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Čínsky znak na obálke znamenajúci 'východ', pochádzajúci od Liu Xie 劉泚 (1781–1840), bol vyrytý do nefritu podľa vzoru zo začiatku nášho letopočtu. · The Chinese character with the meaning 'east' employed on the cover is cut as a seal by Liu Xie, on the basis of models from the beginning of our era.

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Verb Co-occurrence Profile in Legal Chinese

Luboš GAJDOŠ and GUO Yajing 郭雅婧

Abstract The article follows our previous research on the given topic. The aim is to show and compare several approaches to language data retrieval through combinations of different methods and procedures such as statistical analysis and linguistics. The results are presented in the form of a table for each analyzed verb as a head and its potential constituents. The potential constituents are then evaluated by a native speaker. The paper not only shows the methodological perspectives on this topic but also confirms the higher accuracy of the linguistic approach.

Keywords collocation, legal Chinese, word co-occurrence, the corpus Hanku, logDice, linguistic intuition

Introduction

Generally speaking, if one word collocates with another, then it is reasonable to expect that the co-occurrence of these two words may be measured by frequency of co-occurrence, in other words, by statistical measures. Our previous research has shown that it might be possible to use different methods of corpus linguistics to identify collocations with divergent results. In this article our previous approaches are combined in order to achieve a more complex verb co-occurrence profile.¹ It is worth noting that the assumptions in this article are applicable only to verbs which function as predicates in legal Chinese. The previous research has

¹ The subcorpus *zh-law* of the Hanku corpus is used as primary source of language data (Gajdoš, 2016).

also proved that the co-occurrence profile of one verb may—and in many cases—vary in different language registers.²

1 *Methods*

As for the statistical approach to the topic, the previous research has suggested that the *logDice* score is an important statistical measure in identifying collocates.³ Our previous research has also revealed that it is relevant to search for collocates on the right and left side separately.

As for the linguistic or more precisely the syntactic approach, basic assumptions for a verb as the head in the prototypical word order are as follows—an object (and its attribute) and a complement are expected to be on the right side; the scenario on the left side is more complex. There are two direct collocates—a subject and an adverbial on the left side. We will deal with the individual collocates separately in the following chapters. To sum it up, the following procedure is adopted for each individual verb:

1. Search for potential collocates (candidates) on both sides separately using the NoSketch Engine UI—Collocations (Sketch Engine, 2021). The primary method used—statistical measures.⁴
2. Search for potential sentence constituents on both sides using CQL⁵ queries (ibid). The primary method used—linguistic (syntactic rules).
3. Evaluation of results by a native speaker.
4. Analysis.

2 For more information, see Benická 2003, 40-42; Gajdošová 2017, 169.

3 For more information, see Gajdoš 2020, 127.

4 In order to present only the most relevant results in this article, the sample of collocates is limited to 50 entries. Theoretically speaking, it should be possible to take 25 collocates from each side. However, as empirical data shows, many collocates occur on both sides simultaneously, therefore the number of collocates is lower. Collocates belonging to interpuccion (PU), numeral (CD, OD), measure word (M), and marker (DEC, DEG) categories are excluded.

5 CQL—Corpus Query Language.

| | <u>Cooccurrence count</u> | <u>Candidate count</u> | <u>logDice</u> |
|----------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| P N 意见 | 1,136 | 5,181 | 11.513 |
| P N 申请 | 2,390 | 21,018 | 11.420 |
| P N 建议 | 602 | 1,731 | 11.052 |
| P N 向 | 1,281 | 17,504 | 10.710 |
| P N 书面 | 559 | 4,261 | 10.598 |
| P N 异议 | 226 | 953 | 9.765 |
| P N 并 | 859 | 26,397 | 9.695 |
| P N 请求 | 215 | 1,855 | 9.548 |

Figure 1
Collocates of the verb *tíchū* 提出.

2 Verbs Selection

Without going into details or discussing the role of the verbs in the syntax of Chinese language, the simple frequency criterion is used to select verbs. As our primary focus is on autosemantic verbs, the auxiliary verbs are excluded from the research. The following query is used to select the most frequent verbs (Node forms):

[tag="VV"]

To fully uncover the verb co-occurrence, only autosemantic verbs are selected (i.e. with the tag VV). Nevertheless, this procedure may be used for auxiliary verbs as well. Figure 2 shows the results. Auxiliary verbs such as *yīngdāng* 应当 [should, must], *yīng* 应 [should, ought to], *kěyǐ* 可以 [can, may], *dé* 得 [must, may]⁶ etc.⁷ are excluded from the list.

6 In legal Chinese, this verb is mostly used in negative form *bù dé* 不得 [must not; may not].

7 The list of auxiliary verbs includes a list of modal verbs, copula, and other auxiliary verbs proposed by Liu Yuehua, 2004.

| <u>word</u> | <u>Frequency</u> | |
|-------------|------------------|--|
| P N 应当 | 57,301 | |
| P N 进行 | 21,095 | |
| P N 应 | 20,083 | |
| P N 可以 | 16,799 | |
| P N 得 | 15,702 | |
| P N 规定 | 15,128 | |
| P N 申请 | 12,194 | |
| P N 符合 | 9,986 | |
| P N 负责 | 9,612 | |
| P N 可 | 9,429 | |
| P N 提供 | 9,303 | |

Figure 2

Most frequent verbs in the corpus zh-law.

Due to the space constraints, only the 6 most frequent verbs are analyzed. The list of the analyzed verbs includes: *jìnxíng* 进行 [conduct], *shēnqǐng* 申请 [apply for, ask for], *fúhé* 符合 [conform to, fit], *fùzé* 负责 [be responsible for], *tígōng* 提供 [provide; supply], *pīzhǔn* 批准 [ratify, approve].⁸

3 Constituents

Our empirical research has revealed that it is not always possible to identify the role of a collocate. The collocates are therefore divided into two groups—a group in which the collocates can be identified by the CQL queries and a second group in which they cannot.

The following tags (in capitals) are used for the first group: ADV (adverbial, *zhuàngyǔ* 状语), ADV_pp (prepositional phrase *jiècí duányǔ* 介词短语), OBJ (object, *bīnyǔ* 宾语), SUB (subject, *zhǔyǔ* 主语).

⁸ The verb *guīdìng* 规定 [stipulate, provide] is excluded following the suggestion of a native speaker that this word is almost exclusively used as a noun and not as a verb.

The tags for the second group are as follows: aux_vv (auxiliary *zhùdòngcí* 助动词, modal verb *néngyuàn dòngcí* 能愿动词, copular verbs *guānxi dòngcí* 关系动词),⁹ con (conjunction *liáncí* 连词) mod_ls/mod_rs (modifier on the right/left side to the verb *xiūshìcí* 修饰词), neg (negative *fǒudìng* 否定), pas_vo (passive voice *bèidòng* 被动). The tags of the second group of collocates are attached only on the basis of the affiliation of the word to a subgroup (e.g. to modal verbs based on POS tag) or on the basis of the position (e.g. all modifier). There are no other linguistic criteria applied to this group.

3.1 Objects

Our research has revealed that the collocation strength, measured by the *logDice* score, increases on the right side of a verb. In the prototypical word-order, this slot is normally occupied by an object.¹⁰ We therefore assume that the verb plus object form the strongest connection.

Objects are mostly nouns (NN) or pronouns (PN). For the sake of simplicity, only nouns are considered objects in this paper. To identify objects of the given verb *fúhé* 符合 [conform to, accord with], the following query is used (Gajdoš, 2018a):

```
(1:[tag="NN|PN"] within (2:[word="符合" & tag="VV"][word!="的" & word!="。"
"]][word!="， |。 |： "]{0,3} (meet 3:[tag="NN"][word!="的"]-1 -1)[word!="。 |! |? "]
within <s/>)& 1.word = 3.word
```

9 The list of auxiliary, modal, copular verbs: 要, 想, 愿意, 肯, 敢, 应, 应该, 应当, 该, 能, 需要, 能够, 可以, 准, 许, 配, 值得, 可能, 会, 是, 叫, 姓, 当作, 成为, 像, 等于, 进行, 加以, 开始, 继续, 喜欢, 希望, 从事, 给予, 装作, 声明, 值得, 受, 敢于, 企图, 觉得, 必须.

10 Another collocate consists of complements, however the frequency of complements in legal Chinese is lower compared to other registers of Chinese language. For more information, see Gajdoš 2017.

深度要求应 **符合** 规划 规范的 **要求** /NN/yàoqiú ◦
 建设应当 **符合** 城市 道路 技术 **规范** /NN/guīfàn ◦
 设施，应当 **符合** 城市 道路 养护 **规范** /NN/guīfàn ◦
 以作为产品 **符合** 规定 要求的 **证据** /NN/zhèngjù ◦
 ，以验证 **符合** 所有 规定的 **要求** /NN/yàoqiú ◦
 使认证产品持续 **符合** 规定的 **要求** /NN/yàoqiú ◦
 应不影响产品 **符合** 规定 标准 **要求** /NN/yàoqiú ◦
 承载力和稳定性等 **符合** 相关 **要求** /NN/yàoqiú ◦
 项目必须 **符合** 公路 工程 技术 **标准** /NN/biāozhǔn ◦

Figure 3

The potential objects of the verb *fúhé* 符合.

The number of potential objects is limited to the 20 most frequent nouns for the purpose of this research. While conducting the research, it was observed that the less frequent the nouns, the more data retrieval errors occurred.

3.2 Adverbials

An adverbial is a constituent that modifies a predicate. In Chinese, adverbs, prepositional phrases and other words may function as an adverbial. Adverbials almost always occupy the slots on the left side of a predicate.¹¹

To identify adverbials of the given verb *tígōng* 提供 [provide], the following queries are used (adverbs, prepositional phrase, other word):

¹¹ See Gajdoš 2018b.

```
(meet [tag="AD"] [word="提供" & tag="VV"]I I) within ([word="。 |, |? |! | "]
</s/>
```

```
((meet [tag="P"][word="提供" & tag="VV"]I 9) [tag!="PU"] {0,} (meet
[tag="NNILC"] [word="提供" & tag="VV"]I I) within </s/>
```

```
[tag!="AD"](meet [tag="DEV" & word="地"] [ word="提供" & tag="VV"]I 5)
within </s/>
```

These queries may be joined together by the Boolean conjunction OR.

3.3 Subjects

A subject is directly related to the predicate and constitutes a predicate phrase. In many cases subjects are nouns (NN). Our research has shown that it is quite challenging to identify a subject to a predicate verb using only regular expressions (CQL) with POS tags and syntactic rules.¹² Additionally, subjects (or nouns in this position) collocate with more verbs and the strength of these collocations is often weaker than the collocations with objects. This may be reflected by the statistical measure of the *logDice* score. Despite the mentioned facts, it is possible to identify some (not all) subjects, nevertheless a higher error rate is expected. The following query is used:

```
(meet (meet (meet (meet (meet (meet (meet (meet (meet I:[tag="NN"]
[tag!="NN"& word!="的"]I I) 3:[tag="VV"& word="提供"] I 9) [tag!="P"]-1 -
I)[tag!="P"]-2 -2)[tag!="P"]-3 -3)[tag!="P"]-4 -4)[tag!="P"]-5 -5) [tag!="P"]-6 -6)
[word="。 "] -7 -I) within ([tag!="PU" & tag!="C." ]{0,5}[tag="P"]{0,I}[tag!="PU" &
tag!="C." ]{0,5}[tag="VV"& word="提供"] [word!="的"] within </s/>
```

¹² See Gajdoš 2021.

经营者 /NN 应当为旅客 **提供** 良好的乘车环境，
单位 /NN 应按规定 **提供** 以下相关证件和资料
机构 /NN 按月向税务机关 **提供** 核定的参保单
人员 /NN 应 **提供** 经经办机构批准的本人参加
当事人 /NN **提供** 保险标志或者补办相应手续的，
当事人 /NN **提供** 相应的合法证明或者补办相应
部门 /NN 不得要求申请人重复 **提供** 申请材料。
残疾人 /NN 要求 **提供** 书面解释的，承运人应在

Figure 4

Potential subjects to the verb *tígōng* 提供.

4 Results

In this part, the results of 6 verbs are presented in the form of tables (originally saved as separate CSV files for each verb). The results are obtained through the combination of the statistical approach (first step; Kwic, Side, LogDice, Pos)¹³ and the syntactic approach (second step; CON, Rep).¹⁴ The results of the first two steps are compiled in a table in which the list of collocates derived from the statistical approach is compared to the set from the “linguistic” approach,¹⁵ i.e. if a collocate belongs to a set of objects from the second step and is on the right side to the verb, then the tag OBJ is attached to a collocate. Analogously, the tag SUB/ADV is attached to a collocate on the left side (simultaneously belonging to

¹³ Kwic—Key word in context, Pos—Part of speech.

¹⁴ CON—constituent, Rep—repeated. A candidate appears either on one side (1) or both sides (2).

¹⁵ All information provided must be seen only as potential constituents.

the set of subjects/adverbials). Auxiliary verbs and negatives must appear on the left side as well.

The third step is the evaluation of the results by a native speaker. The remarks are clarified by colors and notes (Note) in the table. The green color means perfect match (match the CON tag), the yellow color means partly match (do not match the CON tag, but there is a syntactic relation of a collocate to the verb) and the red means mismatch (there is no syntactic relation).

4.1 The verb *jìnxíng* 进行

In the Hanku corpus *zh-law*, the token *jìnxíng* 进行 [conduct] has 2 POS tags—VV [verb; 21,095], NN [noun; 174].

Table 1
The verb *jìnxíng* 进行

| Kwic | Side | Item | Logdice | Pos | CON | Rep | Note |
|------|-------|------|---------|-----|--------|-----|------|
| 进行 | Left | 对 | 11,028 | P | ADV_pp | 2 | |
| 进行 | Right | 检查 | 10,9 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 进行 | Right | 审查 | 10,442 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 进行 | Right | 监督 | 10,222 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 进行 | Right | 并 | 10,025 | CC | con | 2 | |
| 进行 | Left | 情况 | 10,02 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 进行 | Right | 调查 | 9,748 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 进行 | Right | 时 | 9,48 | LC | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 进行 | Left | 人员 | 9,428 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 进行 | Right | 评估 | 9,391 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 进行 | Left | 规定 | 9,291 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 进行 | Left | 机构 | 9,286 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 进行 | Right | 审核 | 9,257 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | OBJ |
| 进行 | Left | 有关 | 9,236 | JJ | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 进行 | Left | 等 | 9,232 | ETC | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 进行 | Right | 检验 | 9,209 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 进行 | Right | 处理 | 9,197 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |

| | | | | | | |
|----|-------|----|-------|----|--------|---|
| 进行 | Left | 应当 | 9,068 | VV | aux_vv | 2 |
| 进行 | Right | 分析 | 9,04 | NN | OBJ | 1 |
| 进行 | Right | 活动 | 9,021 | NN | OBJ | 2 |
| 进行 | Left | 按照 | 9,01 | P | ADV_pp | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 和 | 8,973 | CC | con | 2 |
| 进行 | Left | 按 | 8,941 | P | ADV_pp | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 内 | 8,936 | LC | mod_ls | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 依法 | 8,921 | AD | ADV | 1 |
| 进行 | Right | 和 | 8,887 | CC | con | 2 |
| 进行 | Right | 评价 | 8,885 | NN | OBJ | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 单位 | 8,879 | NN | mod_ls | 1 |
| 进行 | Right | 现场 | 8,85 | NN | mod_rs | 1 |
| 进行 | Right | 对 | 8,84 | P | mod_rs | 2 |
| 进行 | Left | 组织 | 8,835 | NN | mod_ls | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 工作 | 8,813 | NN | mod_ls | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 方式 | 8,813 | NN | mod_ls | 1 |
| 进行 | Right | 核查 | 8,781 | NN | OBJ | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 材料 | 8,779 | NN | SUB | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 程序 | 8,73 | NN | mod_ls | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 申请 | 8,701 | VV | mod_ls | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 要求 | 8,68 | NN | mod_ls | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 在 | 8,663 | P | ADV_pp | 1 |
| 进行 | Right | 检测 | 8,631 | NN | mod_rs | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 项目 | 8,623 | NN | mod_ls | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 应 | 8,582 | VV | aux_vv | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 部门 | 8,579 | NN | mod_ls | 1 |
| 进行 | Right | 审计 | 8,573 | NN | mod_rs | 1 |
| 进行 | Right | 试验 | 8,572 | NN | OBJ | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 标准 | 8,569 | NN | mod_ls | 1 |
| 进行 | Right | 调整 | 8,559 | VV | OBJ | 1 |
| 进行 | Left | 其 | 8,551 | PN | mod_ls | 1 |

OBJ

| | | | | | | |
|----|-------|----|-------|----|--------|---|
| 进行 | Left | 需要 | 8,55 | VV | aux_vv | 1 |
| 进行 | Right | 鉴定 | 8,549 | NN | OBJ | 1 |

The result is summarized in the following graph.¹⁶

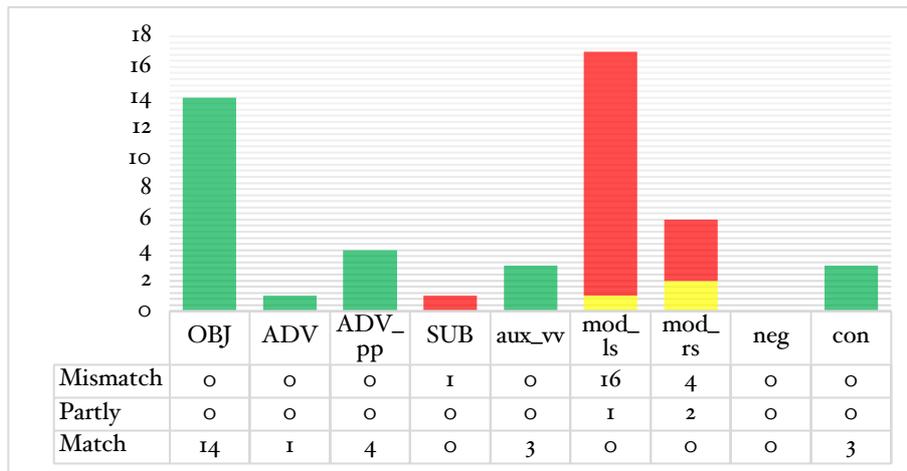


Figure 5
The number of items and accuracy.

4.2 The verb *shēnqǐng* 申请

In the Hanku corpus *zh-law*, the token *shēnqǐng* 申请 [apply for, ask for] has 2 POS tags—VV [verb; 12,194], NN [noun; 8,824].

Table 2
The verb *shēnqǐng* 申请

| Kwic | Side | Item | Logdice | Pos | CON | Rep | Note |
|------|-------|------|---------|-----|--------|-----|------|
| 申请 | Right | 复议 | 10,732 | NN | OBJ | 2 | |
| 申请 | Left | 向 | 10,392 | P | ADV_pp | 2 | |

16 The number unidentified by the syntactic approach is the sum of “partly” by mod_ls/mod_rs.

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|-----|--------|-----|--------|---|--------|
| 申请 | Right | 登记 | 10,144 | NN | OBJ | 2 | |
| 申请 | Right | 材料 | 9,944 | NN | OBJ | 2 | |
| 申请 | Right | 注册 | 9,913 | NN | OBJ | 2 | |
| 申请 | Left | 可以 | 9,771 | VV | aux_vv | 1 | |
| 申请 | Left | 可 | 9,669 | VV | mod_ls | 1 | aux_vv |
| 申请 | Left | 申请人 | 9,662 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | SUB |
| 申请 | Right | 办理 | 9,614 | VV | mod_rs | 1 | OBJ |
| 申请 | Right | 设立 | 9,605 | VV | mod_rs | 1 | OBJ |
| 申请 | Left | 机关 | 9,597 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 变更 | 9,535 | VV | mod_rs | 1 | OBJ |
| 申请 | Right | 之 | 9,475 | DEC | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 提起 | 9,468 | VV | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 申请 | Left | 受理 | 9,419 | VV | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 申请 | Left | 收到 | 9,262 | VV | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 受理 | 9,25 | VV | mod_rs | 2 | |
| 申请 | Right | 日 | 9,222 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 领取 | 9,165 | VV | mod_rs | 1 | OBJ |
| 申请 | Left | 行政许 | 9,094 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 时 | 9,077 | LC | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 申请 | Left | 告知 | 9,044 | VV | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 申请 | Left | 行政 | 9,014 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 申请 | Left | 依法 | 8,989 | AD | ADV | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 行政 | 8,986 | NN | mod_rs | 2 | |
| 申请 | Left | 内 | 8,982 | LC | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 许可证 | 8,968 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 法院 | 8,951 | NN | mod_rs | 2 | |
| 申请 | Left | 登记 | 8,946 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 申请 | Left | 当事人 | 8,908 | NN | SUB | 1 | |
| 申请 | Left | 复议 | 8,863 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 申请 | Left | 部门 | 8,858 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 申请 | Left | 提出 | 8,854 | VV | mod_ls | 1 | |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|----|-------|----|--------|---|-----|
| 申请 | Left | 重新 | 8,845 | AD | ADV | 1 | |
| 申请 | Left | 法院 | 8,791 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 申请 | Right | 资格 | 8,778 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 申请 | Left | 自 | 8,774 | P | ADV_pp | 1 | |
| 申请 | Left | 机构 | 8,702 | NN | SUB | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 提交 | 8,672 | VV | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 仲裁 | 8,647 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | OBJ |
| 申请 | Right | 或者 | 8,64 | CC | con | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 起 | 8,64 | LC | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 资质 | 8,588 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 应当 | 8,582 | VV | mod_rs | 2 | |
| 申请 | Right | 许可 | 8,56 | NN | OBJ | 2 | |
| 申请 | Right | 执行 | 8,544 | VV | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 申请 | Left | 海关 | 8,521 | NN | SUB | 1 | |
| 申请 | Right | 强制 | 8,499 | JJ | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 申请 | Left | 材料 | 8,493 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 申请 | Left | 再次 | 8,428 | AD | ADV | 1 | |

The results are summarized in the following graph.

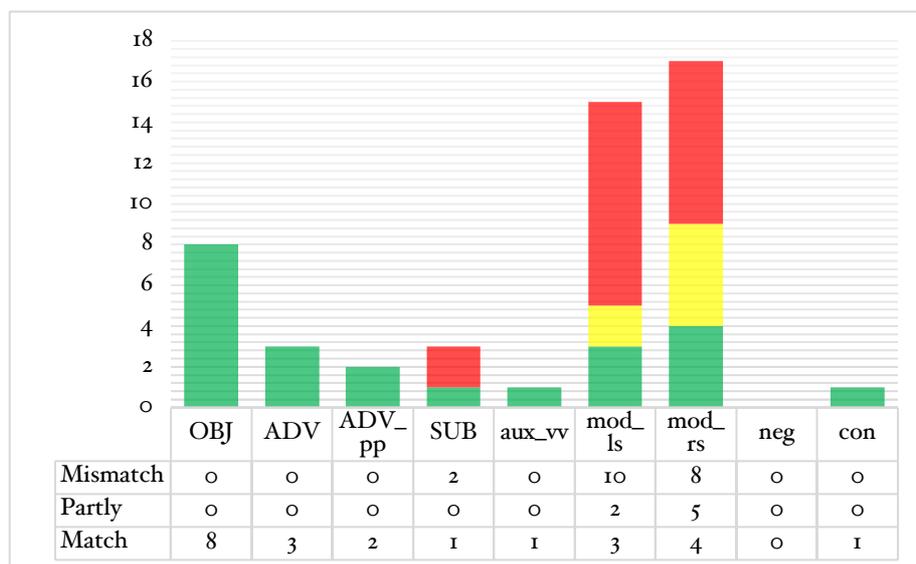


Figure 6

The number of items and accuracy.

4.3 The verb *fúhé* 符合

In the Hanku corpus *zh-law*, the token *fúhé* 符合 [conform to, fit] has only 1 POS tag—VV [verb;9,986].

Table 3

The verb *fúhé* 符合

| Kwic | Side | Item | Logdice | Pos | CON | Rep | Note |
|------|-------|------|---------|-----|--------|-----|------|
| 符合 | Right | 条件 | 11,82 | NN | OBJ | 2 | |
| 符合 | Right | 要求 | 11,249 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 符合 | Right | 标准 | 10,718 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 符合 | Right | 规定 | 10,489 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 符合 | Left | 不 | 10,48 | AD | neg | 1 | |
| 符合 | Right | 法定 | 10,36 | JJ | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 符合 | Right | 国家 | 10,184 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|-----|--------|----|--------|---|--------|
| 符合 | Left | 是否 | 10,128 | AD | ADV | I | |
| 符合 | Right | 下列 | 10,107 | JJ | mod_rs | I | |
| 符合 | Left | 齐全 | 9,835 | VA | mod_ls | I | |
| 符合 | Left | 必须 | 9,749 | VV | mod_ls | I | aux_vv |
| 符合 | Right | 本 | 9,728 | DT | mod_rs | I | |
| 符合 | Left | 材料 | 9,624 | NN | mod_ls | I | SUB |
| 符合 | Left | 应当 | 9,586 | VV | aux_vv | I | |
| 符合 | Left | 应 | 9,578 | VV | aux_vv | I | |
| 符合 | Right | 法律 | 9,403 | NN | mod_rs | I | |
| 符合 | Right | 有关 | 9,399 | JJ | mod_rs | I | |
| 符合 | Right | 形式 | 9,388 | NN | mod_rs | I | |
| 符合 | Right | 法规 | 9,357 | NN | mod_rs | I | OBJ |
| 符合 | Left | 对 | 9,271 | P | ADV_pp | I | |
| 符合 | Right | 办法 | 9,206 | NN | mod_rs | I | OBJ |
| 符合 | Left | 审查 | 9,197 | NN | mod_ls | I | |
| 符合 | Right | 规范 | 8,888 | NN | OBJ | I | |
| 符合 | Left | 产品 | 8,862 | NN | mod_ls | I | SUB |
| 符合 | Left | 申请 | 8,835 | VV | mod_ls | I | SUB |
| 符合 | Right | 安全 | 8,742 | NN | mod_rs | I | |
| 符合 | Left | 认为 | 8,728 | VV | mod_ls | I | |
| 符合 | Left | 条件 | 8,712 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | SUB |
| 符合 | Right | 规划 | 8,65 | NN | OBJ | I | |
| 符合 | Left | 设施 | 8,625 | NN | mod_ls | I | SUB |
| 符合 | Right | 法 | 8,618 | NN | mod_rs | I | |
| 符合 | Right | 行业 | 8,488 | NN | mod_rs | I | |
| 符合 | Right | 条例 | 8,476 | NN | mod_rs | I | OBJ |
| 符合 | Left | 还 | 8,417 | AD | mod_ls | I | ADV |
| 符合 | Right | 技术 | 8,412 | NN | mod_rs | I | |
| 符合 | Left | 审核 | 8,36 | NN | mod_ls | I | |
| 符合 | Right | 申请人 | 8,287 | NN | mod_rs | 2 | |
| 符合 | Right | 卫生 | 8,275 | NN | mod_rs | I | |
| 符合 | Left | 经 | 8,258 | P | ADV_pp | I | |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|-----|-------|----|--------|---|-----|
| 符合 | Right | 政策 | 8,205 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 符合 | Right | 中国 | 8,196 | NR | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 符合 | Left | 使用 | 8,184 | VV | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 符合 | Right | 强制性 | 8,179 | JJ | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 符合 | Left | 质量 | 8,177 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | SUB |
| 符合 | Left | 设备 | 8,15 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 符合 | Right | 之一 | 8,138 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 符合 | Right | 相关 | 8,117 | JJ | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 符合 | Right | 质量 | 8,105 | NN | mod_rs | 2 | |
| 符合 | Left | 除 | 8,077 | P | ADV_pp | 1 | |
| 符合 | Right | 产业 | 8,071 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |

The results are summarized in the following graph.

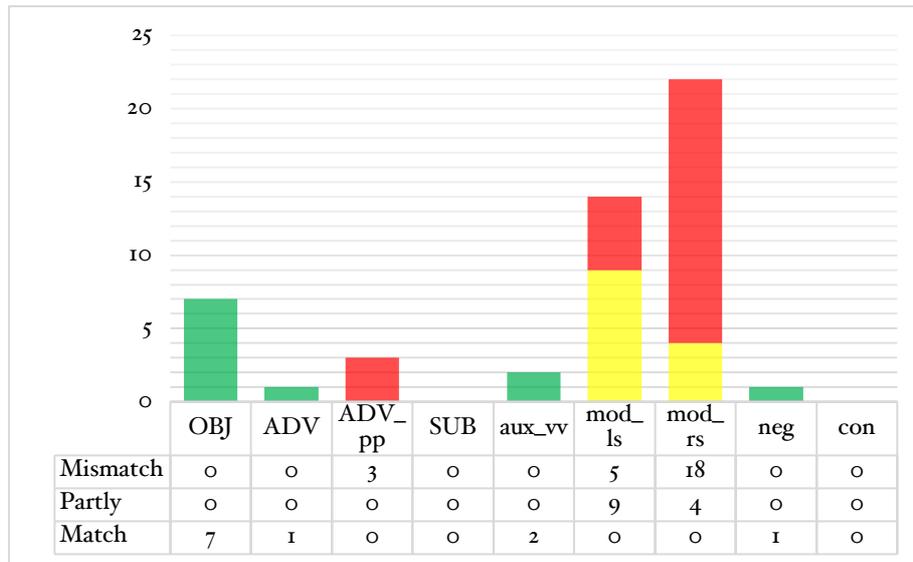


Figure 7
The number of items and accuracy.

4.4 The verb *fùzé* 负责

In the Hanku corpus *zh-law*, the token *fùzé* 负责 [be responsible for] has 2 POS tags—VV [verb; 9,612], NN [noun; 1].

Table 4
The verb *fùzé* 负责

| Kwic | Side | Item | Logdice | Pos | CON | Rep | Note |
|------|-------|------|---------|-----|--------|-----|------|
| 负责 | Right | 解释 | 11,382 | VV | OBJ | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 直接 | 11,059 | AD | ADV | 1 | |
| 负责 | Right | 区域 | 10,28 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 负责 | Right | 本 | 10,28 | DT | mod_rs | 2 | |
| 负责 | Left | 由 | 10,27 | P | ADV_pp | 1 | |
| 负责 | Right | 主管 | 10,157 | NN | mod_rs | 2 | |
| 负责 | Left | 部门 | 10,085 | NN | SUB | 2 | |
| 负责 | Right | 人员 | 10,02 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 负责 | Right | 全 | 9,954 | DT | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 负责 | Right | 其他 | 9,867 | DT | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 主管 | 9,86 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 负责 | Right | 国 | 9,821 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 对 | 9,595 | P | ADV_pp | 2 | |
| 负责 | Right | 组织 | 9,592 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 政府 | 9,565 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 负责 | Right | 内 | 9,42 | LC | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 职责 | 9,255 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 负责 | Right | 工作 | 9,182 | NN | OBJ | 2 | |
| 负责 | Left | 真实性 | 9,154 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 总局 | 9,094 | NN | SUB | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 专人 | 9,067 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 行政 | 9,055 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 负责 | Left | 机构 | 9,05 | NN | SUB | 1 | |
| 负责 | Right | 监督 | 9,026 | NN | OBJ | 2 | |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|-----|-------|----|--------|---|-----|
| 负责 | Left | 委员会 | 8,98 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 负责 | Left | 办法 | 8,969 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 负责 | Right | 管理 | 8,965 | NN | OBJ | 2 | |
| 负责 | Left | 国务院 | 8,942 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 负责 | Right | 行政 | 8,909 | NN | mod_rs | 2 | |
| 负责 | Right | 实施 | 8,904 | VV | OBJ | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 管理 | 8,857 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 负责 | Right | 和 | 8,817 | CC | con | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 工作 | 8,79 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 负责 | Left | 国家 | 8,773 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 负责 | Right | 辖区 | 8,711 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 监督 | 8,648 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 负责 | Left | 管理局 | 8,635 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 负责 | Right | 对 | 8,62 | P | mod_rs | 2 | |
| 负责 | Left | 人民 | 8,614 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 负责 | Right | 安全 | 8,613 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 本 | 8,599 | DT | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 负责 | Left | 指定 | 8,595 | VV | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 简称 | 8,546 | VV | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 地方 | 8,503 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 商务部 | 8,5 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 质量 | 8,484 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 负责 | Right | 协调 | 8,473 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 罚款 | 8,472 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 负责 | Left | 具体 | 8,472 | JJ | ADV | 2 | |
| 负责 | Left | 并 | 8,438 | CC | ADV | 2 | |

The results are summarized in the following graph.

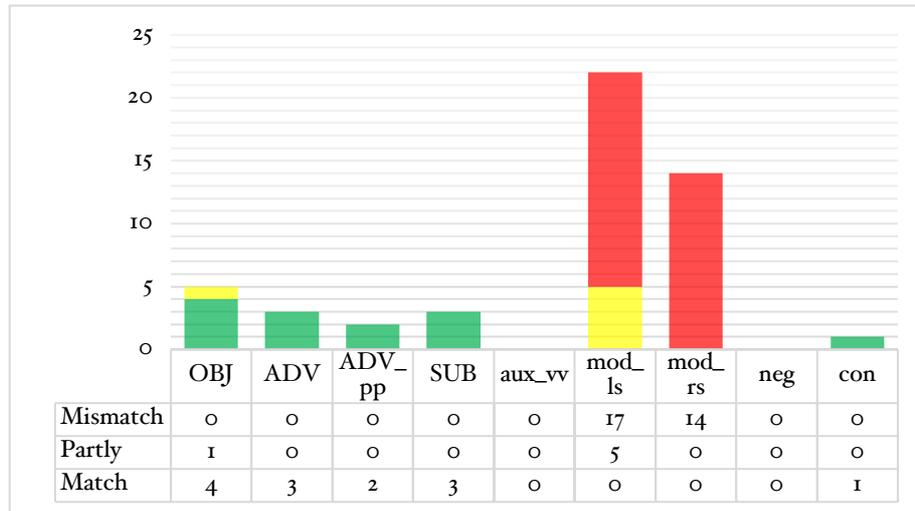


Figure 8

The number of items and accuracy.

4.5 The verb *tígōng* 提供

In the Hanku corpus *zh-law*, the token *tígōng* 提供 [provide; supply] has 2 POS tags—VV [verb; 9,303] and NN [noun; 192].

Table 5

The verb *tígōng* 提供

| Kwic | Side | Item | Logdice | Pos | CON | Rep | Note |
|------|-------|------|---------|-----|--------|-----|--------|
| 提供 | Right | 服务 | 11,171 | NN | OBJ | 2 | |
| 提供 | Right | 资料 | 10,627 | NN | OBJ | 2 | |
| 提供 | Right | 虚假 | 10,543 | JJ | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 提供 | Right | 担保 | 10,442 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 提供 | Right | 材料 | 10,383 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 提供 | Left | 为 | 10,352 | P | ADV_pp | 1 | |
| 提供 | Left | 向 | 10,084 | P | ADV_pp | 1 | |
| 提供 | Right | 信息 | 9,682 | NN | OBJ | 2 | |
| 提供 | Left | 要求 | 9,516 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | aux_vv |

| | | | | | | |
|----|-------|-----|-------|----|--------|---|
| 提供 | Right | 证明 | 9,514 | NN | OBJ | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 如实 | 9,467 | AD | ADV | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 证据 | 9,347 | NN | OBJ | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 必要 | 9,321 | VA | mod_rs | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 劳务 | 9,215 | NN | mod_rs | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 文件 | 9,044 | NN | OBJ | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 相关 | 9,034 | JJ | mod_rs | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 还 | 8,926 | AD | mod_ls | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 有关 | 8,914 | JJ | mod_rs | 2 |
| 提供 | Right | 咨询 | 8,892 | NN | mod_rs | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 服务 | 8,891 | NN | mod_ls | 2 |
| 提供 | Left | 应当 | 8,861 | VV | aux_vv | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 隐瞒 | 8,834 | VV | mod_ls | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 并 | 8,819 | CC | ADV | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 相应 | 8,697 | JJ | mod_rs | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 经营者 | 8,682 | NN | SUB | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 情况 | 8,662 | NN | mod_ls | 2 |
| 提供 | Left | 拒绝 | 8,657 | VV | mod_ls | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 应 | 8,656 | VV | aux_vv | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 申请人 | 8,656 | NN | SUB | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 条件 | 8,611 | NN | OBJ | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 技术 | 8,556 | NN | mod_rs | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 机构 | 8,539 | NN | SUB | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 或者 | 8,538 | CC | con | 2 |
| 提供 | Right | 便利 | 8,526 | NN | OBJ | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 单位 | 8,47 | NN | SUB | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 真实 | 8,45 | VA | mod_rs | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 个人 | 8,447 | NN | SUB | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 用户 | 8,405 | NN | SUB | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 能 | 8,355 | VV | aux_vv | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 外 | 8,346 | LC | mod_ls | 1 |

| | | | | | | |
|----|-------|-----|-------|----|--------|---|
| 提供 | Left | 资料 | 8,341 | NN | mod_ls | 2 |
| 提供 | Left | 其 | 8,335 | PN | mod_ls | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 支持 | 8,308 | VV | OBJ | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 情况 | 8,257 | NN | OBJ | 2 |
| 提供 | Right | 互联网 | 8,241 | NN | mod_rs | 1 |
| 提供 | Right | 数据 | 8,24 | NN | mod_rs | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 时 | 8,234 | LC | mod_ls | 1 |
| 提供 | Left | 信息 | 8,213 | NN | mod_ls | 2 |
| 提供 | Right | 或者 | 8,184 | CC | con | 2 |
| 提供 | Left | 需 | 8,141 | VV | mod_ls | 1 |

aux_vv

The results are summarized in the following graph.

