brechtian theatre.

Finally, this special issue features the essay *Ozan Bert Brecht* [*Bert Brecht the Bard*] by Teoman Aktürel, in which he not only provides biographical information about the playwright but also shares a critical appreciation of his poetry. He praises Brecht's poetry with the following remarks: "Üç yanlıdır toplumsal sesi: Ezeni, ezileni, eleştiren ozanı dile getirir Brecht'in şiiri, tek sözcükle, devinmedir" (Aktürel 1964, 31) [His social voice is three-sided: Brecht's poetry expresses the oppressor, the oppressed, the criticising poet; in a word, it is movement]. Aktürel (1964, 32–33) also presents his translations of three Brecht poems: *Ode to Learning, Hollywood,* and *Smoke*.

The contributions of Taner, Cimcoz, and Aktürel reveal the ambitious project of introducing a new theatrical form, epic theatre, and playwright, Bertolt Brecht, to the Turkish audience and theatre professionals. More importantly, their work transcends translation in multiple ways. It encompasses insightful theoretical analyses of epic theatre, key textual interpretations, and renderings of poetry, highlighting the overlap between rewriting, translation, and writing. Through these diverse efforts, it is evident that these actors aimed to not only publicise Brecht prior to the staging of *Sezuan* but also to cultivate a fertile ground for its reception within the Turkish context. Indeed, as Lefevere (1992, 4) notes, rewriting serves as a connection between high literature and non-professional readers. Rewriting may serve as a bridge, connecting potentially inaccessible works with new audiences while enriching the target literary and theatrical repertoire. In this context, one can argue that the selections and interpretations of these rewriters effectively reconstruct Brecht for a new audience. Their efforts stand as a testament to the transformative power of rewriting, which not only bridges cultural differences but also enriches and shapes the target theatrical and wider cultural landscape.

3.2 *Brecht in Türkiye* (1976)

In his book *Brecht in Türkiye* (1976), the renowned Turkish director, translator, scholar, and critic Özdemir Nutku compiles his Brecht reviews and writings on epic theatre. Although the book was published in 1976, Nutku penned the majority of reviews and essays in the 1960s. Many of these reviews offer the Turkish readership and audience a chance to familiarise themselves with Brecht's work from a theoretical perspective in an accessible and informative manner. Particularly Nutku's introductory article to the book, "On Bertolt Brecht," serves as a guide to Brecht's theoretical framework, using a captivating blend of analysis and source material. In this article, Nutku seamlessly integrates excerpts from Brecht's poems and plays, and employs both his own translations and existing Turkish translations where appropriate. In the beginning, he emphasises the importance of *Kleines Organon für das Theater* [*A Short Organum for the Theatre*] (hereafter referred to as *Organon*) as a key text to understanding Brecht's works and proceeds to share his own translations from the *Organon*, offering readers a first-hand glimpse into Brecht's theoretical approach towards theatre:

> Tiyatroyu, estetik bir tartışma açısından uygun olduğu oranda, bir eğlence yeri olarak kabul edelim, ama ne çeşit bir eğlencenin bize en uygun olduğunu keşfedelim. Bilim çağının tiyatrosu diyalektiği hoşlanılır bir duruma getirecektir çünkü bütün sanatlar en üstün sanat olan yaşama sanatına hizmet eder. (Nutku 1976, 12)
>
> [Let us accept the theatre as a place of amusement, insofar as it is appropriate from the point of view of an aesthetic discussion but let us discover what kind of amusement suits us best. The theatre of the age of science will make dialectics enjoyable because all the arts serve the highest art, the art of living.]

