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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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Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave  
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This volume is dedicated to  
Martin Slobodník (1970-2019)





# Tibetan Purificatory *Sel* Rituals: Fragments of the Tradition from the Borderlands of the Tibetan Plateau

Daniel Berounský

*Abstract* One of the purificatory rituals mentioned in the Tibetan texts is *sel*. It is rarely practiced nowadays in Tibet. Such rituals were predominantly performed for purification of the pollution coming from incest and killing a relative. The paper firstly uses extracts from the 14th century influential compendium of Bon religion entitled *Sutra of Immaculate Splendour*. It mentions animals to be offered including flying squirrel. A recently resurfaced text entitled *White Purification sel of the Clean Gods* containing longer myth on the origin of the ritual is introduced next. The text presents this ritual as a tradition of the original Tibetan families. The crucial role of mediator between gods and people is played by Wise Bat. Lastly, this paper deals with texts and memoirs of the ritual specialists called *leu*. They used to perform their rituals in the forested regions of north-eastern Tibet prior to the Cultural Revolution in China. The *sel* ritual purifying, namely pollution from incest, was among the main ritual repertoire of the *leu* ritualists. From the surviving texts, flying squirrel emerges as an important animal purifying such pollution. The *leu* texts further explicate that the pollution from incest is seen as having serious cosmological implications. Its consequence is blockage of the heavenly source of the human progeny. It is argued in the paper that in this case it is likely that the local tradition from the forested parts of the eastern Tibet entered the universal religion of Bon and perhaps also the pan-Tibetan religious values in the distant past. The non-Buddhist religious traditions should be seen as a diverse specific local lore which only with the dominance of Buddhism on the Tibetan Plateau started to be perceived increasingly as an abstract unit. The *leu* tradition was unique in a sense that until recently it probably did not identify itself with such abstract constructs but continued to focus mainly on a variety of practical ritual means for solving problems.

*Keywords* Tibet, Tibetan rituals, Bön religion, animal offerings, flying squirrel, bat

## *Dedication*

I would like to celebrate Martin's 50th birthday through this paper. His sudden absence cannot make him disappear. What follows is permeated by the memory

of our travels to one of the places we visited together, which is dealt with in the following paper. I probably never told Martin and now I regret it—he was one of the best travel companions I ever met.

### *Introduction*

Tibetan societies are in general considered to be strongly influenced by Buddhist ideas. Some researchers, as well as travellers to Tibet, might take such a statement as an obvious reflection of the reality. The memorable places which open up for a foreign visitor in Tibet would appear to be primarily the numerous Buddhist monasteries—centres of knowledge and culture. The vast areas of knowledge of monks are making their way from the monastic seats to the lay people who flock to such centres as pilgrims, for ritual services, medical treatment and accumulation of merit. If one wishes to understand the specifics of the Tibetan societies, it seems natural to get familiar with the knowledge of the clerics first.

Nevertheless, the state of matters might not be as straightforward as it appears at the first sight. Outside the pomp, often proud manifestation of knowledge going hand in hand with power, scattered among the lay householders and nomads, there exist ritual traditions which have little in common with Buddhist ideas and many a time represent another pole of the Tibetan culture. Hidden inconspicuously from the mainstream channels of knowledge and fame, their bearers are generally sceptical about the main Buddhist values. Their voice is mostly not to be heard outside the limits of almost private environs of small communities. Being often targeted both by the clerics with their universal and usually uniform monopoly on truth and strong tendency to civilise “barbarians”, and presently also by Chinese state politics which struggles against the “superstitions”, they nevertheless could tell much more about specific Tibetan values which lie close to the heart of what could be called indigenous ideas. Such traditions are however facing extinction.

The present paper will focus on fragments concerning specific purificatory rituals called *sel* (*sel*) which are apparently related to such a tradition. The Tibetan expression *sel* means “cleansing”, or “to remove pollution” and as such is frequently

employed in Buddhist texts. It appears there largely in repeated phrases about removing stain (*sgrib sel*) obstructing one's mind, etc. But the *sel* rituals which are the topic of this paper operate in a radically different context.

Such rituals are very rarely performed nowadays in Tibet, but there exist some references to them in the form of surviving texts. These texts share almost nothing with Buddhism, yet they provide the interested with glimpses of essential values connected with the specific notions or ritual purity which is strongly related to the Tibetan non-Buddhist cosmology. Such texts are also exceptional for their poetic features. Needless to say, their beauty is very alien to the Buddhist standards of poetic expressions.

There are three major purificatory rituals mentioned among the Tibetan sources. The first of them is the most common ritual called *sang* (*bsang*). In its most simple form, *sang* typically consists of burning juniper, with the addition of other plants in some cases. As such it is spread across all the Tibetan societies. My recent publication was dedicated to the ritual of burning foxes through such a ritual (Berounský 2019) and this somehow challenges the view of it as a ritual which is compatible with the principle Buddhist values. It has apparently also been used for burning animals in the past, a habit which is almost forgotten in Tibet.

Another purificatory ritual is named *tsen* (*tshan*). The purification is performed via the use of liquids which are believed to wash away the pollution (see Karmay 1995). Although it is performed nowadays without the use of animal offerings within monastic Bon and Nyingma tradition, it seems probable that at least the “red lustre” (*dmar tshan*), which is now differentiated from the “white” one (*dkar tshan*), involved the use of blood of a number of sacrificial animals.<sup>1</sup>

Judging from the information stemming from the last part of this paper dealing with the *sel* ritual among the *leu* tradition of north-eastern edge of the Tibetan Plateau, the *sel* ritual was primarily used for purification of the source of the pollution and is a general term for a lengthy ritual consisting of a large number of steps. It could include *tsen* and *sang* as particular stages within the much more complex *sel* ritual. While *tsen* would be denoting a ritual process of washing off the pollution from the body of a polluted individual by liquids including blood of animals, the *sang* ritual by contrast would be more likely to be used for purification

<sup>1</sup> The use of blood of birds is relatively frequently referred to in the *Nyen Collection* (*Gnyan 'bum*), see, for example, Berounský 2019.

of the divinities; the purification in this case being carried out by the smoke from burning the offerings instead. This characteristic is also in agreement with what Toni Huber observes in eastern Himalaya.<sup>2</sup>

The main ideas associated with these three rituals seem to be related. They are suggested to remove pollutions. Such pollutions are represented by a pair of symbolical male and female counterparts—a murder of a relative (or inter-clan murder) is associated with males and incest (or defiling sexual relationship) with females. There is, nevertheless, a much longer list of typical pollutions, and these two counterparts often represent symbolic reference to whole respective groups of them.

The idea of writing this paper was inspired mainly by the information contained in the last parts of the present text, which points to the almost extinguished ritual tradition from the forested areas of north-eastern Tibet called *leu* (*le'u*). The notions of this paper are conceived from some fragmented information concerning the purificatory rituals *sel* collected there during my three visits in 2017 and 2018. It will be presented here in the last part of the paper. According to one of the two surviving ritual specialists of this tradition, the *sel* rituals have been the core of the ritual repertoire of lay ritual specialists, also called *leu*, since the times predating the intrusion of Red Army into Tibet in 1959 and the devastating Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). Further testimony from the second surviving ritual specialist contains general description of a very large and complex ritual consisting of 28 ritual steps. These are connected with another ritual of offering animals among which the flying squirrel (*bya ma byil*) is the most prominent and considered to be essential for the *sel* ritual.

2 Toni Huber (2013, 270) argues: “According to g. Yung-drung Bon sources, there are many variations of *sel* and its application. In contrast, our data from the eastern Himalayas preserves only a very specific sequence of *sel* rites with a single purpose. There, the performance of *sel* involves a complex of different purificatory practices used in a sequence, including fumigation with fragrant smoke (*bsang* or *dud sel*), lustration with scented waters (*tshan*), ablution with pure waters (*kbrus* or *bshal*), and the elimination of negative hindrances from the path (*lam sel*).”

This information will be compared, later in the conclusion, with some of the published results of research conducted by Toni Huber in eastern Himalaya.<sup>3</sup> His research focuses on the figure of Ya-ngal who is obviously the prominent figure associated with *sel* rituals there. Ya-ngal is known in the *leu* rituals as well, but it seems that in this case the tradition is much less elaborate compared to that of in eastern Himalaya and Ya-ngal bears a strong resemblance to a mythical character coming from afar. By contrast, the research undertaken by Toni Huber does not seem to record flying squirrel as an important animal for the *sel* ritual in that region. These might be indications of independent regional origins of these rituals but also contacts between these two areas.

#### I *Sel Ritual in the Accounts from the Sutra of Immaculate Splendour*

The text of *Sutra of Immaculate Splendour* (*Mdo dri med gzi brjid*) is an influential scripture within the monastic Bon, which was revealed in 14<sup>th</sup> century as a “treasure” (*gter ma*) by Loden Nyingpo (Blo ldan snying po). It organises various doctrines and rituals of the Bon religion within its twelve volumes. Parts dealing with *sel* ritual are included in a section called “Black Waters” (Chab nag) which mostly deals with worldly rituals. The text is written in such a manner that after a brief focus on mostly non-Buddhist rituals, suddenly and often incoherently, there appear some notes stressing Buddhist notions as compassion, virtues, etc. Excerpts from this text including parts dedicated to *sel* ritual were translated by a group of Bonpo scholars working together with David Snellgrove (Snellgrove 1967). Despite the otherwise very reliable translation, it was unfortunately decided to translate the name of this ritual, *sel*, as “exorcism”.<sup>4</sup> I will keep the original text of

- 3 It was only after submitting this paper that I received Toni Huber’s *opus magnum* which presents his research in much detail in more than 1000 pages, entitled *Source of Life* (Huber 2020). Despite the new availability of this large repository of information on *sel* rituals unknown to me at the time of writing the paper, it does not change the principle arguments and information contained in the present paper.
- 4 We will see later that in some of the understanding, the polluting act results in the presence of demons of pollution in the bodies and thus an idea of warding off the demons associated with “exorcism” is not altogether odd. But in this case, the Tibetan name of the ritual connects it with

the translation, only the expression “exorcism” will be changed for “purification” or “*sel* purification”.

The text—apparently attempting to organise rituals and doctrines into coherent groups—speaks about twelve original traditions of *sel* purification. Each of them is then divided into ten specific groups, which gives the total of 120 specific traditions with specific origin myths. It is rather an impressive number, but given the nature of the text, one doubts the relevance of such information given along with almost mathematically precise divisions. At the same time, it could as well convey the fact that there exists a large number of the specific *sel* rituals. Then comes an interesting note on the specific voices imitating animals and birds used during the ritual (Snellgrove 1967, 46-51):<sup>5</sup>

So for each original lore of exposition  
 there is subdivision into 120 ways of *sel* purification,  
 and with these are associated the eight ululations of sound.  
 First in the case of the three originals  
 for urging the acceptance of purity and rejection of defilement,  
 effect the ululation of the growling tigress.  
 Then for the incantation of the exposition of *sel* purification,  
 effect the ululation of bird and dog and horse.  
 There are various variable sounds of birds.  
 The sound of the dog is barking or growling.  
 The sound of the horse is neighing and pleasant.  
 The utterance of ululations must be done well [...]

ritual purity and the term *sel* stands primarily for purification of specific pollutions which could be represented by specific demonic entities, but the term “exorcism” seems to be too general and to obscure the specific context of this ritual. It would be probably more fitting to the common practice associated with Tibetan mediums (*lha pa*). They are sometimes possessed by demons and in such cases a ritual of warding them off is performed. Toni Huber renders the term *sel* as “elimination” (Huber 2020). In order to stress the context of the ritual, I interpret it mainly as “elimination of pollutions”, or shortly “purification”.

5 For the transliteration of the original Tibetan extracts, see appendix 1.

Then after a general section that uses Buddhist notions of suffering, compassion, etc.—as if it should belong to a different text—comes a part of the text which describes clearly the mechanism of the pollution. It lists the main polluting acts:

The impurities of murder, fatherless child, incest,  
evils, bad signs, and defiling misfortunes,  
defilement of the hearth, of animosity, anger and the rest,  
they strike the eyes of the gods.  
If defilement touches the gods of the Pure Abode,  
the domains of the Lords of the Soil [*yuḷ sa*] are defiled.  
The vapours of their defilement  
strike upon the company of human beings,  
and in this world region poverty, disease, famine, disturbances, unhappiness and  
sufferings of all kinds arise [...].

The mechanism is that, that by some of the polluting acts listed, the pollution strikes the gods and returns to the community of people in the form of “vapours”, or “breath” (*kba rlang*) of the local divinities, causing various misfortunes. The text then ascertains the place of the ritual, which should be close to a crossroad with a lofty mountain behind ones back. It then comes to the ritual items and also mentions animals used for sacrifice and all of a sudden alludes to “wish-granting cow” which is an Indic symbol used frequently within Buddhism.