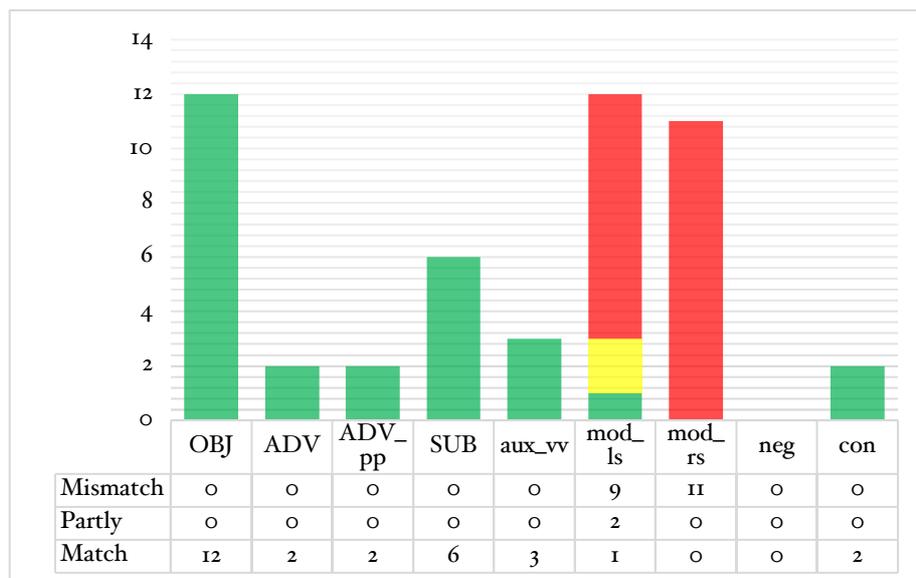


Figure 9
The number of items and accuracy.

4.6 The verb *pīzhǔn* 批准

In the Hanku corpus *zh-law*, the token *pīzhǔn* 批准 [ratify, approve] has 2 POS tag—VV [verb; 8,198] and NN [noun; 3,699].

Tables 6
The verb *pīzhǔn* 批准

| Kwic | Side | Item | Logdice | Pos | CON | Rep | Note |
|------|-------|------|---------|-----|--------|-----|------|
| 批准 | Left | 经 | 11,289 | P | ADV_pp | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 国务院 | 10,659 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | SUB |
| 批准 | Left | 报 | 10,658 | VV | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 批准 | Right | 后 | 10,043 | LC | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 政府 | 10,007 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 批准 | Left | 作出 | 9,929 | VV | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 部门 | 9,917 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 批准 | Right | 决定 | 9,819 | VV | OBJ | 2 | |
| 批准 | Left | 主管 | 9,705 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 批准 | Left | 负责人 | 9,688 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 批准 | Right | 文件 | 9,478 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 批准 | Right | 文号 | 9,472 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 批准 | Right | 可以 | 9,421 | VV | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 机关 | 9,385 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 批准 | Right | 设立 | 9,271 | VV | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 审查 | 9,224 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 批准 | Right | 证书 | 9,18 | NN | OBJ | 1 | |
| 批准 | Right | 延长 | 9,173 | VV | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 人民 | 9,156 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 内 | 8,924 | LC | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 决定 | 8,918 | VV | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 批准 | Left | 中国 | 8,904 | NR | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 审核 | 8,876 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 监督 | 8,847 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |

| | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|-----|-------|----|--------|---|-----|
| 批准 | Left | 审批 | 8,846 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 药品 | 8,811 | NN | mod_ls | 2 | |
| 批准 | Left | 做出 | 8,741 | VV | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 未 | 8,701 | AD | ADV | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 委员会 | 8,69 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 批准 | Left | 原 | 8,657 | JJ | ADV | 1 | |
| 批准 | Right | 并 | 8,605 | CC | con | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 机构 | 8,575 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 批准 | Left | 行政 | 8,565 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 报经 | 8,558 | VV | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 外商 | 8,527 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 批准 | Right | 书面 | 8,514 | JJ | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 是否 | 8,507 | AD | ADV | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 直辖市 | 8,495 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 批准 | Left | 管理 | 8,482 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | |
| 批准 | Right | 逮捕 | 8,449 | VV | mod_rs | 1 | OBJ |
| 批准 | Right | 土地 | 8,411 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 批准 | Right | 可 | 8,396 | VV | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 批准 | Left | 不 | 8,371 | AD | neg | 2 | |
| 批准 | Left | 国家 | 8,348 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 批准 | Left | 海关 | 8,339 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |
| 批准 | Right | 予 | 8,32 | VV | mod_rs | 2 | |
| 批准 | Right | 实施 | 8,307 | VV | OBJ | 1 | |
| 批准 | Right | 日 | 8,295 | NN | mod_rs | 1 | |
| 批准 | Right | 不 | 8,294 | AD | mod_rs | 2 | |
| 批准 | Left | 保监会 | 8,275 | NN | mod_ls | 1 | SUB |

The results are summarized in the following graph.

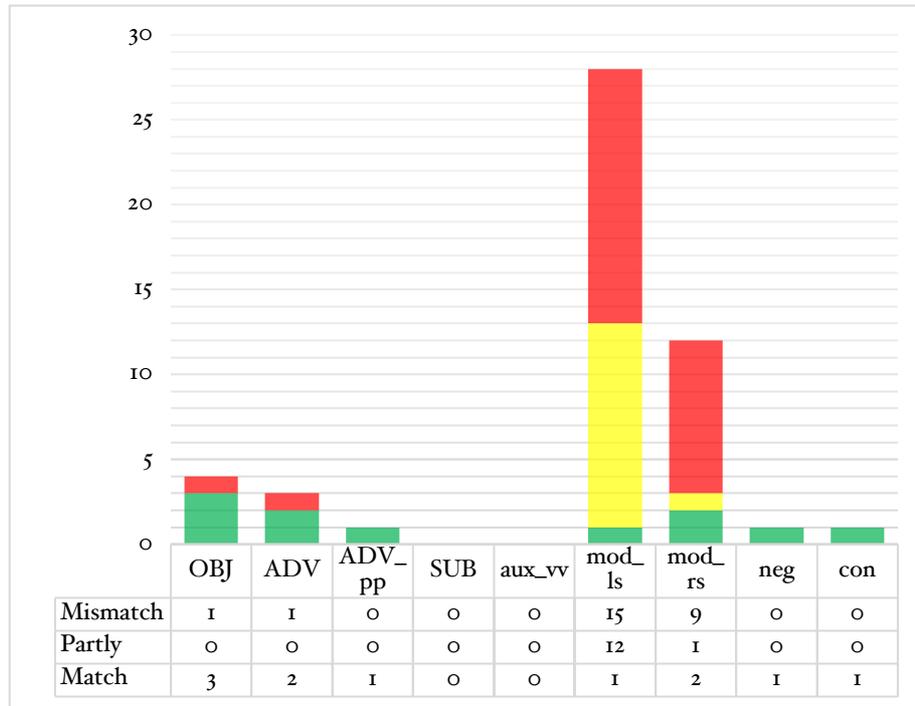


Figure 10
The number of items and accuracy.

5 *Comparison of Results*

In this chapter, the results are summarized in the form of figures.

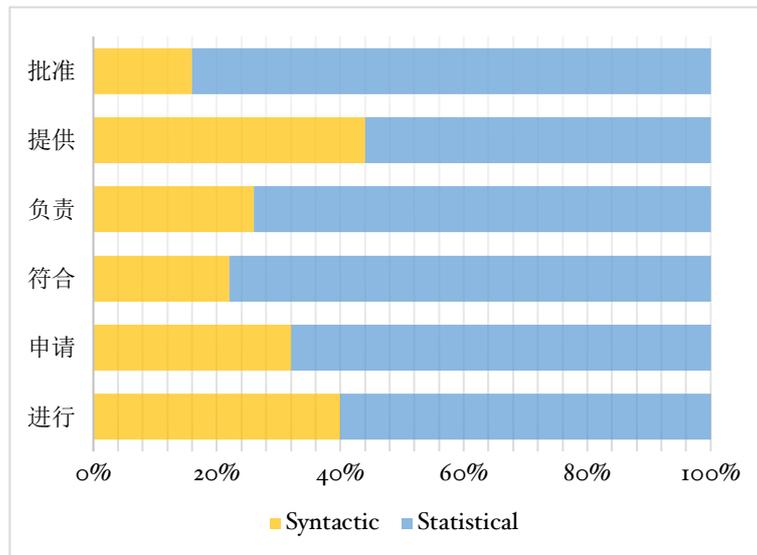


Figure 11

The percentage of collocates identified by the syntactic approach.

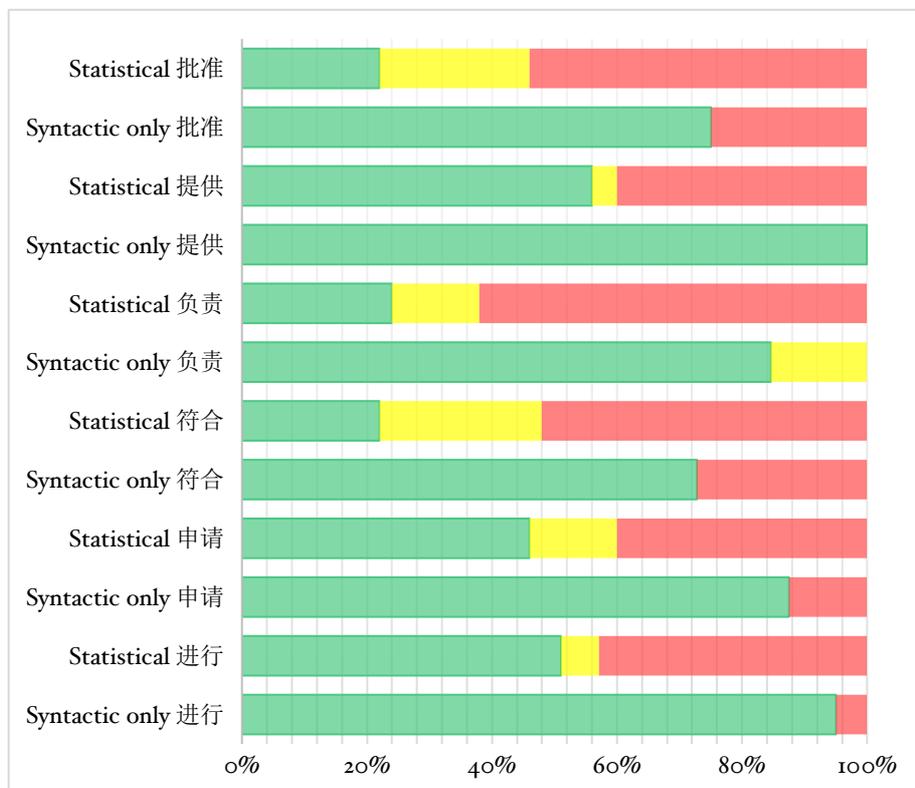


Figure 12

The comparison of accuracy in percentage.

As for the comparison of the statistical vs. the syntactic approach, it is worth mentioning that the items (percentage) of the statistical approach include the items identified by the syntactic approach and the results represented by green and yellow color are considered to be correct.

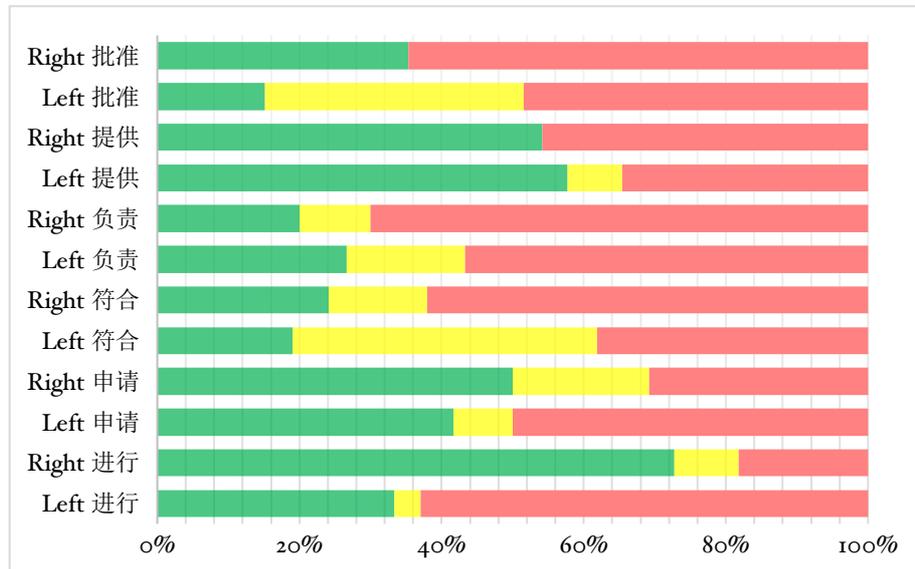


Figure 13

The comparison of the statistical approach for both sides.

6 Analysis

The tables and figures at first glance appear to vary considerably with regard to error rates, number of valid constituents, and other related factors. On the other hand, there are a number of characteristics that are common to most if not all verbs. Let us start with some most apparent.

1. The accuracy of the syntactic approach is always higher than that of statistical.
2. The accuracy for different verbs varies significantly. The results may indicate a direct correlation between the numbers of constituents identified by the syntactic approach and the accuracy of this approach.
3. There is a direct correlation between the error rate of the statistical and the syntactic approach.
4. The highest accuracy of the CON tags is achieved by the object (OBJ) through the statistical approach. In other words, the object of a

(transitive) verb is the most frequent of all constituents and the results clearly confirm our previous assumption.

5. If the *logDice* score of Neg is high, the verb is used mostly in the negative form.
6. The accuracy of the statistical approach for the 50 most typical collocates reached the highest percentage of 60% (lowest only 36%), however without offering any hints of a syntactic relation to the verbs.
7. The number of potential constituents (OBJ, ADV, ADV_pp, SUB) reached the highest number of 22 (of 50 collocates) with the accuracy of 100% and the lowest number of 8 with the accuracy of 75%. This may indicate a direct correlation and should be explored in further research.

Conclusion

In this article two different approaches were compared—statistical and linguistic. The presented results clearly show that there are significant differences between the results of these two approaches. The results of linguistic approach clearly validated our assumption that this method is indeed superior to the statistical one. The accuracy is always higher compared to the statistical approach. On the other hand, the accuracy depends on a verb *perse*—reaching 100% match for some verbs (e.g. *tígōng* 提), yet only 73% for some other (*fúhé* 符合).

The results may be used in the lexicographical field or in second language acquisition. Last but not least, further research is needed to further explore questions regarding the syntactic properties of verbs.

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Conversion Methods for Star Wars Animal Names into Chinese

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Abstract May Fourth is a significant date in modern Chinese history. Science fiction geeks celebrate this date as Star Wars Day. Although at first glance these two events do not seem to have much in common, there is a distinct connection. “Modernization” as a crucial aspect of the May Fourth Movement was associated with the adoption of Western ideas, expressed by means of foreign words. The need for word transfer that began at the beginning of the 1920s has continued up until the present, only with a greater urgency and in a wider spectrum of relevant areas. The projection of the Star Wars saga for a Chinese audience was inevitably connected with the conversion of the associated English terms into their Chinese equivalents. Apart from many human characters and droids, the imaginary worlds in these films are also colonized by various animals. This paper investigates how the Chinese language, where new words are mainly created by composition, deals with the adoption of the names of fantastic creatures. Based on a corpus, this paper compares the names in English, as the source language of the transfer of American reality for Chinese, and the corresponding names in Chinese. A subsequent quantitative analysis demonstrates which of the methods of word-formation is most productive.

Keywords Modern Chinese, lexicology, words of foreign origin, Star Wars, fantastic animals

Introduction

The genesis of this text is associated with the search for a suitable topic on the occasion of the conference *100 Years Anniversary of The May Fourth Movement 1919 in China: The Influence of The May Fourth Movement on Modern Chinese Language and Modern or Contemporary Chinese Literature*. As fans of Star Wars (abbreviated further as SW), the authors of this paper could not fail to notice that the so-called

Star Wars Day¹ coincides with the date of the student protests after which the cultural and political movement gained its name. In fact, it is not only the formal temporal correspondence that links SW with the significant movement in modern Chinese history, but the mutual similarities go much deeper. Firstly, the circumstances of the May Fourth Movement indicate that it has to be understood as a response of Chinese culture to an external interference. It was the disillusionment with the course of peace talks in Versailles that acted as a trigger for the student protests. Although in a different form, global pop-cultural phenomena similarly create certain pressure that the recipient countries have to deal with. Secondly, the massive opening up to foreign culture and thought, as one of the most outstanding outcomes of the May Fourth Movement, was, among other things, inevitably accompanied by a need for the enrichment of the Chinese lexical system (cf. Spira 2017, 336). Pressure in terms of the penetration of new concepts is also an accompanying phenomenon of globalization.² The release of a foreign film usually requires the conversion from one language to another and thus, generally speaking, always faces the issue of how to convey facts that are absent in the recipient language. Thirdly, English was the most influential donor language of Chinese borrowings during the period of the May Fourth Movement (Kim 2019, 3-4). As at present, it is the most influential language of cultural globalization, resulting in its spread into the lexical systems of many other languages including Chinese.

The American epic space opera³ SW introduced a whole new universe that features multiple planets and moons as complex worlds with many diverse

- 1 The establishment of the Star Wars Date was motivated by one of the most frequent phrases in the SW canon: “May the Force be with you”, the first part of which sounds similar to the date May Fourth.
- 2 This is also how so-called “young words” became part of the lexicon (cf. Petrovčić 2018, 172). In a book that was first published in 2000, Yip (2007, 332) mentions that China is experiencing a “third upsurge” of foreign words borrowing since the modernization processes that began in the 1970s.
- 3 D'Amassa (2005, 437) defines space opera as “a story in which space travel to other worlds is a major plot device, supporting adventures either in space or on other planets after the western ‘horse opera’.”

ecosystems and cultures. Not denying the indisputable fact that this fictional universe represents a masterpiece of human imagination, the academic attention of this text's authors whose field of expertise lies in linguistics, is predominantly captured by the onomasiological dimension of the SW saga. The creation of the SW universe was accompanied by an expansive nomenclature that established the names of its various parts. Considering the global impact of SW, it is interesting to observe how foreign languages handle the fiction-universe-specific lexicon. This paper focuses on the adaptation processes employed for converting this lexicon into Chinese.⁴

Generally speaking, theoretical works on loan influence are divided into three basic methods as to how a word can be adopted from one language to another.⁵ Importation and substitution represent the endpoints of the adoption spectrum. The positions in between represent combinations of these two methods, i.e. partial substitution. As concerns importation, the Chinese language tends to favor loanwords transcribed into Chinese characters instead of the incorporation of unchanged foreign words spelled just like in the donor language.⁶ Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the assimilated transcribed words also represent a significant intervention into a typical arrangement between the graphic and linguistic level in Chinese.⁷ Characters used in this way are semantically bleached and thus the generally pleremic type of writing system turns into a cenemic one

4 The term Chinese in this paper refers to modern Standard Chinese, so-called *pǔtōnghuà* 普通话.

5 According to Grzegorz (2003, 25-26), it was the German medievalist and linguist Werner Betz who lay the foundations of this classification. (Betz 1949; Betz 1959). Betz's model, in which partial substitution was not yet included, was later enlarged by David Duckworth (1977) who also added the English names of the categories to the model.

6 This does not mean, however, that Chinese avoids graphically unassimilated foreign words. Detailed research on adopted words written in different original writing systems was undertaken by Zou Yuhua (2012) and Yuan Xinmei (2017). The latter, among other things, also lists specialized dictionaries of the so-called letter words (Yuan 2017, 21).

7 The arrangement between the graphic, acoustic, and semantic level is as follows: apart from a few exceptions, every character corresponds to one syllable and carries its own meaning, in other words, morphemes are (generally speaking) monosyllabic units written with one character. They also represent basic units of the Chinese lexicon. Most of the words are composed of two morphemes and compounding is the most productive word-formation pattern.

when it comes to these words.⁸ As the research conducted by Heřmanová-Novotná (1975, 147) indicates, in the case of Chinese, the “internationality” of terminological systems—as she states—is achieved through one of the substitution methods, to be specific, through a coinage based on imitation of foreign models, i.e. loan translation or calquing. Wang Li (1980, 519) has also emphasized that substitution represents a more suitable method for conversion of foreign words into Chinese, probably considering the specific features of its writing system.

The analysis of SW creatures presented in this paper leans on the classification established by Novotná.⁹ After a thorough examination of extensive language material, Novotná proposed a six-category system encapsulating the basic adoption methods applied by transfer of foreign words into Chinese. Compared to the generally recognized Betz-Duckworth model (Duckworth 1977, 40), Novotná’s scheme leaves out the superordinate groups and begins directly with the more specific subordinate categories. The terminology used is also different. As for the first two categories, the terms imported into Chinese without translation are called phonemic loans and the combinations of borrowed and substituted elements are referred to as hybrids. The next three categories strictly make use of native Chinese lexical units: loan-translations are direct replicas of the original foreign models; semantic loans utilize already existing words to which the new concept is attributed; and induced new-creations are new coinages in

8 The basic units of cenevic writing denote meaningless sounds, while the units of pleremic writing systems operate on the level of meaningful linguistic entities (Coulmas 1999, 71, 408-409).

9 Zdenka Novotná(-Heřmanová) wrote a series of three articles that were published as “Contribution to the Study of Loan-words and Hybrid Words in Modern Chinese” in the journal *Archiv Orientální* in 1967 (vol. 36, 613-648), 1968 (vol. 36, 295-324) and 1969 (vol. 37, 48-75). Several years later, they were followed by a study devoted to the method of substitution, “Morphemic Reproductions of Foreign Lexical Models in Modern Chinese” (1975, vol. 43, 146-171). Unlike other studies, Heřmanová-Novotná covered all the methods of borrowing, i.e. including (full) substitution. Chinese scholars usually limit their attention to imported (including graphic loans from Japanese) and partly substituted words that together constitute the group *wàiláicí* 外来词 “foreign words” (see e.g. Shi, 2013).

which the original words serve only as an inspiration, not as a model to be copied. Duckworth's loan rendering is listed as one of the three types of loan translations in Novotná's scheme. The sixth category, graphic loans, is an adoption method, the use of which is limited to pleremic writing systems. In the case of Chinese, both the graphic form and meaning of the word in Japanese are borrowed, however, the characters are pronounced according to their phonetic value in Chinese.¹⁰ This paper makes use of Novotná's classification scheme; however, some terms are replaced by currently more preferred equivalents. The term loanword is used instead of phonemic loan and loan creation instead of induced new-creation. The paper also adopts Duckworth's term loan formation instead of Novotná's loan-translation (1967).¹¹ The names of the subcategories are revised as well.

To shed light on the adaption processes employed for the enrichment of the Chinese lexicon through a global cultural phenomenon, this paper explores one specific part of the SW universe, i.e. the names of animals. Altogether 137 names of animal appellatives were collected from the Chinese SW fan webpage <http://www.starwarsfans.cn>,¹² which is a kind of encyclopedia covering various parts of the SW media franchise. The SW animal names occur in the form of a single word or a group of words. Animals of all possible thematic categories were chosen for this study because of the word-formation diversity used in the original language for their naming. Instead of the semantically unclear term humanoids for various related species, motivated linguistic constructions appear in the case of the names of the non-sapient or semi-sapient species. As for the other major group of living organisms, the SW saga is an example of how flora is usually less

10 At first sight, this method might seem to correspond with non-integrated foreign words in Duckworth's model. However, graphic loans differ significantly from them. Compared to non-integrated foreign words, it is mostly the pronunciation of the separated letters that is assimilated according to the native phonological rules, while graphic loans utilize a (completely different) phonetic shape that the grapheme possesses in the recipient language.

11 Also called loan-creation in a later article by Novotná (1975, 151).

12 SW animal names were retrieved between April and July 2019. About half of them have their own entries in the encyclopedia. The others were collected from the descriptions of various words within the SW universe. Unfortunately, the webpage covers only some of the animals that can be found on the English webpages for SW fans www.starwarsfandom.com.

“glamorous” in science fiction than the “active” members of the animal world (Stableford 2006, 573), a fact that is reflected in the relatively poor plant lexicon. In order to establish the inspirational source of the words in the donor language, two more English webpages were used to understand the biological, physiological, sociocultural or other characteristics of the animals, <https://starwars.fandom.com/> and <https://www.starwars.com/>. The descriptions given in the text below lean on the information and images provided on these webpages.¹³ It should be mentioned, however, that the scope of information varies for each animal: the description of some of them is quite extensive, while that of others is limited to only a few sentences.

The following subchapters provide an overview of SW animal appellatives where each of them is assigned to the used adoption methods. Considering the source language, graphic loans are absent. Semantic loans do not occur as well.

1 *Loanwords*

The following animal names were transcribed in Chinese characters whose pronunciation attempts to imitate the acoustic form of the original word:

ākèlèi 阿克雷 ‘acklay’; *àodùpí'ēnduō* 奥杜皮恩多 ‘odupiendo’; *àolèi* 奥雷 orray’; *bānsà* 班萨 ‘bantha’; *bèi'ěrdēng* 贝尔登 ‘beldon’; *bùlěigé* 布勒格 ‘blurr’; *chánuòkè* 查诺克 ‘charnoq’; *dàiyànùojiā* 代亚诺加 ‘dianoga’; *fābǔ'ěr* 法布尔 ‘fabool’; *fánbā* 凡巴 ‘fambaa’; *fēi'ěrnùkè* 菲尔诺克 ‘fyrnock’; *gē'ěntè* 戈恩特 ‘gornt’; *hāpábó* 哈帕博 ‘happabore’; *huòlākèsī* 霍拉克斯 ‘horax’; *jībākè* 基巴克 ‘kybuck’; *kǎdù* 卡杜 ‘kaadu’; *kǎlākè* 卡拉克 ‘kalak’; *jī'ěrkǎnà* 基尔卡纳 ‘keelkana’; *kèlākǎnà* 克拉卡纳 ‘krakana’; *kèlīkè'nà* 克里克纳 ‘krykna’; *lánkè* 兰克 ‘rancor’; *lāsītǎ* 拉思塔 ‘rathtar’; *līkè* 力克 ‘reek’; *mǎxīfū* 马西夫 ‘massiff’; *mògǔ* 莫古 ‘mogo’; *mù'ěrgé'lākè* 穆尔格拉克 ‘murglak’; *màinuòkè* 迈诺克 ‘mynock’; *nèikèsū* 内克苏 ‘nexu’; *nǔnà* 努纳 ‘nuna’; *pèikē pèikē* 佩科佩科 ‘peko-peko’; *qiáo'áng* 乔昂 ‘choarn’; *sàlántǎ* 萨兰塔 ‘thrantar’; *shā'lākè* 沙拉克

13 For the purpose of this article, both of these webpages were used between April and November 2019.

‘sarlace’; *shākè* 沙克 ‘shaak’; *sīlīwéilīsī* 斯利维利思 ‘slivilith’; *sūlèijí* 苏雷吉 ‘sureggi’; *sūbātǎ* 苏巴塔 ‘suubatar’; *tāngtāng* 汤汤 ‘tauntaun’; *yóupí* 尤皮 ‘eopie’; *wéi’ěrkè* 维尔克 ‘velker’; *wǔ’ěrpàkè* 伍尔帕克 ‘voorpak’; *wàndéléilā* 万德雷拉 ‘wandrella’; *wòtè* 沃特 ‘worrt’; *zhūpà* 朱帕 ‘joopa’.

2 Loan Formations

In terms of the degree of exactness, Heřmanová-Novotná (1975) distinguishes between the following three types of imitating procedures: a) strict replicas of foreign models, b) reproductions with an added lexical morpheme ensuring semantic or grammatical clarity, and finally c) reproductions that freely imitate the original model. The first mentioned are referred to as exact loan translations in the following text; the second as explicative loan translations; and the last one as loan renderings.

2.1 Exact loan translations

Most of the words transferred by literal translation are left-branching compounds of the attributive type.¹⁴ Their head refers to the animal species, while the modifier specifies a certain quality:

bīngchóng 冰虫 (‘ice’ + ‘worm’) ‘ice worm’; *dēngyú* 灯鱼 (‘lamp’ + ‘fish’) ‘lampfish’; *huāgāngshí kuòyú* 花岗石蛞蝓 (‘granite’ + ‘slug’) ‘granite slug’; *huǒfēng* 火蜂 (‘fire’ + ‘bee’) ‘firebee’; *liáoyámāo* 獠牙猫 (‘tusk’ + ‘cat’) ‘tusk-cat’; *nǎochóng* 脑虫 (‘brain’ + ‘worm’) ‘brain worm’; *néngliàng zhīzhū* 能量蜘蛛 (‘energy’ + ‘spider’) ‘energy spider’; *niányè róngyuán* 黏液蝾螈 (‘mucous’ + ‘salamander’) ‘mucous salamander’; *róngyánzǎo* 熔岩蚤 (‘lava’ + ‘flea’) ‘lava flea’; *qiánxíng xīyì* 潜行蜥蜴 (‘stalk’ + ‘lizard’) ‘stalker lizard’; *shímǎn* 石螨 (‘stone’ + ‘mite’) ‘stone mites’; *shuǐjīngshé* 水晶蛇 (‘crystal’ + ‘snake’) ‘crystal snake’; *tàikōngmǎ* 太空马 (‘(outer) space’ + ‘horse’) ‘space horse’; *túfūchóng* 屠夫虫 (‘butcher’ + ‘bug’) ‘butcherbug’; *xiāngliào zhīzhū* 香料蜘蛛 (‘spice’ + ‘spider’) ‘spice spider’; *xuěshǔ* 雪鼠 (‘snow’ + ‘mouse’) ‘snowmouse’; *yànjiǎchóng* 焰甲虫 (‘flame’ + ‘beetle’) ‘flame beetle’; *zhǎozé kuòyú* 沼泽蛞蝓 (‘swamp’ + ‘slug’) ‘swamp slug’; *zhuāngjiǎmǎn* 装甲鳗 (‘armor’ + ‘eel’) ‘armored eel’.

¹⁴ For more details on the classification of Chinese compounds, see Ceccagno and Basciano 2009, 479-482.

Apart from these, there can be found three compounds where both roots are formed by an animal species. As such, they appear to bear an equal semantic weight where neither of them dominates the other: *lóngshé* 龙蛇 ('dragon' + 'snake') 'dragonsnake'; *yīngfú* 鹰蝠 ('hawk' + 'bat') 'hawk-bat'; *lóngkuòyú* 龙蛞蝓 ('dragon' + 'slug') 'dragon slug'.

2.2 Explicative loan translations

Despite the fact that these coinages are quite numerous in the modern Chinese lexicon (Heřmanová-Novotná 1975, 162), their occurrence in the analyzed sample is limited to four animal names. All of them display the same word-formation pattern. The explicative native constituent in the form of a specification of the animal species is added behind the reproduced part. In case of three of these appellatives, the added morpheme substitutes the English nominal suffix *-er*. In case of the last mentioned, the order of the lexical constituents was also reversed during the transfer.

chuídiào zhū 垂钓蛛 ('angle' + 'spider') 'angler'

pāiyǔ niǎo 拍羽鸟 (/ 'flutter' + 'plume' / + bird) 'flutterplume'

shítào shù 石跳兽 (/ 'rock' + 'jump' / + 'beast') 'rockhopper'

zhīwǎng zhū 织网蛛 (/ 'knit' + 'net' / + 'spider') 'webweaver'

2.3 Loan renderings¹⁵

Heřmanová-Novotná (1975, 162) admits that it might be sometimes difficult to differentiate loan renderings from loan creations. The fantastic animal names listed under this category deviate from the original model in that they capture the idea behind the creation of the original English word, but do not utilize the corresponding lexical units. The difference might lie in a selection of a lexical unit of the superordinate level, or simply of a lexical unit sharing "only" a sufficient set of semantic features:

bīngbā shǔ 冰扒鼠 ('ice' + 'dig up' / + 'rat') 'ice scabbler'—the Chinese name uses a slightly different term describing the ability of this rodent to burrow into the ice surface with its sharp claws.

15 Approximate loan translations correspond to loan rendering in the Betz-Duckworth model.

cuāntiàoshǔ 蹿跳鼠 (/‘leap up’ + ‘jump’/ + ‘rat’) ‘scurrier’—its way of moving that seems to have been the factor that inspired the English name of this small creature. The Chinese term uses different words to describe the specific way this animal moves.

fēijīng 飞鲸 (‘fly’ + ‘whale’) ‘aiwha’—the English name aiwha is an abbreviation for air whale, an animal that can both fly and swim. In Chinese, this is replaced by the type of movement.

hǎichuí 海锤 (‘sea’ + ‘hammer’) ‘flailer’—instead of a substantivized verb, the Chinese utilizes a tool used to perform the depicted activity. Moreover, it depicts the habitat of this creature. What makes this name truly unique is the fact that it is the only semantically adapted name lacking a specification of an animal species.

jiéliú báizhīzhū 节瘤白蜘蛛 (/‘knot’ + ‘tumor’/ + /‘white’ + ‘spider’/) ‘knobby white spider’—in Chinese, the lumpy body of this creature was described through a comparison of two different objects of a similar appearance.

shíren jiǎchóng 食人甲虫 (/‘eat’ + ‘person’/ + ‘beetle’) ‘piranha beetles’—just like piranha fish, this insect possesses a set of sharp teeth enabling it to eat flesh directly from the living organisms. The Chinese name was derived from the equivalent of the word *shírényú* 食人鱼 ‘piranha’, however, one of the roots of this compound was omitted, i.e. 鱼 ‘fish’, and thus the final meaning of the word has changed to ‘beetle that eats humans’.

tūyīnglóng 秃鹰龙 (‘vulture’ + ‘dragon’) ‘condor dragon’— a general term was preferred by the conversion of one of the roots into Chinese.

túnzū 鲀猪 (‘puffer fish’ + ‘pig’) ‘puffer pig’—considering its plump body, the English word ‘puffer’ seems to be a reference to a puffer fish. This interpretation has been taken into consideration when converting the name into Chinese where the character for the entire name of the fish was used.

xìndié 信蝶 (‘letter’ + ‘butterfly’) ‘carrier butterfly’—considering their ability to listen to instructions and repeat it to specific people, this species of butterfly was often used to deliver messages from its owner to his allies. The Chinese word depicts what is carried instead of the activity itself.

zhàowǎngzhū 罩网蛛 (/‘cover’ + ‘net’/ + ‘spider’) ‘netcaster’—the English name seems to reflect the netcaster’s habit of spinning webs among the trees. The Chinese word utilizes different lexical constituents to convey this concept. The order is also reversed.

zhūláng 猪狼 ('pig' + 'wolf') 'boar-wolf'—a general term was preferred by converting one of the roots into Chinese.

3 Hybrid Words

Novotná (1969) distinguishes between three types of innovations that are composed of both borrowed and substituted constituents: a) explicative hybrids in which an explicative native lexical component is added to an imported transcription of the original word; b) loan blends in which the combination of the two mechanisms is achieved in a way that one part of the original term is borrowed and the other translated; and c) independent hybrids that occur only in the form of derivative endocentric compounds in which the head is a native lexical morpheme and the attribute is a borrowed nominal constituent. Examples of all three types can be found in the analyzed material.

3.1 Explicative hybrids

Explicative hybrids represent the most productive type of hybrid words in the analyzed sample. In the following overview, the list is based on the native constituent added to the transcribed part. Just as in the case of explicative loan translations, this constituent assigns the creature to a certain animal species:

- + *shòu* 兽 'beast' (9): *fúwēitèshòu* 弗威特兽 'fwit'; *bāfūshòu* 巴夫兽 'barve'; *fǎlēmǔpàsàitèshòu* 法勒姆帕塞特兽 'falumpaset'; *hānàdákèshòu* 哈纳达克兽 'hanadak'; *kǎtǎ'ēnshòu* 卡塔恩兽 'katarn'; *kèkè'ěrgélúoshòu* 克克尔格罗兽 'kkekkrrg rro'; *nàgélāqíshòu* 纳格拉奇兽 'narglatch'; *pǔlèidùsèshòu* 普雷杜瑟兽 'preducor'; *tèlántǎtèkèshòu* 特兰塔特克兽 'terentatek';
- + *chóng* 虫 'insect', resp. *dúchóng* 毒虫 'poisonous insect' (4): *àobālikèsīkèchóng* 奥巴利斯克虫 'orbalisk'; *fēidénàchóng* 菲德纳虫 'phidna'; *táoxīnchóng* 陶辛虫 'taozin'; *kòuhén dúchóng* 扣痕毒虫 'kouhun';
- + *niǎo* 鸟 'bird' (3): *kāngfūniǎo* 康弗鸟 'convor'; *kèluóyīniǎo* 克罗伊鸟 'kroyies'; *níbùlèiniǎo* 尼布雷鸟 'neebray';
- + *quǎn* 犬 'dog' (2): *ānúbāquǎn* 阿奴巴犬 'anooba'; *wēngsīkèquǎn* 翁斯克犬 'vornskr';

- + *lóng* 龙 ‘dragon’ (2): *bāngzhāmìlóng* 邦扎密龙 ‘bonzami’; *kēlǐnàsùōsīlóng* 科里纳索思龙 ‘corinathoth’;
- + *xī* 蜥 ‘lizard’, resp. *jùxī* 巨蜥 ‘huge lizard’ (2): *yīsàlāmǐ'ěrxī* 伊萨拉米尔蜥 ‘ysalamiri’; *shāmùnà'ěr jùxī* 沙穆纳尔巨蜥 ‘shamunaar’;
- + *niú* ‘ox’ 牛(i): *nàfūniú* 纳夫牛 ‘nerf’;
- + *wā* 蛙 ‘frog’ (i): *gēgégēwā* 戈格蛙 ‘gorg’;
- + *jīng* 鲸 ‘whale’ (i): *pǔ'ěrzhějīng* 普尔褶鲸 ‘purrgil’;
- + *tíng* 蜓 ‘dragonfly’ (i): *kǎnsài'ěrtíng* 坎塞尔蜓 ‘can-cell’.

Apart from these, two more creative ways of adaptation can be observed. In the first, the last syllable of two animal names was transcribed using a character that also indicates their species. The first of them is *yīkēpí* 伊科狒 ‘ikopi’ in which the last character *pí* 狒 is a reference to the Chinese word *huōjiāpí* 獾狒 ‘okapi’. The striking resemblance of the physical features of this animal with the real animal of the family Giraffidae indicates that the form of the English name is also not arbitrary. The second of them is a small creature called dokma. In the Chinese version *duōkè'mǎ* 多克蚂, the character 蚂 occurs in the final position. This character can be found in the names of several small-size animals such as *mǎyǐ* 蚂蚁 ‘ant’, *mǎfēng* 蚂蜂 ‘hornet’, *mǎbúáng* 蚂蟥 ‘leech’, *hàshímǎ* 哈什蚂 ‘Chinese forest frog’. In the second method of adaptation, the character referring to the species is located in the initial position. The stubby-legged quadruped called ‘mott’ was transcribed as *mòtè* 獬特. For this loanword, an unusual character 獬 ‘tapir’ was most probably selected with regard to the obvious similarities in their external appearance.