Beyond the *Organon*, he investigates various aspects of Brecht's development as a playwright, drawing connections between his theoretical pronouncements and specific works. After analysing Brecht's early conception of humanity, Nutku transitions to Brecht's mature work by citing a lengthy translated passage from *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder* [*Mother Courage and Her Children*]. He also goes beyond mere theoretical exposition and offers translations of Brecht's poems alongside insightful interpretations. Following a passage explicating the play *Baal*, Nutku (1976, 17) presents his translation of the poem *Vom Schwimmen in Seen und Flüssen* [*On Swimming in Lakes and Rivers*] and offers a nuanced commentary: "Hiçbir şey yapmadan kendini suya, akıntıya bırakmak, varlığı yok eden pasifliğe yönelmektir; işte genç Brecht, ilk yapıtlarında böylece cinsel, bireysel bir sürüklenmeyle topluma başkaldırmaktaydı" [To throw oneself into the water, into the current, without doing anything, is to turn towards a passivity that destroys existence; this is how the young Brecht, in his early works, rebelled with a drift marked by sexuality and individualism]. Here, Nutku's remarks offer the audience the opportunity to comprehend Brecht's ideology, which is interwoven in his poems. In his works, Brecht consistently opposes passivity in life and, in contrast, encourages his readership and audience to adopt a more active and questioning approach towards phenomena and events in life. Nutku highlights this worldview and ideology, which is evident even in his early poems and forms a throughline in Brecht's later plays.

Furthermore, Nutku incorporates the perspectives of renowned directors and critics to create a more comprehensive picture of Brecht's reception. He quotes a technical statement by Jacob Geis, director of *Mann ist Mann* [*Man is Man*]: "[Brecht tiyatrosu] gizli kapaklı, belirsiz ışık oyunlarıyle hazırlanan bir düzen değildir. Duygusallığın arka düzeye atılması, öyle boğaza bir şeyler takarak değil" (Nutku 1976, 33) [[Brechtian theatre is] not based on a secretive, ambiguous arrangement of light effects on the stage. It indicates the facts, relegates sentimentality to the background]. Immediately after quoting Geis's words, he reinforces this point by referencing Brecht's critique of the contemporary German theatre, providing a translated excerpt from *Theaterarbeit* to illustrate the playwright's own views (Nutku 1976, 33–34).

Each essay and review in Nutku's compilation provides us with extremely interesting information. However, two reviews, focusing on *Leben des Galilei* [*Life of Galileo*] and *Sezuan*, stand out for their critical analysis of translation and staging of a play. While Nutku (1976) praises Ülkü Tamer and Mütekin Ökmen for their adept translation of *Leben des Galilei*, he laments the director Metin Deniz's inability to fully harness its potential on stage and meticulously details how the translation could have been more effectively utilised in terms of the principles of Brechtian theatre, emphasising the need for directors to understand not only the text but also its inherent theatrical demands:

> Edebi bir çeviri olarak Türkçesi ve anlamıyle Mütekin Ökmen ile Ülkü Tamer in çevirileri doğru ve güzeldir ve onlar görevlerini başarıyle yapmışlardır. Ama yönetmen olarak bu güzel çevirinin gestus'a o anki tavırlara oturtulması Brecht için bir gerekliliktir [. . .] "Seni rahatsız eden o gözü çıkart gitsin" tümcesi "O gözü çıkart gitsin, seni rahatsız ediyorsa" tümcesinden daha zayıftır. Çünkü ilk tümcede gözün çıkartılması sona geldiği için, tümcenin en önemli noktası, dolayısıyle gestus'u geciktirilmiş olacaktır. Onun için, burada tavır açısından doğru tümce gözün çıkartılmasını başa alan ikinci tümcedir. Uygulamada güzel çeviri tavır açısından değerlendirilmediği için gözün çıkartılması eylemi tümcenin sonuna gelmiş, böylece oyuncu için tavır vurgusu konulamamıştır. Bu örnekte belirttiğim önemli gereklilik, öbür replikler için de geçerlidir. (Nutku 1976, 127)
>
> [In terms of being literary, the translations of Mütekin Ökmen and Ülkü Tamer are correct and beautiful. These idiomatic translations have done their job successfully. However, to call the play Brechtian, the director should have utilised this beautiful translation in a way that complements

> the *gestus*[6] of the actors [. . .] The line "If it bothers you, take out that eye" is weaker than the phrase "Take out that eye if it bothers you". Because in the former, the removal of the eye comes at the end. As a result, the most important point of the line, the *gestus*, is delayed. The correct use, on the other hand, would be the latter, which puts the removal of the eye at the beginning [. . .] This critical requirement I have mentioned in this example also applies to the other lines in the play.]