Plate 1

*Flying squirrel (bya ma byi). Illuminated medical manuscript containing illustrations of Rgyud bzhi, Wellcome Library, London (Published online by Pallatino Press, [www.palatinopress.com/tibetan-materia-medica.html](http://www.palatinopress.com/tibetan-materia-medica.html)).*

This is an example of how unsystematically some Buddhist elements are inserted into the text. Another animal mentioned in the Snellgrove's translation is bat. But the original version contains the expression *bya ma byel* (in Tibetan also *bya ma byil* / *bya ma byi*) which stands for a flying squirrel rather than for a bat (*pha wang*).<sup>6</sup> It seems that the Tibetan term is sometimes used for referring to bats by the inhabitants of central Tibet or other deserted places in high altitudes, who do not know this animal. But it will be later clear that the texts on this ritual, coming from the areas where flying squirrels are widely spread, make a clear distinction between them. It is the flying squirrel that is the crucial animal for treating the so-called pollution of incest in the forested areas of north-eastern Tibet.

Another animal mentioned is cow. It seems incoherent and quite probably in this case fox (*wa*) was meant instead of cow (*ba*), since as it will be seen, the fox appears in the group of the animals used in the ritual. The word fox is also

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also Huber 2013, who comes to the same conclusion.

frequently written as *ba* (cow) in the texts from eastern Tibet instead of the correct *wa* (fox):

The items should be good ones and various:  
 birds' feathers, coloured wool, sacrificial barley,  
 a wish-granting cow and feathery fowl,  
 a white monkey, a badger, and a white cow [corr. fox?],  
 bat [corr. flying squirrel], and other such things should be gathered together.  
 Furthermore, an offering of green barley,  
 the three milk-products, the three sweet offerings, flesh and blood, and other desirable offerings,  
 these are the excellent necessities to be gathered together.  
 Set up as an aid the original [fierce (*gnyan po*)]<sup>7</sup> ring of *sel* purification.  
 Above the three great high vales of being,  
 below the three great low vales of non-being,  
 in between the place where gods and men may come together,  
 (here) on the white sacred mat,  
 place the "sprinklings" of green barley.  
 Set up as symbol the divine arrow with the white feather.  
 Prepare the necessities for offering to the pure divinities of the *sel* purification rite.

The great speaker of the original bon of purification *sel*,  
 binds the turban on his head.  
 In his mouth he receives the draught that is to be drunk.  
 In his hand he offers the thing that is to be offered.  
 With his voice he intones the exposition using ululations.  
 Unsuitable ritual items must be avoided.  
 The exposition must be done carefully in full.  
 The potency of the "Black Waters" emerges in exposition,  
 [...]

So, for the "Black Waters" exposition is the most important thing.

This description is clearly about the basic frame of the ritual. The origin myths (*rabs/dpe/smrang*) are of high importance for the ritual and should be intoned with

7 This was omitted in the translation by Snellgrove. I am adding it here, since it could indicate a connection with worship of the nyen (*gnyan*) spirits.

the use of voice imitating birds and certain animals. Before doing so, the ritualist binds a turban around his head and drinks a certain beverage. This section of the text resembles wording which comes from the text translated below, which specifies the beverage as alcoholic *chang*:

Lhabon bound a turban around his head,  
and spread a precious cushion at his feet.  
He poured nectar of *chang* into his neck,  
and was given desirable offerings to his hands.

Unfortunately, the text says very little about the content of the ritual. It does not explain the role of the animals offered nor the details concerning the origin myths. But the animals mentioned, namely the flying squirrel, will be of certain importance for further arguments in this paper.

## 2 *A Tradition of Sel Ritual Representing the Bordering Regions of the Tibetan Plateau: White Purification of the Clean Gods*

There are two exceptional texts dealing with the *sel* purification that contain origin myth of this tradition. Both of them are lacking colophon and thus any effort to date them would only result in tentative estimations. Nevertheless, they attempt a more universal organization of the tradition from a different perspective than the previous excerpt. They present the ritual as a coherent lore connected with the original four (or six) clans of Tibetans.<sup>8</sup> These original clans of Tibetans are then linked with the old principalities at the borders of the Tibetan Plateau, which were mostly conquered by Tibetans from Central Tibet during the creation of Tibetan empire of the Imperial Period (ca. 650–850 AD). This feature reveals—and this is also supported by the character of the language used in these texts—that the texts themselves cannot be by any means dated back to the Imperial period of the Tibetan history and must be of much later date. They are part of an attempt to create a general and universal tradition out of what probably used to

8 The term “clan” is not used in a precise sense here. It is a part of the mythical narrative concerning ancestors. “Family” (*rigs*) will be used as synonym in this text.

be just local lore. The previous example witnessed similar attempts towards a universal doctrine in which once divergent rituals and doctrines were converted into seemingly coherent building blocks of impressive structure. In this case we are obviously dealing with an endeavour invested in presenting general ritual tradition of Tibet symmetrically linked with each of the original Tibetan clans. These clans are in turn rather surprisingly connected with the old principalities existing once at the outskirts of the Tibetan Plateau. With the exception of Zhangzhung, all of them (Azha, Minyak and Sumpa) were located in the eastern part of the Tibetan Plateau. The text as if suggests that the true Tibetan tradition is not bound to the centre in Lhasa but to the bordering regions.

The first of these two texts might be known to specialists. Its title is *Purification sel of the gods of the four families of the little men (Mi'u rigs bzhi lha sel)* and the original manuscript of it, written in headless script, was published together with the transcribed text (Karmay and Nagano 2000). The text opens with a description of a divine land where a mythical vulture resides. The vulture descends on the earth and produces ritual tools used in the ritual, such as divine stone, arrow, barley and divine cushion. The text then speaks about the four original clans of Tibetans and these are those of Sumpa, Azha, Zhangzhung and Minyak principalities. Each of them receives its own divinities. The myth continues with the creation of five birds: bat (considered to be a bird), crane, cuckoo, parrot and skylark. Bat stands out from them and is called by the name Wise Bat Yezur (Sgam pha wang yer zur), where the last part of its name will be written slightly differently as *ye zur* in the second text. This would mean “side of primordial,” but Toni Huber, using written and oral references from eastern Himalaya and from among the Naxi people, connects this expression with the bat’s unusual snout (*ya zbur*).<sup>9</sup> All the birds are messengers between gods and people. Each of the birds then invites divinities to their “supports” (*rten*) during the ritual where they are purified. The invited divinities are mostly those, which are better known collectively as “enveloping divinities” (*go ba'i lha*) and include male divinity (*pbo lha*), warrior divinity (*dgra blalsgra bla*), mother divinity (*ma lha*), paternal uncle divinity (*zhang lha*), etc. The text nevertheless calls them “protecting divinities” (*mgon pa'i lha*).<sup>10</sup> They are eventually asked to reside in the bodies of individual people.

9 Cf. Huber 2020, vol. I: 113.

10 The term *go ba* is understood in a sense of “enveloping” in relatively recent texts. For its older



Plate 2

*Title page of the leu manuscript from Ldong Kbrod dealing with Wise Bat (Mdo smad mda 'tshang yul gyi gna' dpe phyogs bsdus mthong ba don ldan 2011, vol. II: 370).*

The majority of the second text is translated below. It appeared recently among the old texts scanned in Khyungpo Tengchen (Khyung po steng chen) area in Kham. Its title is given as *White Purification of the Clean Gods (Gtsang ma'i lba ser (=sel) dkar po)*. These two texts share some similar features and the general frame, but their actual wording is quite different. In short, this second text describes the origin of the world and the creation of the original four clans of Tibetans which are linked again to Sumpa, Azha, Minyag (Tanguts) and Zhangzhung. Each of them then receives their own divinities. The text then unexpectedly mentions a king Khyikhyocan,<sup>11</sup> who did not receive his share of divinities. The text further relates that boys and girls were sent to him in order to compensate this omission. This probably alludes to human sacrifices, since in the following paragraph a certain human flesh-eating Oldrang (Ol brang) is mentioned. It is not certain what the expression designates; it could be a group of people (*ol* could mean “upper part of neck” and *brang* “chest”).

understanding, see Dotson 2017, for various contexts of this group of divinities, see Berounsky 2007.

11 It is considered to be a fabulous land in the eastern direction and Kamchatka, but also Japan has been suggested to be the place. It mostly appears as *Rgyal/Rgya mo khyi khyo can/ma* (rendered sometimes as “Queen, who has a dog as her husband”). See, for example, Martin 1994.

After this, according to the text, the supports for divinities are searched for. Such supports come from the mythical vulture. This part resembles the beginning of the first myth. Through him and his bodily parts “supports of divinities” are produced, and when used in the ritual by Lhabon Thokar (Lha bon Thod dkar), they result in harmony, when the “hands of people and divinities were joined”.

A crisis then appears because of people forgetting about the divinities and producing pollution through contaminating hearths, practicing incest and impudicity, killing relatives and widowing. The divinities (now mentioned as male-divinities and warrior gods) leave people for the thirteenth layer of the sky, where they reside at the bottom of a boulder under a sprout of juniper tree. Female diviner is called upon and she eventually learns the source of the misfortune. She decides that the divinities should be invited and for this a messenger is required.

The text then continues with an origin myth of a miraculous messenger—Wise Bat Yezur—describing his extraordinary features. The Bat travels to the divinities at the thirteenth layer of the sky and then searches for and eventually invites the priest Ya-ngal. Producing ritual items called “the lamp of primordial”, the divinities are fetched back to people.

The role of the Wise Bat is that of mediator in the conflict between the people and divinities. It follows a pattern present in the legal cases in Tibet. The legal process consists of searching for a suitable mediator who then after long negotiations with each of the opposing parties eventually offers a solution which is accepted by all. It also somehow reflects the role of some priests in the non-Buddhist rituals confirming the observation by Charles Ramble that the Tibetan rituals are often legal in their nature (Ramble 2008).

The Wise Bat and its role in eastern Himalaya were again documented by Toni Huber (Huber 2013, Huber 2020). The Wise Bat figures in the *leu* texts from the north-eastern edge of Tibetan Plateau as well and it is known to Naxi rituals (cf. Ramble 2014 and namely Huber 2020). It also appears several times in the *Nyen Collection* which is connected with Dong clan of the Amdo region (Berounský 2017); it even contains a brief myth describing the rescue of warrior divinities and divinities of males by the Wise Bat, similarly to the content of this text (Berounský 2016). It could be taken as a witness of contacts between non-Buddhist ritualists of these regions; but it seems impossible to establish at the present time any of these places as a source of the tradition.

It might be, however, possible that the character of the Wise Bat exhibits a fusion of a flying squirrel and a bat, as was suggested by Snellgrove and his Bonpo translators in their rendering of the extract from *Sutra of Immaculate Splendour* in English. It will be apparent that the flying squirrel is associated with the *sel* ritual and although it is difficult to prove so, at least there is some slight probability that behind this otherwise very poetic myth stands the mistaken fusion of two distinct animals (“birds”). At the same time, one has to admit that the role of the Wise Bat in this myth and also much of its context appears to be, to a large degree, in accordance with what Toni Huber describes as valid for Eastern Himalaya (Huber 2020, vol. I: 103-130).

### 3 White Purification of the Clean Gods (*Translation*)<sup>12</sup>

(2a) At the beginning the vault of the sky of creation was spread downwards,  
and rocky earth<sup>13</sup> still laid upwards.<sup>14</sup>

The arbiters<sup>15</sup> of existence had not come out yet,  
the years of *tsug*<sup>16</sup> had not been recorded yet.<sup>17</sup>

Triple support of white gods came into existence in the sky,  
people, *ma* (*smra*) and priests (*gsben*), the three, came into existence in the space in  
between.

Demons *dre* (*dre*), *sin* (*srin*) and *chur* (*byur*), the three, came into existence on the earth.

<sup>12</sup> For the original text in transliteration see appendix 2.

<sup>13</sup> The original contains *grag pa'i sa*, which could be corrected into *krag pa'i sa*, meaning “rocky earth”.

<sup>14</sup> I.e., the sky and earth were not separated yet.

<sup>15</sup> Tib *bskos* designates beings or divinities who are seen as arbiters distinguishing true from false, see Blondeau 2000, 258.

<sup>16</sup> *Gtsug* is a class of beings; in the myth on the origin of people they are presented as ancestors of animals (Karmay 1998b).

<sup>17</sup> It refers here to three classes of beings responsible for the origin of the world: *phywa*, *skos* (“arbiters”) and *gtsug*.

Little men of four families came into existence among people,  
 with maternal uncle Ga (Dga') they were five,  
 with minister Ching ('Ching) they were six.  
 The Saga Dogdrug, the land of people came into existence.