3.2 Loan blends

The following loan blends can be found in the analyzed sample:

ākèquǎn 阿克狗 ‘akk dog’; *àopí hǎiyāng shāshǒu* 奥皮海洋杀手 ‘opee sea killer’; *gēlǐ'ěr kuòyú* 戈里尔蛞蝓 ‘gorryl slug’; *kǎi'ěrlóng* 凯尔龙 ‘kell dragon’; *kèlèitèlóng* 克雷特龙 ‘krayt dragon’; *kèluò kuòyú* 克洛蛞蝓 ‘k'lor'slug’; *kēluò zhuǎyú* 科洛爪鱼 ‘colo clawfish’; *sāngduō shuǐguài* 桑多水怪 ‘sando aqua monster’; *sīluòshòu* 斯洛兽 ‘zillo beast’; *wàngpǔshǔ* 旺普鼠 ‘womp rat’; *yuēlǐkè shānhú* 约里克珊瑚 ‘yorik coral’.

Special attention has to be drawn to the formation of the following two loan blends. The first of them, *wànpà bīngshòu* 万帕冰兽 (transcription of ‘wampa’ + /‘ice’ + ‘beast’) ‘wampa ice creature’, utilizes a more specific term for classifying the type of animal. The second of them is a quadrupedal flightless bird ‘mastiff

phalone'. The Chinese word *fǎluò'ēnyīng'áo* 法洛恩鹰葵 (transcription of 'phalone' + /'hawk' + 'mastiff') not only combines phonetically and semantically transferred elements but also displays two more adjustments. Firstly, the order of the constituents is reversed. Secondly, the morpheme 鹰 'hawk' has been added, clarifying the fact that the animal is a species of bird.

3.3 Independent hybrids

The borrowed nominal constituent in the case of the analyzed sample is always a borrowed proper noun, or to be even more specific, a borrowed toponym indicating the home planet of the animal.

luòtā māo 洛塔猫 ('Lothal' + 'cat') 'Loth-cat'—a species of cats from the planet Lothal, shortened to Loth in the English name of the animal;

luòtā láng 洛塔狼 ('Lothal' + 'wolf') 'Loth-wolf'—a canine predator native to the planet Lothal;

luòtā shǔ 洛塔鼠 ('Lothal' + 'rat') 'Loth-rat'—a creature living in the grasslands of the planet Lothal;

kēwǎkè hóuxī 科瓦克猴蜥 ('Kowak' + 'monkey' + 'lizard') 'Kowakian monkey-lizard'—a species of reptilian creature native to the planet Kowak;

fèilúxīyà dìjìachóng 费卢西亚地甲虫 ('Felucia' + 'ground' + 'beetle') 'Felucia ground beetle'—a large insectile creature native to the planet Felucia;

jīluósī niǎo 基罗斯鸟 ('Kiros' + 'bird') 'Kiros bird'—a species of small bird that lived on the planet Kiros;

huòsī zhū 霍斯猪 ('Hoth' + 'pig') 'Hoth hog'—a hog-like creature native to the planet of Hoth.

4 Loan Creations

In the analyzed material, two types of loan creations can be distinguished.

The first of them are new coinages that are quite close to approximate loan translations since one cannot help noticing the inspiration behind them arising from the semantic motivation of the name in English; although the loan creations deviate significantly from the original concepts reflected in the composition of

the English words. This deviation can be manifested through the choice of a different distinctive feature:

chābí fēilóng 叉鼻飞龙 (/‘fork’ + ‘nose’/ + ‘flying dragon’) ‘dactillion’—the name of this large flying species was most likely derived from the Greek word *dactyl* or *dactile* meaning ‘finger, toe’ which seems to refer to the fact that dactillion’s feet have prominent toes. The Chinese term, however, reflects a different distinctive feature of their appearance, i.e. the two-pronged tip of its beak. Apart from this, the Chinese appellative also captures the fact that these creatures are said to share both avian and lizard traits.

xīzhǐlóng 蜥趾龙 (/‘lizard’ + ‘toe’/ + ‘dragon’) ‘varactyl’—considering its body construction, the English name of this giant animal with both reptilian and avian traits seems to be derived from the Latin word *varus* ‘bow-legged’. The Chinese word depicts its different physical property, the similarity of its toes with those of a lizard.

In the case of the next two names, a slight change in the choice of lexical constituents leads to a significant shift in the conveyed meaning:

tuōjiǎshòu 驮甲兽 (/‘carry on the back’ + ‘helmet’/ + ‘beast’) ‘luggabeast’—is a unique quadruped species representing a fusion of an organic being and a mechanical creation that is used for scavenging. The purpose they were used for (i.e. to lug heavy rubbish) seems to be the motif that inspired the English name. Although the Chinese word adopts the idea of carrying something, the added lexical unit considerably shifts the implied meaning since the composition of the word no longer refers to the purpose but to an important attribute of the animal’s physical appearance.

shībèixī 湿背蜥 (/‘wet’ + ‘back’/ + ‘lizard’) ‘dewback’—these thick skinned reptiles are named for their habit of licking morning dew with their flicking tongues from their backs. The Chinese word reflects the fact that these animals have wet backs, though the type of liquid is not specified. Moreover, a lexical component explaining the species of the animal was added.

The second type of loan creations provides more information about the appearance of the fantastic animal than in the original language:

shuǐjīnghú 水晶狐 (‘crystal’ + ‘fox’) ‘vulptex’—the English name was inspired by the Latin word *vulpes* meaning ‘fox’. The fact that the vulptex is a fox-like creature is also reflected in Chinese, however, an important attribute of their

physical appearance was added, i.e. the coats of vupltices are made of crystalline bristles instead of fur.

lóngtuó 龙驼 ('dragon' + 'camel') 'ronto'—the Chinese term displays a unique combination of both the phonetic and semantic adaptation. Firstly, the Chinese characters were chosen so that they imitate the pronunciation of the original English word to a considerable measure. Secondly, their meanings depict the characteristic features of the large four-legged reptile used as a beast of burden. As both of these principles are applied simultaneously on the same lexical units, this animal has been assigned to the category of loan creations.

Apart from these, one more specific type of conversion can be understood as a loan creation considering the complexity of the associated meaning. The name of a cute species of sea-dwelling bird 'porg' has been transferred as *bōbō* 波波. The selection of the syllable *bō* was definitely inspired by the sound of the original name. Instead of, however, transcribing the consonant cluster in the coda position, the syllable *bō* has been duplicated. Thus, the Chinese word imitates the word-formation pattern that is used as a mark of endearment for small children or pet names, recently also becoming quite popular as an official given name (cf. Kałużyńska 2008, 60-61, 326-342).

5 Discussion

First of all, it should be pointed out that the analyzed sample is characterized by a set of specific features that must be taken into consideration when interpreting the results. Firstly, it is a thematically narrowly focused collection of words belonging to the same word class. Secondly, the names in a fictional world come into existence quite "unnaturally" considering the general processes underlying the enrichment of the lexicon. Moreover, the aesthetic function of the language of fiction is, among others, manifested in unusual word-formation patterns. The bizarre clusters of vocals and consonants are quite striking in the case of some of the SW animal names.

The following table summarizes the occurrence of different adoption methods. The results of the analysis indicated that all of the three basic mechanisms, i.e. importation (represented by loanwords), substitution (represented by both loan translation and loan creations) and partial substitution (represented by hybrid words), are present in not significantly different amounts. Moreover, it is apparent that the selection of the adoption method highly corresponds with the semantic clarity of the original English words. Generally speaking, when the relationship between the characteristics of an animal and its name is not obvious, a transcription with Chinese characters (loanwords) is preferred. On the other hand, semantically clear English names are translated literally (an exact loan translation),¹⁶ occasionally with a small modification (an explicative or approximate loan translation). Also, two types of hybrids, i.e. loan blends and independent hybrids, follow the same logic. In light of this, only the names listed under two modification methods actually underwent significant changes during the transfer: 29 explicative hybrids that add a specification of species behind a transcribed original name and 7 loan creations.

Table 1
Summary of the conversion methods

| Adoption Method | Occurrence |
|--------------------------------------|------------|
| Loanwords | 44 |
| Loan formations | 37 |
| 1) Exact loan translations (22) | |
| 2) Explicative loan translations (4) | |
| 3) Loan rendering (11) | |
| Hybrid words | 49 |
| 1) Explicative hybrids (29) | |
| 2) Loan blends (13) | |
| 3) Independent hybrids (7) | |
| Loan creations | 7 |

¹⁶ Nevertheless, the semantic ranges of the lexical constituents in the original and the recipient language do not necessarily fully overlap, compare e.g. 'hop' vs. *tiào* 跳 or 'rat' vs. *shǔ* 鼠.

The following paragraphs discuss the specific features that are characteristic for the two strategies that are the basis of the word-finding process, i.e. the phonetic and semantic adaptation, in the analyzed sample.

The first feature aims at finding a way to link the sound systems of the source and recipient language. Kim (2019, 150) pointed out a conflict underlying the process of adaptation: it attempts to preserve the most faithful sound image of the word in the original language, and simultaneously adjust the loanword to the phonological system of the borrowing language. As for English loanwords in Chinese, the complexity of this issue has already been thoroughly discussed in several studies (see e.g. Novotná 1968; Yu 2014; Kim 2019). The authors of this paper would only like to devote a few words to the issue that is most significant in all probability. Apart from the differences in the sets of consonants and vowels, it involves the complexity of the syllable structure where the two languages differ from each other. English allows almost all consonants to be placed in the coda, while in Chinese only alveolar and velar nasals can take this position. Moreover, the clusters of consonants in both the initial and final position are one of the typical characteristics of English, while Chinese does not allow for consonant structures at all. When adapting an English syllable with both of these features, Chinese uses the same coping mechanisms. The first of them is the deletion of the consonant. The more common solution, however, is its preservation by inserting a vowel wherefore structures originally not existent in Chinese decompose into separate syllables. Thus Chinese loanwords often contain more syllables than the original English words. For the Chinese lexicon, this increased number of syllables is often higher than in most typical disyllabic pattern and represents one of the signs of the above-mentioned unusual “meaning bleached” use of Chinese characters.

The individual ways of semantic adaptation have been explained above in the descriptions of each respective animal name. The following text focuses on the most productive way of all; i.e. adding a general term assigning the animal to a particular species at the end of either semantically or more often phonetically adopted word. The logic behind this process is to achieve morphological and semantic clarity. The resulting coinage is or imitates the attributive endocentric compound which represents a highly productive native word-formation pattern.

As far as the choice of the animal species is concerned, it should be pointed out that since the creatures involved belong to an imaginary world, a precise biological taxonomy does not seem to be the aim. Such a goal often might not even be achievable since the available description of some of the animals is too sketchy and it is not unusual that a classification to a higher taxonomic category is completely missing. When converting their names into Chinese, it seems that the noticeable resemblance of their physical properties to the existing living organisms was taken into consideration. For example, it must have been the higher number of limbs that motivated the use of the lexical unit ‘spider’ in the case of the appellative *chuídiàozhū* 垂钓蛛 ‘angler’, just as it must have been the analogous body construction that led to the selection of the lexical unit *niú* 牛 ‘ox’ in case of the name *nàfūniú* 纳夫牛 “nerf”.

A quite indiscriminate use can be observed in the case of the most frequent term *shòu* 兽 ‘beast’ which occurs in 13 animals, sometimes even with quite different biological characteristics. Before beginning to compare them, it might be useful to look at how the Chinese character 兽 is defined in the dictionary. The normative *Xiandai Hanyu Cidian* (2014, 1202) states that it: “refers to mammals, especially quadrupedal mammals with hair all over their body”. Considering the available characteristics and pictures of the animals on the webpages, it seems that only three animals classified as 兽 in fact possess all the above-mentioned qualities: a dromedary-like animal *fālēmǔpàsàitèshòu* 法勒姆帕塞特兽 ‘falumpaset’, a species of cat *nàgélāqíshòu* 纳格拉奇兽 ‘narglatch’ and a large creature *pǔlèidùsèshòu* 普雷杜瑟兽 ‘preducor’. All the other deviate from the definition, including two animals with the word ‘beast’ in their original English name. The difference shared by most of the animals lies in the number of limbs used for terrestrial locomotion, i.e. legs. Several of the animals are bipeds: a riding animal *shítīàoshòu* 石跳兽 ‘rockhopper’, a hulking creature with a body covered with spines *tèlántātèkèshòu* 特兰塔特克兽 ‘terentatek’ and in all probability also a small mammal excelling in hunting *fúwēitèshòu* 弗威特兽 ‘fwit’ and a predatory primate *hānàdákèshòu* 哈纳达克兽 ‘hanadak’. There can also be found, however, an animal characterized by more than four legs, i.e. a small six-legged *bāfūshòu* 巴夫兽 ‘barve’. In case of the five-limbed predator *kèkè'ěrgéluóshòu* 克克尔格罗兽 ‘kkekkrrg rro’, it is hard to say how many of the limbs are used in order to move on the ground. Apart from these, two animals can be found with both reptilian and mammalian traits, the so-called reptomammals, in the analyzed sample: *kǎtǎ'ēnshòu* 卡塔恩兽

‘katarn’ and *wànpà bīngshòu* 万帕冰兽 ‘wampa ice creature’. The white-furred wampa ice creature also ranks in the bipedal animals. As concerns the names containing the word beast in the source language, the problem is that the English term ‘beast’ and Chinese *shòu* 兽 are not fully equivalent. The online *Cambridge Dictionary* (accessed November 28, 2019) defines ‘beast’ as “an animal, especially a large or wild one”. An almost one hundred-meter long ‘zillo beast’ of the reptilian-insectoid species fits this description, but does not fit with the general idea of a mammalian animal represented by the Chinese expression *shòu* 兽. The body of the fusion of an organic being and a mechanical creation, the so-called *tuójiǎshòu* 驮甲兽 ‘luggabeast’, is also partly covered by metal plating, and thus deviates from the idea of an animal with a body fully covered with hair. These deviations give rise to the question as to whether the concept of *shòu* 兽 in the mental lexicon corresponds with the one in the dictionary, a question which this study is unable and does not aim to provide an answer to.

6 Conclusion

This paper investigated the influence of cultural globalization on the Modern Chinese lexicon using the example of the SW saga. It is important to realize that despite the power associated with the transmission of cultural products, this paper focuses on a peripheral part of the vocabulary. New terminology invented for the purpose of describing an imaginary universe is limited in its use from various points of view. Nevertheless, vocabulary with such features also represents a significant part of the lexical transfer and thus cannot be overlooked. It is also worth mentioning that even though the targeted words are appellatives, they actually bear the qualities of proper names as well. They illustrate a special feature of the world of SW fiction and perform a function similar to the literary onomastics, the so-called false zoonyms (cf. Dvořáková 2010, 453). In light of this, it can be assumed that the word-finding processes of the original English SW animal names were accompanied by an attempt to evoke a certain aesthetic impression, or to put it in other words, they were invented on the basis of a certain kind of motivation or association. Creating Chinese versions of the names, with a

few exceptions, appears to follow a simpler principle: evidently semantically clear names are substituted for, while others are transcribed into Chinese characters. As concerns the substitution, adopted Chinese names are mostly faithful, occasionally approximate, reproductions of the original models, while loan creations are quite rare. Importation, however, is mostly accomplished through a not insignificant adjustment of the original sound image; when words have to be recorded with a different type of writing system, the immediate parallel adaptation to the native sound system becomes inevitable. Particularly significant differences in syllable structure that may appear in more complicated patterns in English, are solved through an omission or more frequently through a decomposition into more syllables. In case of about two fifths of the transcribed names, a lexical constituent specifying the species is added. They do not seem to attempt to provide a precise biological classification but rather imitate native word-formation patterns.

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Distinct Convergence of Poetry in Translations: Japan & Europe 1820–1930

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Abstract In order to understand the extreme efforts spent on translating Western literature by Japanese writers, poets, and scholars during the period of Japan's modernization, it is important to consider several important aspects: (1) the basic professional predisposition of translators, (2) determination of Japanese men of letters to learn, understand and translate various texts from western languages, and (3) present appreciation of the then aspiring literati.

Keywords Japanese literature, history of translation, Early Modern Japan

*Frankly speaking, we—translators from the Japanese language—
rather recreate than translate the Japanese literary texts.*

Anthony W. Liman (1932–2018)¹

One exemplary sentence in a dictionary explaining the meaning of the verb converge reads: “The delta is where the rivers converge and flow into the bay.² A paraphrase may read: “The act of translation is where the languages converge and flow into the bay of proximity.” A translator is a person whose knowledge of two distinct languages converges in their mind allowing their talent to mediate between two distinct cultures by lending their voice to a foreign poet or writer. It is different from the cultural exchange via visual arts or music. It is also different from the direct exchange of views, experiences and ideas between two individual speakers of different languages who have to use the services of interpreters.

¹ Czech translation according to Líman's “Kouzlo šerosvitu” (2008, 10).

² CASIO XD-H4 100 English (electronic) Dictionary.

While an interpreter mediates an actually spoken dialog in order to make two communicating parties understand each other, a translator is left with the chosen text with the task of making two different written languages converge i.e., to bring them as close as possible in his translation. The ambition of the translators is to achieve the adequacy of two distinctly written texts in all their aesthetic functions. These involve inventiveness in mediating stories and thoughts (a claim mainly associated with a neat handling of two languages and maintaining the meaning of the content of the original texts). It further involves effectiveness in conveying the tension and movements both in times and spaces outside and inside the human literary characters (a claim associated mainly with the potential of a translator to sense the author's intentions and inspirations). It also involves impressiveness that inspires emotions and fascination with the versatility of life (a claim connected mainly with the translator's empathy that is in harmony with the author's revelations). Not only do two distinct languages converge in the translator's mind, they may or should also converge to the translator's heart and soul, even to their innermost self. In this case, the deep knowledge of two languages, professional intuition, and insights enable them to wholly identify with an (even unknown) author.

Such an outline of the universal features of "convergence in translation" may help to organize a discourse on the particular case of the translation of western poetry in Japan during the period of modernization in comparison to the translations of Japanese poetry into European languages in the same period. On both sides, the process of translating presupposed knowing a foreign language, empathizing with its speakers as well as with its literary tradition, and having an insight into what would excite the readers' interest. While many Japanese knew European languages at the turn of the 19th century, relatively small number of Europeans knew Japanese at that time.

During the eighteen hundred years of close contact with the Chinese language, the Japanese gained profound experience with bilingualism and translation practices in both languages in their written forms. Also, the Japanese had been aware of the existence of several European languages—Portuguese,

Spanish, and Latin—ever since the arrival of Francis Xavier in 1579 at the latest.³ During the 17th and 18th century, there was a growing number of the rangakusha⁴ scientists, medical doctors, translators and interpreters capable of reading and communicating in Dutch. They collaborated on translations of books and treatises dealing with western natural sciences, medicine, philosophy or linguistics with the Dutch merchants, diplomats, and other residents or visitors of the small artificial island of Dejima in the Nagasaki bay.⁵ This collaboration continued during the most of the Sakoku (national isolation) period from 1641 to 1854. After the port of Nagasaki was invaded by an English warship in 1808 and the dramatic situation was worsened by extremely bad mutual communication, the Tokugawa bakufu⁶ officials immediately ordered the rangakusha to learn English and Russian (Chang, 2011). The first English-Japanese dictionary (6 thousand words) was compiled by Motoki Shōzaemon (1767–1822) in 1814. The famous “School of Western Studies” (Keiō University) came into being in 1858. Its founder Fukuzawa Yukichi (1834–1901) was among the first pertinacious learners of English. In short, at the beginning of the modernization of the country, the Japanese people were “linguistically” prepared to face the challenge of translating the bulk of Western literary heritage. Not only the English and Russian were priorities; the German language too was heard on Dejima⁷ and insinuated itself at the highest places after the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

On December 18, 1874, several members of the Austro-Hungarian Empire mission to Japan were busy preparing themselves for an audience with the young Emperor Meiji. A member of the delegation, Erwin Antonín Anna Dubský (1836–1909), Imperial and Royal Frigate Captain and Chamberlain, described this event in his *Journal of a Voyage* (Suchomel and Suchomelová 2006, 17). The following

- 3 The buddhist monks and Japanese ambassadors to China during the Nara (710–784) and early Heian (9th century) periods were confronted also with ancient Indian languages.
- 4 Japanese Dutch scholars.
- 5 Dejima was built in 1634 for Portuguese merchants and missionaries. After their expulsion in 1641, the island became a base of the Dutch Trading Company and remained so until 1854.
- 6 The shogunate, Tokugawa military rule.
- 7 The combined post of physician and botanist was held successively by the German scientist and explorer Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716), Swedish botanist Carl Peter Thunberg (1743–1828), and the German physician and botanist Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866).

quotation reflects the fact that learners of foreign languages were held in highest esteem “[...] the resident ambassador made a short speech in German, during which the Mikado now and then inclined his head as if to indicate that he understood, which may indeed have been the case as he is known to engage in the study of the German language and is said to be making good progress.” (Suchomel and Suchomelová 2006, 24).

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The history of translating western poetry to the Japanese language began half a century earlier than the enthronement of Emperor Meiji. Nakajima Hirotari (1792–1864), samurai of the Kumamoto clan, classical Japanese scholar and waka poet (kajin), with the help of one of the interpreters of Dejima, translated part of the poem Mailed (Yayoi no uta) “[...] originally written by Matthias Claudius, a German poet (1740–1815).”⁸ It was published in Germany in 1770 and translated by Nakajima from Dutch in 1823. Around 1862 another samurai and rangakusha Katsu Kaishū (1823–1899), an outstanding figure of the bakumatsu and the early Meiji period, published his translation of the poem (hymn) Lobe Den Herren, O Meine Seele⁹ by the German poet J. D. Herrnschmidt (1675–1723) under the title

8 Ref. to: Ishimoto Iwane: “This translated poem is included in Nakajima’s Journal of the trip to Nagasaki, which proves that this translation was made between June 2–16 in the Sixth Year of Bunsei, i.e. between July 9 and 23, 1823 of the solar calendar. [...] Nakajima, poet and Japanese classical scholar, with no knowledge of Dutch and German, was at that time in Nagasaki as a tourist. It cannot be supposed that he had any ability of reading a poem written in those foreign languages. Therefore it could be concluded that, but for the request and help of Inomata Hisakage, official interpreter, the translation might not have been made. We should not neglect the important role he played.” See Ishimoto 1963.

O wie schön, wie schön ist der Mai! / Gras und Blumen wachsen, / Bäume haben Blätter, [...] あはれいかに、かくおもしろき、あはれいかに、かくおもしろき、名にしほふ、春のやよひは、いろいろの、小草もえ出で、さまさまの、花も咲きそひ、木々は皆、若葉さしつゝ、 / See Nazohiko, “Go uta-go o tare tama e”.

9 See Evangeliums.net. “Lobe den Herren, o meine Seele.”

Omohi yatsureshi kimi.¹⁰ Despite the deficiencies in their knowledge of western languages, these early Japanese translators, both well-known waka poets, demonstrated their skill and talent in activating their well-trained poetic intuition. Ten years later, in 1872, Fukuzawa Yukichi¹¹ created the all-embracing song-book *Sekai kunizukushi* containing great variety of songs for children to memorize and sing at school (Naruse 1970, 275). There we find more or less free-versed poetical translations from foreign languages as well as adaptations of foreign songs. There are also old and newly composed Japanese songs all adjusted to the familiar *schichigochô* rhythm.¹² Again in 1882, 1884 and 1886, three volumes of “Song-books for primary school”¹³ were published. The literary historian Naruse Masakatsu (1906–1973) highly praised this Fukuzawa’s project because it aimed to educate children. In 1957 he wrote: “All these Japanese songs, long ballads accompanied by *samisen* or *koto*, modern Japanese songs, and the so far unknown songs of other countries made a deep impression on generations of boys and girls all over the country. They realized that beyond the words of the traditional *waka* and *haiku* there existed another, different world” (Naruse 1970, 275).¹⁴ Naruse pointed out that even in 1957 his contemporaries loved to quote verses from those old textbooks. For example, the following famous “*shiragiku*” (white chrysanthemum) lines from the Thomas Moore’s poem *The Last Rose of Summer*:

庭の千草も。かれてさびしく。あゝしらぎく。ひとりおくれて。
 虫の音も。なりにけり。嗚呼白菊（あゝしらぎく）さきにけり。
niwa no chigusa mo karete sabishiku ab ab shiragiku
hitori okurete mushi no oto mo narinikeri
ab ab shiragiku sakinikeri .

Tis the last rose of summer
 Left blooming alone
 All her lovely companions

10 思ひやつれし君. See Naruse (1970, 275) and Shomon Web, “Katsu Kaishû Omohi yatsureshi kimi.”

11 The leading representative of the early stage of Japan’s modernization.

12 Alternating 5 and 7 moraes lines in the 2-lines and 3-lines stanzas (ku).

13 *Shôgakushôkashû* 小学唱歌集.

14 My translation from Japanese.

Are faded and gone (Naruse 1970, 276).¹⁵

This translation was adopted to the traditional 7-morae segments. It coincides with Fukuzawa Yukichi's pedagogical intention to harmonize the texts and tunes of songs and poems with the expectations and likings of the Meiji era schoolchildren. Comparing the Thomas Moore's original with Fukuzawa's translation, we can see the above-mentioned impressiveness that inspires "human emotions and fascination with the versatility of life" rather than inventiveness in "the neat handling of two languages".

Japanese readers were offered a large dose of western poetry in 1882 thanks to translations by three professors of Tokyo University: the philosopher Inoue Tetsujirō (1856–1944), the politician Toyama Masakazu (1851–1899) and the botanist Yatabe Ryōkichi (1848–1900). In the anthology *Shintaishisho* (Collection of The New Style Poems), beside their own verses, they published translations of fourteen poems by English, American and French poets: Charles d'Orléans (1394–1465) via an English translation, Thomas Campbell (1777–1844), Thomas Grey (1716–1771), Charles Kingsley (1819–1875), William Shakespeare (1564–1616), Robert Bloomfield (1766–1823), and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882) representing North American continent. The last-mentioned poet was chosen also by the woman translator Wakamatsu Shizuko (1864–1896). Her remarkable literary talent and her experiments with the Japanese language not only in translations from English but also in her own writings and her contribution to the *genbun icchi*¹⁶ have been thoroughly discussed and analysed by Rebecca Copeland in her study *Behind the Veil (Wakamatsu Shizuko and the Freedom of Translation)*.¹⁷

During the last decade of the 19th century, the Japanese poets were discovering—via translations of the European romantic poetry (Lord Byron in the first place)—European emotionality, Christian thinking, Christian love and humanism. This attracted attention of especially young people, among them many young poets, writers, artists and philosophers.

15 See also Moore, "Tis The Last Rose Of Summer".

16 The purposeful movement towards the convergence of written and spoken Japanese.

17 See Copeland 2000, 99–158.

According to Naruse Masakatsu, it was not until 1892 that the voluminous anthology *Minawashu* appeared where one could speak about “new poetry having the exquisite artistic flavour” (芸術的香りの高い新詩). *Minawashu* comprises Mori Ogai’s own writings together with his translations of Goethe, Schiller and other European poets and novelists (Naruse 1970, 282). With Ogai also came adequate translations of European novels, by Ibsen and Hans Christian Andersen among others. The younger translators could follow the suit.

*

We often hear translators saying that “translating poetry is more difficult than translating prose.” **Why were then the Japanese translators quicker in translating poetry than prose?** Let us consider one possible reason. In case of prose, we primarily expect coherent narration, a gripping story, interesting plot, authentic characters, or acute emotions. We usually expect to discover important messages either confirming or contradicting our own views. In case of poetry, we expect strong impressions, hidden meanings that would stir up our imagination, or surprising metaphors. The two genres, of course, will always more or less converge. **The question is whether the evident liking for the western poetry by the Japanese translators of the early Meiji era means that poetry, rather than fiction, could in principle be a more powerful agent facilitating convergence of the Japanese and Western sentiments.**

We can characterize traditional *waka* and *haiku*¹⁸ as **the poetry without strong negative emotions** such as anger or spite. There, in the *waka haiku* milieu, Japanese poets and their readers and listeners had been at home long before the Meiji restoration. Is it so that in the first years of modernization Japanese translators seemed to be destined to pursue the path of poetical expression just because poetry had been their haven of rest for centuries and the *shichigocho* rhythm of the *waka* and *haiku* deep-seated in their hearts ever since the times of the ancient princess Sotori.

Czech literary theorist, the late professor Miroslav Červenka (1932–2005), introduced the term “referential horizon” to distinguish the style of technical

18 *Waka*—the oldest form of Japanese poetry existing since the time immemorial—is based on alternating the five and seven morae lines (the *shichigocho* rhythm). The same applies to the *haiku* form known as such from the 17th century.

language from the style of the language of fiction and poetry suggesting that while the former refers directly to the close horizon of the soulless—explicit, single valued—reality, the latter points out to the distant horizon referring to the spirited, ambiguous world of the imagination of human being (Červenka 1996, 15-25). While the “close horizon” references are subject to verification, the “distant horizon” references are subject to the poets’ innermost faith or *makoto* in Japanese. Thus, without knowing the real western world—that is without the chance to refer to it within the frame of the close horizon, the early Meiji translators might have felt more comfortable in the realm of the unverifiable “distant horizon”, i.e. in the world of poetry where the two poetic languages could converge via references to the lofty ideal of *makoto*, not only on the level of perfectly mastered languages but also on the level of shared feelings and insights.

Moreover, there was both conscious and subconscious devotion to a number of time-proven poetic ideals. Good poem was supposed to have “kokoro” (the heart), to be elegant, to imply various meanings, to be witty, paradoxical, mysterious. That is probably why the prominent Japanese translators of the *bakumatsu* and early Meiji era, many of whom were the *waka* poets, were able to sense and identify the same or similar “makoto” qualities in western poetry earlier than the translators of novels were able to identify the messages their readers were waiting for in western novels—inspiring know-how, information, or models for their new way of life. While the Japanese wanted to know the **contemporary** European art, literature and language; the Europeans were, in most cases, interested in Japan’s past. Among the early translations from Japanese was *Nibongi: Chronicles of Japan from Earliest Time to A. D. 697* by William George Aston (1841-1911) published in 1896.

On the Japanese side we can see the immense energy invested by many translators in fulfilling the task of familiarizing their readers with all genres of Western letters and all reputable literary works. The time dictated to mediate the knowledge of the West literally by all means. On the European side, though the writings **about** Japan flourished, translations from the Japanese language lagged behind. We can see the rise of interest in Japanese art, mythology, religion, folklore, woodcut prints, handcraft, performing arts, etc. In case of literature, Europeans turned their attention to the classical, medieval and pre-modern texts,

especially the waka and haiku poetry. The German translation of traditional Japanese poems by the distinguished German scholar Karl Adolf Florenz (1865–1939) was circulating in Europe retranslated into other European languages including Polish and Czech. Booksellers in Europe could offer *Le Japon illustré* already in 1870. The book was written by Aimé Humbert-Droz (1819–1900), a Swiss diplomat and keen collector of art, and was soon available in English translation. It was not the only book on Japan on the European shelves by far. People in Europe were widely reading the *Tales of Old Japan* by Algernon Bertrand Mitford (1837–1916)¹⁹ which, rather than translations, were skilful adaptations of some thirty pieces of Japanese traditional fairy tales, love stories, and adventures.²⁰ The Czech novelist, playwright and poet Julius Zeyer (1841–1901), a keen reader of myths and legends of all kinds, in 1883—according to the findings of Anthony Liman—was borrowing books on the “things Japanese” from his friend Vojta Naprstek (1826–1894), Czech ethnologist, collector of books and renowned philanthropist. He, of course, also owned Mitford’s *Tales of Old Japan*. Zeyer, in Liman’s words, “[...] being a zealous reader with rich imagination managed to finish his longest novel on a Japanese theme: Gompachi and Komurasaki by 1884” (Liman 2008, 231).²¹

Although the intensity of the ongoing **cultural convergence** seemed to be more or less balanced, the ways to achieve the goal took opposite directions: the West-oriented Japanese headed forward keeping in view the ‘close referential horizon’, i.e., the goal of learning and knowing the real contemporary Europe. On the contrary, the East-oriented Europeans headed backward, largely keeping in view the “distant referential horizon”, i.e., the tendency to discover and praise the cultural jewels of Japanese past. And yet, while passing by, the two ways were doomed to converge due to the common earnest wish to get insight into the other and otherness.

19 See University of Oulu, “Western Books on Asia: Japan. The microfiche collection of printed materials in western languages about Japan from 16th century to the advent of World War II”.

20 A. B. Mitford, one of the British diplomats serving in Japan during the *bakumatsu* period, is said to have been working on this book with Ernest Mason Satow (1843–1929), a real man of worth, scholar and diplomat well versed in Japanese language and one of the first European japanologists.

21 My translation from Czech.

Czech painter Milos Jiranek confessed to being impatient and agitated as he waited for a chance to get to Paris to see the real Japanese art:

[...] During that time (1900) we were just at the fever pitch of our thirst and passion for Japan, the passion we had had to endlessly deceive by promises for future while dwelling in Prague. Once being there (in Paris) we hunted after the shows of the Japanese art. [...]. (Líman 2008, 229).

Later he recalled the ecstatic feeling and fascination he had experienced during the World Exhibition in Paris. In 1901 he was watching Kawakami Sadayacco as Desdemona in the theatre of Madam Loie Fuller (Líman 2008, 229). In his diary he wrote:

Sada Yacco, pathetic Desdemona [...] I saw her slowly taking to her high bed, covering the light with a white kerchief, a subtle gesture, immensely sad. I can still see her, gently lying down, so adorable, huddled under her blanket. This is how she remained in my memory—shinning with the unceasing melancholy of a work of art, essential and impermanent. For me, she had been the most beautiful embodiment of the Japanese genius, a piece of extremely delicate art I was adoring with the shy devotion of a lower plebeian who'd been looking up to the higher and noble. [...] I am grateful to Sada Yacco for one of the most *precious, purest feeling the art has ever given to me: the melancholic enthusiasm*. (Líman 2008, 230).²²

The late professor Anthony Liman identified this “melancholic enthusiasm” as the old Japanese concept “*mono no aware*” (Líman 2008, 230). Here the spectator and the performing artist became one in the viewer’s mind. In this—we can assume—the two distinct cultures approached the point of the momentarily absolute Japanese-European cultural convergence.

Although the “Japanese fever” slowly subsided in Europe during the first decades of the 20th century, the absorption of Europeans in the classical, medieval and pre-modern Japanese art remained constant prompting the development of Japanese studies as a scholarly discipline. As for poetry, *tanka* and *haiku* became translators’ and poets’ evergreens, same as the free verse was adopted by Japanese poets as a standard form of poetical expression. Convergence of the Japanese and European cultures materialized in various forms. Czech poet and novelist Emanuel

22 My translation from Czech.

z Lešehradu (1887–1955) offered his translations of several classical Japanese *tanka*²³ to the composer Bohuslav Martinu (1890–1959), thus giving rise to Martinu’s composition *Nipponari—Seven Songs for Woman Voice* in 1912. Emanuel z Lešehradu (under the pseudonym Q. Jarník), together with František Sekanina (1875–1958), translated Japanese *kabuki* drama *Asagao*.²⁴ In the Preface to the publication *Two Japanese dramas, Terakoya, Asagao*,²⁵ the translators characterized “typical diction” of this Japanese genre: “The recitative text is often part-rhythmical, part-poetic, part-prosaic. We did our best to preserve these characteristics in our translation.”²⁶

The play was staged by Jiří Frejka (1904–1952), a respected dramatist and distinguished representative of the “new moderna” in Prague in 1929.

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It was the poet Nishiwaki Junzaburō (1894–1967) who can be said to have represented “new moderna” in Japan before the World War II. “As a notable specialist in English literature, he translated the *Wasteland* by T.S. Eliot (1952), Shakespeare’s *Sonnets* (1966) or *The Canterbury Tales* (1949) by G. Chaucer to the modern Japanese” (Paulovič 2015, 11).²⁷ Nishiwaki’s profound knowledge of English, Latin and French, his own poems expressive of dramatic contrasts, his talent for the creative art, his experience of a long stay in Europe (1923–1925) and his excellent academic carrier, all of these predestined him to become the embodiment of our “distinct convergence of poetry in translations”. Two or even more distinct literary (poetical) languages converged within this translator-poet’s innermost self. The knowledge of languages, professional intuition and equally sharp insight into the Japanese and European cultures allowed him to wholly identify with the poets he translated as well as with places in Europe which he enjoyed. “Nishiwaki’s lyrical poetry abounds with images referring to the culture of the regions of the southern Europe ever since the nineteen twenties. This can

23 Emanuel z Lešehradu, 1909 (Praha: Em. Stivín). See also Švarcová 2009.

24 Czech translators used the German translation from Japanese by K. Florenz.

25 For more detail, see *Dvě japonská dramata, Terakoya, Asagao*, published by Hynek, Praha, 1911.

26 See *Dvě japonská dramata, Terakoya, Asagao* (1911, 59).

27 My translation from Slovak.

be considered as an integral part of his poetical world, a part validated by personal experience” (Paulovič 2015, 28).²⁸

The following is a brief account of the first-hand experience with reading and translating Nishiwaki Junzaburō’s one particular poem by the author of this study. The poem *Mujō* 無常 (Impermanence) consists of thirty nine free verses. From the 8th line onward we find ourselves in a pronouncedly foreign place crowded with foreigners, unfamiliar things, “other voices” and “other rooms”.

アトリエに似たこのサロンには
 ガンボージ色のカーテンがかかっている。
 そこで古のガラスの洋杯を蒐める男が
 東方の博士たちへ鉛とエナメルと
 バラスターの説明をしていた。

(Nishiwaki 1964, 175)

In this salon resembling an atelier where
 Curtains have bright yellow colour
 A man—keen collector of antique glassware—
 Teaches academicians from the East
 About the lead, enamel and alabaster.²⁹

Nishiwaki used several words denoting western objects and substances which, very probably, sounded strange to the ears of Japanese readers. These words could evoke feelings of alienation from their own culture. Such feeling must have been even stronger when readers absorbed the atmosphere of the following four lines:

饗宴は開かれ諸々の夫人の間に
 はさまれて博士たちは恋人のように
 しゃがんで何事かしゃべっていた。
 ノーラは美しく酒をついだ。

(Nishiwaki 1964, 175)

The banquet has begun

28 My translation from Slovak.

29 My translation from Japanese.

Academicians, like lovers, squeezed
 Squatted down talking of something
 Nora filled glasses with elegance.