In this example, it can be argued that Nutku's criticism is extremely important because it clearly reveals the connection between lines and *gestus*, translation and staging, in Brechtian theatre. His critique of Teoman Aktürel's translation of the song *Lied vom achten Elefanten* [*Song of the Eighth Elephant*] serves as a prime example of this connection. Nutku (1976, 145) argues that the translation of *zahm* as *uysal* ("docile") misses the mark, suggesting *eğitilmiş* ("trained") instead. According to him, this choice carries significant ideological weight since it implies that the eighth elephant's betrayal resulted from their training by the bourgeoisie, which aligns with Brecht's Marxist perspective. He further criticises the lack of gestural effect in other songs in the play, arguing that the characters' ideological stances are not reflected adequately (Nutku 1976, 146). For this reason, he appends his own translations of the play's songs in the book, showcasing his alternative approach alongside a selection of his translated Brecht poems and songs (Nutku 1976, 148–159).

Özdemir Nutku's translation-related criticisms of stagecraft and Brechtian theatre, the expert statements he translated and incorporated into his theoretical writings to bolster his arguments, as well as his translations of poetry and excerpts from plays can all be regarded as acts of rewriting. These diverse examples illuminate the crucial role that rewriting can play in introducing a new theatrical form to the target readership. Moreover, similar to the *Bert Brecht Special Issue* (1964), Nutku's endeavours exemplify a fusion of translation and rewriting. In this context, Lefevere's (1992, 8) observation regarding the manipulative and adaptive capacities of rewriters in relation to target systems is particularly noteworthy. Recognising Brecht's novelty for the Turkish audience and readership, Nutku avoids overly technical language and seeks to facilitate the introduction of epic theatre by employing abundant examples to support his explanations. Essentially, he teaches Brechtian theatrical theory and effectively reconstructs Brecht in Turkish. Target literary and theatrical repertoires are gradually established through the medium of rewriting and translation.

6 Meg Mumford (2009, 53) points out that Brecht initially used *gestus* to "mean 'gesture' in the sense of a purely physical expression," but in the late 1920s, he referred to it as "moulded and sometimes subconscious body language of a person from a particular social class[.]"

4 The emergence of indigenous epic plays within the Turkish theatrical system: *The Ballad of Ali Keshan*

The translations of Bertolt Brecht's plays not only introduced the playwright to the Turkish theatre system but also led to the first Turkish performances of his plays. These performances ultimately paved the way for the emergence of original examples of epic theatre in Türkiye. However, these indigenous plays were not the mere imitations of Brecht's works. On the contrary, they contributed to the Turkish theatrical system via a unique combination of traditional and epic theatre. Renowned Turkish playwrights such as Haldun Taner, Turgut Özakman, Aziz Nesin, and Vasıf Öngören incorporated elements of traditional Turkish theatre and epic theatre into their plays, characterised by a non-illusionistic open form and musicality (Yüksel 2020, 30), with Brecht as a model that offered a brand-new perspective on traditional Turkish theatre (Buttanrı 2010, 65).