Divinities were assigned to people:

The Ma clan of Zhangzhung,  
 obtained divinity Kula Thrimu Rurung and Draglha Munsel Dardar.

The Tong clan of Sumpa,<sup>18</sup>  
 obtained The Deity of Tong—Tiger and Yak,  
 and Eight Relatives of White Urang.

The Dong clan of Minyag  
 obtained the deity of Dong—Mubu,  
 deities of entrance—Tiger and Yak,  
 (2b) and Eight white relatives—deities of Dong.

The Se clan of Azha,  
 obtained Deity of Se—Yojon,  
 Thog—the deity of Sky:  
 sky deity Serser,  
 sky deity White Män of Sky,  
 and eight relative deities of sky.

The maternal uncle of Ga,  
 obtained the divinity of maternal uncle—Phaong.  
 The minister of Ching,  
 obtained nine deities of males.

The White Divinity-Priest of Thang,  
 obtained nine *nyen*—Divinities of Thang (Thang lha).

The Melodious Speech Priest of Tsang,  
 obtained Phudar—the divinity of Tsang.

The Nomad Plains' priest of Gyal,  
 obtained Drangnam—the divinity of Gyal.

18 The text contains the expression *stong gsum po* (triple Tong), but the context makes it clear that it should speak about Sumpa (Sum pa).

Shen obtained Shenlha Ökar,  
 Tibet obtained Nine male divinities,  
 and warrior gods Namdrag Ngarchen.  
 Mothers obtained divinity Mumän Mugmo,  
 Dagpo obtained Daglha Gampo,  
 Sib obtained Siblha Thangpo.

The divinities were divided among the people as their share,  
 but one of them was deprived of the share of gods.  
 It was the king Khyikhyocan who was deprived of that share.  
 Therefore, the boys and girls were presented [to him].<sup>19</sup>  
 (3a) The *gurlba* divinities were divided as a share,  
 but one of them was deprived of the share.  
 The Oldrang<sup>20</sup> eating human flesh was deprived of their share,  
 and this is why the repayment is given to them now.  
 Divinities did not come to people,  
 supports of divinities did not arrive to them.  
 Searching for the supports of divinities,  
 where these supports were searched for?

At the borders of primordality and existence, the two,  
 is vulture Thangkar of swift moves.  
 On the top of the thirteen layers of sky,  
 below the limit of white Dragme (Drag med),  
 [Thangkar] arrived at the place where Nam-män Karmo dwelled.  
 That lady Nam-män Karmo,

19 This part makes sense only with substantial changes in wording of the text. It is only a tentative rendering of it. The idea seems to be that the boys and girls had been sent there and sacrificed then. It is connected with the next paragraph speaking about human sacrifices among certain Oldrang (this could be a name of a place; but more probably name for people). Human sacrifices are seen as a result of receiving no divinities.

20 *Ol* means neck (*ol krong*) and *brang* is chest—it corresponds to *mgur* (*lha*).

spread one piece of white felt in front.

This is why vulture has four white limbs (i.e. legs and wings),  
and this is also the reason for [custom of] spreading the base of divinities and base of  
*cha*.

Divine barley came from the ornaments of the vulture,  
he ruffled his feathers on the divine base and the barley [appeared].

This is why birds have graceful postures.

(3b) [A habit to] display scattered divine barley has its origin there.

Divine stone was put on the head of the vulture,  
since that time vultures have white crown of the head.

[The custom of] planting divine stone or stone of *sā* (*gsas*) begins there,  
and planting of arrows originated there.

As for attaching a mirror to the breast of birds,  
vultures have vivid dreams [of clairvoyance] as a result,  
and [custom of] attaching mirror to the arrow originated.

The divine gold and divine turquoise were attached to the bird's legs,  
this was the origin of birds' variegated legs,  
and the [custom of] attaching gold and turquoise to the arrow originated there.

As for attaching ribbons of five colours to the body of the bird,  
it was the origin of the [custom of] attaching coloured strips of silk to the arrow.

The body [of the vulture] is similar to the conch-shell sacrificial cake *drangye*,  
and planting offerings of porcelain *drangye* has its origin there.

The white Indian incense was burnt into the smoke,  
this is how the winding of the smoke of white incense came into existence.

The claws [of the vulture] were similar to the razors from heavenly iron,  
(4a) [the custom of] planting the arrow heads from meteorite originated there.  
This is how the supports of divinities came to them.

Kyai!

At about that period and time,  
from the land of Saga Dogdrug,  
the four families of little men of creation,  
invited Lhabon Thokar.

Lhabon Thokar of creation,  
throwing he spread the cushion of white felt as a base of divinities,  
scattered and displayed the divine barley,  
then he placed the sacrificial cake *drangye* in a lake.  
He extoled gods, *sä* divinities and made confession, the three,<sup>21</sup>  
he invited the nine divinities of males,  
and thirteen divinities of females.  
Bowling his head, he summoned the minister-maternal uncle of *cha* beings,  
casting the offerings downwards he separated demons *dre* and suppressed demons *si*.  
Then hands of both people and gods were joined.  
People invoked the gods,  
the gods were protecting people,  
people were invoking gods in the due time.

(4b) At about that time of creation,  
what concerns the four families of little men of creation,  
as for prospering of people, they multiplied through the male lineage,  
as for prospering of cattle, it multiplied through the female lineage.  
The base within the fence was full of cattle,  
the lifespan of people was reaching the extreme of eternity.

At about that period and time,  
as for the misery of people, it was brought by pleasures,

21 The meaning is uncertain, I read *mbol* instead of *mbal*. Expression *sras* is taken as abbreviated form for *gsas*.

as for the misery of dogs, it was brought by leash,  
as for the misery of horses, their toil was unbearable.

As for the white side, they fermented curds,  
but forgot to invoke gods.  
As for the red side, they conceived multiple embryos,  
but forgot to invoke gods,  
They fermented *chang*,  
but forgot to invoke gods.

They caused anger by contaminating hearths,  
they caused pollution by incest and impudicity,  
they caused pollution by killing relatives and widowing.  
The vapours of these manners thickened like darkness,  
and reflections of gods flew away carried by these acts,  
the gods were caused to leave, they were expelled to sky.

On the thirteenth layer of the sky,  
was a golden boulder about the size of a tent,  
(ṣa) and a turquoise sprout about the size of an arrow.  
A bundle of turquoise blue juniper grew from it,  
the divinities of males are dwelling there in the sky.

The zeal in the hearts of divinities extinguished,  
in their content appeared a worm,  
their eyes raised,  
their nose swirled the air,  
ferocity appeared in their mouths,  
and their hair bristled.  
[As if] the bodies of divinities never existed,  
the gods were unable to protect people.

At about that time of creation,  
the four little men of creation,  
were deprived even of the divinities of their bodies.

When people have no divinities,  
 demons *dre* and *sin* rush in haste.  
 Without a dog at the door,  
 demons *dre* and thieves sneak inside.

Concerning those four little men of creation,  
 as for prospering, people multiplied by the female lineage,  
 as for prospering, their cattle multiplied by the male lineage.  
 The base within the fences was almost empty,  
 the lifespan was about to drop from longevity.

It was said “Why such disorder, what is this?”  
 (5b) A female fortune-teller of creation was invited,  
 she made her divination and calculated the lot.  
 Then the small female fortune-teller,  
 spread the divination base of white felt,  
 displayed and arranged white barley on it,  
 scattered eight green grains towards the sky,  
 displayed and arranged crystal pebbles for divination,  
 encircled golden shoulder blade by brain,<sup>22</sup>  
 and conch-shell *juthig* threads were thrown against the shoulder.  
 In order to see clearly the gods, she used the light of a lamp,  
 then she performed divination and calculated the lot.  
 That female fortune-teller said:  
 “It is so. The gods of the four little men of creation,  
 were expelled and escaped to the sky.  
 a way of inviting these gods should be searched for.”

Then, the four little men of creation,  
 invited Lhabon Thokar.  
 Lhabon bound a turban around his head,

22 Or marrow.

spread a precious cushion at his feet.  
 He poured the nectar of *chang* into his neck,  
 and was given desirable offerings to his hands.

That Lhabon said:  
 “Find necessary offerings,  
 for inviting the male divinities and warrior divinities!” thus he said.

(6a) “Present various ‘lamps of primordial knowledge’:  
 the tip of the wing of the white crane,  
 the tip of the feather of the blue cuckoo,  
 a piece of the lower bone of a vulture’s leg,  
 the whole tails of domestic and wild yaks,  
 [As for the purpose of] these many desirable and valuable offerings,  
 various difficulties were brought to people,  
 the solidity of rock is to be carved.  
 Wet manure [becomes soft] from soaking water.”

Searching and searching with ardour,  
 ordering and ordering in turmoil,  
 they eventually passed [these offerings] to the hands of Lhabon.

Lhabon Thokar of creation,  
 spread evenly the divine base of white felt,  
 then he performed confession to the rows of gods, *sä*, and *thal*, the three (?).<sup>23</sup>  
 Lhabon Thokar then said:  
 “In order to come to agreement between gods and people,  
 find a messenger between gods and people!”

At about that time of creation,  
 the four little men of creation,  
 (6b) where did they search for the messenger between gods and people?

<sup>23</sup> The meaning is not clear: *lha dral sras dral mtho gsum*. The same sentence appears on fol 4a, where it contains *mthal* instead of *mtho*.

His father was Abo Gang-gyal,<sup>24</sup>  
 the mother was Mäntsun Yiring,  
 the son of their intercourse and mating,  
 as for this son, he was a small man - small bird.  
 His head was bald,  
 his wings were elastic as those of a Thangkar bird,  
 his tongue was speaking like that of a parrot,  
 his eyes were furious as those of local guardian gods (*zo dor*),  
 his ears were as halves of conch-shell,<sup>25</sup>  
 his upper lip was split into two parts,<sup>26</sup>  
 his claws were as razors of meteorite.  
 He was given a name,  
 the name was Wise Bat Yezur,<sup>27</sup>  
 he was appointed the messenger between gods and people.

As for his riding animal,  
 its father was Long-horned sheep of Sky,  
 its mother was Greatly-wooled sheep of Earth.  
 As for their son, the offspring of the two of them,  
 (7a) it was the White-horned sheep (G.yang lug ru dkar).

The Wise Bat Yezur of creation mounted it,  
 the various “lamps of the knowledge of primordial” were presented to him:  
 the tip of the wing of the white crane,  
 the tip of the feather of the blue cuckoo,  
 a piece of the lower bone of a vulture’s leg,  
 the whole tail of a wild yak.

24 He is most probably identical with an important divinity Ode Gungyal (’O de gung rgyal) who is in some sources known as father of the terrestrial gods. Cf. Huber 2020, vol. I: 86-91, 361.

25 Tib. *dung gis phyed sleb* (?).

26 Corr. *sbog re sbog re* (?).

27 I.e. Wise bat of the side of primordial (*pha wang sgam po ye zur*).

These valuable offerings were presented to his hands.

The Bat mounted the white sheep,  
and set off in order to present these gifts as offerings.  
He left quickly as a lightening,  
he went as a vulture waving his wings.

On the top of the thirteenth layer of the sky,  
at the boulder of the size about a tent,  
grew blue juniper of the size about one cubit.  
At the bottom of the turquoise trunk of it of the size of an arrow,  
reside divinities of males and warrior divinities.

That eloquent Bat of creation,  
saying “*kye!*” he folded his hands.

Bowing he knelt and said:

(7b) “What are the male and female divinities doing here?  
In the land of Saga Dogdrug, in the country of Miyul Kyithing,  
are four families of little men.  
As for their prospering, people multiply by the female lineage,  
as for prospering of the cattle, it multiplies by the male lineage.  
The base within the fences is almost empty,  
the lifespan [of people] is about to drop from longevity.  
If not coming to protect the tormented little men,  
what would you do at the bottom of the rock and the tree?”  
Thus, he said.

The divinities of primordial knowledge said:  
“As for the tormented little men of four families,  
at the time when the hands of people and divinities were joined,  
the misery of people was brought by pleasures,  
the misery of dogs was brought by leash,  
the misery of horses was brought by their unbearable toil.  
At the beginning the people and divinities joined their hands,  
people were invoking gods,  
and gods were taking care of people,

[people] were invoking gods in due time.  
 (8a) Then four families of the little men of creation,  
 as for the white side, they fermented curds,  
 but forgot to invoke gods.  
 As for the red side, they conceived multiple embryo,  
 but forgot to invoke gods.  
 They fermented *chang*,  
 but forgot to invoke gods.  
 They caused anger by contaminating hearths,  
 they caused pollution by killing relatives and widowing,  
 they caused pollution by incest and impudicity,  
 the vapours of these manners thickened like darkness,  
 and reflections of gods flew away carried by these acts.  
 The zeal in the hearts of divinities extinguished,  
 in their contend appeared a worm,  
 a film appeared on their eyes,  
 their hearing deafened,  
 their tongue was stammering,  
 their nose was swirling the air restlessly,  
 the hair of their heads bristled,  
 their mouths broke into a cry at the pitch of their voices,  
 as for their bodies, they weakened and got afflicted.  
 The gods were unable to protect people.”  
 Thus, they said.