(Nishiwaki 1964, 175)

The poet specifies the scene and introduces a female element, Nora, a foreign (European) woman. Here, suddenly this (European, Czech) translator heard a voice inside her head: “*In the room the women come and go / Talking of Michelangelo.*” (Eliot, 1990, 13). As if the two poets, T. S. Eliot and his translator Nishiwaki Junzaburô had spiritually converged, as if their “otherness” evaporated.

客はもう大方去っていた。
 とりのこされた今宵の運命と
 かすかにおどるとは
 無常を感じるのだ。

(Nishiwaki 1964, 176)

Most of the guests were gone
 Upon a thought of a vertiginous dance
 With the Fortuna of this night who stayed
 I felt Impermanence
 Resonating:
 Time for you and time for me,
 And time yet for a hundred indecisions,
 And for a hundred visions and revisions,
 before the taking of a toast and tea.

(Eliot, 1990, 14)

Nishiwaki’s feeling of impermanence as well as T. S. Eliot’s time for “a hundred visions and revisions” refer to the “distant horizon” where the two poetic minds meet and converge in the bay of bottomless imagination.

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Narrative Strategies of the Iberian Jesuit Orientalism: Common Practices of Religious and Social Refutations in the Works of José de Acosta and Jacobo Fenicio

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Abstract The present study aims to investigate narrative strategies of two Jesuit missionaries active during the period of the Iberian Union of Crowns (1580–1640). It argues that both José de Acosta and Jacobo Fenicio worked as institutional agents of a broader imperial system and their objectives were not limited to evangelization but also the discreditation of the socio-religious structure of the native inhabitants of New Spain and the Indian Malabar Coast, mainly the Portuguese State of India. Observing the narrative strategies employed by the two authors also allows to point out the similarities between the two missionaries active in two very different worlds. Their common scriptural strategies confirm the fact that their attitudes clearly contributed to the early representation of the Iberian institutional Orientalism which was closely linked to contemporary Catholic worldview.

Keywords Jesuit missionaries, Iberian empires, narrative strategies, refutation, commonalities

“[...] but inside they wished to be free from such a heavy burden [the human sacrifice]. And it was the providence of God that in such a disposition these peoples would be found by the first ones, who gave them the news of the law of Christ, because without any doubt it seemed to them a good law and a good God [...] see how insufferable servitude had those barbarians to the infernal murderer [the Devil], and what a great mercy has God shown for them in communicating his peaceful law, just and entirely pleasant.” (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 85-88).

Introduction

The main goal of this article is to comparatively analyze the fundamental modes of describing the religious features of the non-European peoples of Mexico and south India that are present in the writings of two coeval Jesuit authors, José de Acosta and Jacobo Fenicio.

The early modern overseas enterprises of the Europeans have been the subject of scholarly analysis for many decades. The themes that emerged from this endeavor include the circumstances of the colonial expansion, the feasibility, modes of social imposition and justification of the domination, as well as the question of the colonial system granting essential rights to the colonized. Traditionally, the Spanish and Portuguese, as the earliest European political globalists, were considered as two separate socio-political entities. Even though assiduous throughout the 16th century, their approach proved to be nationalized and limited. This perspective is certainly traceable in the works of the most renowned Spanish and Portuguese chroniclers of the 16th and 17th century. They followed the respective national overseas campaigns and wrote about them with a recognizable hyperbolizing sense, where the deeds of the concrete actors were compared to the classical ancient heroes, sometimes with an evangelizing apostle-like label. Modern scholars have often seen the problematics through very similar lenses. In the last decades the nation-state approach to global history has undergone considerable criticism contributing to the general discourse with new theories (see e.g., Braudel 1972; Wallerstein 1974; Huntington 2001). However, nowadays the preponderant post-colonialist prism views the world as an interconnected space with rather permeable borders (Bentley, Subrahmanyam and Wiesner-Hanks 2015, 11).

Though the well-known works of Portuguese and Spanish chroniclers rendering the early colonial period were rhetorically constructed in terms of the individual national goals, there were also the authors who described the colonial enterprises of the Spanish and Portuguese as a joint Iberian endeavor. For instance, António Galvão in his *Tratado dos descobrimentos* written in 1563 (Galvão 1731), famously portrayed the discoveries and early conquests of the Spanish in the West

and that of the Portuguese in the East side by side (Alam and Subrahmanyam 2007, 338-343).

The perspective that shows affinities rather than differences between both overseas expansions is rather a recent approach. The academic pioneers of the joint Luso-Hispanic modes of understanding the world are not many beyond the old continent. In his pivotal article *Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640* (2007) Sanjay Subrahmanyam introduces the concept of “the composite empires” and presents both pro and contra reasons for the “attempt to treat the two empires as part of the same movement” (Subrahmanyam 2007, 1363). He argues that the representatives of the Portuguese and Spanish colonial models acted in a similar manner despite their differences. In the early period, the similarity of their colonial administrative institutions and ways of dealing with the indigenous populations, were analogous to each other in many aspects (1373-1375). The common imperial efforts culminated in the period 1580-1640, the so-called Union of Crowns (1380-1382). Extending Subrahmanyam’s argumentation, Jorge Flores speaks about the so-called “polycentric monarchies” (Flores 2015, 272). He also emphasizes the role of the global travelers, i.e. Portuguese or Spanish officials who within the Iberian imperial service travelled across both hemispheres and wrote about their experiences in a very homogeneous way (282-286).

One of the influential approaches to the creation of the global world was that of Edward Said, who in his *Orientalism* analyzed the discourse through which the colonizers represented the colonized. Part of the fundamental criticism directed towards Said’s *Orientalism* (mentioned as well in the opus of Michel Foucault) concentrates around the fact that he focused solely on British, French, and partially American colonialism in the 18th and 19th centuries (Said 1979, 18-21). Even though according to some scholars the theory of Orientalism is not completely applicable to pre-early modern periods, in the light of recognizing the necessity of its adjustment to concrete contextual circumstances, it is certainly productive to expand Said’s complexity towards other colonial enterprises.¹ In this sense, Angela Barreto Xavier and Ines G. Županov in their book *Catholic*

1 Even though the general theoretical frame offers a ground for reapplication, we have to admit that the original alignment was conformed in specific contextual limits and thus it will never be absolute when applied to those of the previous colonial era.

Orientalism: Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th–18th centuries) introduced the term “Catholic Orientalism,” originally proper to the Portuguese knowledge practices (Barreto Xavier and Županov 2015, prologue). We can link the assumption to the Iberian colonialism which was practically at the birth of European transoceanic expansion, therefore in many ways offered prototypical patterns or procedures for other European colonial enterprises to come. The Catholic Orientalism and its colonial expressions outside Europe were common to both the Spanish and the Portuguese as their modes of thinking originated in the peninsular past. We can thus define the Catholic Orientalism as “Iberian Orientalism”, a system linked to the textual production of the classical authors that eventually culminated in the medieval and early-modern understanding of the political sovereignty as a Catholic Christian establishment. The Iberian network cherished the idea that the universal salvation of souls was only possible through the operation of a single divinely instituted community, which came to be represented by Spanish and Portuguese, i.e. Iberian, colonial agents.²

Given the above mentioned insights, this paper analyzes the narrative strategies in the works of two Jesuit representatives of the Iberian world, namely José de Acosta (1540-1600), a Spanish active in *Nueva España* (New Spain) and Jacobo Fenicio (in other sources also called Jacomo Fenicio or Giacomo Fenicio; 1558-1632), an Italian working in the *Estado da Índia* (The Portuguese State of India) and other parts of the Malabar Coast.

The reasons for choosing these two Jesuit authors are primarily their common engagement in the global Iberian colonial network, the content and style of writing, the Jesuit affiliation, the common chronology, and finally the fact that despite the different conditions in the distant regions of their missions, they treated American and Indian natives in a very similar rhetorical framework. The paper highlights the very logic of the global imperial service effectuated by the members of *Societas Iesu* in Iberian service. Although we can find scarce academic

2 The early-modern Luso-Hispanic colonialism and its global operation are certainly confirmed by such agents who during their lifetime traversed both American and Asian possessions and became real globetrotters. Among others, we can name the Spanish friar Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio or the Portuguese explorer Pedro Álvares Cabral.

reference to the link between the narrative strategies applied by Acosta and Fenicio (as for instance presented by Thomas A. S. Haddad; Haddad 2016), the aim of the article is to extend the assumption of interconnectedness and make it the central point of the argument.

The very notion of being a Jesuit missionary actively engaged in the process of Catholicization outside Europe suggests a globalizing nature of the project. Within the mutually beneficial relationship between the Church and State, by virtue of which the Church granted the essential legitimacy over the conquered territories, and the State procured the sponsoring of the colonial activities, numerous missionaries were sent to distant areas of the planet (see for instance Stogre, 1992). The missionaries and other Church representatives were already present at the early Iberian disembarkations on the American coast during the second voyage of Columbus and similarly during Vasco da Gama's first voyage to India. Since the time of the papal bulls of Alexander VI (1493), Christianization was considered to be the primary mission in the overseas territories (though it did not always work out in reality). Forasmuch as the emergence of American and Asian colonies was likewise an exercise of power (consider the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494), the two goals had to find a way towards conjunction. The Jesuit globalism linked to the united Iberian colonial platform counted on representatives of diverse ethnic origin. Besides primarily preferred Spanish and Portuguese friars, in smaller numbers we can also find Italians, English, French, German, and other active members of the order that were sent to the overseas lands in the possession of the Spanish or Portuguese Crown. These agents participated in the Iberian imperial objectives. By propagating the peninsular version of Catholicism and bringing new converts to the spiritual obedience, they also contributed to the mundane matter, i.e. the project of the territorial conquest and/or the imperative of controlling the macroregional trade routes.³ While

3 Substantially, we must take into account the difference between the socio-political conditions which prevailed in *Nueva España* and the *Estado da Índia*. In a significant part of Mesoamerica, the conquest carried out by the Spanish was rapid and absolute (even though we cannot compare the fall of the centralized Aztec empire in a matter of two years (1519-1521) to the slow and complicated conquest of the independent Maya kingdoms). As a consequence, the implementation of the Spanish colonial model on all levels of the socio-cultural conditions of the indigenous population gave the colonizers practically total control inland and on the coast. On

Spanish and Portuguese monarchs sought more direct control over the colonial territory, they were also interested in administering the ecclesiastical matters. Apart from several minor concessions granted by the Roman curia, it was not until 1508 (with successive rights up to 1523) that the Pope Julius II gave the Spanish monarchs the right to establish the so-called *Patronato Regio*, an institution that eventually allowed the monarchs to exert royal authority over the administration of sacral issues in their territories. The extension of this institution that managed the Indies was the *Real Patronato Indiano*. In Portuguese possessions, it was the *Padroado Real* (conceded in 1514) and *Padroado Ultramarino Português* respectively (Barbosa 1995, 366-370). The neophytes were to become future servants of the Luso-Hispanic monarchs. Therefore, as an extension of the mutual relationship prior to the existence of the latter institutions, Christianity came to be intimately linked to power yet more.⁴

The confrontation with non-Christian religious beliefs occurred on myriad levels. We have to understand that the rigid religious worldview was also common to colonial agents such as soldiers, administrative functionaries, scribes and even simple colonists. With a very strict Iberian Catholic perspective on personal faith and existence in a religious community, these representatives, wherever in the colonial world, spread at the expense of the local population. In the period preceding the colonization as well as in the early colonial stage, the religion was imagined as a dictate of only one and strictly Catholic worldview. Unlike in the current era, where the concept of religion is an implicitly recognized general

the other hand, the Portuguese territorial expansion was delimited by strong local political powers. Constant struggle for the domination of a fragile frontier finally drove the Portuguese to reside in their minor territorial holdings on the coastline.

- 4 Indeed, sometimes it may appear difficult to recognize when the agents of the colonial machinery acted in a solely religious and when in uniquely mundane manner. Within the Iberian imperial network, and according to this reciprocal principle, we can encounter religious agents following worldly goals and non-religious agents acting in a clearly religious way. We can take for example the early Spanish and Portuguese conquerors who carried the Catholic religious nomenclature to the Indies. The toponyms such as San Salvador, San Diego, *São Tomé*, *São Paulo* and many others are a good example of this logic.

category, the early modern Iberian thought tended not to perceive devotional utterances of non-Christian tribes as an expression of religion per se. The early modern Iberian understanding of what we nowadays call religion (as a broad and almost a nuclear comparative notion applied to a huge variety of ethnic and social contexts), was rather closely linked to the unique Christian Catholic understanding. Thereby, such a categoric differentiation eventually enabled the universal accommodation of Christianity as “the religion” par excellence. The Iberian Christian missionaries undoubtedly applied familiar Christian categories on non-Christian nations. In such logic, deviations from the Catholic Christian worldview were considered as paganism or idolatry, the elements of religiosity that had to be eradicated. Thus one of the major forces representing the efforts of “socio-religious correction” that was already proven reliable during the European wave of re-Catholicization, prominently consisted of the network provided by the Jesuits.⁵

The notions of *sangre* (blood) and *raza* (race) that originated in Spain came to be connected to the global imperial project. It was believed that *sangre* (genealogical origin) presupposed cultural and individual characteristics ingrained in each individual. At the beginning, *raza* was not considered a racial category but rather religious. To be “of bad race” meant that the individual was not of confirmed purely Christian origin (Mariscal 1998, 15). The Iberian experience in “dealing” with the question of the purity of blood, together with the established rules of religious, communitarian and even political exclusivity, dominated the social space. The notions of *raza* and *sangre* were actively applied as means of classification and thus cultural and social division (Torres, Martínez and Nirenberg 2012, 1-8).

Accordingly, the experience of negotiating and eventually denying the religious other was brought to the colonies. The Iberians developed specific forms of description and classification of the colonized. These were compared to the classical Greco-Roman and biblical sources that were considered as authoritative. Anything differing from the ancient or purely Christian was mostly refuted and labelled as the “work of evil” (Barreto Xavier and Županov 2015, 115). The ultimate

5 Nevertheless, we cannot conceal the fact that the interaction with non-European and non-Christian cultures and their transcendental beliefs launched a general wave of reflection and analysis that eventually led to the reinvention of the notion of the word “religion”.

solution to the religious activity that had no actual or distorted affinity to the Catholic orthopraxis was to discredit it and eradicate it. The way of relating and writing about the religious characteristics of the peoples in the Indies—in our case rendered by the Jesuit agents José de Acosta and Jacobo Fenicio—represented particular narrative strategies. Their style and content reflect the mentality and strategies of interaction.

We will be analyzing parts of the volume II of the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Natural and Moral History of the Indies) written by José de Acosta and the *Livro da seita dos índios orientais* (The Book of the Sect of the Oriental [Eastern] Indians) written by Jacobo Fenicio (Acosta 1894; Fenicio and Charpentier 1820). It should be emphasized that Acosta and Fenicio include a wider variety of information than that chosen for the present analysis.⁶ In this sense, we will examine three selected narrative strategies and their literary tools traceable in both the mentioned works, namely 1) discrediting the natives on the basis of barbarism and lack of civilized manners; 2) refutations of the acts of Devil, evil imitations and misusing priesthood, and 3) denial on the basis of recognition of corrupted power, falseness and spread of fear.

These narrative strategies were also frequently used by other missionaries in various colonial contexts as a legitimacy (positive) and discreditive (negative) tool. Though the contexts and historical conditions are certainly unique, the general application of thematically proximate topic selection should not be considered as a limitation—in fact the opposite—the general usage of the latter emphasizes the affinity to the Iberian discourse in different parts of the global empire.

On the basis of the latter, we will identify a collection of religious and social refutations of the respective native cultures. Likewise, we shall follow the inquiry whether Acosta and Fenicio were solely religious actors or they actually operated within a broader socio-political space. Can we thus trace something as a “tactical literary agency”, i.e. were the authors’ objectives solely directed to evangelization or can we also find political agenda behind the rhetoric of the two?

6 The citations from the latter primary sources will be translated into English from two original languages, Spanish and Portuguese. It will be the case of a simple open translation effectuated by myself, without undue consideration to official translatology.

I *Missionary Tendencies in Nueva España and Estado da Índia*

In order to model a comparative study of the narrative strategies of both authors, we must address the legacy of their missionary predecessors. Therefore, we have to understand the development of the missions in Mexico as a continuation of the missionary work in the Antilles. The first missions in the area were those of the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The evangelization of the indigenous population of the Iberian colonial possessions occurred in two major phases (Rubial García 2010, 215-236). In the “first phase” of the overseas missionary activities (1511-1570), the Dominican agents like Friar Antonio de Montesinos and father Bartolomé de Las Casas were crucial in introducing the notion of addressing the Amerindians as rational beings capable of receiving the gospel, who at the same time could possess similar rights to those of the colonizers. The period that started in 1511 (Montesinos’ famous sermon) generated a considerable legal fight for the rights of the Amerindians who had been excessively exploited since the very start of the conquest. From the administrative point of view, the process reached a breaking point at the time of the codification of the New Laws in 1542. The famous *Dispute of Valladolid* (1550-1551) proved to be remarkably important for the future development of legal policy towards the Amerindians. The outcome of the dispute led to the acknowledgement of the rational nature of the indigenous nations of America.⁷ The debate naturally influenced the pattern by which the members of different religious orders acted in the colonies (Čisárik 2016, 27-28; 36-39).

The period which can be called as the “second phase” (approximately 1570-1640) differed significantly from the previous one. The agency of the indigenous peoples was acknowledged. In contrast to the first, it was more ideological. We observe frequent intentional support of the missionaries to the colonial regime which after all had to ensure basic rights to the colonized. The second phase represents a strategic effort to reshape the local inhabitants in order to convert them into productive and confident servants of the Crown and the colonial regime. Logically, no complete domination of the natives would be possible without

7 During the dispute, Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda confronted each other, regarding the rationality/non-rationality together with the right of the Amerindians to possess basic rights and legal protection.

achieving domestic cooperation. Therefore, those converts and local elites that helped the colonizers, received benefits in return for their loyalty.

Accordingly, the labor of the Jesuits in the Viceroyalty of New Spain (as well as in global measures) relates to the second phase of the missionary presence in the area. The Jesuits arrived in the Mexican area in 1572. However, it was not until 1589 that they actually started founding independent missions (Radio Buap 2016). In the period of 1572–1596 the Jesuit missionaries would spread all over the Mexican territory, virtually in those areas, where Franciscan and Dominican missions were rather scarce (this accounts the area from Puebla to Sinaloa). Among others, we can name such friars as Jerónimo López, Hernando de Santarém or Andrés Pérez de Rivas.

José de Acosta stands among the representatives of the second phase that was significantly linked to the Jesuits. He arrived in Mexico in 1586 and remained there approximately for one year. In *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Acosta 1894) published in Seville in 1590, he vividly described the practices of the indigenous people. Acosta's narrative automatically recognizes their rationality. In his times the political and legal institutions of the colonial regime in *Nueva España* were already firmly set (Zorrilla 2018, 37–38).

Historia natural y moral de las Indias followed a usual pre-publication trajectory common to most of the missionary treatises. It was dedicated to Infanta Doña Isabel Clara Eugenia de Austria, the daughter of King Felipe II, with a promise to “delight and entertain Her Majesty” and also “for the good benefit of the native peoples”. In 1589 (some months prior to the actual publication), the opus underwent a process of checking and examination of the content by Gonzalo Davila, the *provincial* of the Company of Jesus; and eventually received an approval (*aprobación*) by Fray Luis de León and a print licence (*licencia*) issued by Cristóbal de León, the royal scribe of the Chamber of King Felipe II (Acosta 1894, II-XII). We can observe in the opus how the author explores the fundamentals of the socio-religious life of the central Mexican area. As it was common, in his first volume Acosta establishes the basis of the conquest of America in the classical ancient roots and biblical sources (Zvi Ben-Dor Benite, n.d.).⁸ In the second volume,

8 It is also important to emphasize the fact that for a significant period of time, the Spaniards

which is central to our analysis, he describes the religiosity of the natives, their gods, customs, ritual practices and general belief system of the Incas and the Mexicas.⁹ Even if we concentrated on his numerous commentaries solely as Iberian Orientalist (i.e. critically judging the subjects as if they were not related to the Christian Catholic model), he is not always strictly evaluating. He borrows from other previous sources (especially from Juan de Tovar and Diego Durán) and often preserves his descriptive tone which is almost ethnographic.

Secondarily, he stands against other authors who radically refused Amerindians' ability to adopt Christianity. Although inclusive in regard to rationality and civility of the natives, in terms of religious utterances, his speech will mostly criticize, refuse and ask for change.

In this respect, and as a useful comparison of the contrast of rhetoric between a representative of the first phase and that of the second phase, Ivonne del Valle W.'s comparison of the attitudes of Las Casas and Acosta towards the natives, confirms our observation (del Valle W. 2013, 46-72). Las Casas would always be a unilateral critic of Spanish colonial enterprise. In his *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (*A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*), violence forms the central axis of the pamphlet (Las Casas 1986). The agents of the Spanish administration are described as general violators of power; their offices are regarded as inappropriate, exploitative and brutal. In contrast to the latter and also to the *Historia natural*, in Acosta's equally important opus *De procuranda Indorum salute* (published in Salamanca in 1588/89), violence is not of prominence whereas the colonial overseas system is an accepted category. The latter work of Acosta is presented as an instructive tool both for a better functioning of the political-economic colonial organization and a more appropriate evangelization to be accomplished by the missionaries (del Valle W. 2013, 58; 65). He does not forget to criticize the ways the locals are treated (though not with a complete disapproval). Through his criticism, he offers a corrective methodology of how a colonial administrative should cooperate with the ecclesiastics in order to convert more natives and more importantly succeed in cultivating the abundance of faith among the neophytes. All things considered, *De procuranda indorum salute* points to

considered the Native Americans as descendants of one of the ancient ten lost tribes of Israel.
See 1Kgs 11:31; Isaiah 27:13.

9 Mexicas are the Nahuatl-speaking indigenous people of the Mexican Valley.

the fact that the author was capable of writing in rather distinct and partially apologetic sense. The instructive objective of the treatise aims to achieve physical, cultural, and spiritual liberation of the Amerindians (García Castellón 1994, 14-15; School of Theology, History of Missiology, n.d.).

Acosta is ever a globalist; he enforces the notion of the unity of the man as well as the unity of the history, where the central role of the only God and one Church creates universal divine providence for all, including the indigenous peoples of America (Ivanhoe 1967, 132 and 143). Overall, these are the reasons why he stands out as a typical representative of the second phase of the overseas missionary activities.

On the other side of the globe in the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, the history of the presence of the Jesuit Order was different in some aspects. Long before the Catholic missionaries, Christianity had been firmly present on the subcontinent since the earliest history of this religion. Being first present on the ground in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE and then in the light of Syrian evangelization of the 3rd and 4th centuries CE, the Eastern Syriac exegesis firmly came to be the prevalent Christian creed since the 6th c. onwards. The missionary encounters with St. Thomas Christians of the Syro-Malabar Church, dominantly present in southern India, generated both positive and negative reactions. The first Catholic missionaries to put their foot on the subcontinental ground were the Franciscans and Dominicans, as far back as in the 14th century. The beginning of the Jesuit presence in India dates back to 1542, when Francis Xavier, the first prominent member of the order, arrived in Goa. The Jesuits, initially concentrated around the St. Paul's College, quickly came to be seen as the teaching order. The seminaries taught moral theology, classical philosophy as well as Latin. The Jesuit mission was also the first to introduce printing press in India (Fernando 2016). According to Kyoko Matsukawa, Francis Xavier was typical for his "*total antipathy for the religion of the Indians.*" (Matsukawa 2000, 73). His main goal was thus to trace where and how the "paganism" actuated and establish the strategies for its refutation.¹⁰ Similarly to Acosta, Xavier spotted the excesses and exploitations of

10 The interaction with the local Syro-Malabar Christians was one of the important criteria of evaluating and dealing with different religious groups in India. At the beginning they served as

the locals perpetrated by the Portuguese who ruled over the Indians in the coastal areas that were controlled by their military units (Xavier 1872, 175-176; 231). Some of the Portuguese in India were even seen as fallen Christians, influenced by “pagan” conditions of the land and the promiscuity of its women, and thus an error that had to be corrected (Županov 2000, 210-211).

In the period that corresponds to the second half of the 16th and the early years of the 17th century, the most important Jesuit efforts to convert the local inhabitants to Christianity were done by the missions at the Fishery Coast, Madurai and the mission at the court of Mughal emperors Akbar and Jahangir. The most prominent friars were Henry Henriques, Thomas Stephens, Roberto de Nobili and Antonio de Montserrat. Though delegated by the same Iberian monarchs and mostly being contemporaries, it is important to emphasize that their evangelizing approaches often differed from each other (especially in the case of Nobili’s *acomodatio* with respect to others). As a remarkable case, the missionaries such as Nobili (or even Stephens), adapted to the regional conditions, made an effort to “accommodate” Christianity to local culture by claiming certain practices and features as “cultural” rather than religious. This method did not find an open support in Rome (Aranha 2007, 138-149).

Amidst such conditions stands Jacobo Fenicio as another representative of the second phase. He worked for the Portuguese administration in the *Estado da Índia* fulfilling his missionary and priestly duties in the period of 1584–1632. His field agency in southern India, especially in Cochin, Kerala and mainly his vast descriptions of the customs and social functioning of the locals represent one of the examples of the Jesuit strategies of the interactions with the religious “other” (Thomaz 1999, 175-176). Compared to Francis Xavier, Fenicio goes conspicuously more into the depth of the religious practices. In his work *Livro da seita dos Indios orientais* (most probably written in the early years of the 17th century—around 1609 as commented by Charpentier—and not entirely published until 1820) (Charpentier 1923, 731-754), we find one of the earliest expansive European description of what is now rendered as Hindu mythology. Jacobo Fenicio did not explicitly mention the Malabar Christians nor did he focus on the local utterances of Islam in his analytical treatise. Even though Charpentier offers an extensive

convenient allies to the Portuguese against the coastal Muslims, but later on came to be labeled as heretics.

corpus of the circumstances of the almost certain links between Fenicio's opus and the later works of Manuel Barradas, Manuel de Faria e Sousa, and Baldaeus, we have insufficient knowledge of the actual genesis of the original publication of *Livro da seita dos Indios orientais* (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, LXVI-LXXXV). Charpentier accentuates the legacy of the identified work of Fenicio and considers it as an influential nuclear treatise for many 17th-century and posterior accounts on Malabar divine pantheon and belief system (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, LXX).

The content in the first six books of the treatise was most probably borrowed by Manuel de Faria y Sousa¹¹ (1590–1649) for his *Ásia portuguesa*. In these, Fenicio seeks to understand and interpret the religious performances, rituals and the pantheon of Hindu deities (Charpentier 1923, 736–737). The most critical part comes in the 8th book named *Do culto dos falsos deoses dos Indios Orientais* (On the Cult of the False Gods of the Oriental Indians). As in the case of Acosta, his writing served as a manual for other Jesuits who by means of the author's observations could proceed to eradicate the territorial idolatry and replace it with Christian customs and orthopraxis (Matsukawa 2000, 76–79).

In case of the epistolary production, the Jesuit treatises were sent to Rome where they underwent a series of corrections depending on the value of the content. The alterations thus emerged immediately in the Jesuit circles. The final versions of the *Annuae Litterae* were then transcribed into different European languages. This could also happen in the case of wider general treatises which often were a recompilation of letters. In the 18th and 19th centuries the non-Jesuit editors themselves altered or erased certain passages, even though *Societas Iesu* tried to fight against these changes. The final versions could then suffer numerous linguistic or contextual alterations. Acosta's original work was written in Spain and published in 1590 during the lifetime of the author. We could suggest that the content did not suffer major alterations. Here we are excluding the reprint from 1894. The frequent critical modus of the author regarding the colonial matters remained unchanged, which suggests that the present version fairly conserves the

11 Portuguese chronicler and author of numerous historical and poetic treatises. He often wrote in Spanish.

original objective. Fenicio, according to Jarl Charpentier, finished the work in 1609 during his service in India. In the 17th century it circulated between two other friars who made a copy, “part of which now forms the Sloane MS. 1820, and which must have found [its] way to England some time at least before 1753.” (Županov 1999, prol. 1-30; Charpentier 1923, 731-754).

Nonetheless, with regards to the critical tone, similarly as in the case of Acosta, we cannot assert that Fenicio’s language was always unilateral and homogeneous. In many cases throughout the analyzed book we simply do not detect an explicit disapproving tone. What is more, we can presume that during his later service, there was a positive development in Fenicio’s attitude towards the natives.¹² This can likely be confirmed by the fact that there still exists legend among the present-day Kerala Christians about the activities of a certain “fair-skinned father” (*Arthunkal Veluthachan*-identified with Fenicio) (People Pill, n.d.) who besides his “deep interests in Hindu cultures, rituals and martial arts” and his alleged tolerance towards other beliefs, was also known for possessing healing powers (Deccan Chronicle 2013). According to the local present-day Friar Stephen Punnackal, what actually suggests a good relationship between the Hindus and recently converted Christians in the area was the friendship between Ayyappa (a Malabar Hindu saint) and Friar Fenicio. As it is stated, thanks to this bond between Sabarimala and the Arthunkal (the areas where Ayyappa and Fenicio lived respectively) many Hindu pilgrims continue to visit the church as a pilgrimage site even today (Getaways Kerala 2010).

Even though there was a clear preference for Spanish and Portuguese friars throughout the colonial era, the ethnic origin did not play a prominent role in its later stage. What mattered more was the friars’ ability to adapt to the common Iberian purpose of evangelization associated with the colonization. In this network the Jesuits often implemented well-used tools of expression and annotation. One of such tools was the colonial language. Besides Spanish, we can observe how the Portuguese language was a common instrument for all the friars engaged in the global network. In case of the Jesuits we can notice that it was usually Latin and one of the Iberian languages that were used for descriptions and

12 In contrast, it is important to argue that in many treatises intended for European lecturers, the natives were seen as pagan yet devout and faithful followers of their respective religion. Such characteristic was a useful basis for the Christianization that followed.

evaluations. The interconnection between the European headquarters of the order and a particular colony was enabled by an information circuit. The Jesuits sent epistolary treatises on a regular basis. The standardized content of the letters mostly included elementary geographical descriptions and the state of the conversion of the local inhabitants (Županov 1999, 6-9). As the use of the textual production of the Society of Jesus was operated as a predominantly stable procedure throughout the global Jesuit missions, the universal methodology of Jesuit epistolary policies, as analyzed by Županov, were equally enforced outside the scope of the Indian subcontinent. However, we have to emphasize that despite the prescribed form of written communications about the colonial missions, specific circumstances could condition the writing style as well as the content. Though such incidents may be natural, in majority of cases, a major confrontation with the prescribed template did not take place (except in the case of the mission administered by Nobili and his immediate company).

All things considered, both Acosta and Fenicio may be recognized as active agents of the Iberian Orientalist network. Their religious objective of eliminating or minimizing the presence of what they considered as attributes of paganism and idolatry was accompanied by the imperial political mission. This is supported by their recommendations for administrators in which they proposed the methods of how to act when dealing with the natives. As religious agents of the colonial machinery, the teleological principle was not the only foremost fundamental assumption, but the methodology applied for apt narration was equally important. The internationalization of Acosta's opera and the use of his works as a methodological muster helped to build a global Iberian imperial backbone for the missionary narrativism. Fenicio's treatise successfully introduced one of the first truly complex Catholic Christian views on Hindu deities and religious practices, thus transcending previous treatises of post-Xavierian tradition. Thus, his work evenly contributed to the Iberian missionary narrative approaches towards the "Gentile" beliefs and supported the Iberian regime based on religious and racial exclusivism.

Even though I clearly acknowledge the fact that the Jesuits active on the Indian subcontinent repeatedly engaged with the local Christian communities (initially considering them as allies against the regional Muslim policies, and

eventually labeling them as heretics), the topics and rhetoric regarding these specific interactions are out of the scope of this article (Malekandathil 2017, 72-81). Likewise, we will not be particularly concerned with other influential and proactive interactions and tensions between the Iberian Catholic missionaries and the Protestant missionaries such as English, Dutch, or Danish, as their approaches differed significantly (the Catholic-Protestant rivalry of the Old Continent was also clearly reflected in the colonial interactions).

In the following section, we will offer a brief overview of the context of the Jesuit ways of describing the Gentile (i.e. non-Abrahamic, indigenous creed) religious opponent, typically bearing Orientalist or “moralizing” qualities.

2 Jesuit Point of Perspective and the Modes of Depicting the Religious Opponent: The Background

It is certainly important to address the questions of why, for whom and how the authors created their descriptions. Basically, the works of Acosta and Fenicio were not written simply as ethnographic discourses with a simple logic of “get-to-know and do not judge”. Their treatises were used as manuals for future Jesuits so that they could easily understand the basics of where to start the evangelical project of turning “infidels” into Christians. In this sense, it was argued that there had been only one true religion, since in the divine providence it was simply a matter of time until all humans of the world became permeated with the word of the Holy Scripture (the fervent evangelization was however unable to hasten the predestined final conversion of the humanity to Christianity). This was originally proposed by St. Augustine and most of the Jesuit chroniclers followed his idea (Ivanhoe 1967, 129 and 132). As the legacy of the Debate of Valladolid reasserted the recognition of the indigenous nations as rational human beings, the universal expectation of Christian mercy in the period of the Union of Crowns already involved the Gentiles. Thus, it was seen that everyone, whatever the origin, could be eventually redeemed by Christ, since the eternal salvation has been proposed for each immortal soul, i.e. the spirit present in every human being.¹³ Nevertheless,

¹³ Nevertheless, this Catholic globalism was still far from the Deist’s idea of “natural religion”. Consult Encyclopaedia Britannica, available at <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Deism>.

it is equally important to point out that missionary activities and colonization did not always go hand in hand. Often the effort of evangelization in the newly conquered territories was perceived as an inconvenience for the Iberian colonists because the conversion of the indigenous population to Christianity would place them on equal level (religious, not social) with the colonists who were anxious to maintain their supreme status over the natives. In any case, though still in vigor, the pre-European religious beliefs bereft of Christ's message were often seen as idolatrous, pagan, an act of evil and barbaric (Barreto Xavier and Županov 2015, 119).

This understanding relates to the Iberian (/Catholic) Orientalist idea of bringing the civilization, together with the only true religion, to the "uncivilized and inferior" nations of the world at all cost. Many generations of European ecclesiastic writers and predecessors of our two authors praised the belief of the supreme authority of the Christian Catholic creed as the religious system established by the son of God and thereupon closest to the divine principle. The missionaries who were bringing the word of this divinely constituted religion to the non-European were convinced of the highest good of the introduced Christianity. Accordingly, we can assume that these missionaries, as part of their proselytizing purpose, actually wished the colonized natives to participate in the eternal salvation and coming of the kingdom of God offered by Christ and God the Father himself. As reasserted throughout the article, the proselytizing activities often co-acted with political goals. Having said that, it would be inappropriate to minimize the operation of the Jesuit missionaries in *Nueva España* and southern India to a simple imperial agency. Hence, we should consider their overseas colonial agency as a combination of a spiritual and worldly mission. We can thus speak about a combination of theology and teleology. Yet importantly, Jesuit discourses, approaches, and narrative strategies certainly differed from each other in a certain manner. The alignment with the imperial policy cannot be classified as a completely generalized practice. While Acosta and Fenicio understandably based their thematic confrontations with religious otherness on classical Christian theological categories, the unholy objective of their imperial mission does however form an integral part of their text content.

In addition, we have to keep in mind the contemporary religious everydayness and a genuine millenarian waiting for the second coming of Christ on earth. In the mentality of the 16th century inhabitant of the Iberian Peninsula, it was a just and holy war, where the only outcome was the final victory of the Christian God. Such imminent belief provided also indirect support for a global mission to bring the masses of non-Christians to the Christian God, since it may please him when he comes to judge the people. According to Acosta, the Spanish were chosen by God for this universal mission (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 88; 137; 356-358). What is striking, is the belief in the indefectibility of this vision. The indigenous populations of America as well as the peoples of India were never asked whether they agreed to be Christianized or not. Acosta puts it clearly in his *Historia natural*: “To know what the actual Indians say about their beginnings and origin is not a thing that matters a lot, for it seems more of a dream that they refer to, than a real story” (Acosta 1894, Tomo primero, 112). Becoming a Catholic Christian is thus an imperative. However, it is not that simple. A preliminary civilizing project (made possible by the use of force) is necessary before they can actually receive the word of God: “[...] they have the need to be compelled and subjected with an honest force, and it is necessary to show them first how to be [real/proper] men, and afterwards [they can be] Christianized” (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 233). As stated by Acosta, the Amerindians of Mexico are joyful and lucky to accept Christian mode of life, since it is the only safe path to heaven. It is thus almost a Saidian argument of “we know best what you really need and that is why we are bringing it to you so that you can make use of it”. This perspective was also typical for Fenicio (Alam and Subrahmanyam 2012, 33-87).

Notwithstanding the conditions, what is really striking is the invariable categorization of the natives proper for both Spanish and Portuguese colonial establishments. Irrespective of whether they were Amerindians, laymen or Mexican elites in *Nueva España*, Muslim merchants, Brahmans, fishermen of the Malabar Coast, or even the Mughal emperor Jahangir, the rhetoric of the missionaries did not change (except in certain cases stated above), they would always be reduced to Gentiles (the term by which the missionaries referred to the overseas “infidels”) and/or moros/mouros (Moors, i.e. the Muslims), or in certain cases herejes (Heretics, the non-Catholic Christians). In general, the friars would mostly describe them as heathen and inferior to the European Catholic Christian. This attitude helps us to understand the repeated Iberian imperial narrative

strategies exercised by a significant number of Jesuits all over the overseas colonial possessions.

Furthermore, it is equally fundamental to understand that Acosta and Fenicio came from particular European conditions set in concrete historical context and Christian worldview. Their narrations may thus naturally exhibit dismay, shock and surprise. On the whole, the distant parts of the world which they visited often seemed so different that their traditional understandings brought from Europe were simply inapplicable at the scene. Therefore, it is not surprising that their treatises were often exaggerated. It is interesting to rationalize and evaluate which of the descriptions show signs of this fascination of the new and which are used to emphasize the objectives that may be called Iberian Orientalist. We can observe how in the later stage and within the colonial purpose, the initial astonishment does not appear as rationally explained but is practically reassessed and used for the defamation of the opponent.