It is not surprising that these indigenous playwrights turned to the forgotten forms of the traditional Turkish theatre when creating the first epic plays. In Brechtian theatre, the audience maintains a critical distance and does not become emotionally involved with the characters on stage, thus disrupting the illusion of reality created in the performance. This disruption aims to create a psychological distance between the audience and the play, encouraging them to adopt a critical and analytical lens towards the events unfolding before them. The common features between traditional Turkish theatre and epic theatre are found in their aesthetics and political nature. For instance, *Karagöz* and *Orta Oyunu*, two of the most famous and popular forms of traditional theatre, heavily utilise songs, dances, puns, and jokes. They often employ varying dialects and mimic animals or even inanimate objects, using opposing figures or themes, such as a fight between cat and mouse or male and female (And 2019, 12–13). In this respect, And highlights the non-Aristotelian nature of *Karagöz* and *Orta Oyunu:*

> For the audience of *Karagöz* and *Orta Oyunu*, play remains play, and actor remains actor. This means that the audience do not lose themselves when watching the play or do not identify with the actors on the stage. On the contrary, there is a certain separation between audience and play. And the audience show distanced reactions. (And 2019, 32)

Similarities extend beyond aesthetics to the critical and political nature of the traditional Turkish theatre and Brechtian epic theatre. In addition to entertaining with a vast repertoire of off-colour jokes, dances, and incessant squabbles filled with mockery and puns, *Karagöz* also had its finger on the pulse of the Ottoman Empire. And (2019, 42–43) posits that *Karagöz* was regarded as "a disobedient newspaper," as it frequently tackled the political and social problems of the period, overtly and sharply criticising state authorities, including the Sultan himself. However, in the nineteenth century, particularly during the oppressive regime of Sultan Abdülhamid II, this popular form of political and social satire caused unease among the authorities and some intellectuals (And 2019, 43–44). For instance, Namık Kemal, a prominent intellectual of the period, described shadow theatre as "su-i edeb talimhaneleri, su-i ahlak mektebi" and "rezalet mektebi" (And 2019, 44) [immoral places of training/education].

To exemplify the special blend of the features of the traditional Turkish theatre and Brechtian epic theatre, Haldun Taner, one of the most prominent names of the Turkish theatre, particularly known for his first Turkish epic play, *The Ballad of Ali Keshan*, deserves special attention. In an interview before the premiere of his play, Haldun Taner (1970 [1964], xxv) emphasised that he was influenced by Brecht and his theory of epic theatre. He responds to the question of how he succeeded in writing *The Ballad of Ali of Keshan* in a Turkish epic style:

> By realizing a synthesis of our own. We should attempt a new style of people's theatre which should borrow from only the form of our traditional non-illusionistic theatre, and add to that form things rarely seen in our traditional theatre – namely a rational, occidental, awakening content, progressive in its social satire. This is what we attempted to do in the *Ballad*. (Taner 1970 [1964], xxvi)[7]

The traces of epic theatre and traditional elements of Turkish theatre were so evident in *The Ballad of Ali Keshan*. In a review for the German staging of the play in *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, the play was described as follows:

> We see Brechtian influence in the partially folklorist and partially cabaret-like music of Tura and *the mis-en-scène* of Genco Erkal reminiscent of the Berliner Ensemble. But in *The Ballad of Ali of Keshan* there is much more than Brechtian influence that the author himself admits: the non-illusionist epic elements of the Turkish traditional *Meddah* (storyteller) and *Orta Oyunu* (*Theatre of Improvisation*). Hence, the originality and vitality of this work in the Turkish Theatre. (Taner 1970 [1964], xvii)

The Ballad of Ali Keshan, which premiered in 1964, gradually gained popularity internationally. Taner (2011 [1983], 22) notes that his play was translated into many languages and staged 342 times by 1983. The eighth volume of *Der Schauspielführer* includes the following comment: "*The Ballad of Ali Keshan* is the first epic work of Turkish theatre literature. The author synthesised Brecht's technique with the anti-illusionist elements of Turkish folk theatre and arrived at a Turkish folk epic style bearing his own personal stamp" (Taner 1970 [1964], 139). In another article published in *Nürnberger Zeitung* in 1964, a direct analogy with a Brecht play is made: "The audience greeted this lively, colourful, agile, and almost stormy play with endless applause. It is not for nothing that German critics regarded *The Ballad of Ali Keshan* as the Turkish Threepenny Opera!" (Taner 1970 [1964], 141). Still, despite its sensational