The eloquent Bat of creation,  
 having left in search he arrived,  
 on the top of the land of priests Drama Drug (Gra ma drug),  
 (8b) He met there Ya-ngal Gyim Gong.<sup>28</sup>  
 That eloquent Bat of the creation,  
 Folded hands widely,

28 Written down erroneously as Ya ngam gyim gong.

to the great priest Ya-ngal Gyim Gong.  
 Bowing he knelt saying:  
 “I beg you, bonpo of offerings, to proceed with me,  
 I beg you, bonpo of purification rituals *sel*, to proceed with me!”  
 He addressed him by such speech.  
 And that priest Ya-ngal Gyim Gong,  
 the bonpo of offerings went with him.  
 Being sent by Wise Bat Yezur,  
 he hoisted “lamps of primordial knowledge” to gods.  
 As soon as gods saw it with their eyes,  
 they said: “It does not seem to be an invitation to gods from there.  
 It looks like a bad omen.”  
 The Bat Yezur said:  
 “There is no bad omen present in myself,  
 I am the one who invited gods,  
 I am not of small significance.<sup>29</sup>  
 (9a) My father is Yao Gong-gyal,  
 my mother is Mäntsun Yiringma,  
 and I am eloquent Bat.  
 My bald head signifies,  
 that I have power over the pollution of hearth.  
 My teeth being those of tiger,  
 [enable me] to eat the flesh of noxious beings.  
 Having upper lip split into parts,  
 [enables me] to scatter the flesh of demons *dü*.  
 Having speaking tongue as a parrot,  
 [I am able to] make to meet and reconcile both people and gods.  
 Having eyes shining with white light,  
 [signifies] having the eye of primordial knowledge.  
 Having ears as halves of a conch-shell,  
 [signifies] endowment by the sound of primordial knowledge.  
 Having elastic wings of a Thangkar bird,

29 This part bears resemblances to the similar parts of Tibetan texts translated by Charles Ramble (2014) and Toni Huber (2020, vol. I: 360-365).

[enables me to] climb up to the thirteenth layer of sky.  
 Having claws of iron razors,  
 [signifies that] I came from the side of Sharp-pointed mountain (Dbal ri).  
 I do not possess any bad signs,  
 (9b) I am the one who invites gods!  
 I beg the gods of primordial knowledge to come!”  
 Such speech he addressed to them.

The gods of primordial knowledge said:  
 “If you can make both gods and people meet,  
 What can you present as a sign of being true?”

Bat Yezur said:  
 “Bringing various ‘lamps of primordial knowledge’:  
 the tip of the wing of the white crane,  
 the tip of the feather of the blue cuckoo,  
 a piece of the lower bone of a vulture’s leg,  
 the whole tail of a wild yak,  
 I am presenting them as a sign of being true!”  
 And eloquent Bat Yezur,  
 presented these signs of being true into the hands of gods.  
 They felt the need in these signs of being true in their hearts,  
 the gods of primordial knowledge were asked to come to them.

The gods of primordial knowledge said:  
 “There was no decline in the world at the beginning.  
 As for striking, it was struck by the shadow.”

The little men of four clans of creation said:  
 (10a) “If the previous years were bad, shouldn’t they be cast behind?  
 If the upcoming years would be good, shouldn’t they be accepted?”

That eloquent Bat of creation said:

“The [request to] proceed comes from outside,  
 I pray the gods to proceed there.  
 If there is no man who would invoke gods,  
 the gods are forced to leave, and they are roaming then,  
 instead of angry gods, demons *dre* arrive.  
 People having no gods have no protection,  
 the pernicious demons *dre* and *sin* rush in haste.  
 Having no dog guarding the door,  
 demons *dre* and thieves rush to sneak inside.  
 I beg the gods of primordial knowledge,  
 to proceed to be the protectors and lords of men.”  
 Thus, he said addressing them.

The gods of primordial knowledge said:  
 “If we would go to be lords over the men,  
 do you have necessary offerings?”

The Bat of creation of the world said:  
 “There are divine tools and supports for each of you:  
 on the white divine base,  
 (rob) are thirteen stacks of barley.  
 From the top of the thirteenth layer of the sky,  
 come thirteen arrows with coloured ribbons and mirrors,  
 they constitute the divine supports for divinities of males.  
 These thirteen divine crooked cakes,  
 provide support for the warrior divinities.  
 These thirteen white stones,  
 provide support for the divinities of vitality (*srog lha*).  
 These thirteen arrows with vulture feathers,  
 provide support for the divinities of males.  
 These crystals with vermilion svastikas,  
 provide support for the divinity of maternal uncle.  
 These turquoise junipers,  
 provide supports for divinities of mothers.  
 These thirteen stacks of barley,

provide support for the lords of *se* divinities.  
 These thirteen [heaps of] divine porcelain-rice,  
 provide support for the wild *se* divinities (*rgod gsas*).  
 These thirteen sharp spears,  
 provide support for the *se* of sky.  
 These thirteen long-horned yaks of *se* divinities,  
 provide support for *garse* divinities (*gar gsas*).  
 These thirteen rice-like sheep with red faces,  
 provide support for the *walse* divinities (*dbal gsas*).  
 (11a) These thirteen piles of ephedra plant,  
 provide support for the *thorse* divinities (*thor sras=gsas*).  
 These thirteen eliminating swords,  
 provide support for the divinities of entrance.  
 May all these various valuable presents and materials,  
 provide support for the assembly of divinities!  
 [...]

#### 4 *The Leu (le'u) Ritual Tradition of North-Eastern Tibet and the Sel Ritual*

In this part, a tradition called *leu* which is almost extinguished in the present time, will be approached. It has been introduced elsewhere and thus only very brief and necessary information on it will be given here.<sup>30</sup>

The term *leu* designates both lay ritual tradition and lay ritual specialists. Under such name, it is known mostly in the regions within the Thewo (Tib. The bo, Ch. Diebu) county of Gansu province, China. From the fragments known about the recent history of this tradition from the end of 18th century, it appears that it was a subject of censorship and persecution from the side of monastic Bon in the region, particularly for its rituals containing animal offerings. But the times

30 For the general reference in English, see Ngawang Gyatso 2016. For his articles in Tibetan, see Ngag dbang rgya mtsho 2005 and 2016. The details of what is only briefly mentioned here will be published soon by the author.

of persecution were also replaced by periods of time when *leu* ritualists performed their rituals side by side with the Bon monks.<sup>31</sup> Similar tradition is known also in the surrounding regions stretching from Cone (Co ne) to Zitsa Degu (Gzi rtsa sde dgu), Dongthrom (Ldong khrom) and Drugchu ('Brug chu). Since the Cultural Revolution in China, the tradition has become almost extinct despite some recent attempts to revive it.

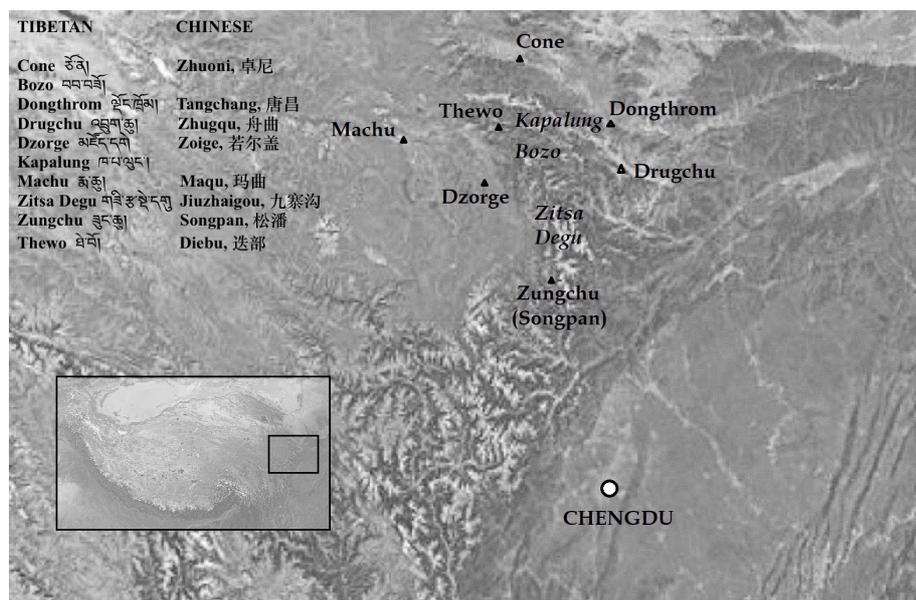


Plate 3

*Map showing the area of distribution of leu rituals (by author).*

Very little is known about the older history of this ritual tradition. Several Bon sources from 12th–14th century refer relatively often to certain *leu* divinities (*le'u lha*) and a few of them mention it also in terms of *leu* tradition (*le'u bon*), still

31 This information is gained from an unpublished draft by Ngawang Gyatso entitled *Bon gyi le'u yig zhib jug* (*Research on Bon leu texts*) who made it generously available to me in 2017. It is based on interviews with local people including Dbal prug, Lha rgod and Mgon po grub, i.e. surviving *leu* practitioners of the area.

some other sources speak about ritual specialists called *leu*, named sometimes also “owners of *leu* divinities” (*le'u lba'i bdag po*). These seem to be somehow related to the cult of “enveloping divinities” (*go ba'i lba*), and worship of *nyen*, *lu* and *tö* spirits.<sup>32</sup> It is alluded in certain sources that it is a tradition coming from east,<sup>33</sup> but these texts are often embedded in a mythical setting and do not reveal much details. In this respect it might be interesting to note that both of the texts which were dealt with in the previous part contain a mention—though not very detailed—of the *leu* as well.

Some 100 volumes containing facsimile of the *leu* texts collected from the private households in the area mentioned were published in the last two decades.<sup>34</sup> These texts are, however, to the large part unintelligible given to their frequent phonetic rendering of the words and fragmented nature. It appears that the only scholar attempting to subject this tradition to analysis is Ngawang Gyatso from Lanzhou University.

I visited the region called Bozo (Bab bzo) which stretches in the valley south east of Thewo with him in 2017 and 2018. There are only two surviving *leu* ritualists who practised the rituals before the Cultural Revolution. One of them, Gendun (Dge 'dun), was 86 at the time of our visit. The second of them, Walse (Dbal gsas), was 95. There is a younger ritual specialist living in the region, Sherab Dragpa (Shes rab Grags pa) who is a physician and a former Bonpo monk. He was a disciple of Walse and performs some *leu* rituals these days. The following is thus a part of the information collected in Bozo region from the above-mentioned people and Ngawang Gyatso.

32 *Mkha' klong rab 'byams bskang ba'i 'phyong bzbug pa'i dbu phyogs lags'o*, Bon Kanjur, vol. 150: 19-73, 26.

33 *Mdo rnam 'brel bar ti ka*, Chapter 30: Sangs po 'bum khri ston pa spyin drangs ba bstan pa.

34 See *Mdo khams yul gyi bod yig gna' dpe phyogs bsdu mthong ba 'dzum bzbad*, 60 vols; *Gna' rabs bon gyi dpe dkon bris ma*, 10 vols; *Mdo smad Mda' tshang yul gyi gna' dpe phyogs bsdu mthong ba don ldan*, 30 vols.



Plate 4

*From left to right: Ngawang Gyatso, Gendun and Sherab Dragpa in Bozo, 2017 (photo by author).*

It appears that the role of the *leu* ritualists was closely connected with the performances of *sel* rituals—frequently called *sil* (*sil*) in the region and in the *leu* texts—through which the pollution of incest (*nal*) was ritually purified by them as one of their main tasks in the past. As it is described in the interview with Gendun:<sup>35</sup>

The *leus* of the past were engaged in common occupations. They had their own properties to take care of and they had to engage in merchandise. After their business trips there was a rule that they gathered together and performed *leu* rituals every year. There were no private temples for that, but every village used to have community houses or larger residences and they gathered there. At that time, they had to discuss the occurrences of pollutions from incest, murders of relatives, widowhood among the public and the measures to be taken. If there appeared a case of incest or murder, the

<sup>35</sup> For the transliteration of the original Tibetan, see appendix 3.

*leus* had to order punishment. Those who were polluted were expelled from the community of people and secluded. They were prohibited to enter temples or to join other people during the *labtse* festival. [...]