Accordingly, the fascination of the unknown is dismantled in Acosta's method, when at the beginning of his first volume of *Historia natural* he argues that the American continent had been already known in the ancient Mediterranean world as the ancient Greco-Roman authors had written about it numerous times. As the Greco-Roman world was the very backdrop of Jesuit descriptive writings, there was nothing that would have remained unknown to the classical authors: "Because it means certain, a very strange thing, that it would be [different in] size this new world which we can see with our [own] eyes, and that so many centuries ago it would have not been known by the Ancients [classical authors]" (Acosta 1894, Tomo primero, 51). Even the evangelization of the Gentiles was allegedly prescribed in the Holy Scripture:

[...] it is true that the Holy Spirit knew all the secrets much before: and it seems a very reasonable thing, that of such a huge business [project], which is the discovery of the New World and conversion to the Faith of Christ, would exist a mention in the Holy Scripture [...], the proper prophet [Isaiah] says in other part that those who left Israel safe, will go very far away to Tharsis and to remote islands, and that they will convert to the Lord many and various peoples. [...] (Acosta 1894, Tomo primero, 70-71).

Having offered an introductory context, we shall now proceed to the comparison of the actual primary sources. The affinities between religious descriptions and

refutations of the natives in the writings of José Acosta and Jacobo Fenicio will be clustered in 3 major groups which can be identified as proper narrative strategies using the narrative tools.

3 *Discrediting the Natives on the Basis of Barbarism and Lack of Civilized Manners*

The first narrative tool displaying a critical and selective strategy for detection and categorical rejection of a certain non-Christian religious community was a tendency to concentrate on attributes of a particular social group that did not resemble the then accepted “civilized and distinguished” mode of existence in Europe. In this logic, the Jesuit chroniclers were cautiously exploring this artificially created social and religious distinction identified with “barbaric”. This feature is recognizable in the writings of Acosta and Fenicio alike. Even though each finds slightly different examples of this phenomenon, they clearly select the traits using similar logic, tending to generate misinterpretations. The first way to describe barbarism, which is also employed by other missionary writers, is the lack of a scripture. For instance, Acosta comes in contact with a pictographic or possibly even logo-syllabic scripture of the Mexicas. However, in the following reference we see that he does not consider it a real form of writing, thus its users are simply classified as “idiots”:

The signs that are not ordered are [not even] close to meaning words but things, they do not have a name nor are they really letters, even though they are written; just as [in case of] a painted image of the Sun, it cannot be said that it is a scripture or letters for the Sun [...] in a way that scripture and letters are only used [by those] who use them to signify words; and if immediately they mean the same things, they are not letters nor a scripture, but paintings and figures [numbers] [...] a painting is a book for idiots who do not know how to read [...] namely no [single] nation of Indians, which has been discovered in our time, uses letters or a scripture, but rather [they use] other two manners, that are images and figures [...] (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 150-152).

Another very common sign of barbarism is the lack of clothing, often perceived as a physical and mental degradation caused by the tropical climate. Whereas Fenicio purposely describes the peoples of the Malabar Coast as always walking dirty because of not wearing clothes, Acosta criticizes the nakedness of the Chichimecas:

The lavatories that these Gentiles daily make use of are not so much to [...] or to clean the dust, since they have [bodies that are] almost always dirty because of walking naked [undressed] [...] (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 162).

The ancient and first inhabitants of the provinces that we call the Nueva España were very wild and barbaric men that only lived out of hunting [...] they lived on cliffs and the roughest places of the mountains, living bestially without any policy [laws], totally naked. (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 232).

Another way of refuting traditions is to condemn rituals. Fenicio describes a ritual where cow dung and ashes are used to sanctify or purify a place. Though the ritual has a context, he comes to overemphasize some signs that he considers repugnant. The Hindu gods to whom the ritual is linked, together with the spirituality as such, are discredited in this way:

In the extreme [way] are all these Indians devoted to the ashes made out of the dung of cow; with it they sanctify themselves every day in the morning [...] the ash is given by the priest to the idol to whom they offer it; the Jogues [yogis] always carry with them a bag full of ashes, which they distribute to the devoted who give them alms; and they walk with the faces and body all covered in ashes, and the more smeared, the more they are considered to be saint according to their god Ixora [Ishwara]¹⁴ who also walks all smeared by the ashes [...] all the Indians do [things] and eat on the floor, a ground covered by fresh [cow] dung. (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 168-169).

Acosta is one of the many missionary chroniclers who totally disapprove of the sacrifice of human blood among the Mexicas. To make it appear even more demonic and malevolent, he places the ritual at the time around midnight.¹⁵ What is even more shocking for him is that “in order to please the evil, they cut their penises in half,” something religiously and morally unacceptable for him:

[...] the priests and the religious men of Mexico were waking up at midnight, and having incensed the Idol, the priests and the dignitaries of the temple were going to a place [where there was a] wide piece [of stone] [...] they were taking a sharp stick of

¹⁴ Ishwara, or in Fenicio's words Ixora, is another name for Shiva.

¹⁵ We may possibly presume that the collocation around midnight might have been related to the popular European belief that this nightly hour was associated with ghosts and supernatural phenomena. However, this is only a hypothesis.

manguéy [maguey] which is like a barb or a sharp spine, or with other kind of lances and penknives, they were putting it [through] the calf close to the shin, taking out a lot of blood with which they smeared their temples, bathing the rest of the spines and lances with the rest of the blood; and they were putting them in the battlements of the courtyard [...], so that everybody could see them and understand the penitence [...] They were keeping the continence [sexual continence] [...], in order not to fall in a sort of weakness, split [cut] their limbs [penises] in the middle, and they were doing thousands of things to make themselves impotent, so that they would not offend their gods [...] doing in this way many cruelties torturing themselves for the Devil.[...] (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 63-65).

Fenicio very vividly describes the “perversion of the Indians” in southern India as he disapproved of the central importance of the phallic symbolism attributed to the union of the virile member of Shiva/Ishwara and the *yoni* (evidently speaking about the Shivalingam).

[...] in the same time on our earth there was created a ridge of silver mountains called Caylaia [Kailash], on the top of which appeared a triangular stripe which they call *tricona sacra*,¹⁶ inside of which a round thing was born called *Guiuelinga* [Shivalingam], which means the genitals, the *Guiuelinga* of the men and the triangular [part] of the women [...] and they pray, which make them believe in these brutalities that all things come from a male and a female; through which they deduce that it has a male, thing of all things [...] they adore the *Guiuelinga*, making it temples dedicated to the god [...] with what words could they exaggerate as with such a big brutality? [...] that in the world there are such stupid people that adore for their God the actual dishonesty in its form; and figure? [...] (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 4-5).

Speaking about the myth of the creation of the Sun, the Moon and the stars, he relates the relation between Shiva and Shakti (whom he calls *Chati*), which he afterwards discredits as dirty:

And being [having realized] the *Linga* of *Ixora* [that] his wife *Chati* [Shakti] and the empty space through which [could go] the *Linga*, searching close to her body; and not having it found, he opened it [the body of *Chati*] with his finger; and it spurted out a huge amount of blood [...] it was with the thumb; [...] *Ixora* put aside the blood with both of his hands; and then throwing it into the sky the Sun and the Moon were made;

16 He possibly refers to *Sbri Yantra*, “*tricona*” meaning “triangle” in Sanskrit.

stars and from the drops that fell on the ground roses and red flowers were born [...] (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 7-10).

After reporting on this mythical happening, he adds his own commentary allegedly speaking to a frustrated Brahman who was a student of another Brahman who told him this story:

[...] Having I talked about this with a Brahman astrologist of Samorim King of Calicut¹⁷ [...] and he was telling me that having heard such a stupidity that his teacher told him, he covered his ears with both of his hands; and so he was saying that he did not believe those dirty things; that he only believed in Ixora" [...] (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 7-10).

Both Acosta and Fenicio often try to leave the impression of their complete understanding of the religion and culture of the described. The authority is enhanced by their alleged first-person communication with the insiders (e.g. Brahman). Despite the fact that they show signs of a dialogue at certain length with the indigenous people, the reception and Catholic interpretation of the collected information points rather to the lack of a deeper understanding of the theology of the natives. The way of understanding the religious practices of the colonized indicates misunderstanding, thus insufficiency of data and, from their point of view, the impossibility of the local religious phenomena to stand in equal position to the Christian doctrines. Yet we can observe how the two authors hide this deficiency behind the deliberate identification of the absence of morality and purity. It is again a method of highlighting the contrast between the supreme Christian theological ideals and the assumed retrograde religious activities of the natives.

In both cases, the moral and impure deprivations, as part of the rituals, serve to reinforce the refutation of these religious practices, for they believed that any signs of negative idolatry and proven distorted pagan ways had to be uprooted. Indigenous cultures of both Mexico and the southern India are presented as bloody cultures, the blood element playing the role of a sign of wickedness. These cultural modes were presented by Acosta and Fenicio as the negative and depraved versions of certain rituals that resemble Christian ascetic practices of

17 The hereditary royal title of Calicut, *Zamorin*.

mortification of the flesh, as for example by flagellation. The depravations were devised by the Devil who they believed had the power to exercise upon them. In most of the cases, these indigenous masses were seen as mere victims of the agency of the Devil (this opinion can already be seen in the works of Las Casas, and it represents the transition from the 1st phase of early missionary treatises to the 2nd—as explained earlier). However, in the case of the arch-rivals of the Iberian missionaries—the ritualists or temple personnel—the narrative almost always portrays their conscious and active agency as ministers of evil who influence the commons. Such categorical division of social unawareness vs. conscious “offense” was naturally projected in the missionary narrative strategies.

However, possibly the worst regarded religious practice as examined by the missionary chroniclers in Nueva España was the human sacrifice.¹⁸ Acosta mentions it in several parts of his book, even dedicating it entire chapters. After mentioning the so-called *xochiyaoyotl* (the central Mexican flower wars),¹⁹ he describes the *tzompantli* (the exhibitory wall of human skulls), finally coming to the ritual human sacrifice on the top of the pyramidal temple and the corpses being eaten by the family of the warrior who took them captives. In India, although it is definitely not such a fundamental topic as analyzed by Acosta, Fenicio similarly repudiates the ritual of *sati*, which he considers a human sacrifice (the increased interest of the natives of South Asia in self-sacrifice can already be seen in the 14th century account of Odoric of Pordenone) (consult Odoric and Yule 2002). In this sense, the intention to recognize violence in the practices of the described can be considered as one of the most common narrative strategies of the missionaries. The observations made by both authors are based on existing practices. However, it is extraordinary how vividly they write these descriptions in comparison to some other religious practices that they consider inconsequential for their narration. Likewise, with the usual authors’ commentaries at the beginning and the end of respective chapters, they actively insinuate these “findings” into their refuting and discrediting methodology as stated below:

18 Even such progressive writers as Bartolomé de Las Casas did not treat this practice as reasonable and acceptable.

19 The flower wars were planned military confrontations of two sides in times of peace with the objective of getting prisoners of war for sacrifice.

[...] But what is most painful and a misfortune of these sad people is the vassalage to which they were paying [tribute] to the Demon, sacrificing him men who are [made] on the image of God [...]; a thing which God never wanted [/approved of], and it was not pleasant to him, as he is the author of life [...] it is not pleasant to him that men take lives of other men [...] first the men who were to be sacrificed went to war [...] actually the Mexicans were not sacrificing to their idols but the prisoners of war [...] that palisade of skulls mentioned above were put together by those who were to be sacrificed; and at the foot of this palisade they were doing a ceremony with this [skulls].

[...] the ordinary sacrifice was to open the chest of the sacrificed, and taking out the half-alive heart, they let fall the corpses down the steps on the stairway of the temple, which are bathed [covered] in blood [...] the high priest opened the chest [of the sacrificed] with a knife with an extraordinary grip, pulling out the steaming heart with his hands, he showed it to the Sun [...] and in this way they sacrificed [all the captives] one by one [...] and threw down the corpses, they were lifted by the owners, by hands of which they were made prisoners; and they were taking them, distributing them among themselves, eating them, celebrating the ceremony with them. [...] (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 72-80).

The mythical origin of human sacrifice was seen as evil, Acosta mistakenly relates it to the original cosmogonic myth, where the god Huitzilopochtli killed his sister Coyolxauhqui right after he was born of Coatlicue. He mixes it with the practice of wearing human skin by the priests of the god of agriculture and crop—Xipe Totec. We have to admit that the mistake he made here is partially understandable, since in the limited time that Acosta stayed in Central Mexico, he could not have collected comprehensive information based on several comparisons. The deductive logic is simple—if the distant mythical happening produced a prototypical mode of behavior that has been exercised ever since up to the early modern era, the whole religious thinking of the natives must be wrong. For all that, the ministers who perform the rituals and the people who obey them are considered to be but victims of the establishment.

The main goddess which they worshiped was called Tozi [Toci] [...] who was the first one which they tore to pieces on the command of Vitzilipuztli [Huitzilopochtli] [...] and from then on they started to tear humans apart for the sacrifices and dressing

them alive with the skin of the sacrificed, understanding that their god was pleased [by this]. [...] (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 37).

Fenicio presents the ritual of *sati* almost as a social pressure on the women and their relatives, and though the women may refuse to be burnt, they are pushed into it by force:

In some lands as Pandij [Panji] on the Island of Goa and Cambaia [Cambay], when a married man dies, all his wives burn themselves together with the corpse of their husband; [...] and if some of them in a natural way would deny the death of their father or mother; and the family members would feel dishonored if in this way they [the women, the wives of the husband] do not die having forgotten the natural love [towards their husband], with the most cruel characteristics [they] force them to be burnt, [and if they reject it] they frighten them with tigers [...] and to this pit of fire where the husband was burnt; she goes along that road dancing and hopping, and running she throws herself in the burning pyre, and the people standing around her and behind throw many calōis [?] of oil [at her] with great shouts and [loud] sounds so that her cry could not be heard, and this way she becomes burnt in a [short] while [...] this bad and diabolic custom started by the wife of the King Pandu, by the name of Madri²⁰ [...] because of the great sorrow that she had because of the death of her husband, [so] she burnt with him. (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 177-180).

4 *Refutation of the Acts of Devil, Evil Imitation and Misusing Priesthood*

One of the most frequent narrative strategies of confirming and endorsing the colonial presence of the Europeans overseas was to place the religious practices of the domestic cultures, in our case in *Nueva España* and southern India, under the label of the “acts of the Devil”. Consequently, words such as *devil*, *evil*, *demon* or *idol* were used as the usual classifiers in reference to the gods of the indigenous peoples. Devil was understood as a mysterious agent who manipulated the performances of the Gentiles and imitated the Christian god. The Spanish and Portuguese colonizers, as well as the missionaries, are therefore depicted as saviors

20 Fenicio mentions details from the Mahabharata, where Mādri undergoes the *sati* ritual, mounting the funeral pyre of Pāndu, her defunct husband, and burns herself with him.

from the permanent damnation to which the natives are exposed. The discretization of the religious opponent practically at all levels simultaneously gave more credit to the Christian theological exegesis. The Christianity as envisioned by Acosta and Fenicio was the undisputed divine religion—the only accepted corpus of beliefs categorized as religion (see page 7). Other alternatives of non-Christian and non-Catholic devotions or beliefs were simply unacceptable to them. This conviction then rationally added to the polarization in confronting the religious opponent and gave way to strong and often intransigent positions of perspective.

Similar to the process of imitating a European religious original as described by Said (Islam understood as a wrong imitation of Christianity) (Said 1979, 65-69), in the work of missionaries, any other social and religious systems of beliefs could represent only a lower development, and thus only imitations of Christianity. In the writings of Acosta and Fenicio, the grandest imitator is the Devil himself. He is the one who introduces idolatrous thoughts in the minds of the natives. Their own agency is not acknowledged, and they are seen simply as victims or slaves of the machinery of evil. This will also be the reason of what they consider as “the corruption of the distant primary religion”. Let us see these examples in the texts:

[...] [and it is how] the Devil, by his pride, has taken side and competence from God, what our God by his wisdom orders for his cult and honoring, and for good and [good] health of the man, the Devil tries to imitate and pervert it, [so that] he [would be] the honored one, and the man [would be even] more condemned. And thus we see [just] how the supreme God has sacrifices, Priests, Sacraments, Religious [people], Prophets and the people assigned to his divine cult and saintly ceremonies, like that as well the Demon has his sacrifices and Priests, and his mode of Sacraments, and people assigned to seclusion and feigned sanctimony, and a thousand kinds of false prophets. (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 42-43).

Fenicio proceeds to describe “the false beliefs” that certain pains and illnesses are caused by certain gods, which are named devils (“*diabos*”):

[...] These Gentiles also offer sacrifices to the actual devil as follows: all these Gentiles are in an erroneous [belief] that all the pains, headache, stomach ache, fever, and other similar malaise are caused by some evils: and so they assert: because being slaves of the devil, by the faith that they have in him [the Devil], and the sacrifices they offer to

him, he enters in their bodies as [well as] in their houses, allowed [in/inside] in this way[,] as they are idolaters [...] among other ceremonies that they use to take out the devil out of the body of the [person] in pain, the one who causes the pain, and the sorcerers make use of him; and putting the one in pain between them, with various sounds, chants, screams and [?] they call the devil, sacrificing him cocks, cutting their heads, the blood of which is spilled on the ground is also offered.[...] (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 157-158).

Naturally, the target of the descriptions of our two authors are the religious ritualists, who spread and communicate the “evil thoughts” and make people believe in the “falseness of the Devil”. Often, Spanish and Portuguese missionaries would put themselves in the front lines of confrontation and argue theological principles with their opponents. The priests and ritualist were the ones who, to a certain extent, held the greatest respect of the missionaries. While Acosta in this case only comes up with a description, Fenicio makes a direct discourse with a Brahman, trying to persuade him to become Christian. In this regard we may cite Angela Barreto Xavier (Barreto Xavier, 2015), as she states:

[...] in the missions both in Americas and in Asia, the perfidious priests were an integral element in the theory of diabolic imitation applied to idolatry. Demonic power was seen as real, and had impact on human affairs, especially by way of cognitive illusion. [...] In India, a Brahman was perceived both as an appalling obstacle when inspired by demonic forces, and potentially an attractive agent of conversion to Christianity [...] (Barreto Xavier and Županov 2015, 130).

In Acosta’s record, priests have a variety of categories, which according to him were created by the Demon (Devil), the priests are adorers of Devil and they terrify people:

[...] In Mexico, there was a great curiosity about this [about the offices of the priests], and the Demon imitating the use of the Church of God, he too put his order of minor priests, major [priests] and supremes, and some like Acolytes and others like Levits [...] the priests of Vitzilipúztli succeeded from the descendants of certain city districts deputed to this. The priests of other Idols were selected [to serve] the temple since their childhood. [...]

[...] [in the act of human sacrifice] the Priest came up [to the top of the temple] by a small stairway, [...] he went on [the spot] where there were those who were to be sacrificed; and from one side to the other he went showing the Idol to each one in particular, telling them : ‘this is your God’ [...] he went down the other side of the steps,

and all those that were going to die, went in procession up to the place where they were to be sacrificed [...] the one that had the office of killing, that was the sixth [priest/ritualist] of these, was [considered to be] and revered as the Supreme Priest of the Pontiff [...] with this attire he dressed in the actual figure of the Demon, that seeing him coming out with such a bad look, provoked great fear in the people. [...] (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 51-53; 77-79).

Fenicio comes to blame the caste stratification, seemingly trying to allude that such hierarchy might be responsible for the falsity of a particular Brahman:

[...] And the Brahman having asked me who was the true God, I told him an octave of catechism in Malabar verse which dealt with the being of God, being a splendid spirit [...] on its own blessed and incomprehensible. [...] and the Brahman having heard all these verses, becoming frightened, he says these words were not from here from this world, but from the heaven, and all the rest [was] just a lie; and he said goodbye saying that it was the hour of doing his ceremonies, which he was doing not by the faith that he had in it, but only to contemporize with the others, because otherwise they would throw him out of the caste, and he would end up without a remedy. [...] (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 10).

He proceeds to speak about a certain caste of saints in Canara, whom he attributes sexual deviance and perversity:

In all of Canara, from Cananor to Mangalor and Barsalor, there is a caste of men who are [considered to be] saints [...] and once in a while they go out naked and how the nature made them, and they bring a bell by the sound of which come grown up women, girls, princesses and queens, who with great devotion touch the dishonest parts [of the saints] with their hand and then they kiss [these parts], and a woman, considered to be [even more] fortunate, reaches [to tear] a hair [from the dishonest parts of the saint] to put it on her ear or head as a relic, [...] and in lands of [?] there is an idol, where the virgins when getting married, they let dishonor themselves by the priest of the idol, to whom they offer their virginity in this way. (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 171).

Based on the reference to the supposedly impure part of the human being, the anus, some ritual practices made by the Brahmins are found to be mocked by lower castes, another form of discrediting caste differences and the superiority of Brahmins:

[...] A ueda mantira [vedic mantra] consists of five words and it is a very sacred prayer among the Brahmans [...] and saying it sometimes the Brahmans cover their ears, they also make use of it when they eat, the first five [mouthfuls/] bites that they have, one after the other, very quickly, offering them [the five bites] to the five senses, which [is what] those five words mean, which are the following ones [:] pranè suà, apane suà[,] vine suà[,] udanè suà[,] sumanà duà[;] the first one means spirit or soul that we have, the second the place down there from where the excrements come out: the third the hearing[,] the fourth the sight[,] the fifth the smell[;] in these they offer the first five bites saying one word to each bite [of the food offering]²¹ [...] other Gentiles from other castes make fun of Brahmans for giving their bite to the place of the excrement, and as they give it they ask; why they give it by the mouth and not by its proper place [the anus]. (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 171-172).

And speaking about the wedding ritual, Fenicio makes fun of the Brahmans again: [...] And it is a lot to be laughed at, the thing that the Brahmans do, because they marry cows with oxen, and they spend a lot of money celebrating the marriage, what would be [?] of the actual daughters. (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 182).

5 *Denial on the Basis of Recognition of Corrupted Power, Falseness and Spread of Fear*

The last narrative strategy that will be discussed consists of the ways in which references to the socio-political framework of the indigenous people were employed by our authors. It can be argued that Acosta and Fenicio, both being Jesuit missionaries actively engaged in the proselytizing effort among the natives, purposefully targeted their treatises in order to give the upper hand to the colonial condition, Spanish or Portuguese respectively. In this sense, Christianity is introduced as an idealized opposite concept, a socially unquestionable system of beliefs that does not exploit its followers. Acosta even relates how one of his respondents expresses deep disappointment with the indigenous religious system and wishes to be free from the oppression, choosing Christianity as the religion to be trusted. When it comes to text content, it is evident that the authors seek to maximize the negativities of the colonized and conceal the imperfections of the

21 Here we observe the reference to the Hindu vital principle of *prana*, respectively the five *prana vayu* or five types (winds) of the vital energy of *prana*, a universal animating force.

Catholic Christian approach. Contrary to the black and white picture that could result from what we have commented, we have to reiterate that the strict dual envisioning of the Jesuit missionaries logically stems from their devout conviction in the Messianic legacy of Christianity. According to their belief, the word of the Christian God could actually bring salvation and peace to all men who would embrace the principles of this religion.

Nonetheless, the two authors question the actual spiritual tenet of the religion of local inhabitants, the tenet uniquely attributed to the Christian theology. They seek to show that the moving force of the native religious ritualists is power and their intention is to spread fear. Acosta comes with a description of the god Tezcatlipoca, who is related as the god of penance, sins and bad omens, and he practically considers him as a punishing tool of social control, fear being its most frequent instrument:

[...] And there was another very important idol in Mexico, which was the God of penance, jubilee and forgiveness of sin. This idol was called Tezcatlipuca [Tezcatlipoca], [...] in his right hand he had four darts which meant the punishment he was giving to the bad people for the sins. And so the idol whom they feared the most, so that he would not discover their sins, was this, in whose festivity, which was [every] four years[,] there was the forgiveness of sins [...] the same Idol Tezcatlipuca was [considered to be] the god of droughts, hungers, sterility and pestilence. [...] the superstitions which they were using with this Idol were great, because of a lot of fear they had [of him]. [...] (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 34-35).

Consequently, we can see how Acosta highlights that the most important characteristic of the god Quetzalcóatl is greed (obviously an additional attribute added by the author), indirectly saying that his priests used his worship as an exploitative machine:

[...] it was a figure of a man, but the face of a bird [referring to Quetzalcóatl] [...] and he had many golden adornments on his legs, and other thousand inventions of ridiculous things, and that all of that [really] meant that, and indeed they were worshipping him, because he was making rich those who he liked, as the other God Mammon, or the other Pluton. [...] they were calling him Quetzaalcoátl, which is [/means] snake with rich feathers, and that is how he is the demon of the greed. [...] (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 35-37).

Priests were the actual representatives of the policy of fear employed on the people:

[...] They were going upstairs [the priests] by the steps of the temple [...] and by the time they were going up [to the top of the temple], the entire [mass of] people on the patio [square] were [in much] reverence and fear. [...]

[in times of sickness] they were coming to these Priests as to holy men who were keeping the ignorant [the people] deceived and tricked, persuading them as much as they wanted to, making them come to them [so that they would give them] medicine and evil ceremonies, because they had so much authority, that it was enough to tell them [the priests to the people] anything [in order to] consider it as a matter of Faith. [...]

The same Indians after they have [received] the light of our Faith, laugh and make fun of the childish things in which their false Gods were keeping them busy; to whom [the gods] they served much more by the fear they had [,] [because they thought] they were going to do them harm, if they would not obey them in everything, [and] not by the love which they had [/felt] for them, even though many of them were living deceived with false hope for temporary goods [...]; and it is to be warned that [at the place] where the temporary power was enlarged, there increased the superstition, as it can be seen in the kingdoms of Mexico and Cuzco [...] (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 93;106;113).

Fenicio narrates what he sees as false spirituality as follows:

These Indians are not ruled to raise temples for their gods by revelation or the spirit of god [...], but rather by the institution of a cow, a stupid and irrational animal [,] appearing more stupid because of this than the actual stupid animals, by which they are ruled and governed, [...] (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 155-156).

The latter citation indicates that Fenicio does not understand the Brahmanic theology, he is determined not to understand it as it is not crucial for his religious refutations. This is certainly a typical aspect of the teleology of the two Jesuits. He finds some features of the temples dedicated to Ishwara and Kali fearsome and practically used by the Brahmans to exploit people. It would be dangerous to confront the will of their gods:

[...] and inside they paint thousands of figures and patterns with many heads and hands surrounded by cobras, which when seen[,] cause fear and fright [...] and portals by which they enter [...]; made of marble rock with its columns and underneath them [...] some very ugly faces of elephants, bears, lions and tigers: on the top of the façade they

put on [/paint] them faces with big and terrifying eyes and with long teeth of a lion or a pig, silver figures, Cali [Kali] pagoda [goddess] the daughter of Ixora: and the cause of these ugly faces on the façade of the portals is but to frighten those who go through [the portals] or enter; and embarrass them by the fear into giving them offerings which end up in benefit of the Brahmans and of the patron of the temple in which they live [...] and with a sword they cut themselves and they throw blood from their forehead [?]: or how many [other] inventions says he says [that] they seek to catch [/get] money. (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 155-156).

[...] and when in a temple of these [temple of gods managed by Brahmans] they do not bring alms and offerings, they say that it leaves [upon] them an evil eye, to remove it [the bad omen], they do ceremonies with many sounds and chants: they are so blind that they do not come to say that their god is subject to the evil eye of the people [if the people do not serve the god, he can harm them, but they do not realize that it is them who control the god, the god and his celebrants are not supposed to control the people] [...]

[...] Some Brahmans and other Gentiles have in their houses small family devils that they call curichates²² and every day they offer them sacrifice [...] and there are such Brahmans that have thirty of these curichates [spirits or effigies of gods], and if some day their owner does not present an offering[,] they kill him; and these Gentiles say that these family members come to a bad end and they become destroyed, they themselves along with their whole generation. [...] (Fenicio and Charpentier 1820, 157-160).

As a matter of fact, coming back to the context mentioned earlier, the fascination and dismay caused by the confrontation to the unknown are understandable, as far as we comprehend the reality of the completely different conditions and beliefs

22 The word most probably refers to *Kuttichathans* in Malayalam. *Kuttichathans* are small spiritual beings that can be represented in the form of a *murti* placed in the house on stands or platforms. Their function is usually intermediary as they are believed to fulfil wishes. These spirits must be regularly fed with food offerings and liquor. If the offerings are insufficient or delayed, *Kuttichathans* may act in a negative way. We are grateful to V. Govindakutty from Chittur who suggested the possible reading.

in the Christian Iberian Peninsula vs. those in Mesoamerica and India. The crucial thing is how this fascination is applied in the refuting strategy of the authors.

We have examined that one of the central strategies of Acosta and Fenicio was to discredit and mock the religious structure of the opponent.

The collection of negative descriptions mentioned throughout the study naturally opened ground for what was conversely seen as positive and appropriate, i.e., the Iberian form of Catholicism supported by the colonial administrators. The change was inevitable, the natives are described as fortunate to receive it in replacement of the evil past:

[...] but inside they wished to be free from such a heavy burden [having before mentioned the human sacrifice]. And it was the providence of God that in such a disposition these peoples would be found by the first [Christians/ missionaries] who gave them the news of the law of Christ, because without any doubt it seemed to them a good law and a good God [...] what makes [the thing more credible] is to see how insufferable servitude had those barbarians to the infernal murderer [the Devil], and what a great mercy has God shown for them in communicating them his peaceful law, just and entirely pleasant. (Acosta 1894, Tomo segundo, 85-88).

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to analyze early colonial Iberian texts and show how the identified three narrative tools served the narrative strategies of their authors, José de Acosta and Jacobo Fenicio, with a central objective of confirming an early-modern bond between religion and politics. In this sense it has been argued on the one hand that the objective of the expansionist endeavor of the Luso-Hispanic monarchs did not oppose the universal plan of global evangelization supported by the Catholic Church; it actually served as its medium. On the other hand, the global Iberian colonial machinery counted on the active support of the missionary friars who besides evangelizing the natives, often served as the frontline agents of the colonial expansion and later on helped to establish the Christian Catholic basis of the Luso-Hispanic regime. This was in great part enabled by the institution of the royal patronages. The bond between religion and politics could thus operate to the mutual benefit of the representatives of both, and indeed it is sometimes difficult to judge who solely represented the religion and who the politics.

As mentioned in the text, the universal Iberian colonial network co-acted with the global Catholic mission also thanks to its multinational and multi-contextual character. Wherever the missionary agents came from, they always contributed to the common Iberian purpose. The global colonial network of both West and East Indies then produced accounts that practically shared the same rationale.

Linked to the global colonial network, the agents and their written manifestations of the Luso-Hispanic colonialism constituted the Iberian Orientalism. In contrast to the British and French Orientalism, which began with modern methods of philological investigation and cabinet interpretation of texts and cultures, the Iberian Orientalism proved to be linked to the textual production of the classical authors, a trend which eventually culminated in the medieval and early modern understanding of the political sovereignty as a Catholic Christian establishment. The universal salvation of souls was only possible by the operation of a single “divinely-instituted” community, which came to be represented by Spanish and Portuguese colonial agents.

The narrative strategies similarly served as legitimizing tools. The legitimization of colonial power and the actual presence of the Europeans in the transoceanic territories were enabled by the missionary network. The features that were seen as bad and corrupted came to be replaced by the “morally pure” and socially non-limiting. This implies that only the Spanish or Portuguese could bring order to things and end the “rule of injustice and exploitation”. Acosta and Fenicio hence fulfilled the role of political agents. They tactically made a selection of principles, which by pointing out the negatives, established a niche that could only be filled by the colonial political structure based on Catholic principles. They thus accepted what had already been done in the first phase of the Iberian overseas colonization and gave a free and “ethically pure” scope for the period to come. The narrative strategies, which can be labelled as examples of early Iberian Orientalism and were often indirect but very proactive, clearly indicate that their authors worked within a broader imperial network, where knowledge was intimately attached to power and every treatise of its agents became institutional.

As we have argued on the basis of the textual analysis, it would be certainly anachronistic to make a strict division between the religious and political, since

such a distinction simply did not exist in the globalized early-modern world. The insights presented in this study constitute just a sample of a general apparatus. The field of inquiry into the historical missionary sources continues to be open to comparative studies that could help us better understand the life and agency of colonial personnel and their role in the formation of the early-modern world.

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Ānissem̄sa Kammathān: A Didactic Mon Funeral Text

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Abstract *Ānissem̄sa Kammathān* is a Mon funeral text which provides a Buddhist interpretation of the Mon funeral rites. Similar texts can be found in Thailand, Cambodia, and Lao. The structure and content of the text implies that *Ānissem̄sa Kammathān* was inspired by the Mahākāla story of the Dhammapada commentary and developed into an important folk Buddhist text by adopting the Mon funeral rites to the Buddhist context. This paper explains the historical and cultural background of the *Ānissem̄sa Kammathān* and outlines the literary devices that the text employs to boost its authority and cognitive appeal in the religious context which, doctrinally speaking, was utterly removed from the aspect of the disposal of mortal remains.

Keywords *Ānissem̄sa Kammathān*, Mon funeral text, Buddhist funeral tradition

*Introduction*¹

Death rituals, which mark the final journey of man, are at the centre of the religious practices of Mon people. In the Mon tradition, whether in the case of a commoner or a king, a funeral has to be carried out as prescribed by authoritative texts. These pre-Buddhist practices are clothed in Buddhist symbols and representations. The Mon people may not have specific ritualistic texts for births and marriages, but they do have texts dealing with the treatment and disposal of dead bodies (Halliday 1917, 62). *Ānissem̄sa Kammathān*, one of the most important Mon funeral texts provides the Buddhist explanation of the Mon funeral practices.

1 This article is based on the author's Ph.D. dissertation (2018) entitled *A Comparative Study of Monastic Funeral Traditions Between the Dhammayuttika Nikāya and the Rāmañña Nikāya in Mon State, Myanmar*.

Together with *Lokasamutti*², these two texts, identical in their topic but different in style and purpose, are the most valuable sources of the understanding of the Mon mortuary rites.

In Southeast Asia, we can find funeral manuals written in vernacular languages for the local people, inspired by both the Pāli canonical tradition as well as local funeral practices.³ As Donald Swearer (1989, 352) points out, “texts of folk Buddhism do not solely refer to the canonical tradition, but also employ folk elements such as miracle tales, magico-animism, and stories about spirits and souls.” The purpose of these texts is generally two-fold: to preserve local ritual practices and to teach the Dhamma.

In order to boost their importance, many local texts refer to Pāli Canon. *Ānissamsa Kammathān* embeds its prescriptions in Pāli commentarial literature and symbolism, adopting its main narrative framework from the *Dhammapada* commentary on the Mahākāla story.

This paper analyzes the historical and cultural background of the *Ānissamsa Kammathān* and enumerates the literary devices it employs to boost its authority and cognitive appeal in the religious context which, doctrinally speaking, couldn’t care less about the disposal of a dead human body.

1 *Ānissamsa Kammathān and Ānisong Tradition in Southeast Asia*

There are only a few translations of the *Ānissamsa Kammathān* text into European languages, and very few scholarly studies on it. Among the scholars who have studied the text, Robert Halliday discusses *Ānissamsa Kammathān*, which he translates as “The Advantage of a Dead Body”.⁴ Let me clarify the meaning of the title of the text first.

2 Lokasamutti is another Mon funeral text which focuses on spirits or souls of the dead people and how the funerals are carried out for different kinds of death.

3 See Lagirarde 1998, 47-77.

4 See e.g. Kyaw Dun 1917; and Halliday 1986.

Both terms *Ānissemisa* and *Kammathān* are of Pāli origin. The term *Ānissemisa* means “advantage” or “reverential attitude” (Veidlinger 2007, 189), whereas the word *kammathān* derives from the Pāli word *kammathāna* which can be translated as a place or subject of meditation, or a cause or reason for meditation. However, in the Mon funeral context, *Kammathān* refers to a corpse or dead body. Being Buddhists, Mon people regard a corpse as an object of meditation. The Mon indigenous word for a corpse is *jvaṣ* and by the specific use of the term *kammathān* the Mon people express the Buddhist idea of considering a dead body as an object for meditation. Even today when they visit the funeral house, they say that they are “going to the *kammathān* house” or “*Kusao* house” meaning Merit-house. Though there are a variety of venues and occasions where Mon Buddhists perform merit-making, such as ordination, wedding, and annual donation, the term “*Kusao* house” is strictly refers to the funeral house.

Ānissemisa Kammathān has served as the manual for mortuary rites in Myanmar for a long time. Kyaw Dun opines that Burmese funeral practices derive in general from the Mon funeral practices:

The Burmese funeral rites are only a portion of the elaborate system of the Mon funeral rites which are prescribed in a Mon book called *Slaput Kalate*. The book is often read in funeral houses in the Sub-division, and the rites prescribed therein are generally performed by the Mons there. The book is not to be found in Burmese literature. Such being the case, Burman Buddhists have been performing some of the Talaing funeral rites- without knowing their meanings. (Kyaw Dun 1917, 86).

Ānissemisa Kammathān appears under various names across mainland Southeast Asia. Because the main character in *Ānissemisa Kammathān* text is the *Venerable Mahākāla Thera*, the text is also called *Slaput Kalathe* (the Kalathera manuscript) in Mon. (In Lao tradition the same text is called *Mahākāla Sutta*). *Slaput* means “pressed (palm) leaves”, as Mon manuscripts of early times were written on the palm leaves. The genres of *Slaput* texts in the Mon literary tradition include not only religious books such as *Slaput Mahāvam* [*Mahāvamsa*] but also any other kind of work on secular subjects such as art and science (Guillion 1999, 30). Another Mon title for the *Ānissemisa Kammathān* is *Ānissemisa Yaikjava* which means “The Benefit of Carrying the Corpse”.

5 Nai Tun Way’s *The Modern Mon English Dictionary* (2002), defines the term “*jva*” as “corpse”, “carcass”, or “dead body”.