7 Taner (1970 [1964]) was translated by Nüvit Özdoğru. Titles are printed in bold in the original. The emphasis is mine.

popularity, *The Ballad of Ali Keshan* was not immune to censorship. The play was not staged by the State Theatres until 1984, and even after that, it did not feature in their repertoire until 1994. Furthermore, another epic play by Haldun Taner, *Gözlerimi Kaparım Vazifemi Yaparım* [*I Will Close My Eyes and Do My Duty*], written in 1964, was staged by the State Theatres in 1978 but it was removed from the repertoire after that season until 1989.

It is worth noting that Haldun Taner played a pivotal role in introducing both Brecht and epic theatre to Turkish audiences. He not only encouraged and commissioned Adalet Cimcoz to translate *Sezuan* (the first Brecht play translated into Turkish) but also actively contributed to its dissemination through introductory essays. These essays appeared in various publications, including his own theatre magazine, *Oyun,* and the seminal *Bert Brecht Special Issue* (1964) published by the Istanbul City Theatres. Moreover, Taner consistently drew comparisons between his own play, *The Ballad of Ali Keshan*, and Brecht's epic theatre whenever introducing it. This suggests a deliberate attempt to familiarise Turkish audiences with the genre by using a familiar point of reference. In essence, Taner's contributions extended beyond mere translation. He participated in various textual productions, including the translation of *Sezuan*, the rewriting of Brechtian texts, and even the creation of original epic plays. This multifaceted approach indicates a conscious effort to facilitate the creation of a new epic repertoire in Turkish theatre, making his contributions particularly noteworthy.

5 Conclusion

Brecht's plays, with their scathing critiques of the status quo and exploitative practices inherent in capitalism, resonated deeply with the *zeitgeist* of 1960s Türkiye. Unsurprisingly, as demonstrated in the first part of this chapter, Brecht's introduction to the Turkish literary and theatrical scene occurred through translations in the mid-1950s, with his popularity peaking in the mid-1960s. The initial attempts to import Brecht may have reflected the need for a new form of theatre built upon new aesthetics that could revitalise the Turkish theatrical system and serve as a political tool, prompting audiences to engage with societal and political issues within the country. Indeed, the initial ban on the translation of *Sezuan* due to alleged communist propaganda, followed by its delayed staging at the Istanbul City Theatres, can be seen as a testament to the play's potential to provoke political discourse. Furthermore, the subsequent attack on the stage and the heated debate among intellectuals illustrate not only the polarising power of theatre in Turkish society in the 1960s but also the nature of translation, which is more than the mere act of transferring words from one language to another.

As suggested by Even-Zohar (2012 [1990]), translation can introduce novelties to the home repertoire by potentially reshaping and transforming existing practices. In this instance, Brecht translations introduced novelties to the Turkish theatrical system, both aesthetically and politically. They facilitated the introduction of epic plays to the home repertoire and paved the way for the creation of indigenous epic plays, a new form of theatre. Furthermore, these translations initiated significant debates within society and among intellectuals, contributing to the introduction of transformative ideas. However, translation does not often come in its abstracted form as exact reproduction of a proposition in another language. It frequently intertwines with rewriting, which "adapts and manipulates the originals [. . .] to make them fit in" (Lefevere 1992, 8). Both *Bert Brecht Special Issue* (1964) and *Brecht in Türkiye* (1976) exemplify this transformative potential. Even in their selection of materials to translate and expound on, these works construct a new image of Brecht in the Turkish theatrical system through their attempt to familiarise Turkish audiences and readers with the works of the playwright.