Those males and females who committed incest had to do confession to the *leu*. A sword cutting the “rope of incest” was placed on a large quantity of tea. Ten loads of barley had to be offered along with the confession. Then the rite of purifying incest (*nal gto*) had to be performed during which it was customary to scold and blame them very much. The substances and the thread cross of the rite for purifying incest had to be carried on the top of a heap of wood. When the wood turned dry within one year it was said that from that moment the pollution of incest was purified. And [those polluted] joined back the community of people.

So much for the memoirs of Gendun, which ascribe the ritual purifying the pollutions by incest a rather essential position within the much more numerous *leu* rituals. The people committing polluting acts, namely incest and killing within the clan, were excluded from the community and forbidden to visit the place of worship of the local divinity—which is mostly a *nyen* spirit in this region. It is thus clear that such an act was perceived within a worldview in which *nyen* spirits play a significant role. It might be seen from the allusion addressing the ritual that during it, the pollution of the person was intended to be cut off by a sword using ropes representing the connection with pollution. One can presume (also on the basis of surviving ritual texts) that the ritual of thread crosses was intended to capture demons of the pollution (*nal'dre*) which were then placed on a pile of wood. Drying of the wood within one year was then taken as a sign of successful separation from the polluting demonic powers now present in the thread cross offering, which allowed for the return of the blamed couple back to the community life.

Before approaching the ritual and surviving texts on *sil* purification, more details on the ideas associated with the pollution will be provided through the translation of an explanation given by the younger *leu* Sherab Dragpa. He first discusses pollutions caused by incest (*nal*) and filth (*gtsog*) caused by improper sexual behaviour, and then the pollution caused by murder of the relative (*dme*). Pollution of widowhood (*yugs*) is listed next, which often led to starvation and death of the widow. Some interesting notes are presented on pollution from bad omen

(*than*) which is mostly associated with wild animals. Killing wild animals without proper reason is considered to give rise to pollution of enmity (*mkbon*) causing a dispute between the mountain spirits *nyen* and the person who killed the animals. But by far the most nuances are distinguished within the pollution of incest which is divided into white, black and variegated categories:<sup>36</sup>

The *sel* purification (*sil*) is certainly connected with the clan lineage [...]. If the father and mother are both from one paternal family lineage (*rus*), it is “black pollution from incest” (*nal nag*) and this should be eliminated. If they mate, they are expelled from the community of people and rituals of *Purification of the soul from the origin of the world* (*Srid pa'i bla sil*) and *Rite of incest* (*Nal gto*) are performed. If the mother of the man and the mother of the woman are from the same paternal family lineage (*rus*), this is “white pollution from incest” and the danger is a bit less. It is possible to perform similarly *Rite of smoke-purification of fornication* (*Mnol bsang*) and *Smoke-purification by fox* (*Wa bsang*). If the father of the man and the mother of the woman, or the mother of the man and the father of the woman are from the same paternal family lineage (*rus*), it is “variegated pollution from incest” (*nal kbra*). The danger is small in such a case and it is good to perform whatever purification—rite of smoke-purification (*bsang*) or *sil* purification—that is available.

And further, as for the so-called “close mating of brother and sister” (*ming sring lag ldeb*), for example, if the wife of Tsekyab has a brother Drugthar and his wife becomes the partner of Tsekyab, such mutual exchange is said to be “pollution of filth” (*gtsog*).

Also, bloodshed and killing between mutually connected relatives through “bone” and “flesh”<sup>37</sup> is called “pollution from murder” (*dme*) and expulsion from the community of people must come as a consequence.

If strong repentance and confession are done, the pollutions of faults could be purified by rituals of *Sil purification from killing a relative* (*Dme sil*), *Sil purification of filth* (*Gtsog sil*), *Smoke-purification by fox* (*Wa bsang*), *Washing the feet* (*Zhabs kbrud*) and others. Also, it was customary in the old times that people looked upon a woman whose husband had died as a “place of pollution from widowing”. She died starving without food, and I think of it as a bad thing.

<sup>36</sup> For the transliteration of the original Tibetan text, see appendix 4.

<sup>37</sup> I.e. paternal and maternal lineage.

Then, when wild ungulates came to the house or road inside the settlement, it was said that it is “pollution from bad omen” (*than*). Finding dead corpse of a wild ungulate or a wild carnivorous animal was seen as a bad omen. It was a custom to say: “Finding a corpse of a fox is equal to finding the corpse of father.” Also, if a carnivorous animal is killed without giving a reason, it is considered to be a bad thing and a source of great misfortune. When killing deer, takin, or wild sheep and similar, it is seen as pollution of enmity causing dispute with the *nyen* of mountains (*ri gnyan*) which brings great misfortune to oneself.

What follows is a brief description of the steps of *sil* ritual, which was given by Walse, an old *leu* ritualist from Bozo, and written down by Sherab Dragpa. It might serve as a fitting example of what the *leu* rituals looked like in the past. The ritual consists of 28 different steps; for each of them a specific text was used. Unfortunately, the majority of the texts mentioned as forming a part of the ritual do not seem to be extant anymore, only some of them have been available to me. The ritual as a whole seems to be, in fact, an amazing mixture of various concepts and traditions. What one can discern among them are the following strata, which do not seem to be of the same origin, time and place, but become mixed up in the ritual, in some cases also within a single text:

- i. Tradition connecting original Tibetan clans with the ritual. It is mentioned in relation with a number of the texts listed below and is also apparently related to the text of *White Purification of the Clean Gods* presented above. It can be taken as an effort towards universalism challenging the dominance of the Central Tibet. It permeates a number of the texts mentioned in the list below.
- ii. Tradition associated with the Chinese king Kongtse. This is represented namely by the texts 5 and 12, which are said have originated from him. Kongtse is a mythical founder of ritual tradition connected with astrological calculations. It has been shown that in this case Confucius served as inspiration and was transformed into a personage fitting the Tibetan needs (cf. Lin 2007). Curiously, in case of the text 5 this is combined with the abovementioned tradition of original Tibetan clans. In general, these texts tend to bring ritual traditions of non-Buddhist origin closer to monastic Bon while preserving some older elements.

iii. Tradition of Ya-ngal. The text 1 is dedicated to him but seems to be influenced by the tantric practice of visualization. Nevertheless, the Ya-ngal's association with purificatory rituals is attested by a number of texts and one of the most detailed is the one found in the Gathang Bumpa Stupa, where no influence of Indo-Buddhist concepts seems to be present.<sup>38</sup> The text 7 is fully dedicated to him. It has survived among the collected *leu* texts and it contains myths on Ya-ngal who splits into several beings who are divided into those of sky, earth and the space in between, and thus a whole large group of divine Ya-ngal priests emerges from the text all of a sudden.

iv. Tradition of *shugon* spirits (*shug mgon*) is represented by the texts 8-11. Such divinities are also mentioned in the *Sutra of Immaculate Splendour* (*Mdo dri med gzi brjid*) presented in the first part above. These spirits are considered to be of the class related to the “warrior divinities” (*dgra bla/sgra bla/dgra lha*). Their flourishing cult is attested by many manuscripts dedicated to them among the *leu* texts. Although their name is sometimes written as *shugs mgon*, which could be understood as “strong protector”, the written form in *leu* texts is almost exclusively given as *shug mgon*, where *shug* seems to refer to *shug pa*, juniper. Their name could be rendered as “juniper-protectors.” This statement has support in the *leu* texts dealing with warrior divinities and mentioning plants of artemisia, juniper and *'gun* in this context. Here, *shugon* spirits are identified with birds, yak, goat and sheep. The commentary by Sherab Dragpa shows that they are considered to be sacred animals of the *nyen* spirits and not domestic animals but wild sheep, goat, etc. During the ritual living animals are set free as a gift for the *nyen* spirits. This clearly resembles the well-known ritual of *tshe thar*, “life releasing” ritual practiced within the context of various Tibetan Buddhist traditions. It is not entirely clear why this ritual is included in the *sel* purification. The reason could be the wider context associated with the *nyen* spirits.

v. Tradition of offering animals: flying squirrel, white monkey, fox and others (badger, *rma* bird, bat). These texts are scattered in the various parts of the ritual.

<sup>38</sup> See *Gtam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas gsar rnyed byung ba'i bon gyi gna' dpe bdams bsgrigs*. For interesting references on Ya-ngal from this text and also from eastern Himalaya, see Huber 2013.

Such related tradition is represented by the texts 6, 13, 15 and 16. The text on *Flying squirrel* (*Bya ma byel*), *Purification of incest* (*Nal sil*) and *Purification of the soul from the origin of the world* (*Srid pa'i bla sil*), which seem to be related to this tradition, have been available to me. These texts never mention the original clans of Tibetans; they do not contain any mentions about the king Kongtse; the name of Ya-ngal does not seem to appear there, and their content also seems to be very specific. They always present series of myths on original events, which are called “original example” (*dpe*) within the texts themselves. Recalling the extracts from the *Sutra of Immaculate Splendour* at the beginning of this paper, it also fits the description of the ritual through the mention of the animals used and the stress on “archetypes” to be intoned by voice imitating animals. I was told by Gendun that among the *leus* of the past the “voice of *nyen*” (*gnyan skad*, related to birds) and “voice of *lu*” (*klu skad*) were used. Although one has to take seriously other traditions mentioned above, this one might point to the oldest strata of the narratives connected with the purificatory ritual *sel*.

The structure of the ritual with brief comments on the individual steps follows now in the translation of the text written down by Sherab Dragpa, which was based on an interview with Walse:<sup>39</sup>

***Purification of soul from the creation of the world (Srid pa'i bla sel) for pollutions from incest (nal) and killing a relative (dme)***

1) *Visualization of the purification ritual (Sil gi dmigs pa)*

As for the subject of it, it contains explanation of stages of meditation of Au Yangal by Selbon (*sel* ritualist). Ya-ngal is the first Bonpo who founded this system of purificatory ritual (*sel bon*).

2) *Delineating the place of the performance of the purification (Sil sa gcod pa)*

This is a ritual method of “taming the soil” based on the five families of great divinities *lbase* (*lba gzas chen rigs lnga*).

3) *Planting the butter-lamp (Sgron ma 'dzug pa)*

The *leu* ritualist plants a butter-lamp as a support and explains the origin and the genealogy of the five great clans who emerged from the creation of the world.

<sup>39</sup> See appendix 5 for the transliteration of the original Tibetan.

4) *Offering of an elixir of Turquoise Dragon (G.yu 'brug rtsi gsol)*

This is a purification (*gtsang sel*) based on qualities of Turquoise Dragon to purify all kinds of filth and pollution (*mmol gtsog*). A snake is used as a support for it and it is necessary to scatter the “white liquid” (*dkar chab*).

5) *Chinese purification of dangerous spots (? Rgya mi 'phrang sel)*

This was pronounced by Kongtse king and this is a ritual during which each of the five great clans—Dong, Dru, Dra, Wa, Zhang—is purified. It is necessary to arrange five lamps as supports during it.

6) *Exposition of the variegated monkey (Sprel kbra bsbad pa)*

Its subject is that the miraculous white monkey is deciding on filth or purity between gods and demons. The support is a white monkey.

7) *Abo Ya-ngal (A bo ya ngal)*

This appears to be composition of Ya-ngal Bonpo. It is a ritual purifying pollution caused by inter-clan killing (*dme*). There are many such texts, but they are written down in an unclear way. The support [for the ritual] is bat and flying squirrel.

8-II. Offering of “soul-cattle” (*bla zog mchod pa*) appears at this point.

[...] As for the “soul-cattle”, these are five wild animals of various kinds, but domestic animals do not fall within this category. Both deer and wild ass are easy to be understood in this way, they come together with wild yak, wild sheep and goat. These all are cattle of the *nyen* beings. But besides that, there are also “soul-cattle” of the five great clans, Dong and others, which came into existence from the *nyen*. This is why each of the clans venerate them as their own particular protective divinity and the custom of obligatory offering to them spread [...]

8) *Redying Sheep-sbug against the enemies (Dgra chos lug sbug)*

This is the main scripture in which the white-breasted sheep is presented offerings in the role of the warrior divinity (*sgra bla*). It is the sheep which has its origin in the creation of the world, has white breast and is a warrior divinity. It is the miraculous wild sheep.

9) *Redying Goat-sbug against the enemies (Dgra chos ra sbug)*

It is a means of offering to the warrior divinities. It is explained that it concerns the goat of *nyen* beings and thus it is not the domestic goat, but the wild one. It is explained that it has the power and might to subdue enemies. The best is to establish protection over a goat and offer it to the *nyen* mountain (*ri gnyan*).

10) *Redying bird-sbug against the enemies (Dgra chos bya sbug)*

It is a means of establishing protection over some fowls and these are then offered to the *nyen* mountain. If it is done so, it is said that the *nyen* would be pleased and fulfils wishes of the donor.