The literary genre of *Ānisonḡ* texts is very popular in Thai, Lao, and Yuan traditions. It covers many subjects, and there are numerous texts on various religious issues falling under the umbrella of *Ānisonḡ* genre. Some of them, like *Ānisonḡ Bot* (The Advantage of The Ordination Hall) explain the benefit of donating to the *Uposot*, the ordination hall. Others, like *Ānisonḡ Kathin* (The Advantage of *Kathina*), refer to the benefits of the *kathina* ceremony during which monks receive their robes; while yet another, *Ānisonḡ Sang Tham* (The Benefit of Writing the *Dhamma*), addresses, as the title announces, to the benefits of writing the *Dhamma*.⁶

Of all the various kinds of texts of the *Ānisonḡ* genre, those concerning funerals or read at the occasion are of the highest number. In Thailand only, for example, they consist of the *Ānisonḡ Sia Sop* (The Blessings of Disposing of Corpses), the *Ānisonḡ Lāng Kāp* (The Blessings of Washing the Corpse), the *Dhamma Amata Pañai* (The Dharma of Eternal Questions), the *Ānisonḡ Kon Tai* (The Blessings of /Acts for/ the Spirit of the Dead), the *Ānisonḡ Phī Tāā* (The Blessings of /Acts for/ the Spirit of the Dead), the *Ānisonḡ Sop* (The Blessings of /Acts for/ the Corpse), the *Ānisonḡ Tān Hā Kom Tāi* (The Blessings of Alms-offering /Whose Merit/ Find the Dead), and the *Ānisonḡ Lūk Cāi Tān Hā Pô* (or *māē*) (The Blessings of a Son Offering Alms /Whose Merit/ Find His Father /or Mother/).⁷

The Mon *Ānissemṣa Kammathān* seems to have its equivalents in Thai (*Ānisonḡ Sia Sop*), Lao (*The Sutta of Mahākāla*), and Khmer (*Ariyapuggla* or *Satimahāpatthān*).⁸ However, there is no text like *Ānissemṣa Kammathān* in the Sri Lankan Theravada tradition.⁹

As mentioned above, *Ānissemṣa Kammathān* draws its narrative framework from the Mahākāla story of the *Dhammapada Atthakathā* or *Dhammapada* commentary (Hereafter *Dhp-A*). Lagirarde (1998, 47) makes the same observation

6 See also Veidlinger 2007, 189; and McDaniel 2008, 192.

7 See Anusaranaśāsanākiarti and Keyes 1980, 10-11.

8 See Lagirarde 1998, 49.

9 At least, Rita Langer in her study of *Buddhist Ritual of Death and Rebirth in Contemporary Sri Lanka* does not mention the existence of such texts.

with regard to the *Mahākāla Sutta* of Northern Thailand and Lao traditions. Scholars have made various assumptions about the origin and authorship of the Mon text and the *Ānisong* literature in Southeast Asia. With respect to the Mon manuscript tradition in general, Nai Tun Thine, an eminent Mon historian proposes that most of the Mon extant manuscripts were written probably around the 16th and 17th centuries C.E. Though many Mon manuscripts do not specify their authorship or date their production, the language and the places mentioned in the texts, provide clues which often permit a fairly reliable indication of the date of origin and sometimes also the authorship.¹⁰

Robert Halliday also dates the earliest of the Mon manuscripts he found at the Bernard Free Library in Yangon to around 1655 C.E., and the latest to 1838 C.E.¹¹ Daniel M. Veidlinger (2007, 189) concludes that the origin of Thai *Ānisong* texts could fall somewhere before or around the 18th century. He goes on to say that the eight *Anisong* texts of the Red Cliff Cave's collection discovered recently in Mae Saring can be dated within the period 1726 to 1775 (Veidlinger 2007, 189).

2 General Characteristics of the *Ānissemṣa Kammathān* Text

Ānissemṣa Kammathān is a Buddhist devotional text concerned with the practice and meaning of funeral rites. The text offers a *Dharmic* interpretation of the funeral practices. Halliday (1986, 26) calls it “a pious reflection on the death acts”. Even though spirit, soul, and ghost are emphasized in the *Lokasamutti*, they are never mentioned in *Ānissemṣa Kammathān*. Unlike the *Lokasamutti*, which deals with the performance of funeral rites for different kinds of death, the *Ānissemṣa Kammathān* explains the meanings of these activities.

Its main purpose is to provide the Buddhist devotees with an opportunity to reflect on the traditional funeral practices such as bathing the corpse with hot and

10 Often in the Mon manuscript tradition, the author of the book is less important than the book itself. An erudite Mon scholar, Nai Maung Toe, the author of *Mon Traditions and Practices*, commented during my interview with him that in earlier times Mon people compiled books anonymously lest they would endanger themselves by offending someone, especially a high-ranking person. For details, see Nai Tun Thine 1995, 52-57.

11 See Nai Tun Thine 1995, 52-57.

cold water, putting ferry money in the mouth and tying the thumbs and toes (Halliday 1986, 26-28) from the perspective of *Buddha's* teaching. For example, with regard to the practice of tying thumbs and toes, the *Ānīssemsa Kammathān* says:

The threads tying the thumbs and great toes are the three snares namely, children who snare the neck, property which snares the feet, and wives who hold the hands. These attachments the sharpest knife cannot sever nor could ages of wearing of water make us free. The sharp knife which cuts the cord is the wise effort by which Nirvāna is attained. (Halliday 1986, 26-28).

As for placing the ferry money in the mouth of the deceased, the *Ānīssemsa Kammathān* says: "Money is put in the mouth of the corpse to show the utter worthlessness of worldly wealth. The bliss of *Nirvāna* is the true wealth." (Halliday 1986, 28).

In the Mon funeral rites, after a person passes away, the first thing to do is to bathe the corpse with hot and cold water. The *Ānīssemsa Kammathān* interprets the act in this way: hot water represents various evil actions which cause bad results and suffering; cold water represents good and wholesome actions, karma, and merit. Good deeds will generate future happiness and the person will be born in a happy realm.¹² The following excerpt from the *Ānīssemsa Kammathān* shows how the rites are imbued with Buddhist ideas:

King Pasenadi Kosala: O venerable Kāla Thera, for what reason do you arrange things this way [bathing the body in hot water first and cold water later]? Please let me know for I have less wisdom and knowledge. O venerable one, please advise me so that I may know.

Mahākāla Thera: O Great King, it is in order to let the people fill with *Samvega* that good deeds and bad deeds are the two fuels of life. They burn all beings until they reach Nibbāna. Having accumulated many good deeds people will enjoy their lives whereas those who have made a lot of demerits will suffer and burn in hot water, Sir. In order to let them know, hot and cold water is used.¹³

These funeral practices, according to the text, are performed for the benefit of the bereaved and other participants. As Mahākāla Thera explains:

¹² Anusaranaśāsanākiarti and Keyes 1980, 21.

¹³ Baddanta Singha, Baddanta Pālita, *Prakuib Akbikkānālike*, 65; My translation.

O King! For the benefit of monks, laymen, and laywomen. Let the world know the benefits of wholesome deeds (*kāmāvacara kusala*). We have to arrange [the funeral rites]. Having heard and seen [these specific arrangements], may the wise eradicate all greed (*lobha*), hatred (*dosa*), and delusion (*moha*); may they pray for this life and the life after, learn the *dhamma*, and attain *magga, phala* [the path to enlightenment] that they wish for.¹⁴

“One finds”, Halliday (1986, 28) explains “it is rather a didactical treatise intended to encourage the devout in the practices of their religion.” Keyes (1987, 201) calls *Ānissemsa Kammathān* “missionary catechisms” the purpose of which is to spread and impart Buddhist knowledge to laypeople. The literary genre of the *Ānissemsa* or *Ānisona* is thus devotional and didactical in its essence, dedicated to informing and instructing lay followers of the benefit of the ritual acts. It thus justifies and elevates indigenous practices by assigning them didactic function.

3 Detailed Description of the Mon *Ānissemsa Kammathān* Text

The story of the Venerable Mahākāla narrated in the *Yamakavagga* of the Dph-A verses 7 and 8 is very simple and features only two characters, Mahākāla Thera and Kāli, the guardian of cemetery. Former merchant and caravan leader, Mahākāla, had ordained and devoted himself to meditation (*vipassanadhūra*). Having received the directive to contemplate on the foulness of body (*asubhabhāvanā*) from the Buddha himself, he went to a cemetery to practice. The cemetery guardian asked him to inform the village chief and the neighbouring monastery leader of his presence and gave him some more advice on the practices of the monks meditating at the cemetery (*sosānika*). He also proposed to cut a corpse and throw it into the fire to help meditate on the foulness of the body. The monk accepted. Shortly afterward, the body of a young woman who had just died was brought to the cemetery. There was no sign of suffering on her face and the woman was impeccably beautiful. Kāli goes to the Thera to show him the corpse and the monk tells her to proceed with the cremation and to call him when the body touches the flame. A few moments later, the flame destroys this physical beauty and the skull appears under the burnt hair and flesh, and the monk reflecting on the true nature

¹⁴ Baddanta Singha, Baddanta Pālita, *Prakūib Akkikkānālike*, 64; My translation.

of the body understands death and reaches the state of arahnatship (Lagirarde 1986, 49-50).

The Mon version of the *Ānissemṣa Kammathān* is more complex. It begins with a prayer to the Triple Gem: the Buddha, the Dhamma, and the Sangha, after which it proceeds to the story. It recounts that on one occasion, the Venerable Mahākālathera, who used to be a merchant in his lay life, learned how to practice meditation on the foulness of the body (*asubbabhāvanā*) from the Buddha, and later became a noble person (*ariyapuggala*). Afterward, he went to the cemetery where he encountered the undertaker Kāla and his wife Kālī who reminded him of the practices and obligations of the monks who dwelt in the cremation ground. One day, a young and beautiful maiden named Khemā, the daughter of a wealthy couple of householders named Dhammacitta and Devi, passes away and her body is taken to the cemetery. The wealthy householders ask the King Pasenadi Kosala about the proper arrangements for the funeral, upon which the king approaches the Venerable Mahākāla who gives him the instructions.¹⁵

The rest of the text is written in a conversational style, in the form of questions and answers between the King and Mahākālathera. The two are having a discussion on the practice of funeral rites and why particular rites should be performed in a particular way. The conversational style renders the sophisticated and philosophical aspect of the Buddha's teaching more accessible.

There are two obvious differences between the two accounts. While in the commentary, the Venerable Mahākāla is a simple meditating monk, in *Ānissemṣa Kammathān* he becomes a funeral director, instructing and arranging the funeral of a young girl. Second, the Dhp-A features only two characters: The Venerable Mahākāla and Kālī, the undertaker. *Ānissemṣa Kammathān*, in contrast, introduces three new characters namely, King Pasenadi Kosala as the questioner; and Dhammacitta and Devi, the parents of the deceased who is given an identity and name – Khemāvati.¹⁶ It can be argued that these additions provide specific

15 From Mon version of *Ānissemṣa Kammathān*. See Nai Maung Toe, Mon Dhalae, and Mon Mhu 2014, 193-209.

16 In other Mon traditional texts, the deceased maiden is simply called *Kbema*. See Nai Maung Toe, *Mon Dhalae and Mon Mhu*, 2014, 193-209.

didactic functions and through references to their canonical counterparts augment the status of the ritual norms they justify and explain.

4 *Mahākāla Thera*

In *Ānissemisa Kammathān*, a simple meditating monk transforms into an arahant. At the cemetery, he is asked how to arrange the funeral of the maiden and gradually becomes what we may call a “funeral director” organizing the funeral of Khemāvati.¹⁷ When King Pasenadi Kosala asks him about the proper arrangements for the funeral, he gives a normative statement:

O Great King, bathe the corpse with hot and cold water; place a betel quid in the mouth; put also money in the mouth; have the thumbs and great toe tied; put a fathom long pieces of bamboos on both sides of the corpse; when taking down the corpse from the house, an earthen pot should be taken; then lifting it take a mirror and a knife, draw a line on the path at the end of the procession; do not look back but focus the eyes on the mirror and the knife which are in front. Then, on arriving at the cemetery, turn three times clockwise; before laying down the coffin, six poles should be planted and water filled in what is called the one thousand poles; keep a water pot and coconut at the end of the deathbed; when carrying the corpse in the funeral procession, the king should invite all his citizens and also the members of the clergy.¹⁸

The Pāli canon does not prescribe any rules regulating the funeral. “The Buddha” Walls (1975, 198) explains “prescribed no ceremonies for births, deaths, and marriages and apparently expected the laity to continue in the observance of such rites as were then in use.” The funeral procedures as described in *Ānissemisa Kammathān* can be also found in *Lokasamutti*. However, while *Lokasamutti* only sets the rules, *Ānissemisa Kammathān* provides their Dharmic interpretation. The elevated status of the Venerable Māhākālathera in *Ānissemisa Kammathān* thus might arguably serve the function of enhancing the authority of the norm and its interpretation.

17 As John Holt (1981, 19-20) has suggested, a monk is seen as the one best qualified to mediate offerings from the living to the dead because he himself is “dead” to the world and embraces a way of life aimed at transcending birth and death.

18 Nai Maung Toe, Mon Dhalae, and Mon Mhu 2014, 197. My translation.

5 *King Pasenadi Kosala*

While the status of arahant represents religious authority, King Pasenadi Kosala, provides its secular counterpart. Stanley J. Tambiah (2008) describes a structural parallel between the roles of Dharmarāja, the righteous king and the arahant in the context of Buddhist cosmology. Each of them constitutes an organizing force standing above the society, each of them is a pinnacle of power devoid of any needs. The former—the world conqueror—satisfies any possible need through his wealth and power, the latter—the world renouncer—is utterly detached from all worldly wants. The king’s acceptance of the funeral prescriptions from the arahant thus establishes their unrestricted binding force. The king is also a prominent figure throughout the Pāli canon known not only for his friendly relationship with the Buddha and the Sangha but also in his role of a questioner asking the Buddha about the meaning of sixteen unusual dreams (*Mahāsupina Jātaka*).¹⁹ In both Mon and Myanmar traditions, *Mahāsupina Jātaka* is well known and many temples in the rural and urban areas feature the paintings of these sixteen dreams. *Ānissamsa Kammathā* follows the canonical template, thus increasing its authority through schematic association.

6 *Khemāvati, the Maiden*

The *Ānissamsa Kammathān* also identifies the anonymous corpse of the young girl as Khemāvati. In Dhp-A, the maiden was represented only as *kuladhita*, meaning a good daughter. She was said to be very beautiful with a golden complexion: “The body of a young woman who had just died was brought to the cemetery: no sign of suffering had altered her features and the young woman was impeccably beautiful.” (Lagirarde 1998, 48).

In various traditions of the *Ānissamsa Kammathān* the young girl is called Khemā, Khemāvati, or Citta Kumārī. This is how she is described in *Ānisong Sā Sop* of Thai tradition:

19 See also the “Sixteen Dreams” (2005).

As the young noblewoman Khēmā was a most beautiful figure, all the young men were attracted (to her). The sons of the nobles desired her and the poor liked her exceedingly because this young lady had the most beautiful figure of anyone in the world. She thus created consternation among all the populace of the city (*Ānissong Sīa Sop*, lines 4-5).²⁰

What was gained by giving a name and character to an impersonal corpse?

The didactic references coming with the character are obvious. In Pāli literary tradition, Khemā Therī was an arahant, chief of the Buddha's women disciples, famous also for her exquisite beauty. Several royal figures of the same name appearing in the Jātaka stories are also identified as the Therī, described as exquisitely beautiful or playing a part in a story where beauty and lust are the gist of morale.²¹ The story of Khemā bhikkhuni in Therīgāthā says that while she was a laywoman, she was not only beautiful but she was also attached to her own looks and resisted visiting the Buddha, fearing that he would find fault in her beauty and preach on the ugliness and the vanity of sensual pleasure and beauty (Nyanaponika Thera and Hacker 2003, 265). However, when she came to the Bamboo Grove monastery (Veluvana monastery), knowing her thoughts by His psychic powers the Buddha created an image of an extremely beautiful girl perfect from every angle and let her watch the process of the decay of the body from youthfulness to the middle age, then to the old age with broken teeth, gray hair, and wrinkled skin; and finally, the created image fell to the ground and died (Nyanaponika Thera and Hacker 2003, 264). In order to admonish her the Buddha recited the following stanza:

Khemā, behold this mass of elements,
Diseased, impure, decaying;
Trickling all over and oozing,
It is desired only by fools.

(Nyanaponika Thera and Hacker 2003, 264).

Realizing the true nature of the body, Khemā renounced the world and became a *bhikkhuni*, a Buddhist nun. Khemā Theri was one of the two chief female disciples of the Buddha and she was the foremost in wisdom (*etdagga mahāpaññam*)

²⁰ According to Keyes, & Anusaranaśāsanākiarti, *Funerary rites and Buddhist Meanings of Death*, 10.

²¹ For Khemā Bhikkhuni, see <http://www.palikanon.com/english/pali_names/ku/khema.htm> (last retrieval on May, 20, 2017).

(Nyanaponika Thera and Hacker 2003, 263-266). Mural paintings depicting the above incident is a common occurrence in the monasteries across Myanmar. *Ānissemā Kammathān* intertwines the motives of *Mabākāla* story with the popular Jātaka references to reinforce the Buddhist theme of impermanence (*anicca*), the most prominent theme associated with the funeral rites.

7 *Dhammacitta/Dhammacittra*

The last two added characters are the Dhammacittra and Devi, the parents of Khemāvati. In both the *Ānissemā Kammathān* and the Pāli canon, Dhammacittra is portrayed as a wealthy person and an exemplary Buddhist. He was praised by the Buddha himself to his monks: “Should a devoted mother wish to encourage her beloved only son in a proper way, she may tell him: ‘Try to become like the householder Citta, my dear, and like the householder Hatthaka of Ālavi.’” (Nyanaponika Thera and Hacker 2003, 263-266). The spiritual and secular prestige of the character is reinforced by Dhammacittra’s acclaimed skills in teaching the *Dhamma*. Though there were three people who excelled in expounding the *Dhamma*, namely Bhikkhu Punna Mantāniputt, Bhikkhunī Dhammadinnā, and the householder Citta (Nyanaponika Thera and Hacker 2003, 365), it is only the last one that a section of the Thēravada canon, *Sammyutta Nikāya*, was named after: *Cittasamyutta* or Connected Discourses with Citta.²²

Though the local texts seek the authority through associating themselves with the canonical sources in the real life, they are not secondary to Buddhist normative tradition. Closer to believers than the elevated texts of the “great tradition”, they are authentic in their own rights. As Swearer (1989, 356) rightly notes, “The texts of folk Buddhism also reflect the ways in which the normative tradition has appropriated, adapted, and been transformed by indigenous folk religion.” All these changes exhibit (probably intended) didactic pragmatism. But these local texts also enliven the canonical tradition by bringing it within hand’s reach of the community where only they can be heard.

²² *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A translating of the Samyutta Nikaya*, 1315.

Conclusion

In conclusion, *Ānissemṣa Kammathān* is a folk Buddhist text on mortuary rites adapted to and communicating the message of the Pāli canonical literature. As we have seen, even though the canon offers no specific advice with regard to mortuary rites, this folk Mon text (and its equivalents across the mainland Southeast Asia) supplies the need and through skilful canonical framing bestows on the practices the normative authority. *Ānissemṣa Kammathān* thus provides Buddhist context to these indigenous funeral acts and serves as a didactic text to Mon Buddhists. Unlike other funeral texts, *Ānissemṣa Kammathān* excludes non-Buddhist concepts such as spirit, soul, and *viññan* from its narrative and in general emphasizes the fundamental aspects of the Dhamma. The text thus is not only a source of valuable information for the students of Mon Buddhism but, as Halliday emphasizes, a good reference for the student of religious studies in general.²³

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The Quest for Paradise: Nicholas Roerich's Oeuvre as a Crucible of Eastern and Western Aesthetics

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Abstract The symbolist painter Nikolai Roerich tried to create a personal style combining Eastern and Western cultural traits and aesthetics, understood in an idealistic and utopian way. A journey through Asia was crucial for the process of building the artist's visual language and symbolic code, thus giving his style its most recognizable form. Although the expedition had scientific, anthropologic, and artistic purposes, the esoteric interests of Roerich and his wife meant that it also had an occultist aim: a spiritualist agenda influenced by theosophy and manifold Buddhist concepts, figures and myths; such as Maitreya and Shambhala.

Keywords Nikolai Roerich (1874–1947), symbolism, theosophy, enigmatic image, Shambhala

Introduction

This paper deals with one of the most innovative and accomplished aspects of the style of the Russian painter Nicholas Roerich: fusion between characteristics that can be interpreted through the prism of Western (symbolism, emblematic images), Eastern, and genuinely Russian (several specific spiritual notions) aesthetics, i.e. from the perspective of the art of the icon. Naturally an emphasis is laid on general aesthetics, since many of the characteristics of art that we regard as Eastern can also be observed in artists or periods of Western art (and vice versa), albeit with varying degrees in different cultures. As the object of the study is Roerich's oeuvre, the accent is put on the creation of an imaginary in which the aesthetic traditions of Europe, Russia, and India mingle.

This paper is divided into three sections. The first section expounds the reasons why it can be claimed that the Eastern and Western artistic and religious traditions converge in the work of the Russian painter. The second section discusses the part of Roerich's life when he was able to assimilate directly the baggage of various Eastern cultures in situ during his two expeditions, especially the first one, to a number of Asian countries. And, finally, the occultist goal of those expeditions is examined in the third section.

Accordingly, this study has drawn from a number of primary sources such as some of Roerich's own writings, and secondary sources, such as Andreyev, Decter and Stasulane, in addition to others of a broader scope including Tibetan art and culture and other related subjects. As to visual material, some Roerich's paintings, together with pictures of his expeditions, have been used.

Paintings, such as *On the Heights (Tummo)*, which embody the singularities of Roerich's style, and the features discussed in the following pages, shape a mysterious image with strong mythical connotations¹ that can be established in various spiritual traditions. The artist's majestic landscapes and persuasive and hypnotic use of blue can be understood as emblems of his universe.



Plate 1

N. Roerich, On the Heights (Tummo), 1936. Public domain.

¹ On Hermetism and enigmatic images, see Ferrer Ventosa 2018, 315.

I *On Nikolai Roerich: Vital and Stylistic Considerations*

Some of the traits that identify Roerich, such as the union of the artistic traditions of the East and the West, so characteristic of his work, as well as his interest in spirituality, can be traced back to his childhood. As a young boy, the future artist spent his summers and Christmas holidays in a country house that his father had purchased 50 miles away from St Petersburg. Its former owner had called the mansion “Ishvara” because it had once belonged to Count Vorontsev, minister to the tsars, who as a result of his travels through India had chosen a Sanskrit name for the property.

Ishvara is the particular divinity of the yogis and, more specifically, a manifestation of the divine unity that guides them. It can be assumed that Roerich did not know this as a child, only learning about it in adulthood. This divinity can be called *kuladeva* (Casey et al. 2003, 74) or *ishtadevata*, the latter being essential for obtaining the knowledge necessary to be saved according to the tantra. This is transmitted by the guru, together with other elements such as the mantra (an incantation or special recitation) and the drawing of a diagram. In the Hindu tantra, this diagram is known as yantra, while in the Buddhist tantra it is called mandala.²

Furthermore, there was a painting of a snow-capped peak, which he would later identify as Kanchenjunga, hanging on the wall of the mansion’s main hall. Another aspect that left its mark on Roerich’s particular style is that his grandfather had a collection of Masonic symbols that he would sometimes show him (Decter 1997, 4).³

Apparently, Hindu spirituality would have an even greater influence on him after his marriage to Helena Roerich,⁴ who had studied the Vedantic tradition, the

2 Mandala, as a Sanskrit noun meaning circle, is used in Buddhist artistic motifs to symbolize the essence of a sacred space, a matrix or model of a perfected universe. Usually these geometrical figures consist of an inner circle enclosing a god, the main deity of this mandala, surrounded by other deities, bodhisattvas, Buddhas, lamas, etc., each serving as a specific power and a multilevel square palace, placed in a circle, again surrounded by figures (Leidy 1997, 17).

3 For the importance of symbolism in Freemasonry, see Ferrer Ventosa 2018.

4 In point of fact, Andreyev considers Helena’s spiritual experiences of “divine” headaches as a crucial contribution to Agni yoga, the kind promoted by the couple (Andreyev 2014, 447 ff.).

Bhagavad Gita and other classical texts. At the end of the century, the main texts of the Sanatan Dharma (which is how the Hindus generally refer to their own spiritual traditions) were translated into Russian. The couple admired the writings of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, the re-drafters and revitalizers of the Vedanta, and also held Tagore in high esteem.



Plate 2

Helena and Nikolai Roerich, expedition in Asia, Ladakh, 1925. Courtesy of the Saint-Petersburg state Roerich family Museum and Institute.

On 26 October 1917, Roerich wrote in his diary, “I bow to the ground to the teachers of India. They have brought true creativity and spiritual joy and a fruitful silence into the chaos of our life. At a time of extreme need they have sent us a call. A serene, earnest, wise call.” (Decter 1997, 79). Only someone who truly values Vedantic culture could have written those words. As the couple were interested in Indian spirituality, they participated in one of the projects promoted by a group of Indologists in St Petersburg: the construction of a Buddhist temple in the imperial city, work on which began in 1909.

Another aspect of Indian, Tibetan and, to a lesser extent, Eastern cultures that influenced the couple was the Theosophical Movement, which was in full swing during the first decades of the twentieth century and the society of which was presided by Annie Besant (Santucci 2005, 1120-1122).⁵ Indian culture had such powerful influence on Theosophy that, after the Theosophical Society's split into two groups, one established itself in Adyar (India) and the other in Pasadena. Helena Roerich translated Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine*, the author's most outstanding work, into Russian (Stasulane 2005, 31). Reciprocally, the Theosophical Movement was very important in the international promotion of Roerich oeuvre.

However, not only was he interested in the spirituality of the Indian subcontinent or Tibet but also in everything to do with the nomadic expeditions to Central Asia that his parents' friends had told him about (Decter 1997, 43). This would be an important factor in his decision to propose his famous expedition to the "Heart of Asia", as he called his artistic, spiritual, anthropological, and scientific project.

After training as a painter in Paris for a while, a period that allowed him to learn more about French Symbolism (particularly Puvis de Chavannes and Gauguin), he returned to Russia where he became the director of an art school. With Marc Chagall among its alumni, it was a very important institution because of its admission and scholarship policy, which allowed both the rich and the poor, like Chagall himself, to study there, even though he would criticize Roerich some years later (Decter 1997, 44).

The school's aim was to show and teach subjacent unity in all art forms (Decter 1997, 88-89). The unity of the arts is one of the main characteristics of aesthetic theory in India. The *Shastras*, classical Hindu texts that serve as iconography manuals, reflect this (Ahuja 2003, 17-18). A dialogue between the sage Markandeya and King Vajra, contained in one of the *Puranas*—the *Vishnudarmottara Purana*—focuses on this interdependence. As the king wants to learn how to create icons, he asks the sage to accept him as his disciple. To which the sage replies that he must first learn to paint. The king then asks him to teach him how to paint, to which the sage replies that he first needs to learn how to

5 The Roerichs were members of the Russian branch of the Theosophical Society (Boyd 2012, 260; Stasulane 2005, 23 ff.)

dance. The king obviously wants to learn to dance. The conversation continues in the same vein, with further prerequisites such as learning to play musical instruments and to sing, insofar as all of these arts are necessary in order to learn to create icons (Ahuja 2003, 28 n. 15).

However, Roerich not only wanted to unite the arts but also to return to a state of knowledge in which philosophy, literature, arts, ethnology, and science were contemplated from a unitary perspective. Thus, his expedition through Asia was not only artistic but also scientific and spiritual. He even extended that wish to existence itself, claiming that it was necessary to explain the inner unity of the world (Roerich 1930a, 164).⁶

Roerich can be regarded as an active member of Pansophism (as the Hermetists, Rosicrusians, Neoplatonists, etc., called it during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). The Pansophists wanted to synthesize all the areas of knowledge and to discover that knowledge inherent to nature (Ormsby-Lennon 1988, 335).⁷ As seen above, that was one of the painter's main goals both as an art school director and a painter.

6 For further information on the crucial role of the concept of unity in Roerich's worldview, see Anita Stasulane 2005, 174-189.

7 According to Wouter Hanegraaff, the historian Peuckert recovered this term, putting it back into circulation for modern historiography in the first half of the twentieth century (Hanegraaff 2012, 316).

He was not only a Pansophist because of his quest for a new unity of the arts and knowledge, but also because he followed, in a fashion, the idea of the Perennial Philosophy, a sort of knowledge to be found in the origins of mankind that has never been lost. For the proponents of this theory, the eternal knowledge coexists with an ever-changing kind. Moreover, for Roerich history was cyclic.

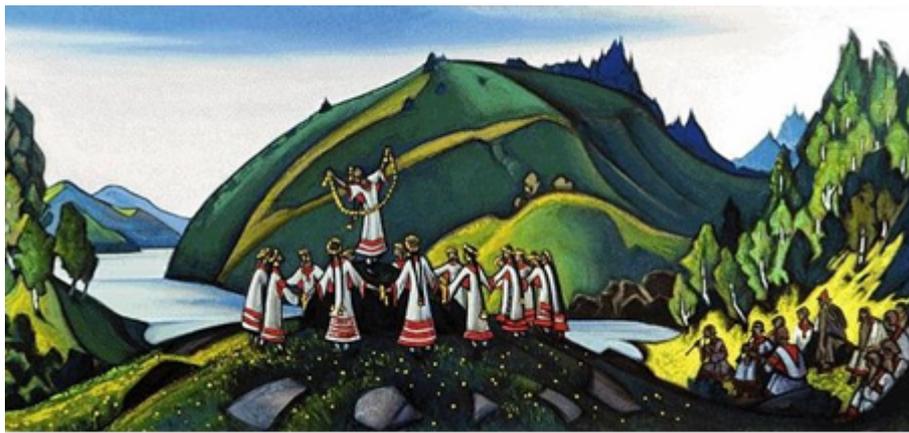


Plate 3

N. Roerich, The Rite of Spring, 1945. Public domain.

Roerich also greatly admired the time before civilization, understanding this civilization as empires, laws, disconnection from the cosmos, etc. In this regard, he was attracted by an imaginary of an ancient time of shamans and their communion with nature, with a sense of mystical participation.⁸ Those mythical times (and times of myths) were characterized by their monism, union between the subject and the object, and harmony between humans and the whole.⁹ Indeed, many Symbolists shared these ideas. Roerich drunk from the stylistic wellspring of Russian Symbolism; initially, he was very interested in age-old

8 Victor Turner, an anthropologist specializing in symbolism, pondered on the flowing and mystical feeling that rituals give human being (Turner 1982, 55-59). The feeling of mystical participation in rituals is crucial for the myth and the symbol, according to the religious philosopher Raimon Panikkar (2009, 310).

9 Those original cultures played with pairs of opposites (Bataille 2013, 42).

environments, before the dawn of civilization. However, in his works he usually included iconographic elements reminiscent of India, such as paintings or scenographies with a male character playing the flute. An example of this is his use of iconographic motifs that recall those pertaining to Krishna in India. Indian cultures usually represent Krishna in blue, a cold colour associated with remoteness, like that of the sky, caused by one of the laws of light and colour. In some theories, blue is also related to the dream world.

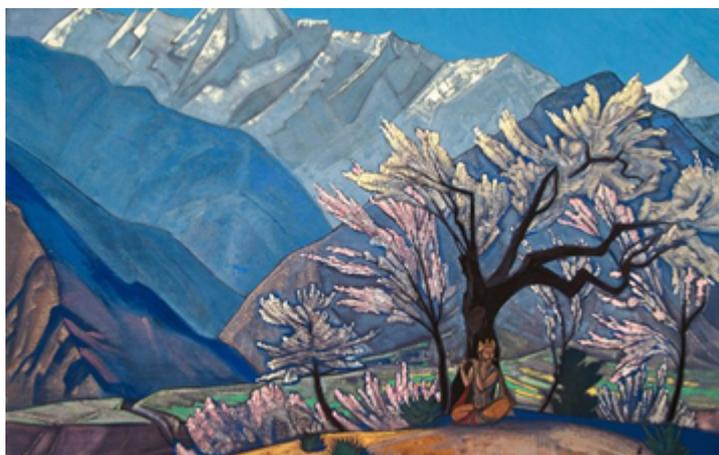


Plate 4

N. Roerich, Krishna. Spring in Kulu, 1930. Public domain.

Roerich insisted on this union of the Slavic and the Indian: the theory that he defended claimed that both cultures were related, insofar as he believed that they shared the same origin. But in order to substantiate this, he needed to study Indian customs and artworks in situ (Decter 1997, 75). His son George deployed similar arguments, as will be seen further on.

His work as a school director caught the attention of the royal family; nevertheless, he was not persecuted at the beginning of the revolution. He sat with Mayakovsky, Gorky, and other artists on a committee for protecting the arts (Stasulane 2005, 28-29; Decter 1997, 78). Nonetheless, the complicated political situation, with its revolutionaries and reactionaries, and the fact that the weather in St Petersburg had exacerbated an illness that he been suffering for a time,

convinced him to catch one of the last trains that was permitted to leave Russia (Decter 1997, 78).

Roerich suffered a number of hardships both then and later on. The spiritual and yogic context of his worldview does not necessarily mean that he shied away from depicting the cruder aspects of life. As a matter of fact, not all of his oeuvre has to do with yoga or Tibetan Buddhism; i.e. a relaxed state of mind, serenity, and the ataraxic indifference of the enlightened. For even Indian and Tibetan spiritual art includes motifs far-removed from its topical serenity.

Both in Indian and Tibetan sacred art and in Roerich's oeuvre, there are representations of demons or the major cosmic imperfections to which human beings are shackled. According to Buddhism, these defects derive from the five main causes of human misery: anger, envy, greed, pride, and ignorance. Notwithstanding this, there are gods or divine manifestations that look terrifying: it is the raging facet of the gods. They have an apotropaic function: they protect us and help us to overcome our limitations stemming from ignorance and the five causes of cosmic suffering. They fight these imperfections to the death, inasmuch as they hinder the path to enlightenment. These representations can also embody the inner afflictions that keep one from illumination (Casey 2003, 34-35).

One of the classical motifs employed to represent this idea is Mahakala, clearly linked to Hindu culture. "Maha" means "big" and "Kala" is associated with time. He is apparently a masculine version of the Hindu goddess Kali, with common iconographic elements such as the necklace with skulls or severed heads. Time that devours everything, but a yogi can make it work in favor of enlightenment. Another motif is Yamantaka, a manifestation of the bodhisattva of wisdom (Manjushri). He transmits the energy, courage, and wisdom that derive from overcoming the fear of death (Casey & Weldon, 2003, 150).

As already noted, what is of special interest here is Roerich's creation of an imaginary, pooling aspects from the aesthetic traditions of Europe, Russia, and India. Nevertheless, his journey through Asia was not the first time that he had created an imaginary of the places that he had visited; for example, he had already done just that in the United States. After leaving the Soviet Union, he visited different countries, albeit spending most of his time in the United States, which would be crucial for him to organize his two expeditions to Asia.

The country's vast natural spaces would serve as a stage for his mysterious images. The painter's peculiar combination of very different strata is exemplified

in the paintings that he produced in the United States, such as *Force*, a landscape of the Maine coast, and *The Miracle*, depicting a landmark that everyone will recognize thanks to western films, the Grand Canyon. Roerich had already created imaginaries using physical spaces inspired by reality in both Russia and the United States. It was precisely during that stay that he became a minor celebrity. For instance, H. P. Lovecraft found out about him and his style and consequently used the latter to describe some of the scenes in *At the Mountains of Madness*.

At the end of his sojourn in the United States, marked by the good political and economic relationships that he had struck up there (Boyd 2012, 261 ff), there emerged a debate that is still going strong today. As is often the case, he had both advocates and detractors. Some people saw him as a fraudster who took advantage of people's naivety, only telling them what they wanted to hear (peace, concord, and harmony) in order to squeeze money out of them, in the manner of the stereotype of the charlatan guru so popular in the West.¹⁰

On the other hand, many people still believed that he had great intuition and spiritual talent; a creator in a sense that he were a romantic genius. His spiritual vision not only won him the benevolence of some and the status of a guru but also fierce criticism towards his art. He was accused of being a fraud, a cross that spiritual people have had to bear since modernity.

To conclude this first part, in which Roerich's aesthetics and some key aspects of his life have been discussed, the time has now come to focus on the mythical or sacred images so common in the painter's oeuvre. When seen from an aesthetic perspective, it should be recalled that they had a sacred function, as with the temples built by communities or the shrines found in every house, dedicated to family rituals and meditation.

The vision of sacred images is established as a way of drawing parallels between the divine, on the one hand, and Hindu and Tibetan Buddhists, on the other, since the latter receive the energy of whatever is represented in the image by contemplating it. The deity offers them his *darshan*, being seen by them while seeing them. Diana L. Eck understands Hinduism as an imaginative religious tradition, in a sense of a creator of images of the sacred that is embodied in the

10 Allegations that escalated after the Roerichs were sued for tax fraud in the United States in the 1930s, after the conclusion of the two Asian expeditions (Andreyev 2014, 416-417).

visible. Furthermore, seeing and touching are equivalent activities in traditional Hinduism. So, for a believer, being seen by a deity is equivalent to being seen and touched by him (and therefore being given energy by him) (Eck 1998, 19 ff).

The highly emblematic image should contain something strange, unfamiliar, uncanny, and extravagant, as the authors of rhetoric advised, in order that it should attract the attention of the recipient and remain in his memory, the so-called “*imagines agentes*” in the Latin treatises. Frances Yates defined them as “human figures of a striking and unusual character and in striking dramatic situations” (Yates 1984, 13). Therefore, it is important not to forget the strong mnemonic orientation of images. The goal is to propose an enigmatic image.¹¹

2 *The Great Journey*

The second part of this paper will focus on the part of Roerich’s career that enabled him to investigate in situ the Indian and Central Asian cultures to which he was so attracted. He completely integrated this cultural baggage in his production combining his own symbolist legacy with a mysterious atmosphere, the defining trait of his style.

11 This had already been the case with some Renaissance artists and their tendency to create hieroglyphic images, influenced by the Hermetic and Neoplatonic schools and by the emblematic visual production at the time (Ferrer Ventosa 2018).

On his first expedition, he travelled to India, Tibet, China, Turkestan, the Soviet Union, Mongolia, and then back to Tibet and India again, this time to explore the eastern regions of both countries. The expedition was funded by the Master Institute and Corona Mundi and organized under the US flag, rather than the Soviet Union's, since Roerich was a nobleman who, as already observed, had fled the country once the revolution had begun to take an increasingly more totalitarian turn.¹²



Plate 5

Roerich under the US flag. Courtesy of the Saint-Petersburg state Roerich family Museum and Institute.

As already noted, Roerich was fascinated by Eastern cultures. The expedition was both artistic and scientific, with the artist not only painting landscapes and buildings but also samples of plants, minerals, seeds, apparel, ornaments, etc.

¹² Whether or not Roerich offered to monitor British movements in Asia, if his expedition received Soviet support is a moot point (Znamenski 2011, 95-96).