In connection with these translations and rewritings on Brecht, the first Turkish epic plays emerged in the mid-1960s combining the elements of both traditional Turkish theatre and Brechtian epic theatre. *The Ballad of Ali Keshan* by Taner was not the only example of such combination. The influence of Bertolt Brecht and his epic theatre could be seen in the other playwrights of the period such as *Ayak Bacak Fabrikası* [*The Factory of Hands and Legs*] by Sermet Çağan (1965) and *Asiye Nasıl Kurtulur?* [*How to Save Asiye?*] by Vasıf Öngören (1970). Furthermore, the 1960s witnessed the establishment of the first socialist and politically engaged theatre groups, such as Dostlar Tiyatrosu, Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu, Halk Oyuncular, Ankara Birliği Sahnesi, and Devrim İçin Hareket Tiyatrosu, which continued to stage Brecht's plays throughout the 1970s despite facing systematic bans (Buttanrı 2010, 65). As the 1970s saw an increase in censorship and oppression, private theatre houses like Dostlar Tiyatrosu, Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu, and Ankara Birlik Tiyatrosu turned to staging politically charged plays by Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Heinar Kipphardt, and Peter Weiss. Conversely, during the same period, City and State Theatres "served as a sort of state department" (Dicle 2020, 46). For instance, Ankara Sanat Tiyatrosu staged *Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches* [*Fear and Misery of the Third Reich*] by Bertolt Brecht only six times in 1972 until it was banned by the state authorities under martial law (Nutku 1976, 91–92).

These examples collectively illustrate how translation can spark the initial steps of transformation, which may ultimately lead to the production of rewritings and original works within the same genre imported into the target system. What began with the translation of *Sezuan* eventually paved the way for further translations of Brecht, theoretical essays on epic theatre, and the emergence of the first Turkish epic plays. This gradual evolution transformed the Turkish theatrical system, fostering a more critical and politically engaged cultural environment in Türkiye.

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Christian Høgel

Afterword

Recent years have seen rising interest in the concept of philology. For a long time, the field remained rooted in the frameworks established by its nineteenth-century pioneers, but now it is moving in new and dynamic directions. The conference organised by the doctoral students of the IDK programme serves as a testament to this evolution. Seeking to broaden the scope of concepts and methods within philology, their conference centred on the term they most advocate: Connected Philology. Grounded in inclusivity and all-encompassing curiosity, this is the perspective that will shape the future of modern philology, challenging the divisions that once confined philological work within a set of Herderian language silos. Work that reaches across these ideologically entrenched disciplinary and intellectual boundaries is what attracts young students – as is demonstrated by the profoundly engaging introduction to this book. By transcending these divisions, philology becomes a crucial academic and intellectual tool for studies in the humanities and beyond. In fact, individual studies, such as those presented during the wonderful days in Munich in June of 2023 and published in this book, provide a rich and rewarding preview. However, the full picture of what the future holds for philology is yet to emerge.

To catch a glimpse of what is on the horizon, let us focus on one major shift that is already happening. We are observing its initial stages and can easily recognise its enormous productivity, but its full consequences remain uncertain. I refer to the introduction of digital tools, particularly AI, into the field. The novelties arising from this development – and they must be referred to as such, even if the first steps in this direction were taken decades ago – are significant and merit careful attention, going beyond the basic questions of *how* and *why*. There are significant push and pull forces that are worth contemplating and debating. And of course, we are not deciding whether or not, for instance, AI should be included in philological research, but rather, to what end, and within which parameters.

For the advantages of AI and other digital tools are simply obvious, and new generations will naturally employ these tools and perspectives as a direct extension of their cultural-technical daily life. With the widespread adoption of digitised intelligence (a term we often use, for want of a better one), philology follows a general cultural trend and development. The resulting interconnectedness – through media contact, increasingly efficient means of transporting both information and people, automatised translation and alignment of texts and textual corpora, etc. – will enable a much wider and truly global cross-referencing of cultural elements, working towards insights that have always been the aim of the humanities. What was painstaking and time-consuming work only decades ago may now be performed as advanced searches within seconds (once the necessary corpora, be they textual or otherwise, have been established). This shift not only means that the backlog of nice-to-have

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studies may rapidly shrink, but that new, less obvious – and perhaps useless – questions may be posed and explored. Those few questions that then turn out to be ingenious and fruitful could yield results and even whole new fields of study that would have been impossible to establish – or even imagine – using traditional methods.