11) *Redying yak-shug against the enemies (Dgra chos g.yag shug)*

It is an invocation of the wild yak as a warrior divinity. Being a powerful and strong miraculous yak, it has great power to subdue the enemies.

12) *Purification of the obstructions of the 60 years of age (Tshe lo drug bcu'i bkag sil)*

This is a word of Kongtse and deals with the ritual of purification of the pollution of the eight *parkbas* and the years within the cycle of sixty years. There are many texts on this, but they are not clear and trustworthy.

13) *Purification of pollution from killing a relative (Dme sil)*

Concerning this, it is a ritual purifying the pollution of someone killing a relative. A purificatory liquid should be sprinkled over the white and black stones burning in fire. At a place which is far away, the priest leads the [polluted person] to the trough and should perform a ritual of washing the pollution off. Also, a ransom offering that would separate the demon *dre* of pollution from killing a relative, should be cast. Since flying squirrel is a “bird” assigned to purify the pollution of killing a relative, its ritual should be performed as well.

14) *Purification of hindrances (Bkag sil)*

Performing this ritual, the demon of hindrances blocking the increase of the number of people should be purified and separated by ransom offering (*glud*).

15) *Purification by flying squirrel (Bya ma byil rder/ster? sil)*

For purification of pollutions by incest and killing a relative, a bat, a flying squirrel and a white monkey are assigned and thus the ritual should be based on them and it is particularly compulsory to use them in case of pollution from incest. There are many texts on them, but they are not clear.

16) *Purification of pollution from incest (Nal sil)*

This is a ritual which should be performed for the couple of a male and a female coming from the same patrilinear lineage (*rus gcig*). Black and white stones are burnt in the fire and [the pollution] is washed by liquid. They are led to the trough of horses and the pollution of the male and the female is washed off by the end. It should also be washed off with the aid of the bat, the flying squirrel, the white monkey, “ma bird” (*rma bya*)

and the others. It is said that if the washed off liquid from the ritual is poured on a medicinal tree, it would dry up as a consequence.

17) *Purification of filth (Tsogs sil)*

This is a ritual for purification of pollution from widowhood (*yug*) and others, its performance is the same as the previous one. There are many texts on this, but they are not clear.

18) *“Invocation” of purification by smoke fumigation (Sil gi rdor{=brdar} bsang)*

These are verses accompanying offerings of the smoke fumigation to the warrior divinities, *werma* and others.

19) *Invocation of prayer and wish of happiness (Rdor gi bkra shis dang smon lam)*

The meaning is easy to understand.

20) *Sound khuye summoning good fortune (Phya khu ye)*

This is a section dedicated to the performance of summoning well-being, following the butchering of the cow of the creation of the world.

21) *Raising the butter-lamps (Sgron ma 'gyogs pa)*

Here, the offerings of lamps should be hoisted. It is done for opening the gates of the mandala.

22) *Praise of the bodies (Sku bstod)*

In order to open the gates in four directions and the centre- the fifth, the bodies [of divinities] are praised.

23) *White painted stones (Rtsi rdo dkar po)*

Here, this is a ritual of praising the protective gods of patrilinear lineage during which substances of the thread-cross of birds (=nyen beings) are either praised up or separated downwards.

24) *Planting the wooden boards (Kbram btab)*

Here, the wooden boards should be trodden on.

25) *The prayer of flowers (Me tog smon lam)*

Here, the cow of creation of the world should be driven through the thirteen plants step by step. It is said that the cow is the source of origin of the world.

26) *Spreading the base and prayer of “invocation” (Rdor gi smon lam gzhi bting)*

The “goat of invocation” (*rdor ra*) and “sheep of invocation” should be offered to the “bird thread-cross” [dedicated to *nyen* beings]. Also, dough from *tsampa*, sugar, milk, etc., meat and butter should be offered.

27) *Dividing by scales (Rgya ma bcags pa)*

For the sake of the prosperity of the patrilinear clans, the substances of the thread-cross ritual dedicated to patrilinear clans of four points of compass and the centre are weighted by scales and offered.

28) *Prostrations to the white cow (Pa kar phyag 'tshal)*

By means of a white cow, the well-being (*g.yang*) is summoned from the four points of compass and the centre and driven higher. The five clans are praised following the butchering of the cow of the origin of the world. The idea of the five clans having their origin from the cow of the creation is upheld here. Then, the arrow and the mixture of *tsampa* with butter are to be praised, etc.

### 5 *The Texts on Offering Animals during the Sel Purification*

The group of *leu* texts dealing directly with *sel (sil)* purification, available to me, consists mainly of the two following manuscripts: *Purification sil of pollution from incest (Nal sil dbu bzbugs pa lags+bo*, 18 fols), and *Purification sil by flying squirrel (Bya ma byil gis ster sil dbu bzbugs s+bo*, 9 fols). Both of these texts bring myths on original examples of a pollution by incest and the ritual treatment of them.

These two texts were part of a collection of *leu* texts belonging to Gompo (Mgon po), a physician from the Bozothang village (Bab bzo thang), Bozo (Bab bzo). They come thus from the locality close to where Walse lives and might be closely related to what formed the ritual described by him. Besides that, there appear other texts related to this tradition, which come from unspecified villages in Thewo.<sup>40</sup>

40 *Purification sil of the soul of people by liquid (Myi bli (=bla'i) chu sel dbu lags+bo*, 4 fols).

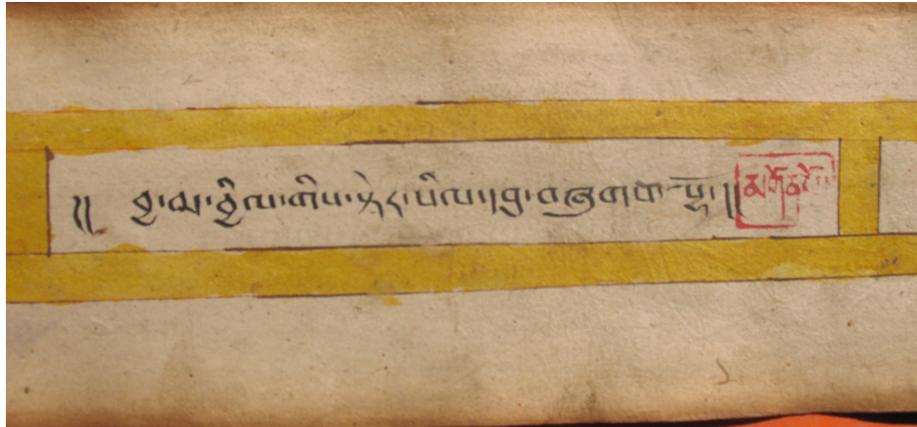


Plate 5

*Title page of the leu manuscript Purification sil by flying squirrel (courtesy of Ngawang Gyatso).*

All of these texts listed above are extremely difficult to read. This is caused by the combination of the phonetic rendering of the words combined with what might be the local dialects. Their very fragmentary nature does not contribute to their comprehension either. In rare cases when two different manuscripts of similar *leu* texts are available and one can thus compare their wording, one even sinks into hopelessness. It becomes clear that the texts are frequently omitting several syllables and sometimes whole sentences which are necessary for understanding their content. To interpret these texts thus appears to be a highly haphazard matter. The frustration is further increased by the fact that below the surface of such impenetrable form, comprehensible parts flash from time to time, which show that the content obscured by the way of recording was once a very clear, poetic and concise explanation of the ritual. These narrations, however, existed in numerous series of explanations of the origin, which sometimes witnessed different ritual approaches to the same problem. These were probably modified, censored, and the manuscripts surviving thus could be seen as fragments of voices witnessing once flourishing and meaningful tradition of which we do not know almost any context. My learned guess is that their features indicate the oral tradition as a primary vehicle of their use and the texts available today resemble

annotations serving merely as a supporting tool for intoning myths from the memory.

Each of the texts contains series of brief myths on some original events of the mythical past during which pollution—namely that of incest—appeared and the ways by which the pollution was purified (*sel/sil*). They mention number of animals to be sacrificed, but mostly flying squirrels. I did not come across any comprehensible myth in these texts which would explain why especially flying squirrels should be used during the ritual. The animals are mentioned simply at a certain step of the ritual as a means of purification.

But in another *leu* text, which is entitled *Na rog sbeng 'deb dbu lags+bo* (7 fols.) are mentions of nine animals who are called something as *naro* (*sna rol/ na rol/ na rog/ sna rog/ sna reng*, etc.). Animals such as ox, badger, flying squirrel, bear, fox and other, appear among them and it is said that they originated from the mating of the sky and earth. The text then follows with offering of skulls of these animals, which is to prevent demons to pass to the mythical lands of origin. Though the text is corrupt to the large part and it is not even clear what *naro* means, it still shows that there is a mythical background dealing with some animals which are capable of warding off demons. This is their primary role even in the *sel* texts. These animals called *naro* are also mentioned in other texts.<sup>41</sup>

Given the limited space and the difficulties with interpreting these texts, a single example illustrating the nature of these myths will be presented here in an attempt to translate it. It also contains important information on the background ideas associated with the ritual. It comes from the manuscript entitled *Purification sil of pollution from incest* (*Nal sil dbu bzbugs pa lags+bo*) and forms the second myth of this text. It is only fragmentary and some important events and information are omitted in the text itself. Nevertheless, it deals with Tagcha Alol (Stag cha 'al 'ol), who, according to the surviving texts, is a mythical progenitor of both people and

41 I have rendered it as *sna ring* (“long-nosed”) in case of *Smoke purification by fox* (*Wa bsang*) following the reading of some of the texts, but such reading is uncertain (Berounsky 2019). It appears also in the context of funeral rituals from the *Mu cho'i kbrom 'dur* cycle of texts where a group of three animals—monkey, badger and bat, is called *gcol chung na ro bu tsa/kbu tsa* and is used in similar way for warding off demonic powers (Bellezza 2008, 380, 382 and 405).

the first Tibetan king. Tagcha Alol comes from heavenly beings called *cha* (*phywa*). The myth only briefly mentions his polluted intercourse with a certain lady Themo Kagma (where Kagma seems to mean “obstruction”). The text later speaks about three sons appearing from the incest and describes the umbilical cords as polluted by incest. It is thus clear that the myth is only fragmentary and does not provide all information about the events. The pollution nevertheless causes serious problems and the mythical country of golden mountain and turquoise lake has to be purified. The pollution manifests as “demons of incest” (*nal ’dre*) in the body of the individuals that committed the polluting act and one of the main tasks of the ritual is to separate the demons of pollution from the body. Thirteen flying squirrels are used during the ritual with arrows and bows tied to their bodies and they are seen as a principle means of removing the demons of pollution from the bodies of the individuals. Then, the text shifts unaccountably to another polluting act—or probably assumes that the original pollution was not entirely purified. Here the text does not provide any details but focuses solely on the ritual; it also mentions the origin of three animals—otter, badger and fox. This pollution has consequences which are disastrous to people. One can read from these parts that the pollution from incest has in fact cosmological implications. It is listed that the connection between gods and people is severed similarly to the text translated above. But this text adds important information on the background ideas behind the ritual. It appears that the land in the sky is seen as a place from which people originate. It has its “birth-tree” (*skye shing*) and the turquoise lake is seen as a “source of origin” (*grol phug*). The context shows that it is also a place associated with the birth of people. The mechanism of birth among people is suggested by means of “mu-ropes” and “god-ropes”, where *mu* (*rmu*) are other beings of the sky. The main danger for people comes from the fact that with pollution of this heavenly country their ability to give birth to children became obstructed. The pollution is, however, removed—again with the aid of the thirteen flying squirrels which are supposed to “pull out the demons of incest from the necks of the divinities”—and with regained purity in the land of sky the people start to give birth to children again. This information on the larger implications of polluting acts within the cosmological frame might facilitate better understanding of why

the pollutions represented by incest and killing of a relative were under such a meticulous supervision from the side of *leu* ritualists of the past. The text reads:<sup>42</sup>

(4b) Again, an original example of purifying the obstruction of incest.

(5a) At the neck of the golden mountain and the turquoise valley,  
is the one named Tagcha Alol,  
who is the youngest from the nine generations of gods.

At about that period and time,  
Tagcha Alol went hunting deer.  
When slaughtering the deer,  
Themo Kagma approached him,  
and they acted with filth and incest.

Six gods were asked to come with six kinds of fragrant plants for the ritual.  
“What demon of obstruction is it?” they asked.  
“The one of *cha* (*phya*) realm searched for one of the female lineage,  
and the protecting divinities became polluted” [was the answer].

They caught the demon of obstruction in the female,  
and acted in order to remove and heal the obstruction.