Besides this, he also filmed what he saw and experienced in order to document his journey. Despite the ethnological, cultural, and religious research, he pursued his artistic aspirations in his quest to gain a better understanding of other traditions, while producing works inspired by what he saw.



Plate 6

Asian expedition with scientific goals. Courtesy of the Saint-Petersburg state Roerich family Museum and Institute.

Nevertheless, cultural and scientific concerns were not relegated to second place. Roerich loved outdoor life and was keen to learn more about the caravans and expeditions that had passed through those territories, since this was essential to improving his understanding of biology and anthropology. He was even more interested in whether they had the courage to cross the Himalayas and the Gobi Desert twice, among other areas. The Himalayas were so crucial because they were of a unique cultural and spiritual interest to him, as he himself wrote:

Himalayas! Here is the Abode of Rishis. Here resounded the sacred Flute of Krishna. Here thundered the Blessed Gautama Buddha. Here originated all Vedas. Here lived Pandavas. Here—Gesar Khan. Here—Aryavarta. Here is Shambhala. Himalayas—Jewel of India. Himalayas—Treasure of the World. Himalayas—the sacred Symbol of Ascent (Decter 1997, 160).

The expedition, which lasted from 1925 to 1928, started in the southern foothills of the Western Himalayas, in an area that now forms part of India or Pakistan, before moving off in a northerly direction. After reaching Soviet territory, it then headed east, towards the Pacific, before ending in southern India.

The route took the caravan through Srinagar, in Kashmir, where bandits attacked its members, resulting in seven of them being shot and wounded (Decter 1997, 123). The group then headed north to Leh, in Ladakh, where they stayed for two months, hosted by the vizier. Following this, they continued to head north towards Xinjiang, in China. On the way, they passed through the Karakorum. Roerich describes this part of the journey in *Heart of Asia*, noting that due to the majesty of the landscape all of the expedition members forgot their differences:

People stop their disputes, all differences disappear, and all, without exception, sense the beauty of these no-man's heights. On the way, we encountered touching caravan traditions. Often we saw bales of goods, left behind, unguarded, by unknown owners. Perhaps the animals fell or became too fatigued to carry the goods, which were left for another occasion. And nobody would touch this property. Nobody would dare to transgress the ethic of the caravan (Roerich 1930a, 32).

Roerich did not paint the highest and most abrupt peaks due to the cold, but later on he used his experiences to paint from memory (Decter 1997, 125). Throughout the Himalayan stage, he experienced strange electric phenomena, with bluish lights and beams of light appearing close to his head. Vajrayana Buddhism is the main type in Tibet. Unlike the Hinayana and the Mahayana branches, it is characterized by the influence of the tantra and a yogic use of physical energies for spiritual gain. In Sanskrit, *Vajra* not only means “diamond”, but also “beam”. In Khotan, Roerich had a brush with the Chinese authorities who, when seeing his sketches, feared that he might be engaged in espionage. All of the expedition members were detained there for several months, waiting for the authorities to release them. They even tried to escape, which just made matters worse.

Once they were permitted to leave Khotan, it took them more than two months to cross the steppes and deserts separating them from Urumqi, their next stop. They even stumbled across a slave market. Shortly afterwards, as they were

in the Soviet Union, they travelled to Moscow to meet with the Communist authorities.¹³

On their return, they mostly stayed in the Altai Mountains to perform ethnological, botanic, and other scientific research. They travelled to Mongolia and then spent 21 days driving through the Gobi Desert. During that journey, they only came across one caravan, which promptly opened fired on them. Roerich's group did not rise to the bait, so there was no further trouble. Shortly after this episode, a number of tribal groups ambushed them in a gorge in the Tanglha Mountains and almost got the better of them.



Plate 7

Asian expedition armed with weapons for protection. Courtesy of the Saint-Petersburg state Roerich family Museum and Institute.

13 Roerich never lost touch with Russia. During his entire career, he produced works relating to Russian traditions, especially during the Second World War, when he painted what could even be considered as patriotic works, like *The Partisans* (1943). During those difficult years, he created the American-Russian Cultural Association, with the aim of fostering relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, receiving support from Ernest Hemingway and Charles Chaplin.

Leaving the Gobi Desert behind them, they reached Tibet, where they yet again encountered authorities who were suspicious of their intentions. They had to stay there for five months during the harsh winter, a situation that they had not planned for, insofar as their intention had been to winter in a region with a milder climate. Of their 102 pack animals, 92 died of cold or hunger. Moreover, five members of the expedition also perished. Even Roerich's wife nearly suffered the same fate. To these hardships should be added altitude-related disorders such as hemorrhages, headaches, exhaustion, and even heart attacks. Roerich himself suffered sight problems, seeing double for some days.

One of the curious details in Roerich's account of the expedition is his criticism of the situation in Tibet. His book was published in the late 1920s when the Chinese still had not subjugated Tibet. In 1950, right after one of the largest earthquakes ever recorded, the Chinese government established a puppet government in the country.

According to Roerich, Tibet had many shortcomings and its prospects looked bleak. In addition to the fact that many temples and stupas had been abandoned, he wrote about the mechanical repetition of prayers, corruption, and the delays caused by red tape. One significant detail in his account had to do with the treatment of animals. As in most religions in India's area of influence, the slaughter of animals was strictly prohibited, especially in monasteries. Even so, in Tibet the consumption of meat was allowed if the animal had died of natural causes. As reported by Roerich, some monks left yaks and other animals next to gullies in the hope that they would plunge to their deaths (Roerich 1930a, 80 ff.). A lama, in a wisdom parable penned by Roerich, criticizes his fellow monks, "Many lamas wear the lamaistic garment, but their inner life is far worse than that of a layman." (Roerich 1930b, 24).

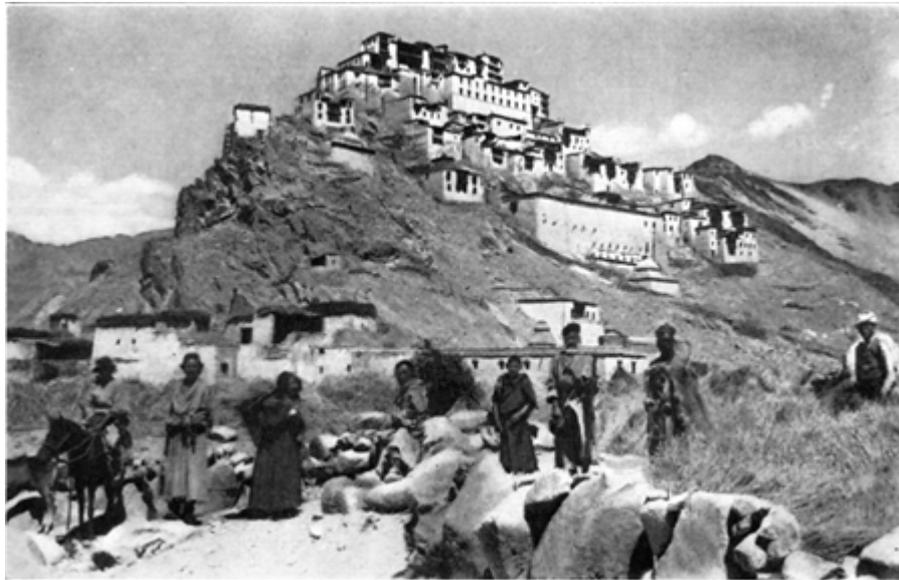


Plate 8

Tibet. Courtesy of the Saint-Petersburg state Roerich family Museum and Institute.

Nonetheless, Roerich concludes, “The temporary obscurity will disappear, and those who once knew how to build eagle nests on the summits will again remember the glorious days of bygone Tibet and will find a solution for them in the present.” (Roerich 1930a, 91) However, Robert A. F. Thurman, a specialist in Tibetan culture, expounds on Roerich’s views and talks about the 13th Dalai Lama (the present incumbent is the 15th) in kinder terms. Thurman claims that he worked hard to modernize his people, learning about geopolitics from the great empires surrounding Tibet such as Great Britain, which back then was still an imperial power in India, Russia and, needless to say, China (Thurman 1991, 30-32).¹⁴

Roerich reaffirmed his own idea of the connections between the Indian, Tibetan, and Slavic cultures. George Roerich, the painter’s son and a specialist in both India

¹⁴ As regards this aspect of geopolitics and Roerich, J. G. Boyd offers an overview of the geopolitical situation in Asia in the 1930s, linking it to the painter’s second expedition to the continent (Boyd 2012).

and Tibet, stated that many parallels could be drawn between the way in which Tibetan artists and Russian icon painters produced their works. He even went so far as to say, “It seems that the Russian *ikon* art and the Tibetan pictorial art derive their methods of work from a common source.” (Roerich 1997, 19-20). For George Roerich, those similarities included the division of labor between the designer of the work and the painter. Namely, the design followed pre-established standards such as starting with the main figures, and then painting in the background. Another standard involved covering the wood surface with a mixture of chalk and glue. He also found similarities in the iconographic elements of the representation of the sacred.

Tibetan icons, like their Russian counterparts and art in general, transmit the living presence of Buddha (Thurman 1991, 36-38).¹⁵ George Roerich followed the family tradition of studying Eastern cultures; he learnt various languages, specializing in Sanskrit, while also studying Pali, Chinese, Mongolian, Persian, and Tibetan (Decter 1997, 91). This knowledge was very useful during their expedition to the heart of Asia. George became a global authority on the region’s cultures and scholars still quote from his books. On the other hand, Roerich’s second son, Svetoslav, learnt from his father and worked as a painter in India for many decades.

3 *Shambhala as the Journey’s Spiritual Goal*

This last section will deal with the spiritual aim of this journey. Although the Roerichs had established a number of scientific and cultural objectives for the Asian expedition, as noted above, they had a more specific and spiritual goal: they were looking for Shambhala, a mythical place for some of the branches of Buddhism. They wished to find that mythical Tibetan Buddhist kingdom, a

15 Hans Belting offers a number of insights into Christian icons as archetypes. Icons could bestow grace [*charis*] and miraculous power [*dynamis*] (Belting 1994, 511-513). From a Neoplatonic stance, the visible image would link the mind of the believer to the invisible archetype, although there were some astonishing examples with an even stronger material relationship, such as the Veil of Veronica with Jesus’ face miraculously impressed upon it.

purported spiritual center of the world. One of the greatest Buddhist myths is the existence of that place in the Himalayas, as some sort of heaven on earth.

We will return to Shambhala later on. Meanwhile, some background information may help to gain further insights into the Roerichs' motivation. Among the hundreds of paintings by Nicholas Roerich, the series *Banners of the East* denote a spiritual mindset that unites the East and the West. He produced this series while making preparations for the expedition. These paintings include scenes depicting important spiritual figures such as Lao-Tse, Buddha, Jesus Christ, etc. Curiously enough, the only portrait of a woman is *Mother of the World*.

The idea of a series representing some of the major figures of global spirituality was part of Roerich's Theosophical baggage because this was one of the defining traits of Theosophy. In contrast to monotheist religions for which the figures of other religions are, in the main, regarded as heretics or false prophets, Theosophy considers them to be manifestations of the divinity adapted to different cultures and characters.

One of the works of that series portrays Milarepa, a Buddhist saint with paranormal abilities. In Tibetan art, he is portrayed with his right hand against his ear, a classical motif figuring in several thangkas,¹⁶ mandalas, and similar works. There are several contradictory explanations for this gesture. For some, it indicates the action of listening to songs praising his accomplishments, while others believe that he is listening to nature's voice and that it refers to the use of esoteric doctrines that the master transmits orally to his disciple (Leonov 1991, 240).

16 Paintings on cotton with Buddhist iconographic motifs. Roerich's son, George, an expert in Tibetan cultures, considers the Tibetan flag type as "the most characteristic production of Tibetan pictorial art" (Roerich 1997, 17).



Plate 9

N. Roerich, Milarepa, The One Who Harkened, 1925. Public domain.

There is an initiatory dialogue written by Roerich that takes place between a lama and somebody who is supposed to be himself. In other words, there is someone who has knowledge and someone that wants to know, a typical narrative structure in wisdom stories from different cultures. In the dialogue, the lama talks to the other person about Milarepa, saying that he, “without any apparati, could hear all the supreme voices” (Roerich 1930b, 23). Milarepa was a master of the Karma Kagyu, one of the main schools of Tibetan Buddhism.¹⁷

Maitreya stands out as another of the great spiritual figures appearing in Roerich’s paintings. He is related to the goal of the Asian expedition. He is a bodhisattva¹⁸

¹⁷ Snellgrove divides Tibetan Buddhism in three main groups: first, those orders that emphasize monastic discipline; secondly, those orders whose origins are related to lineages connecting with Indian tantric masters of late Indian Buddhism (the Kagyu school, among others); and lastly, those orders relating to the initial spread of Buddhism in Tibet (the Old Order and the Bon-po) (Snellgrove 1987, 488-489).

¹⁸ Bodhisattva means hero (*sattva*) of the enlightenment (*bodhi*) or enlightened existence (Rhie &

who is expected to come to earth. His name means “the Loving One” (Waddell 1991, 122). When the time comes, he will come down from the Tushita heaven in order to embody a new Buddha. When the new era begins, Maitreya will rule the world, a Buddhist idea that also appears in Blavatsky’s Theosophical writings.

Maitreya is linked to the idea of a divine embodiment that will hail the age of truth on earth. That same desire is to be found in many religions: the Jewish Messiah, the Second Coming of Christ, the Hindu Kalki, the Altay and their sacred Oyrot, and the Muslim Mahdi. Maitreya is a common figure in Buddhist iconography. For example, he is most famously portrayed in a sculpture produced at the end of the sixteenth century, housed in the monastery of Narthing Tsang. In any case, it is one of the main iconographic motifs of Tibetan Buddhism. On his journey, Roerich even came across works with Buddhist iconography carved in stone.

Thurman 1991, 120). Despite their level of evolution, these magical beings decide not to go to the definitive nirvana, staying instead in our dimension in order to help human beings in their spiritual progress; they help to free them. Thus, they can physically incarnate themselves in Buddhas (Casey, Parmeshwar Ahuja & Weldon 2003, 56).



Plate 10

Buddhist art carved in stone. Courtesy of the Saint-Petersburg state Roerich family Museum and Institute.

Maitreya's most common iconographic motif shows him making a mudra—a spiritual gesture in Buddhism—with the fingers of his left hand. Indian and Tibetan artwork is aesthetically very complex. Every gesture, including facial expressions, has a meaning. As to the possible four, six, or even more arms, they usually indicate some of the attributes of the deity. In Roerich's paintings of Maitreya, only one of the hands can be seen, so there is no way of knowing whether he is making the mudra of discussion or the mudra of turning the wheel of the Dharma, or teaching.

In traditional Tibetan art, Maitreya usually appears in an iconographic group, along with the painting's central character, supporting him with another bodhisattva, Avalokiteshvara. The main character is sometimes Buddha, occupying a central position (Shakyamuni himself) and sometimes a saint or lama. Additionally, there are usually two bodhisattvas: Avalokiteshvara (the Buddha of compassion, usually represented in white) and Maitreya (the later Buddha, the one

of the future).¹⁹ In one of the examples of this iconographic motif, the historical Buddha, Shakyamuni, is sitting in the lotus or vajrasana position. He is making a mudra and pointing to the earth in a gesture of calling it as a witness, with Avalokiteshvara and Maitreya flanking him.



Plate II

Anonymous, Buddha Shakyamuni, Avalokiteshvara and Maitreya,
c. 1100.

Avalokiteshvara appears in many Tibetan artworks because he promised to help people to attain enlightenment, given the violence and savagery surrounding them. In fact, the Dalai Lama himself is seen as a physical embodiment of Avalokiteshvara. However, there are other bodhisattvas apart from those two, such as Manjushri (the wise one, who promised to help the Chinese, since they were far from India and, therefore, not fortunate enough to have seen Buddha) or Tara (Thurman 1991, 33-34).

¹⁹ Maitreya is mostly represented in gold or yellow (Pratapaditya Pal 2003, 150, 174, 184, 203).

As already observed above, the main reason why Roerich embarked on that expedition through Asia was that he wanted to learn as much as he could about Shambhala (otherwise known as Kalapa in Sanskrit, the language of Vedantic India). He attempted to reach the mythical city and the even more mythical Mahatmas²⁰. The most important Buddhist treaty touching on this theme is the *Tantra Kalachakra*. Shambhala is a polar earth that is so pure that all of its inhabitants have become bodhisattvas who, in turn, are incarnated on earth, whenever required. They work towards global peace and a government that unifies all nations on earth, but that is decentralized as regards power. At the end of this cycle (according to some versions of the myth, in about three centuries (Thurman 1991, 32-34), they will bring wisdom and compassion to fight ignorance and violence.

The location of Shambhala is unclear: each treatise places it in a different part of Central Asia and only when the symbolic language allows for this (Roerich 1930a, 158 ff.).²¹ So, more often than not, it is merely an ethereal realm. In the aforementioned initiatory dialogue written by Roerich, the lama employs symbolic language to indicate that there is a celestial Shambhala in the north: “Great Shambhala is far beyond the ocean. It is the mighty heavenly domain. It has nothing to do with our earth.” (Roerich 1930b, 17). Nevertheless, this mythical place is connected to a place on earth (Roerich 1930b, 17 ff.).

20 About the Mahatmas, see Anita Stasulane (2005, 29 ff). In Sanskrit and Indian, it means “great soul”, a term used to refer to the highly spiritually evolved, like Gandhi; it is not at all clear whether those spiritual teachers have an actual physical presence or are only ethereal.

21 For instance, Thurman, who also refers to this myth essential to Tibetan Buddhism, places it in the polar regions, as with other authors (Thurman 1991, 32).



Plate 12

*Roerich and the thangka of Shambhala. Courtesy of the Saint-Petersburg state
Roerich family Museum and Institute.*

Shambhala was so crucial to the painter that he travelled not only under the US flag but also under another one bearing a thangka of Shambhala. Rigden Djappo—another name for Maitreya—lives in Shambhala. As the messianic times approach, during which there will be a change of era, he will fight and defeat the forces of evil in a period that can be called “Messiah time”, to show the links to other religions.

As already noted, Theosophy had a huge impact on Roerich and his wife. It was essential to the idea of Shambhala and Maitreya, not because they could not be found in Tibet or India (they could), but because they helped to disseminate it in the West. Theosophy was the first Western esoteric current to use the notion of Maitreya, the Liberator, in Europe and America, at least on a massive scale.²²

²² As Partridge claims, the idea of Shambhala “provided the seedbed for a central doctrine of

Besides, Roerich believed that it gave all religions an inner mystical meaning (LePage 1996, 38) and religious unity (and unity per se) was an idea central to both Theosophy and the painter, as emphasized above.

In *Burning of Darkness* (1924), Roerich illustrates this imaginary. A new worldview is about to come down from the mountains to be disseminated among the nations of the world: a group of initiates from Shambhala leaves the mountains to bring their light. There is also the representation of a spiritual fellowship that descends with the light or the sacred fire, a clearly Zoroastrian idea but also typical of Roerich and his Agni yoga, the deity of fire and a common belief in various religions. In point of fact, it is one of the favorite topics of the Buddhist Transhimalayan Asia that Roerich was travelling for: the great souls from Shambhala leave their mythical place to help people (Roerich 1930b, 28 ff). This messianic idea, which formed the core of their thought, stood out as the ultimate goal of his journey, while also appearing in his works at the time.



Plate 13

N. Roerich, Burning of Darkness, 1924. Public domain.

4 Conclusion

It should be noted that Roerich returned to Asia in 1934, a few years after the first expedition, but this time he only visited China and Mongolia. The second expedition was proposed by the US Department of Agriculture.²³ Moreover, he spent the last decades of his life in India, together with his wife and Svetoslav (his painter son). His other son, George, the specialist in Asian cultures, returned to the Soviet Union for a short while, where he unfortunately died of a heart attack. In conclusion, this paper has analyzed some of the characteristics of Roerich's style and mindset, before offering a brief account of the Asian expedition that gave him the chance to become more familiar with the region's artistic and cultural history and to pursue his ultimate goal: the quest for Shambhala.

²³ As mentioned above, in his paper J. G. Boyd offers an overview of the geopolitical situation in Asia in the 1930s, together with the implications of this second expedition (Boyd 2012).

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Transplantation in Contemporary Iran: A Religious-legal Perspective

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Abstract The study provides a detailed overview of the issue of transplantation from the perspective of Iran's highest Shi'ite clerics (ar. *marāji' al-taqlīd*). First, basic religious and jurisprudential arguments for and against transplantation are clarified, i.e. ownership of the human body, protection of human life, inviolability of the human body and ritual impurity of a dead body. Solutions to the conflict between them are also discussed. Then, the text introduces all the types of transplantation (living and dead donors, organ and tissue transplantation, donation and sale) and presents the wide range of views that clerics have on them while quoting their *fatāwā*. The resulting and highly detailed legal problems are also analyzed, e.g. the question of consent, the issue of last will, the necessity to pay blood money or the possibility of organ retrieval from an unidentified body. Special attention is paid to transplantation from brain-dead patients, interreligious transplantation and xenotransplantation. The position of clerics is briefly compared with official legislation to highlight differences. The study shows how contemporary Twelver Shi'ite legal theory copes with modern legal cases thanks to a change in the subject, which has resulted from the effect of time and space and the use of secondary law.

Keywords transplantation, organ donation, organ sale, Iran, Shi'ite Islam, Shi'ite jurisprudence, Shi'ite *fiqh*

Introduction

Transplantation is now considered a standard method for the treatment of organ diseases or organ failure in modern medicine and is used increasingly worldwide. Throughout the second half of the 20th century, the major religious figures of

Muslim countries (e.g. grand muftis),¹ various boards of Islamic lawyers or transnational Islamic committees (e.g. the International Conference of Islamic Jurists or the Islamic *Fiqh* Academy) have gradually approved individual types of transplantation: blood transfusions, corneal and other tissue transplantation and finally organ transplantation.² Nowadays, transplantations from living donors (typically kidney transplantation) are performed in most Muslim and Islamic countries, but only some of them³ perform transplantations from deceased donors.⁴ To this day, the issue of brain death remains debatable and unsettled in Islam, i.e. whether patients in brain death are truly dead and whether organ retrieval should be allowed from them in the same way as from dead patients.

The rapid development of organ donations and transplantation began to occur in the Islamic Republic of Iran after 1979,⁵ and was gradually supported by official laws approving all kinds of organ donations, including transplantation from brain-dead patients and organ sales. Iran's highest clerics (ar. *marāji' al-taqlīd*)⁶ have issued their positions on this socially important but religiously controversial issue as well. Not everyone agrees with all types of organ donation or organ sale, the conditions of permission differ, as well as the argumentation that accompanies them. Two major opinion groups have been formed in response to the issue of transplantation from brain-dead patients.

- 1 Arabic and Farsi technical terms are italicized and fully transliterated with diacritical marks. Words accepted by English (mufti, Qur'an, Shi'ite Islam) are not italicized and have no diacritics. All book, article and webpage titles are fully transliterated. Personal names are written without diacritics in accordance with English norms.
- 2 For an overview of *fatāwā* in Sunni countries, see for example Al-Bar and Chamsi-Pasha 2015, 215-218; Albar 2012; Organ transplantation from the Islamic perspective 2011, 24-26.
- 3 Iran, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Tunisia, Turkey, Algeria, Kuwait, and Lebanon have active cadaveric programs.
- 4 For details, see Ghods 2015.
- 5 The history and development of transplantation in Iran, see Ghods 2014.
- 6 Ar. *marja' al-taqlīd*, pl. *marāji' al-taqlīd*—the highest Shi'ite religious authority, source of reference in religious matters.

The aim of the article is to provide a complete and detailed overview of the issue of transplantation from the perspective of Iran's highest Shi'ite clerics. After an introductory overview of the main religious, ethical and jurisprudential arguments for and against transplantation, the text gradually introduces all types of transplantation and the views of the clergy on them, based on their official *fatāwā*. The study will explain subsequent detailed issues such as *diya* payment, consent, unidentified donors, interreligious transplantation, interspecies transplantation, and so on. The position of clerics will be briefly compared with official legislation to point out differences. Selectively, interesting facts from actual practice at transplantation clinics in Qom (the religious center of Iran) will also be added to complete the overall picture of the issue of transplantation in Iran.

Methodologically, the core of the study is based on primary sources, i.e. on *fatāwā* of important *marāji' al-taqlīd*.⁷ These Persian and Arabic written statements are available either on the clerics' websites or in the printed collections of legal opinions, which are difficult for European researchers to access. In addition, the section of the study dealing with jurisprudential arguments is completed with valuable information resulting from consultations with experts in *fiqh* and medical *fiqh* from *hawza* Qom.⁸ Another important consultant was a representative of the transplantation center in Qom, who provided information on the current situation of this issue.⁹ Current legislation has already been well-documented in published studies that are referred to in this study as well.

7 The most important Iranian Shi'ite clerics were selected: imam Khomeini (1900–1989), Ali Khamenei (b. 1939), Nasir Makarem Shirazi (b. 1924), Muhammad Taqi Bahjat (1916–2009), Muhammad Fazel Lankarani (1931–2007), Muhammad Reza Golpaygani (1899–1993), Hossein Nouri Hamedani (b. 1925), Abu al-Qasim Khui (1899–1992), Lutfullah Saafi Golpaygani (b. 1919), Hossein Vahid Khorasani (b. 1921), Ali Sistani (b. 1930, currently based in Iraq, but he has many followers in Iran).

8 Key consultants were: Dr. Abbas Ali Vashian, Ph.D. (Dept. of Religion and Health, Medical Law and Jurisprudence Al-Mustafa International Qom University), Dr. Sayyid Ali Alavi Qazvini (Dept. of Medical jurisprudence, University Tehran, Farabi campus, Qom), Dr. Husein Habibi Tabar (Dept. of Jurisprudence and Law, Al-Mustafa International Qom University).

9 Valiullah Samadi (head of Organ Donation Dept., Medical University of Qom).

I *Transplantation and Islam*

Transplantation means the intentional transfer of an entire organ, organ part, tissue or cells from one organism to another or from one place to another. According to the object of transplantation, we recognize:

- Organ transplantation (heart, kidney, liver, lung, pancreas, uterus, small intestine, islets of Langerhans);
- Tissue transplantation (bones, tendons, cornea, heart valves, blood vessels, skin, hair);
- Specific transplantation (bone marrow, stem cells).

According to the donor-recipient relationship, we distinguish transplantation as:

- Autotransplantation—from an individual to the same individual (e.g. the transfer of a graft of skin, bone, bone marrow, tooth, etc.);
- Allotransplantation (homotransplantation)—transmission from one individual to another of the same species. We can divide this into isotransplantation (transmission from a monozygotic, immunobiologically identical twin), kinship transplantation and unrelated transplantation;
- Xenotransplantation (heterotransplantation)—from an individual of a different species, such as the use of pig skin for a human.

Donors are divided into:

- Living donors—they may donate only some kind of tissues or only paired organs (skin, gametes, bone marrow, blood, kidney, etc.);
- Deceased donors (i.e. cadavers)—all kinds of tissue and organs, including vital organs (heart, lungs, liver) can be donated.

Based on this division, it must be noted that autotransplantation does not pose any problem for Islamic jurisprudence (Sunnite or Shi'ite) if done for medical reasons (Al-Bar and Chamsi-Pasha 2015, 219; Ebrahim 2018, 122-123; Ghaly 2012, 211). This method is commonly used throughout the Muslim world without any ethical or religious problem, thus it will not be the subject of this study. On the contrary, allotransplantation presents a major issue in terms of medical ethics. Therefore, this type of transplantation will form the main content of this article. The individual chapters will be divided according to the type of donors, i.e.

transplants from living donors and dead donors. Organ transplants will be the main subject (as the most problematic), and the specifics and exceptions concerning tissue transplants will be emphasized. Xenotransplantation will also be addressed at the very end of the study; this method is not routinely used, and so the impact of the legal solution is not socially important.

2 *Basic Arguments of Shi'ite Jurisprudence towards Transplantation*

First, it is necessary to explain the basic legal issues and arguments related to transplantation. Only arguments assumed by Shi'ite jurisprudence as valid and serious are introduced here.¹⁰ At the end of this section, the solution of the concurrence of these rules is explained.

2.1 Ownership of the human body

It is necessary to clarify the key question concerning ownership of the human body, i.e. whether a person is the real owner of his/her tissues and organs and whether he/she can decide on the use of it, during his/her life or after death (through the last will).

From the view of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), the human body is a gift from God and there is no ownership of the human body and body parts. A person only has ultimate authority (Sachedina 2009, 183) or dominance over his/her body (Abbas Ali Vashian, Personal consultation, September 21, 2019; Sayyid Ali Alavi Qazvini, Personal consultation, September 18, 2019). Shi'ite clerics usually refer to the "owner" of the body's organs with the multi-meaning word "*ṣāḥib*" in their *fatāwā*, but there is no exact term expressing a person's relationship to his/her

¹⁰ There are several more arguments against transplantation that have been rejected as baseless in Shi'ite *fiqh*: e.g. transplantation is a change to God's creation (for details see Sobotková 2021), they can present a problem for resurrection when body parts have been separated and buried elsewhere, and a problem for resurrection when the body part is transplanted into the body of a sinner (Sayyid Ali Alavi Qazvini, Personal consultation, September 23, 2019; Abbas Ali Vashian, Personal consultation, September 22, 2019; Husein Habibi Tabar, Personal consultation, September 14, 2019; Rizvi 2006).

body and body parts. Due to the lack of a more precise term, the word “owner” will be used in the article while preserving the above-mentioned connotations.

Because man has authority over his/her body, he/she is empowered to decide on the donation of the body parts. Most of Iranian *marāji' al-taqlīd* have agreed with this, if it is a truly altruistic act and is done during the life of the donor. The body is not property; it cannot be treated as property, and cannot, for example, be sold. Nevertheless, financial compensation for consenting to donation is allowed by most Shi'ite clerics (called “organ sale” by some). The situation after the death of a donor is legally more complicated, as the death interrupts the person's rights and authorities. According to some clerics (Javad Tabrizi, Vahid Khorasani, Saafi Golpaygani), a person cannot decide on his/her body after death (and such a last will is invalid).¹¹ According to others, there is no clear prohibition or command on how to decide on one's body after death. Therefore they apply the rule of “primacy of permission” (ar. *aṣālat al-ibāḥa*) and allow organ donation according to last will. This second position is also followed in current Iranian legislation (Husein Habibi Tabar, Personal consultation, September 11, 2019).

2.2 Protection of human life

Islam holds all life to be sacred. Human life and the human being, moreover, have a special position in the system of the Islamic universe. Unlike all other creatures, the human being has a soul that is given by God, it has a divine essence and makes the human special. Therefore, a human should not be killed, as it causes disorder in this world. Similarly, if someone is ill, it is necessary to keep him/her alive, because it is based on God's order.

The protection or preservation of human life or a significant improvement in the quality of human life is the fundamental argument for the transplantation in the Muslim world. This simple argument is valid from a theological, ethical and jurisprudential point of view. “Protection of life” constitutes one of the main objectives of Islamic law (ar. *maqāṣid al-sharī'a*) on which all branches of Islam

11 This decision indicates the “right” or “authority” about organs after death only. Organs can be removed without the last will of the deceased due to social needs—detail will follow in the text.

agree.¹² Sanctity of life is also the first of the basic principles of Islamic bioethics.¹³ Ayatollah Makarem Shirazi (1387sh/2008, 131) even claims that using an organ transplant to save someone's life is a religious obligation (ar. *wājib*).

2.3 Inviolability of the human body and respect to the human body

As mentioned above, the human being has a special position in the universe thanks to the divine soul. The bearer of this soul is the body, and therefore the human body also deserves the highest respect. No separation between body and spirit is allowed in Islam (Sachedina 2009, 183). The principle of the sanctity or inviolability (ar. *hurma*) of the human body is based on this and is related to the principle of human dignity (ar. *karāma*). Islam strictly prohibits any kind of mutilation (ar. *mutbla*) of the human body, including any kind of self-harm or suicide. This respect applies in general to Muslims or non-Muslims, living or dead, and clerics of all branches of Islam agree on this. As ayatollah Khui stated: "Separation of important bodily organs is forbidden for many reasons," and ayatollah Tabrizi adds: "Anything cruel to the soul is considered a crime and is not allowed" (Qasemi 1397sh/2018, 273).

Respect to the human body applies to its parts as well, for example if some part of the human body containing bone has been amputated, it must be buried in the same way as the whole human body (Golpaygani 1409q/1989, 62). An attack against someone's life or bodily integrity (intentional or unintentional) is punished according to Islamic law (right to retribution, ar. *qiṣās*), the victim is entitled to financial compensation (so-called blood money, ar. *diyya*).

Despite the ban on any kind of mutilation to the body, we encounter a number of specific exceptions in medical practice. For example, autopsy is prohibited by Islam for the abovementioned reasons and Shi'ite clerics usually recommend the use of bodies of non-Muslims for the purpose of teaching medicine or for medical research. However, some of them (for example

12 The most frequently mentioned verse of Qur'an 5:32: "If any one saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people" or similarly Qur'an 17:33.

13 More on the protection of human life in Shi'ite jurisprudence, including the corresponding statements from Qur'an and Shi'ite traditions, see Shomali 2008.

Khamenei or Makarem Shirazi allow the use of the body of a Muslim¹⁴ if the body of a non-Muslim is not available (Khamenei, n.d.; Aramesh 2009). The autopsy of a Muslim is also permitted if required due to the reasonable suspicion of a crime (Husein Habibi Tabar, Personal consultation, September 15, 2019).

Q: Can an autopsy be performed to diagnose a crime in suspicious deaths or not? Can a religious judge act without the consent of the guardian (*wali*)?

Khamenei: If the truth cannot be found, there is no problem. The consent of the guardian (*wali*) is a condition, but only in cases when the truth cannot be found and the judge considers it necessary (Khamenei, n.d.).

The conflict between the principle of the inviolability of the human body and the principle of protection of the life and health of a Muslim is common in medical practice. According to most clerics, the priority is to save a human life and therefore all operations are performed without any problem. In the case of saving a life, the patient's consent is not important.

Q: If [the patient] has been diagnosed with diabetes and his/her leg is not amputated, the disease will lead to his/her death. But, he does not give consent for his/her leg to be amputated. What is the personal religious duty?

Khui: If saving his/her life is dependent upon the amputation of his/her leg, it is his duty to save his/her life and it is the duty to amputate his leg. There is no right to prevent this (Qasemi 1397sh/2018, 273).

Transplantation is a more complicated case, because harm is done to one person (donor, living or dead) as another person (recipient) benefits. Nevertheless, it is obvious that organ retrieval is not an intentional mutilation and the aim of this action is not disrespect; it is only a necessary act to save another life. The minimization of harm for the donor is emphasized, as stated in usual conditions that the donation does not have a "life-threatening effect on the donor"¹⁵ or that "no violence occurs to the dead person".¹⁶

14 Both Sunni and Shi'i Muslims, as pointed out for example by Khamenei (n.d.).

15 As pointed out by Khomeini, see Qasemi 1397sh/2018, 262.

16 As stated by Khamenei, see Qasemi 1397sh/2018, 262, 301.

2.4 Ritual impurity of a dead body

Some things are ritually unclean (ar. *najis*) according to Islamic law, e.g. human blood or a human corpse. The same argument has emerged for dead bodily organs. Nowadays, if blood is used for medical purposes, contact with it is allowed. The issue of organs is more complicated. Ayatollah Sistani (n.d.b) claims that all organs removed from the human body are ritually impure, whether they come from Muslims or non-Muslims. But after their transplantation, when they become an integral part of the new body of a Muslim, they become ritually pure (ar. *ṭāhir*). Ayatollah Khamenei (n.d.) makes a similar assessment, and Makarem Shirazi (1387sh/2008, 131) states that “after something becomes part of the body, it is not a problem for ritual prayer,” and therefore the new organ does not represent a ritual impurity of the body. The argument of ritual impurity has therefore been refuted in Shi’ite *fiqh*.

In assessing the arguments for and against transplantation, we also clearly see a typical legal problem—conflict or competition between the two rules of Islam (ar. *tazāḥum*). Thus, it is either possible to respect the inviolability of the human body or the protection of human life. Both rules are mutually exclusive; it is not possible to fulfill them at the same time (unless and until artificial parts of the human body are used). It is always necessary to choose between two evils. In such legal cases, Islamic jurists use the principle of “no harm, no harassment” (ar. *lā ḍarar wa lā ḍirār fī Islām*), one of the most commonly used Shi’ite jurisprudential principles (ar. *al-qawā’id al-fiqhiyya*) and the major principle of health care ethics in Islam. It means that harm must be removed, and in cases when a solution between two harms must be reached, we must give priority to the least harm over the greater harm (Hosseini Milani 2011, 39-40). In Islamic legal theory this is also known as the principle of “the most important and the important” (ar. *al-abamm wa-l-muhimm*). Therefore, in the case of transplantation, saving a human life is always preferred, and all other arguments are assumed as “lesser evil” that must be eliminated as much as possible but in the end are acceptable.

Transplantation for significantly improving the quality of life is usually assessed in the same manner by most clerics. Nevertheless, some clerics (Javad Tabrizi, Saafi Golpaygani in the case of kidney transplantation) assume these two evils to be equal and prefer not to perform such transplantations or to assess each specific case individually.

3 *Attitudes of Important Shi'ite Clerics towards Transplantation*

3.1 Transplant from a living donor

Blood and its components (red blood cells, platelets, and plasma) are the most common transplants from a living person. The donation and sale of blood is approved without restriction by Shi'ite clerics. For example, ayatollahs Khamenei (n.d.) or Fazel Lankarani (n.d.a, 568) say that selling blood is a "reasonable solution". The donation and sale of bone marrow, skin and other tissues is similarly approved. The cornea is an exception for tissues, and donation from living donors is not allowed (only from cadavers), a fact upon which most clerics agree.¹⁷

Regarding organs, kidney donation is a typical form of donation from a living donor. Ayatollah Khui was one of the first *marāji' al-taqlīd* to approve of kidney donation and other unimportant paired organs.¹⁸

Q 1243: Is it permissible for a person to give to his brother in faith [i.e. to a Muslim] one of his eyes, or one of two kidneys, or one of the paired organs of his body, if the other one is in urgent need of it?

Khui: If the donation means one of two kidneys or one of the paired organs that is not major in the body, such as an arm or leg, then there is no problem. If the donation means one of the two eyes, it is not allowed (Khui, n.d.).