This universe of new approaches to textual corpora will further dismantle the boundaries that the old philologies struggled to overcome. In the past, students were typically trained within academic fields demarcated by a single language, often focusing on this one language throughout their entire academic curriculum, leaving studies requiring more than one language to group collaborations. There were, of course, exceptions – the brilliant multilingual scholars, the favoured bilingual studies of, say, Latin and Greek – but even obvious cases, such as Greek and Arabic for the study of premodern philosophy, or the languages required for Perso-Indian studies, took a long time to become established fields of research. Thanks to recent developments, we are now entering a golden age of multilingual and multicultural studies, facilitated by digital tools that will support easy alignment of texts for comparison (whether between versions, or between original and paraphrase/translation or allusions/quotations, etc.), offering well-grounded textual conjectures that the expert may judge, and scanning countless understudied (images of) manuscripts for hidden textual gems. We are all looking forward to the results.

That said, I feel it is important to offer some words of caution. Some implications of this process warrant careful consideration by education planners and practitioners, and by all involved in the field. There are concerning elements that should be addressed, not least to avoid overly simplistic conclusions, such as there being less need for qualified studies or language training. I believe that most of these worries boil down to one overarching question that concerns the ontology of texts. As texts become universally accessible in digitised form (for most new texts, this is the case from the moment of composition; for older texts, it is only a matter of time before they, too, become available), all texts will become accessible for searches, cross-referencing, and alignment. Everyone – from the curious school child to the dedicated philologist – will be able to ask an AI bot about any feature of these texts and in many cases they may not need to actually read the text, at least not in its entirety. We may all soon be reading snippets provided by search engines, delivering what we ordered. This brings us to the ontological question: What is a text? Is it a string of signs/words meant for sequential reading (silently or in more performative ways)? Or is it a repository of knowledge from which we harvest? We should, of course, simply insist that texts are – and have always been – both. However, if informed and reliable interpretations of texts can result from searches done by people who may well never have read any of the texts in question in its entirety, then the role of long reading in educational institutions may significantly diminish. Interpretation – good interpretation – will in many, but not all cases require a good reader. Yet if solid statements on interpretation, as well as “discoveries” and other surprising results, can also come out of pure engagement with AI, the appeal of sustained, continuous reading may decline. Unless we shift the emphasis away from reading as a pathway to knowledge and safe interpretations and instead insist on reading as a personal and communal pleasure, as an access point to imaginative, and even meditative or metaphysical experience, basic philological training may come under increasing pressure.

Let me remind the reader that we live in an age in which even the youngest readers are clearly familiar with printed books, and some of us (including myself) began reading and writing in a world without personal computers. Within a few decades, both of these experiences may disappear. This development in itself is not inherently problematic – though some might lament it out of nostalgia. What truly matters is that the essence of reading – the way it envelops us in other worlds, develops our love of language(s), and endows us with a unique conceptual universe for grappling with profound questions – stays with us. In a sense, good authors are the first requirement. I need only remind everyone of what Harry Potter and the enormous industry of fan literature has done to engage millions of new young readers. But schools and universities must work to create connections between this engaged young readership and the necessary conditions for training the next generation of philologists. This means incorporating reading into all syllabi as vital moments of intellectual immersion. No intellectual field can thrive without it, and philology, in particular, must recognise its crucial role in advocating for this perspective, acting as careful guardian of texts (as in the title of Kaster's book), of linguistic tools, and of the many ways of using them. What philology has to offer in a world of AI searches may therefore be just these perspectives, not least within an environment of enthusiastic slow readers.

In this spirit, the present volume unveils the exciting possibilities of future scholarship. It presents the avid reader – and the future philologist – with rich and thought-provoking resources.

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