Selbonnyer releasing the demons,  
(5b) gathered ropes of drying up and *shel mong* (?).  
Chabon Konchungnyer from the realm of protective divinities,  
who possessed the offering of power over the pollution of incest:  
many juices of trees and fragrant incense,  
many moving bodies [of animals] with power over the pollution of incest.  
They performed a ritual cleansing the pollution of incest and removing the obstruction.

For the three sons polluted by incest offerings were gathered.  
To the backs of thirteen flying squirrels,

42 For the transliteration of the Tibetan text and the original manuscript, see appendices 6 and 7.

weapons of arrows and bows were tied,  
all offerings against the pollution of incest were made to clear the pollution.

The surface of the golden mountain and turquoise valley,  
was turned into white,  
the obstructions of pollutions from incest and filth,  
were cleansed downwards.

In many birds and animals,  
(6a) appeared self-obstructing elements spontaneously,  
and for the sake of these elements the filth and pollution from incest was removed.

Powerful Blacksmith tightened the lap (*pong dril* ?),  
performed great ritual Muphag (Rmu phag) against the pollution,

[...In three unclear lines describing the ritual, it is mentioned that he pulled out the  
umbilical cords from the lake of *cha* beings, he used a marmot and to its tail something  
was tied...]

The thirteen flying squirrels of white soil,  
(6b) Pulled out the demons of incest from the neck of the powerful divinities,  
The population of powerful divinities increased,  
and there appeared three kinds of animals:  
otter, the descendent of water-bird,  
badger, the descendant of *rtil* (?),  
and fox, the descendent of pollution.

The umbilical cord was given to the spring.  
On the surface of the golden mountain and the turquoise valley,  
the lords of earth dwelling in the mountain,  
the *män* of lakes dwelling in the water,  
all the divinities became polluted.  
The vapours of pollution raised up,  
and polluted powerful guardians of that sphere.

The path of communication between gods and people,  
became cut off by pollution.

To the birth-tree of multiplying population,  
a black bird of pollution of filth and incest descended.

(7a) On the white mu-rope and god-rope,  
appeared many black knots.

For multiplying people and cattle,

Tagcha Alol invited the King of To Rituals.

For purifying the pollution and obstructions of progenitors,  
the diviner of multiplying,

Queen of To Rituals, a master of divination,  
was asked to do the calculations.

While purifying the filth and pollution of incest,  
when performing the purification and altering the obstruction,  
the bon performing the divination was called to deal with the obstructions.

Offerings were gathered between the sky and earth.

The blacksmith with power over pollution from incest,

(7b) and the offerings of flying squirrels,  
transformed with might the golden mountain and the turquoise lake,  
and cleansed the pollution of filth and incest.

The poison of divinities was fully affected by offerings [of flying squirrels],  
Their own poison was purified by themselves.

From what was washed off,

and from the surface of the turquoise lake—the source of origin,  
Blacksmith (Garwa) pulled out the umbilical cords of incest to the plain.

Many filthy offerings he gathered,

for the sake of purification of pollution from incest and removing the obstructions,

Blacksmith with power over the pollution of incest removed the obstructions,  
released the foundation and made the number of people rise.

The obstructions were destroyed, and the demons of the foundation dispersed.

By good purification of incest and removing the obstruction,  
population of people increased, and the essence of wealth was established.

### *Concluding Remarks*

The present paper may seem like a brief journey through references on the purificatory *sel* ritual, undergone from the mentions in the 14<sup>th</sup> century *Sutra of Immaculate Splendour*, through the text immersed in the common tradition of bordering regions of the Tibetan Plateau, down to the still almost unexplored texts of *leu* tradition in north-eastern Tibet.

The nature of each of these texts varies greatly and the information on the *sel* ritual flashes through them in an array of contexts associated with these texts. It becomes clear that any attempt to reconstruct some pure original form of the ritual is not possible in this case. The myths from among the *leu* texts witness diversity of ritual approaches and this brings to mind the mention of 120 different particular rituals in the *Sutra of Immaculate Splendour*. Nevertheless, there are some features present in each of these texts, which enable one to establish certain connections and links which might reveal something more general about the ritual.

For understanding the ritual better, it would be helpful to connect the ritual with time and space; for the present, serious hindrances suffused in the nature of the texts used here make it almost impossible. Although each of these manuscripts dealt here in separate sections was obviously inspired by an ancient practice of the ritual, they must be seen as a testimony to a development in the times when Buddhism took roots firmly in Tibet. Their importance lies in the fact that each of them upholds values which are alien to Buddhism and thus provide a rare opportunity to catch a glimpse of them.

As for the geographical area related to these texts, one has to give up hopes of localizing them precisely. Nevertheless, there are some indications that the *Sutra of Immaculate Splendour* refers to a tradition which is related to the *leu* texts dealing with animal offerings; both of these are connected to the forested region at the edge of the Tibetan Plateau. The Thewo region, where the *leu* texts were collected, could well be a part of the wider region of the provenance of these rituals.

An argument enabling such approximate localization of the traditions associated with the *sel* purification comes from the focus on the animals listed to be offered. The most crucial among them appears to be the flying squirrel (*bya ma byi/byel/byil*) in the *leu* texts. This animal is present also in the short list given by the *Sutra of Immaculate Splendour* (although referred to as bat in Snellgrove's translation). The distribution of the flying squirrel is restricted to the forests which are rare on the Tibetan Plateau. Forested regions and presence of flying squirrels is corroborated in the forested areas of Thewo, Cone, Zitsa Degu, Drugchu—the region which was also home to the ritual traditions of *leu*. Putting together these pieces of information, it is most likely that this ritual tradition is connected with the wider region in the forested areas along the north-eastern edge of the Tibetan Plateau, which is also home to Chinese giant flying squirrels. One might recollect the text *White Purification Sel of the Clean Gods*. It introduced this ritual as a tradition of the principalities from the bordering regions, and out of four of them, three (Minyag, Azha and Sumpa) are located in the eastern parts of Tibet. It may be a simple coincidence, but most probably is not.

There are more forested regions at the outskirts of the Tibetan Plateau which are home to flying squirrels and other animals mentioned in the text. These are namely areas in Bhutan, Arunachal Pradesh and Nepal. A very informative reference to the *sel* rituals from the traditions of lay ritualists in these regions by Toni Huber (Huber 2013 and 2020), does not seem to indicate that a flying squirrel would have a prominent position in the ritual. This might add weight to the geographical setting of these rituals proposed here.

But the situation seems to be exactly contrary with regard to Ya-ngal priest. The text *White Purification Sel of the Clean Gods* mentions him as a mythical character coming from the “priest country Drama Drug (Gra ma drug)” from which he was invited to perform the ritual by Wise Bat Yezur. This seems to be rather in accordance with what Toni Huber describes on the basis of information collected in eastern Himalaya (Huber 2020). As for the *leu* texts, *Abo Ya-ngal* (*A bo ya ngal dbu bzbugs pa lags s+bo*, 8fols) is one among that survived. As already mentioned, Ya-ngal splits there into a number of divine priests of sky, earth, and the space in between. The ritual of Ya-ngal does not seem to be given much details in the text. He is also absent in the *sel* ritual texts dealing with animals. This is

rather in contrast with the lively presence of the tradition of this mythical priest in the eastern extended Himalaya as witnessed by Toni Huber (Huber 2013 and 2020). He is primarily known to be a ritual specialist dealing with *sel* rituals there. Also a rather detailed ritual of him is mentioned in the manuscripts found in Gathang Bumpa Stupa, southern Tibet, where he seems to appear in the account which could be localised in Lho region, i.e. not far from the border with Bhutan today.<sup>43</sup> This all testifies the probability—already mentioned by Toni Huber—that the tradition connected with him could be localised close to southern Tibet and the regions of Arunachal Pradesh and eastern Bhutan. Yet, the presence of text on Abo Ya-ngal among the *leu* tradition of north-eastern Tibet at the same time indicates contacts between these regions.

Coming back to the flying squirrel, a question why this particular animal was used for purificatory ritual *sel* naturally arises. The *leu* texts do not seem to contain any clear clue for that. Yet, the myth translated above appears to contain an allusion that the use of flying squirrels implies an idea that they are somehow considered to be the original source of pollution from incest:

The poison of divinities was fully affected by offerings [of flying squirrels],  
Their own poison was purified by themselves.

But again, the *Sutra of Immaculate Splendour* offers an answer. It could be taken, with reservations, as a part of a popular explanation of their name in Tibetan, which could be rendered “neither bird, nor mouse” (*bya ma byi*). The following appears in a part describing a conference of birds. In the translated extract, a parrot extols abilities of individual bird-messengers:<sup>44</sup>

What could be said about the abilities of flying squirrel? You are capable of watching closely the time of day and night. And because you are the son coming from mating of bird and mouse, pollution of incest is present in your innermost source. Therefore, you are fitting to take prime responsibility over children polluted by incest and illegitimate

43 See *Gtam shul dga' thang 'bum pa che nas gsar rnyed byung ba'i bon gyi gna' dpe bdams bsgrigs. Rnel dri 'dul ba'i thabs*, 7th myth.

44 *Mdo dri med gzi brjid*, vol. II, chapter *Rgyal bu gzhon nu rol rtsed kyi mdo*, section *Ne ra'i tshal du 'dab chags gtam rgyud gsungs*, p. 95: bya ma byel gyis khos nus zer ba las/ khyod kyang nyin mtshan gyi bya ra la mkhas te/ bya dang byi la tshogs ('tshos) pa'i bu yin pas/ phug tu nal yod/ lar yang nal bu dang mug phrug dang du blangs pas/ nam zhig phugs su 'don pas nyan tsam zer ro/.

ones, who appeared then in a similar way, and to drive [the pollution] away from its source when it appears.

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*Appendices: Original Tibetan texts*<sup>45</sup>

**I. Extracts from the *Sutra of Immaculate Splendour (Mdo dri med gzi brjid, Snellgrove 1967, 46–51)***

sel sgo brgya dang nyi shu dbye/ de la skad kyi gcang brgyad sbyar/ dang po srid pa gsum po las/ gtsang sme blang dor bzhen ’debs pa/ stag mon gar ba’i gcong las

45 Some of the following transliterated texts are written in “headless” script which has its own peculiarities. I am trying to keep the text as it is, and my corrections are restricted to the cases where obvious scribal error prevents understanding of the text. The corrections appear in round brackets with the sign “=”, for example: ser (=sel). Unusual spellings of some words, frequent employment of ergative case instead of genitive and vice versa, morphological forms of genitive or ergative seen as incorrect from the point of view of classical grammars, unusual—but clearly recognizable spellings of some words, etc., are thus left without any attempt to emend. As for the frequent contractions of the words, I have often left them as they are, and only in some cases, transcribed them in their uncontracted form in round brackets, for example: bcu+um (bcu gsum). Sign “+” indicates that the following letter is directly connected with the previous one, sign “^” is employed to show that one of the letters- *tsa*, *tsba*, *dza*, or *za* is missing in the contraction. Letter “m̄” is used for transcription of a sign indicating contraction of the letter “m” or “n” above the syllable. Letter “ḍ” appears here for transcribing a sign resembling “reversed da” and contracting letters “gs” at the end of the syllable (but in the texts presented here, it sometimes also concerns final “g”). Underlined text indicates that it is present as a gloss added above the line of the text. Crossed out letters convey that the letters are present in the manuscript but are accompanied by signs that indicate that they are considered to be a mistake by the scribe.

drang/ de nas sel gyi smrang gyer ba'i/ bya khyi rta yi gcong las drang/ bya skad sna tshogs 'gyur ba yin/ rta skad 'tsher dang snyan pa yin/ gcong gi snyan ngag legs par bya [...]

dme dang mug dang nal dang btsog/ than dang ltas ngan byur yug 'bag/ thab dang mkhon dang dbar la sog/ de dag lha yi spyen la phog/ gtsang ris lha la mnol phog pas/ gzhi gnas mnga' dbang yul sa mnol/ de yi grib chags kha rlang rnam/ 'gro ba mi yi tshogs la phog/ 'jig rten zing 'dir dbul 'phongs dang/ nad dang mu ge 'khrugs pa dang/ mi bde sdug bsngal sna tshogs 'byung/ [...]