The vast majority of current Shi'ite clerics (e.g. Makarem Shirazi, Khamenei, Sistani, Musavi Ardebili, Nouri Hamedani, Fazel Lankarani) agree with the donation of unimportant paired organs, under these conditions: 1) transplantation is the only way to save a jeopardized Muslim, 2) donation does not pose a threat to life or an irreversible threat to the donor. Sistani adds the condition that the donor is not a child or mentally handicapped person (IslamQuest 1392sh/2013). Ayatollahs Bahjat and Fazel Lankarani add the condition that it is impossible to use organs from a non-Muslim (Feqh

¹⁷ Ayatollah Khui was the first to express this meaning, see Khui, n.d.

¹⁸ Khui recognized "major organs" and "minor organs" (blood, skin, bone-marrow and kidney) and allowed the donation of minor organs only; see Qasemi 1397sh/2018, 274. Cf. with article Rizvi 2006, according to which Khui did not allow kidney donation.

1396sh/2017). There are no gender-related conditions or *mahram*-related conditions; this means it is possible to donate to family or strangers, from men to women, and vice versa.¹⁹

Khomeini: If another life depends on this [kidney transplant] and it is not a threat to the life of the organ donor, then it is not a problem. If the patient is in mortal danger and the transplant is done to save the life of a Muslim, then it is not an obstacle (Khomeini 1427q/2006, 42, 44).

Fazel Lankarani: If the life of a Muslim depends on the donation of organs, such as one kidney, and it is not possible to obtain it from a non-Muslim and its donation does not mean life-threatening or irreversible harm to the donor, there is no obstacle to this donation (Fazel Lankarani, n.d.a, 568).

Sistani: Removing a part of the body of a living person for transplantation in cases when its amputation is severely harmful to the donor, such as the eye, hand etc. is *ḥarām* / forbidden. But if there is no harm, such as a piece of skin or one kidney in case of a healthy second kidney, provided the consent of the owner, it is not a problem, unless the donor is a child or mentally disabled, in which case it is not allowed (Sistani, n.d.c.).

Ayatollah Javad Tabrizi is one of the few who oppose the authorization of donation from a living donor, and he considers it to be “cruelty and a crime against the soul”. Nevertheless, he does not clearly prohibit this, only saying that “giving this permission raises doubts” (Qasemi 1397sh/2018, 273-275). Ayatollah Saafi Golpaygani express the opinion that kidney donation from living persons “is not religiously permitted” (Saafi Golpaygani, n.d.); on the other hand, he also said that “if the preservation of the patient’s life depends on the organ and does no harm to the owner, it is not impossible” (Saafi Golpaygani, 1398sh/2019).

Clerics who agree with the donation of an organ from a living person agree with the sale of it as well. The amount of money for the organ is the subject of an agreement between the donor and the recipient. From the point of view of Shi’ite *fiqh*, it is not financial compensation (blood money, ar. *diyya*), because organ retrieval was carried out with the consent of the donor.²⁰

19 As explicitly stated for example by Fazel Lankarani (n.d.a, 568).

20 For example see Fazel Lankarani, n.d.a, 568.

Makarem Shirazi: Buying and selling a kidney for medical purposes is allowed, but it is better if the money is given for consent to take a kidney, not for the kidney itself ... (Makarem Shirazi 1427q/2006, 172).

Nouri Hamedani: There is no obstacle in accepting money for some organs, such as the kidney (IslamQuest 1392sh/2013).

Ali Sistani: Whenever donation is allowed, receiving money for it is also allowed (Sistani, n.d.c).

Fazel Lankarani: There is no reason not to give authorization for sale ... poverty, however, does not give entitlement to sale (Fazel Lankarani, n.d.a, 568).

Ayatollahs Saafi Golpaygani (1398sh/2019) and Javad Tabrizi strictly oppose the sale of kidneys and similar organs. Javad Tabrizi adds that if for some reason donation has occurred, the owner can ask the recipient for money (Feqh 1396sh/2017).

The official law in Iran is essentially the same as the attitude of most Iranian clergy; it allows donation and the sale of tissues and kidney from living donors. The first kidney transplant from a living donor in Iran was carried out in 1968, but the first law on monetary compensation for the kidney was not approved until 1997.²¹ It was followed by the Directive on Kidney Donations and Transplants from Live Donors in 2008.²² Iran's kidney sales model is unique worldwide and many professional and journalistic articles have already been written about it.²³ These articles assess the ethical controversy of organ sale,

21 The literal title of this law is "Granting ten million rials as a reward for good deeds in order to facilitate the matter related to kidney transplantation and encouraging kidney donors by the Foundation for Special Diseases" see Islamic Parliament Research Center of The Islamic Republic of Iran, 1375sh/1997. Other decrees followed quickly, increasing the amount as a reward.

22 This directive was issued by the Committee on Bioethics at the Academy of Medical Sciences of Iran 4.2.2008. This document considers gifts or monetary compensation for kidney donation to be ethical, but it specifies the conditions of donation and also prevents tourist transplantation. For all conditions, see Nobakht Haghghi, Broumand, and Fazel 2008.

23 For example see Hooman Movassagh 2016; Mahdavi-Mazdeh 2012; Ghahramani 2016; Ghods and Savaj 2006. For an example of one of the many articles in the daily press: Bengali and Mostaghim 2017.

especially better access for rich people to transplants, sale due to poverty, and organ trafficking. On the other hand, this Iranian law has had a very good impact on the actual situation regarding kidney transplants. Two programs run simultaneously: a governmental program for people who cannot afford to buy a kidney that is ranked according to medical priorities, and the private market of kidney sales. Although the Iranian government tries to control the prices on the private market, in practice this is elusive and the real price is difficult to prove. A positive factor is that the private market reduces the number of those waiting on the government list and thus increases the chances for these individuals. However, people are still dying because they cannot find a compatible kidney, even if they can afford it (Valiullah Samadi, Personal consultation, September 15, 2019).

3.2 Transplant from a dead donor (i.e. from a cadaver)

We cannot use one person's life to save another person's life—this is a basic precedent. Therefore, the only way to obtain so-called vital organs (heart, lungs, whole liver, and spleen) is to take them from dead people.

Imam Khomeini was the first of the Shi'ite clerics to allow transplantation from cadavers (Qasemi 1397sh/2018, 262-263), and all other Shi'ite clerics agree with this as well.²⁴ All of them express the same conditions for this permission: 1) no hardship or disrespect is made to the dead, 2) the life of a Muslim is in real danger and only transplantation can save him. Some of the clerics²⁵ add a condition that it is not possible to use organs from non-Muslims.

Khamenei: If there is no violence to the dead person, there is no problem. If a transplant from a dead non-Muslim is possible, it is the same (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 732).

Sistani: The removal of organs from a dead Muslim is not allowed, except in the case that the life of another Muslim is in danger, [...] (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 740).

24 According to some articles (e.g. Rizvi 2006) ayatollahs Sistani and Javad Tabrizi do not allow donation from cadavers. This is not true, as they both agree under some conditions and situations, typically when a Muslim's life is in danger. The same position is expressed by Vahid Khoranani (IslamQuest 1394sh/2015).

25 For example Vahid Khorasani, Bahjat and Fazel Lankarani.

Makarem Shirazi: If it is an organ necessary to save the life of a Muslim, such as the eyes as major organs, there is no obstacle (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 737).²⁶

Bahjat: If the preservation of a Muslim's life is endangered and the organs of non-Muslims are not available, there is no obstacle. Otherwise, however, it is not allowed (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 734).

There are different views whether donation from cadaver requires the last will of the donor or not. According to some clerics (e.g. Javad Tabrizi, Vahid Khorasani) such consent is not necessary, because the donation is driven by a social need, not by the wishes of the person; and they explicitly state that such a last will is invalid (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 733; Vahid Khorasani 2018). Other clerics (e.g. Makarem Shirazi or Khamenei) think that organ retrieval can even be done without consent, but it is better to have consent in last will (Makarem Shirazi 1387sh/2008, 130-133; IslamQuest 1394sh/2015). Some clerics (e.g. Fazel Lankarani or Nouri Hamedani) state that the last will and consent is necessary for retrieving organs after death (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 736; Qasemi 1397sh/2018, 268; IslamQuest 1392sh/2013).

Javad Tabrizi: The last will to remove the organ from the body is not valid, but when something from the dead has been separated, like one piece of skin, and was accepted by the body of a living person, there is no obstacle (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 733).

Fazel Lankarani: If preserving the life of a Muslim through transplantation of an organ from a dead Muslim is the only possible situation and organs from dead non-Muslims are not available, organ retrieval is possible and the last will is correct here (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 736; Qasemi 1397sh/2018, 268).

Nouri Hamedani: If there is a last will for organ donation after death, there are no obstacles (IslamQuest 1392sh/2013).

The issue of the need and the validity of the last will is related to the question of the need to pay so-called blood money (ar. *diyya*). There are very different opinions here too:

Khamenei: If there is the last will of the dead, *diyya* is not required and no money is needed (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 732).

26 Other *fatāwā* of Makarem Shirazi, see Makarem Shirazi 1387sh/2008, 119.

Makarem Shirazi: In case of permission [from the dead] there is no *diyya* (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 737).

Sistani: If there is a last will, it [*diyya* payment] is not allowed. If there is no last will, *diyya* is applied and must be spent for the dead himself, for example by paying off his debts or as a charity on his/her behalf (IslamQuest 1392sh/2013).

Fazel Lankarani: Due to cautiousness (*iḥtiyāt*) it is necessary to pay *diyya*, but the sale is not allowed (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 736).

Tabrizi: ... the last will allowing the organ retrieval is invalid. When it comes to removal of organs from the dead, *diyya* must be applied and it must be spent as a charity on behalf of the dead (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 733).

Bahjat: Assuming that permission has been granted for retrieval, *diyya* is applied and it is to be spent in a matter of good (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 734).

Vahid Khorasani: ... one who removes the organ must pay *diyya* for that organ, which is equal to *diyya* for the organ of an unborn Muslim child (Vahid Khorasani 2018).

The attitude of the guardians of the dead (family, heirs) has no effect on the permission or prohibition of the organ retrieval from the cadaveric patient, whether the last will was written or not. Major Iranian *marāji' al-taqlid* (Khamenei, Tabrizi, Bahjat, Fazel Lankarani, Makarem Shirazi, Sistani) agree on this (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 732, 733, 734, 736, 737, 740).

Questions arise when an unknown donor is involved. Imam Khomeini stated that the removal of eyes (i.e. the cornea) from an unknown dead person is impossible until the identity is verified (Qasemi 1397sh/2018, 261-262). In contrast, Makarem Shirazi (1387sh/2008, 119-130) now says that: "if the goal is to save a Muslim's life from death or serious illness, it is permissible" and that "there is no difference between the unknown and the known body". Saafi Golpaygani answers that "it is justifiable" in the same question (Qasemi 1397sh/2018, 281).

After death, organs can be donated as an altruistic act only, but their sale is strictly prohibited, a fact upon which all Shi'ite clerics agree.

The official law is again in accordance with the position of Iranian clerics. Transplantation from dead donors was authorized in Iran by the fatwa of Imam Khomeini in 1989 and by a law implemented since 2002.²⁷ Only donation is

27 So-called "Brain Death and Organ Transplantation Act", literally "The executive regulations of

allowed, and the sale of organs and tissues from cadavers is prohibited by this law. After its approval, the number of cadaveric transplantations has increased significantly.²⁸ Contrary to the view of leading clergy, the law clearly requires the consent of the donor (last will or oral consent verified by one of his/her legal heirs). If there is no last will, permission can be given by all legal heirs. Due to a chronic shortage of vital organs, Iran has launched an intensive campaign to attract donors. System “opt-in” is valid in Iran, i.e. a person registers and obtains a donation card if he/she wants to be a donor after death. Today, there are about 6 million cardholders in Iran. Despite this activity, 7-10 people die every day in Iran due to a lack of transplantable compatible organs (Iranian Society of Organ Donation / Ehda 2017). Thus, demand still significantly exceeds supply. Organ retrieving from dead and brain-dead individuals is considered to be a very sensitive matter personally and legally, which is why in practice transplant centres prefer to have the consent of the family, even if a person has a donation card. If the heirs do not agree with the organ donation and do not acknowledge the wishes of the deceased, it is not legally enforceable. Moreover, transplantation clinics strive to maximize respect for the dead body. The dead body must not be visibly disturbed or damaged after organ and tissue retrieval; the visible organs (eyes, limbs) are replaced with artificial ones, the abdominal cavity is filled, and skin is removed from the back of the body. The goal is to hand over the seemingly unchanged body to the family and guardians, who will take it for burial purposes (Valiullah Samadi, Personal consultation, November 8, 2016 and September 15, 2019).

the law on transplantation of dead patients or patients whose brain death is certain”, see Islamic Parliament Research Center of the Islamic Republic of Iran 1381sh/2002.

²⁸ For more details see Ghods 2014.

4 *Specific Issues in Transplantation*

4.1 Transplantation from brain-dead donors

The status of patients in brain death²⁹ raises a specific ethical question: do we consider them dead or not? If so, then the same rules apply to them as to a regular cadaveric donor. If not, donation is not possible (not even of the kidney, because the patient is unconscious and cannot give consent).

The decision about death depends on the definition of death: whether we define death by the function of the brain or by the cessation of the circulatory system (by heartbeat). According to this, Shi'ite clerics are divided into two groups: the first group, which is represented by ayatollahs Khomeini³⁰ and Makarem Shirazi, insists on the neurological criterion of brain death and assumes brain-dead patients to be dead and allows for organ donation. The second group, which is represented by ayatollahs Sistani and Vahid Khorasani, insists on the traditional circulatory criterion (heartbeat), does not assume brain-dead patients to be dead and consequently does not allow any organ donation.

Makarem Shirazi: Whenever brain death is completely certain and the patient is never likely to revert to normal life, there is no problem in removing some of his organs (like the heart or kidney or other organs) to save the life of a Muslim irrespective of whether he has made a will in this regard or not, but it is better to get the consent of the dead body's guardian (IslamQuest 2012).

Sistani: A dead person means in previous sources a person whose lungs and heart have stopped definitively and there is no return from this. And as far as brain death is concerned, when the functions of the lungs and heart persist, even though it is through a life support device, such a person is not considered dead (Sistani, n.d.a.).

Under official Iranian law,³¹ brain-dead patients are considered truly dead,³² so they are subject to the same rules as dead donors.

29 For more about the differences between coma, vegetative state, and brain death, as well as death and brain death in Shi'ite *fiqh* in general, see e.g. Sobotková 2019, 283-286.

30 Imam Khomeini was the first of Shi'ite clerics who allowed transplantation from brain-dead persons, see Qasemi 1397sh/2018, 262-263.

31 Aforementioned so-called "Brain Death and Organ Transplantation Act", literally "The executive regulations of the law on transplantation of dead patients or patients whose brain death is certain".

4.2 Interreligious transplantation

According to Imam Khamenei (n.d.), a blood transfusion between a Muslim and a non-Muslim is allowed. Regarding the donation of organs from a Muslim to a non-Muslim, the situation is more complicated³³ and, unfortunately, only few clerics have made this clear. Ayatollah Khamenei (n.d.) says that “when donating organs for transplantation, it does not matter whether the recipient is a Muslim or a non-Muslim”. Ayatollah Sistani (n.d.c) says that religious affiliation is not a problem when transplanting from a dead person. Ayatollah Fazel Lankarani (n.d.c) allows tissue and organ donations to non-Muslims. But, according to ayatollah Makarem Shirazi (n.d.b; n.d.a), it is allowed only if no Muslim is in need of this organ, with the warning that organs from a brain-dead Muslim can only be transplanted into another Muslim.

When donating organs from a non-Muslim to Muslim, the situation is clearer. Previously, the view was expressed that it is a priority to donate organs among Muslims only, due to the ritual impurity of a non-believer and different lifestyle (Abbas Ali Vashian, Personal consultation, September 17, 2019). In contrast, Imam Khomeini (1427q/2006, 44) believed that the priority was to save the life of a Muslim and it is possible to transplant organs from a non-Muslim as well. Finally, clerics agreed that all removed organs (Muslim and non-Muslim) are ritually unclean, so both can be used in the same way. Some *marājiʿ al-taqlīd* (e.g. Khamenei, Fazel Lankarani, Bahjat) express priority in their use—first organs of non-Muslims and, only if these are not available, the organs of Muslims. The same attitude was visible in the question of the use of the human body for the purposes of medical education and research.

32 For the conditions for the assessment of full brain death see Islamic Parliament Research Center of the Islamic Republic of Iran 1381sh/2002.

33 Although it is possible to read that a Muslim can give his organs to anyone (e.g. Rizvi 2006), from the perspective of religious law this is not completely true.

Official Iranian law does not address the religious affiliation of the donor and recipient.³⁴ According to consultations at the transplantation center, ritual impurity or religious affiliation has no application in real practice, not even in Qom. The patients are not even concerned whether they will accept an organ from a living or cadaveric or brain-dead donor. Due to the lack of organs and the fear of their own death, they accept any organ. (Valiullah Samadi, Personal consultation, September 15, 2019).

4.3 Xenotransplantation—transmission from another species

This means the transfer of a tissue, organ or part of an organ from an animal (usually) to a human. This is not a very widespread method at present, and is more in the research and testing stage. The attitude of clerics is basically similar to that of receiving organs or tissues from dead people. After it is received by the body, the new part is considered part of the body of the Muslim and after ritual purification becomes pure (ar. *ṭāhir*). This decision also applies to animals that Muslim jurisprudence describes as ritually unclean, such as a pig. Such an attitude has already been published by Imam Khomeini (1394sh/2015), followed by ayatollahs Khamenei (n.d.), Makarem Shirazi (1398sh/2019) and Fazel Lankarani (n.d.2).

Q: Is it possible for organ transplantation to use the organs of animals which are *ḥarām*, *ḥalāl* and which are impure (*najis*) for humans...?

Khamenei: It is not forbidden, but it raises doubts about carrying out prayers. In the case that transplanted parts become a living part of the human body, there is no difference between animal species in that decision [it is allowed], including those which are clearly unclean (Khamenei, n.d.).

5 Conclusion

The issue of transplantation seems to be essentially uncomplicated from the point of view of Shi'ite jurisprudence. There is a consensus among clergy

34 The only point is that the transplant program covers Iranian citizens only. It is forbidden to transplant organs from Iranian people to foreign nationals (protection due to trafficking and transplant tourism).

regarding the authorization of transplants from living or dead patients. Only ayatollahs Tabrizi and Saafi Golpaygani do not fully agree with the donation of the kidney and forbid its sale. Ambiguities prevail within the issue of transplants from brain-dead patients because Shi'ite jurisprudence cannot agree on determining the key determinant of death. Nevertheless, this study has revealed a number of secondary legal issues, which remain unclear and therefore offer a whole range of views. For example: whether a person can decide about his/her body after his/her death and whether the last will containing this wish is valid and necessary, whether it is necessary to pay blood money (*diyya*) in the case of organ retrieval after death, whether retrieval from an unidentifiable body is possible, and how to solve inter-religious transplantation.

It should be noted that the official Iranian legislation is in line with the opinion of majority of Iranian clerics; within the issue of brain death, it follows the opinion of the group determining death by brain death and allows organ retrieval from the brain-dead. The official law differs in one important matter, it is more careful about the consent of the family (guardians), and it requires their consent in the case of retrieval from dead and brain-dead patients. It should be emphasized that the official law is designed to meet social requirements and religious law (represented by a majority of clerics), but at the same time it allows the following of non-majority clerics as well. This means that no one is forced by law to give or sell his kidney or to give consent to organ retrieval from a brain-dead family member if he/she does not want to (for various reasons, including religious ones).

This study serves as an example of the implementation of contemporary Twelver Shi'ite legal theory, in which changes and modifications of some classical rules are typical.³⁵ In the section devoted to basic arguments of *fiqh*, some classical rules were stated, e.g. all kinds of mutilation of the human body are forbidden and touching the blood is forbidden. These rules were established in connection with a certain subject, which in these cases is a show of disrespect

35 In the part devoted to basic arguments of *fiqh*, the problem of conflict between two rules (ar. *tazāḥum*) was presented. This is a classical methodological matter, as it has been dealt with since the beginning of the discipline *uṣūl al-fiqh*.

or doing magic, which is prohibited. Today, medical procedures disrupting the human body or using blood are done for a completely different reason—to benefit the patients. This changes the subject or the concept of belonging due to the effect of time and space, and thus changes the rules. Due to this change of subject, surgery and autopsy are now allowed, as well as the use of blood.

Further changes are enabled by the use of secondary law. There are two kinds of rulings in Shi'ite legal theory. Primary law / rulings (ar. *aḥkām awwaliyya*) are applied in normal situations and are unchangeable. Secondary law / rulings (ar. *aḥkām thānawiyya*) are a special kind of judgment that is used only in case of extraordinary circumstances and is changeable according to the situation that is being dealt with. The system of secondary law allows for the adaptation of old rules, as well as the development of new rules. For example, issues prohibited in primary law might be allowed in secondary law and vice versa. The most legal cases related to medicine are situated in the area of secondary law, as this is an exceptional situation. This also applies to the issue of transplantation. Although the primary law states that any kind of mutilation of the human body, alive or dead, is strictly forbidden (i.e. organ retrieval is forbidden), but for serious reasons this law might be changed (i.e. organ retrieval and transplantation might be allowed to save a Muslim life).

Most of the clerics in the above-mentioned *fatāwā* have corresponded directly on the level of secondary law. However, some of them answered on both levels (primary and secondary), e.g. Sistani in the following fatwa provides a good depiction of the condition with which he passes into secondary law:

Sistani: The removal of organs from a dead Muslim is not allowed, except in the case that the life of another Muslim is in danger, [...] (Fattahi Ma'asum 1375sh/1997, 740).

Even more confusing may be Sistani's following fatwa, on the basis of which it may appear that Sistani does not allow transplantation:

Q: What is the ruling about organ donation from a dead Muslim to a living Muslim person?

Sistani: Amputation of an organ of a dead Muslim, such as his eye, his hand, for transplantation into a living body is not allowed, and when someone does, he must pay *dīya* and the burial of the amputated organ is a religious duty (*wājib*). But if transplantation is already done and the organ becomes part of the living body, its removal is not a religious obligation (*wājib*) (Sistani, n.d.c).

This fatwa remains at the level of primary law because it does not state clearly that this is a matter of saving a human life (eye or hand). Therefore, fatwa does not allow retrieval and, if retrieval was already carried out, it orders financial compensation (*diyya*). This does not mean, however, that Sistani prohibits all types of transplantation. These examples show that legal decisions need to be studied carefully and seen as a whole collection, not an isolated statement.

The transformation of contemporary Twelver Shi'ite legal theory is possible thanks to these methodological tools (e.g. the change of subject and the secondary rulings) and thus it can meet current religious, scientific, and social requirements.

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Shu, Dingfang; Hui Zhang, & Lifei Zhang (eds.). *Cognitive Linguistics and the study of Chinese*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2019. ISBN: 978 90 272 0416 5. <https://doi.org/10.1075/hcp.67s>

CHEN Hui and LU Weizhong

Cognitive Linguistics (CL) refers to the approach to the study of language, which emerged in the 1970s and has been increasingly active since the 1980s. Cognitive Linguistics is a school of linguistics which investigates language based upon our experience of the world and the way we perceive and conceptualize it (Ungerer & Schmid 2001). The object of CL research is to define the relationship between human cognition and language. The major theories in Cognitive Linguistics mainly include Cognitive Grammar developed by R. W. Langacker, Cognitive Semantics by L. Talmy and R. Jackendoff, Construction Grammar by A. Goldberg, Conceptual Metaphor by G. Lakoff & M. Johnson, Mental Space and Conceptual Blending Theory by G. Fauconnier and M. Turner and others. Since its introduction into China about 30 years ago, Cognitive Linguistics has been applied frequently to analyzing Mandarin Chinese and has made great achievements in accounting for linguistic phenomena that are specific to Mandarin Chinese.

In the initial stage, most of the studies in Cognitive Linguistics focused on West-European data (English in particular). With the advent of Cognitive Linguistics in the world, many cognitive linguists started to consider other languages. More and more Chinese scholars now investigate Mandarin Chinese within the cognitive paradigm. This volume is the first collection of representative papers that apply CL theories to the analysis of Chinese data, serving as a window to how cognitive linguists in China adopt CL theories in exploring Chinese. It is expected by the editors to provide a more comprehensive understanding of what is going on concerning the CL movement in China (p. XIV).

The volume by the three editors is divided into three parts representing different perspectives along with two introductory chapters. The first introduction presents a chapter-to-chapter description of the volume. The second provides an overview of the CL research in China over the past thirty years by Dingfang Shu, Lifei Zhang, and Tian Li. Based on the qualitative and quantitative study, they endeavor to introduce an overall picture of the CL development in China, including the strands, the characteristics, and the future research of Chinese CL studies.

Part I (Chapters 1-5) includes CL studies on morphological, lexical, and syntactic constructions of Mandarin Chinese. In Chapter 1, Wei-lun Lu investigates the synchronic polysemy of the Mandarin construction *bai*. Using

data of the NTU Spoken Corpus of Mandarin Chinese, inspired by the discourse-constructional approach, Lu demonstrates how various meanings of *hai* arise from an interplay between its schematic sense and discourse pragmatics, which provides an account for synchronic polysemy of *hai*, and makes a case for how constructions and context interact to produce meaning in use, which plays an important role for the study of constructions in discourse.

In Chapter 2, Zhen Tian analyzes the partial productivity of the Chinese *zhe* Existential Construction. Based on data from the Chinese National Corpus, Tian concludes the classification and distribution of the existential verbs and suggests that these verbs in the *zhe* Existential Construction are linked in terms of the temporal structure of their corresponding events/states, and the compatibility of verbs and CEC depends on the relative salience of the participant roles of theme, patient and location licensed by the verb. This study demonstrates that a collocation analysis is useful in explaining the partial productivity of constructions.

In Chapter 3, Yuchen Li and Zhengguang Liu explore the role of subjectification in explaining the differences between the *BA* construction and the *BA-GE* construction in Mandarin Chinese. Using data from the CCL Corpus and based on subjectification proposed by Langacker, Li and Liu demonstrate the differences between the two disposal constructions unique in Mandarin Chinese and show the diachronic meaning changes of the two constructions. The *BA* construction does indeed focus on the description of events, while the *BA-GE* construction emphasizes the speaker's subjective perspective. The study shows that subjectification plays a significant role in the description and explanation of constructional meaning.

In Chapter 4, Jiaxuan Shen investigates types of negative constructions and clarifies the distinction between noun-verb classification in English and Chinese. With ample instances, Shen argues that the most important division of negatives in English is between the negation of nouns and that of verbs, while the most important division in Chinese is between indicative and non-indicative negation, or between the negation of *you* and the negation of *shi*. This difference proves that the nouns and verbs form two separate grammatical categories in English, whereas in Chinese nouns constitute a super-noun category with the verb included. Shen also explains the philosophical and cognitive motivation for the difference in terms of noun-verb classification in English and Chinese.

In Chapter 5, Wenbin Wang focuses on the semantics of Adj+V construction in Mandarin Chinese. Providing strong evidence, Wang argues that the Adj+V

construction is not the result of a change of a verb into a noun when it occurs in a sentence, and that the pervasive use of the Adj+V construction suggests that Chinese language users have a strong tendency to think of the world in terms of entities and substances that have spatial properties.

Part II (Chapters 6-7) focuses on the study of the Chinese language in context and its communicative functions within the CL paradigm. In Chapter 6, Yulong Xu presents the study of inter-clausal NP anaphora in Chinese complex sentences in written Chinese texts from a CL perspective. Using data from the Chinese Corpus, Xu argues that the difference of placement of the subject of Chinese sentence depends on whether the NP is intended to be conjoint or disjoint in reference to the subject NP of the main clause. Based on the pragmatic notions of Topicality and Accessibility, Xu proposes two hypotheses to illustrate the preferred patterns of inter-clausal NP anaphora in Chinese complex sentences. In Chapter 7, Rong Chen presents two examples in Mandarin Chinese so as to show the necessity of combining Cognitive Linguistics with pragmatics in the study of language. Chen first illustrates the greeting *ni chi le mo?* (“How are you”) in a Chinese dialect can be better analyzed by combining construction grammar with its pragmatic meaning. The second illustration comes from the fuller understanding of metaphors by combining the conceptual metaphor analysis and the pragmatics perspective. Chen suggests that Cognitive Linguistics and pragmatics can complement each other to achieve a deeper understanding of linguistic phenomena.

Part III (Chapters 8-10) focuses on neurocognition and psycholinguistics. In Chapter 8, Hui Zhang investigates time course and neural activity in the processing of Chinese three-character idioms and their variants in discourse dialogic contexts (e.g., literally biased and figuratively biased contexts). Based on the statistics with the help of event-related potential (ERP) techniques, Zhang illustrates the results with CL, Relevance Theory and Glucksberg’s proposals, and shows that different types of discourse context facilitate the processing of base-forms and variants.

In Chapter 9, Yumiao Gong and Rong Zhou present the role of metaphor in the process of categorization. Applying a priming paradigm, Gong and Zhou first distinguish between attributive metaphors and conceptually complex relational metaphors and show that, for attributive metaphors, only literal meanings of the vehicle are activated, while in relational metaphors, they are activated only for 300 ms but then actively suppressed. They suggest that for relational metaphors, structure-mapping and schema induction underlie metaphorical categorization.

In Chapter 10, Yinglin Ji investigates linguistic and mental representations of caused motion in Chinese and English children in two cartoon-based experiments.

Using the language production task in experiments, findings show that typological properties influence the semantic density of children's utterances. Regardless of age, children express denser semantic information in Chinese than in English. The analysis of reaction time suggests that children of 8 years and adults show significant variations in spatial cognition that can be related to linguistic differences: English speakers tend to be more manner-oriented while Chinese speakers are equally manner- and path-oriented.

This volume is a review of the research status, achievements, and trends of Cognitive Linguistics since it was introduced into China more than 30 years ago. It is a valuable reference in cognitive linguistics and Chinese linguistics in at least the following three aspects.

Firstly, this volume compiles representative papers of Chinese scholars who apply cognitive linguistic theories to the analysis of Chinese data on various aspects, such as constructions, semantics, syntax, and pragmatics. All the topics are within the CL paradigm, which demonstrates the explanatory adequacy of Cognitive Linguistics to different linguistic phenomena. Some papers expand the application of Cognitive Linguistics to other fields, such as pragmatics (Chapters 6-7), neurology and psychology (Chapters 8-10), reflecting the interdisciplinary trend in CL. It reflects the editors' purpose of writing of "evoking potential future volumes of its kind." (p. XI).

Secondly, this volume applies both qualitative and quantitative research methods in CL, which is a proof that the trend of Cognitive Linguistics in China is in line with the quantitative turn and experimental turn of Cognitive Linguistics in the world. Since many researchers have pointed out that the use of the analyst's own introspective judgement is problematic, more and more researchers try to verify their research hypotheses by employing quantitative methods, such as corpus data, experimental findings, and neural imaging. Many Chinese cognitive linguists also try to follow the quantitative turn in Chinese cognitive linguistic studies. This volume is of great significance in its presenting the research trend by means of putting together influential papers that use corpus-based methods (Chapters 1-3), and experimental approaches (Chapters 8-10). However, "the development of quantitative methods does not mean that other types of contributions (theoretical, introspective) are in any way less welcome in cognitive linguistics" (Janda 2013). As a matter of fact, the researchers' own intuitions remain an excellent source of hypotheses and are particularly useful in the study of meaning (Talmy 2005). Qualitative descriptions can provide the basis for quantitative methods. For example, the findings based on introspective studies

(Chapters 4-5) establish a theoretical basis for many other studies and create new perspectives for Chinese research. And the corpus method and experimental method help to “shed new light on an old issue, reflecting the usage-based nature of CL research” (Janda et al. 2019: 5). Thus, the combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods will be more advisable for a better development of CL research.

Thirdly, this volume will promote studies on authentic languages and comparative studies between different languages. This volume provides studies of different styles of Chinese, such as written Chinese (Chapter 6) and spoken Chinese (Chapter 1, 3), which contributes to enriching the studies of Mandarin Chinese and functions as a referential volume to spark the creation of additional volumes on CL research in other countries. Also, the topics and methodology applied in the volume will provide a cognitive research paradigm to cognitive research on other languages. It is held that typological evidence can challenge the existing cognitive linguistic theories that are biased towards the (Indo-)European languages (Divjak et al. 2016). With sufficient distributional data for many languages of the world, Cognitive Linguistics will display its greater explanatory power and make a greater contribution to the study of linguistics.

Fourthly, this volume will provide a bridge between western linguistic research and eastern linguistic research, helping to promote the development of general linguistics.

Despite its high quality and significant contribution, this volume still has some limitations. First, more influential articles could have been sampled in the research of the second introduction. The articles selected in the second introduction are all and only from the most influential Chinese journals, while, as a matter of fact, many Chinese scholars have also had their articles published in international journals. If more articles are selected and analyzed from at home and abroad, the picture of Cognitive Linguistics in China will be more comprehensive. Second, the organization of the volume is not completely in accord with the most popular CL strands in China (i.e., cognitive semantics, metaphor and metonymy, cognitive grammar, and Construction Grammar) introduced in the second introduction. The three parts of the volume concern mainly with metaphor (Chapter 3) and Construction Grammar (Chapters 1-5), and the structure of each individual part is imbalanced; more articles should have been included in Part II and Part III to give more space to the more popular CL strands in China. The division of chapters is based principally on an individual general criterion (constructions, cognitive pragmatics, neurocognition and psycholinguistics), while division based on a more specific one would have been more reader-friendly with a clearer organization of such topics as cognitive semantics, conceptual metaphor

and metonymy, cognitive grammar, and construction grammar, conceptual blending, etc. Third, the volume does not provide a comprehensive picture of Cognitive Linguistics in China, since many important topics are not included in this volume, for example, cognitive sociolinguistics, multimodal cognitive linguistics, applied cognitive linguistics, and the unique findings in cross-linguistic differences by Chinese scholars and linguists.

In conclusion, this volume introduces the development of CL research on Mandarin Chinese with high-quality papers contributed by representative Chinese scholars. Focusing on typical topics and applying various methodologies, the volume sets a good model for research works on Cognitive Linguistics in other languages. It is reader-friendly to those who are interested in Cognitive Linguistics and those who are interested in the study of Chinese. It is believed that more volumes focusing on Chinese cognitive linguistics will be introduced with more specific topics and Chinese linguists and scholars will make a greater contribution to the development of Cognitive Linguistics in the near future.

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Zhang Cziráková, Daniela. *Breaking the Ink—Abstract Ink Art in Mainland China*. Bratislava: VEDA, 2021. ISBN 978-80-224-1841-6.

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Today we are witnessing an unprecedented interest in all things Chinese in every possible area, art being one of them. *Breaking the Ink* breaks the idea of the unified nature of “Chinese art”. It comprehensively maps abstract ink art with a focus on the medium of painting in mainland China. The author offers Picasso perspective, or the perspective used by traditional Chinese landscapists, if you will, on the complex topic of development in contemporary Chinese abstract ink painting in the mainland from the position of the international art scene, from the position of art critics, the position of Chinese artists, and her own interpretation.

Zhang Cziráková frames her research in the overview of major sources of inspiration, major movements, and Chinese artists living in China and partly living abroad. The scope of the art scene does not allow detailed description of all forms of abstract art in China, however, the author manages to outline at least some installation works.

This is a valuable contribution towards enriching the knowledge of a non-sinologist art theoretician—who might come across the volume—in the terminology of Chinese art theory. The volume contains important terms such as *qi yun sheng dong* 气韵生动 (spiritual consonance), *wang xing de yi* 忘形得意 (forget formal likeness to obtain an idea), *yi bi* 逸笔 (unrestrained brush), *yi qi* 逸气 (unrestrained spirit), *xuan* paper, etc. The difference in the perception of the term “abstract art” in China and in the West is explained in detail by listing the related names for such art used in China—*feijuxiang* 非像, *xiangwai* 形外, etc. It also touches upon the difference in attitudes and resources used for the creation of abstract art in China and the West.

The volume is divided into five main parts. In the first part Cziráková systematically presents inspirations from the historical—visual as well as theoretical—point of view.

The second part describes important developments and inspirations from HK, Taiwan, and the Japanese calligraphy and the role they played for mainland artists. In one of the subchapters semi-abstract painters are mentioned.

The third part discusses the avant-garde movement after the cultural revolution—the ‘85 New Wave Movement concerning abstract art. Cziráková also

explains how ink painting needed reform and abstract art had ambition, or was even expected, to be a part of it.

In the fourth part the author explains the background and history of Experimental ink and wash movement concerning abstract ink art and briefly mentions Wu Guanzhong. It also includes an important subchapter on the debate on using the brush vs traditional calligraphic brushstrokes.

The last part focuses on other groups of artists creating abstract art such as maximalism and *yipai* 意派, also groups creating abstract art using calligraphic features and the so-called weird artists. One of the subchapters deals with the topic of artists living partly in China and partly abroad, who prevalently use references on Chan Buddhism in their work. Finally, the latest wave of Neo-modernism from 2018 is discussed, as well as its diverse approaches to abstraction, mostly using Chinese philosophy as their starting point.

The author essentially focuses on the overall contribution of abstract ink artists to contemporary Chinese art and its position within the international art scene. The publication demonstrates the so-called joint struggle of Chinese artists. Whilst some of them present themselves as followers or reformers of traditional ink painting, others consider themselves as members of the contemporary global art scene without any ties to Chinese history. Other artists, perhaps more aware of their cultural heritage due to their life abroad, are breaking from the tradition in a way but are manifesting a strong connection to the traditional philosophies such as Chan Buddhism and Taoism.

The author has adopted an approach not only art historical but also sociological. She categorizes the impulses that caused some artists to turn to abstraction and specifies social changes and cultural perceptions in Chinese society which has become more open and has gradually begun to accept the concept of pure abstraction. She further places the movements, influences, and artists in the historical context and explains the role market plays for the artists in deciding whether to create or not to create abstract art.

In conclusion, *Breaking the Ink—Abstract Ink Art in Mainland China* is a fine volume introducing Chinese abstract ink art in all its variations to English-speaking audiences. It explains the discrepancy in Western translations of Chinese terms. It brings valuable artist statements, as the author lets the artists speak directly to the reader by quoting their messages on WeChat and personal statements in interviews and catalogues. The publication includes an extensive number of illustrations. It would be helpful if the volume contained not only the index of the names of mentioned artists but also an index of the used terms from Chinese art theory.

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