'dod 'jo'i ba dang 'dab chags bya/ sprel dkar klong grum ba dkar dang/ bya ma byel bu la sog/ bsag/ gzhan yang 'bru sna'i mchod pa dang/ dkar mngar sha khrag 'dod yon rdzas/ phun sum tshogs pa'i yo byad bsag/ srid pa'i sel ra gnyan por bskos/ yar la yod kyi ral chen gsum/ mar la med pa'i lung chen gsum/ bar na lha mi 'tshog pa'i gnas/ lha gzhi dkar po'i steng du ni/ sngon mon as kyi sbran ma blug/ lha mda' sgro dkar rten la gzugs/ sel bsal mchod pa'i yo byad bshams/ srid pa'i sel bon smra chen gyis/ dbu la 'gying ba'i thod kyang bcing/ zhal na skyem pa'i skyems yang gsol/ phyag na 'bul ba'i yon kyang 'bul/ zhal nas gcong gis smrang kyang gyer/ mi 'gro yas stags spang bar bya/ smrang ni zhib a rgyas par bya/ chab nag nus pa smrang la 'byung/ [...] de phyir chab nag smrang gis gtso/

## 2. Gtsang ma lha ser (=sel) dkar po

**(1a)** gtsang ma lha ser (=sel) dkar po bzhuḡs pa'i dbu phyogs legs+ho/ bkra shis/ [...]

**(2a)** dang po srid pa'i gnam yang mar la phub/ grag (=krag) pa'i sa yang yar la btings/ yod kyis bskos kyang ma gdabso/ gtsugi lo yang ma bris so/ gnam la lha dkar rten gsum srid/ bar na mi smra gshen gsum bsrud/ sa la 'dre srin byur gsum bsrud/ mi la mi'u rig (=rigs) bzhi bsrud/ zhang po dga'o dang lnga blon po 'ching drug bsrud/ sa ga dog drug mi ru srid/ de mi la lha bkod pas/ smra rig (=rigs) chungng (zhang chung) gi/ sku lha khri mu ru rung dang/ drang lha mun sel dar dar dang/ stong rigs stong gsum po dang/ stong lha stag g.yag dang/ 'u rang dkar (dkar po) mched bgyad thobs/ rdo (=ldong) rigs me nyagis ldong lha mu bu dang/ sgo lha stogy dang/ ldong lha dkar po mched **(2b)** bgyad thobs/ se rig (=rigs) 'a zha'i/ se lha yo byon dang/ gnam lha ser ser dang/ gnam lha lha sman dkar mo dang/ gnam lha dkar mo mched bgyad thobs/ zhang po rga'i zhang lha pha 'ong thobs/ blon po 'ching kyi pho lha rgyang dgu thob/ thang gshen phywa dkar gyis/ thang lha gnyan dgu thobs/ rtsang

gshen snyan ngagis/ rtsang lha phu dar thobs/ rgyal sh+yen (gshen) 'brang thang gis/ rgyal lha 'brang nam (gnam) thobs/ sh+yen (gshen) gyi gshen lha 'odkar thobs/ bod kyi ph+ho (pho lha) rgyang dgu thobs/sgra blas gnam drag ngar chen thobs/ ma lha'i mu sman smug mo thobs/ dag kyis dag lha sgam po thobs/ srib kyis srib lha thang po thobs/ mi'i lha mgos (=bgos) pas/ cig gi lha dkar (=skal) chad/ rgyalo (rgyal po) khyi khyo can gyis lha skal chad/ bu skyes buo (bu mo) skyes pa (=skyel pa?) de gtsug yin/ **(3a)** 'gyur (=mgur) lha'i lha bsgos pas/ cig gi lha skal chad/ ol brang mi sha za ba'i lha skal chad/ da lta ol brang mjal ba (=jal ba) de gtsugs yin/ mi la lha ma chis (mchis)/ lha la brten ma mchiso// lha rtan btsal ba gang nas brtsal/ yoed (yod med) gnyis kyi 'tshams shed nas/ bya rgod thang dkar ldem pa cig/ gnam rim pa bcu+um (bcu gsum) steng shed na/ dkor dragem d (=drag med?) mu zhabs nas/ gnam sman dkar mo bzhug(s) pa'i spyarl (spyar sngar) byon/ jo mo gnam sman dkorm'i (dkar mo'i)/ mdun du 'phyi dkar yug i btings/ da lta bya rgod 'dab bzhi dkar ba de gtsugs yin/ lha gzhi phyas gzhi bting ba de gtsug yin/ lha nas bya rgod bres nas btang/ lha gzhi steng du lha nas spugs (=sprugs)/ bya la sgog (=sgeg) so yod pa de gtsug yin/ lha nas gtsal (=gcal) du bkram pa de **(3b)** nas srid/ lha rdo bya rgod mgo la bskal te btangs/ bya rgod spyi bo dkar ba de gtsug yin/ lha rdo sras (gsas) rdo 'dzugs pa de nas bsrid/ da lta lha mda' 'dzugs pa de nas bsrid/ bya'i th+y (thugs) dkar me long btags pa ni/ da lta bya rgod rmi lam rno ba de gtsug yin/ mda' la meolng (me long) btag pa de nas bsrid/ rkang la lha sel (=gser) lha g.yu btag/ da lta bya'i rkang pa khra bo yod pa de nas bsrid / lus la dar mtshon sna btag pa ni/ mda' la dar sna 'dog pa de nas srid/ sku lus dung gi brang rgyas 'dra/ brang rgyas zhal dkar 'dzug pa de nas srid/ rgya spos dkar po'i dud pas bdug/ spos dkar dud pa thul pa srid/ sder mo gnam lcag spu gri 'dra/ gnam lcags **(4a)** mde'u 'dzug pa de nas byung/ lha la lha rten de ltar mchis// kye+e' dus dang srid pa de tsam nas/ yul ni sa ga dog drug nas/ srid pa mi'u rigs bzhi des/ lha bon thodkargyis/ lha gzhi'i 'phying dkar brgyab kyis bting/ lha nas dkar po gtsal du bkram/ de nas 'brang rgyas mtsho'i gling du bzhags/ lha dral sras (gsas) dral tal 3 byas/ srid pas ph+ho (pho lha) rgyang dgu dang/ m+ho (mo lha) bcu+um (bcu gsum) spyar du drang/ dbu btud zhang blon phyas ni bkug/ thur phud 'dre bkar sri yang mnan/ de yang mi dang lha gnyis lags (=lag) pa 'brel/ mi'i lha ni gsol bar byas/ lhas ni mi la skyobs par byas/ lha dus dang dusu (dus su) gsol bar byas **(4b)** dus dang srid pa de tsam nas/ srid pa mi'u rigs bzhi de/ mi 'phel de ni pho ru 'phel/ phyug 'phel de ni mo ru 'phel/ rmang gi ra ba phyugis gang/ mi tshe g.yu+ung (g.yung drung) mtha' ru phyin/ dus dang skal ba de tsam ni/ mi ni ngan pa skyid kyi skyos/ khyi ni ngan pa zhagis skyos/ rta ni ngan pas brel mi thub/ dkar du

zho mnyes kyang/ lha la gsol ma shes/ dmar du brum̄s (=sbrum) pa btsegs kyang/ lha d+yol (=gsol) ma shes/ thabs gzhob mkhon du byas/ nal dang rtsog du byas/ sme mnol yugsum̄ (yug gsum) byas/ thabs rlang mun ltar gtibs/ lha'i brnyan phur thabs gyi khyer/ lha 'phang gnam̄ du 'phang/ gnam̄ rim pa bcu+um̄ (bcu gsum) steng shed na/ gser gyi pha 'ong (=bong) sbra tsaṃ cig/ g.yu'i lo **(5a)** ma mda' tsaṃ cig/ g.yu shug sngon po phung ṽ skyes/ pho lha gnam̄ ni de na bzhugs/ tha+y (thugs) la du (= 'dun) pa chag/ tshem (=tshims) la 'bu srin byung/ dpyan gyi dbang po lang/ shang kyi dbang po 'tshub/ zhal nas drag pa chags/ lha'i dbu lo yes/ lha'i sku ni ye nas med/ lhas mi la skyobs ma nus/ dus dang srid pa de tsaṃ na/ srid pa'i mi'u rig bzhi'i/ lus kyis lha yang 'phang/ mi la lha med na/ 'dre srin ngan pas tsha rag byed/ sgo la khyi med na/ 'dre dang rkun mas 'jag/ srid pa'i mi'u rig bzhi de/ mi 'phel mo ru 'phel/ phyug 'phel dephe (=pho) ru 'phel/ rmang gi ru ma (=ra ba?) stong la khad/ mi tshe g.y+r+ung (g.yung drung) shor la khad/ 'di ka ci'i chol ci yin nam̄ skad/ srid pa'i mo ma khong nga **(5b)** khong ngchung (=chung) spyandes (spyan 'dren) nas/ mo dang phywa rtsis byas/ mo ma khong nga knong chung de/ mo gzhi 'phying dkar bting/ nas dkar mo gtsal du bkram̄/ sngon mo 'bru brgyad gna+m̄ du t+yor (gtor)/ shel gyi mo rdel gtsal du bkram̄/ s+yer (gser) gyi sogs (sog) pa glad la bskor/dung gis bcu thib (ju thig) phrag la brdab/ lha ru mthong sras (?gsas) sgron ma bdal/ de nas mo dang phywa rtsis byas// mo ma de'i zhal nas re/ srid pa mi'u rig bzhi'i/ lha 'phang gnam̄ du 'phang nas 'dug/ lha la spyen (spyan 'dren) 'tshalo skad/ yang srid pa'i mi'u rig bzhi'i/ lha bon thodkar spyanngs (spyan drangs) nas/ lha bon dbu la thod cigsol/ zhabs la rine (rin chen) gdan cig bting/ mgur du bdud^ (bdud rtsi) chang skyems drang/ phyag du 'dod pa'i yon la phul/ lha bon de'i zhal nas re/ pho lha sgr+l (sgra bla) spyan 'dren gyi/ dgos pa'i yas rtag tshol cig+sung/ ye+es (ye shes) **(6a)** sgron mas sna yang drang/ khrungng (khrung khrung) dkar mo'i gshog rtse dang/ khu byug sngon mo'i sgro rtse dang/ sha (=bya) rgod rje ngar lhu cig dang/ g.yag rnga 'brong lnga (=rnga) bun cig dang/ dgos pa'i yas rtags snogs rnam̄s/ rka (=dka') ba rnam̄s ni mi la brtsal/ sra ba rnam̄s ni brag la bskos/ snyi ba rnam̄s ni chu la bskying/ btsal btsal sro sro nas/ bskos bskos bskiyilil (bskiyil bskiyil) bas/ lha bon de'i phyag du phul/ srid pa'i lha bon thodkar gyis/ lha gzhi 'phying dkar ljab kyis bting/ de nas lha dral sras (=gsas) dral mtho 3 byas/ lha bon thodkar zhal nas re/ lha dang mi gnyisi dum byas nas/ lha mi'i 'phrin pa brtsal 'tshal skad/ dus dang srid pa'i de tsaṃ nas/ srid pa'i mi'u rig bzhi des/ lha mi gnyis **(6b)** kyis 'phrin pa gang nas brtsal/

pha ni ya bo gang rgyal yin/ ma ni sman btsun yid ring ma/ de gnyis 'tsho cing bshos pa'i sras/ bu ni mi chung byi'u cig/ de'i mgo'o (mgo bo) byi bar 'dug/ gshog pa thang dkar ldem par 'dug/ lce ni smra mkhan ne tso 'dug/ dmig ni zo dor 'khros bar 'dug/ sna mchog dung gis phyed sleb 'dug/ yam chu sho der sho nas 'dug/ sder mo gnam lcags spu gri 'dug/ de la ming dang mtshan btag pa/ sgam po pha wang ye zur bya ba la/ de lha mi gnyis kyis 'phrin par bskos/ de la zhon pa'i 'og rta ni/ pha ni gnam lug ru ring dang/ ma ni sa lug bal chen lag(s)/ de gnyis srid cing sprul pa las/ bu ni g.yang lug ru **(7a)** dkar byung/ de la srid pa pha wang ye zur bkyon (=bskyon)/ ye+es (ye shes) sgron me'i sna yang drangs/ khrungng dkar mo'i gshog rtse dang/ khu byug sngon mo'i sgro rtse dang/ sha (=bya) rgod rje ngar lhu cig dang/ g.yag rgod rnga ma bun cig dang/ dgos pa'i yas btag phyag du phul/ g.yang dkar lugis bu la bskyon/ de la phud kyi mchod te btang/ de nas glog ltar 'khyg de sung (=song)/ de nas rgong (bya rgod?) ltar 'dril te sung (=song)/ gnam rim pa bcu+um (bcu gsum) steng shed nas/ gser gyi pha 'ong sbra tsam na/ g.yu shug sngono (sngon po) gru (khru) gang skyes/ g.yu'i lo ma mda' tsam nas/ de lta bu'i rtsa ba na/ pho lha sgra bla de nas bzhugs/ srid pa'i pha wang smra mkhan des/ rgye gsum rje'i phyagsum 'tshal/ btud 3 btud nas spu (pus) gsum btsug/ ph+ho (pho lha) m+ho (mo lha) rnam 'di na ci cig **(7b)** mdzad/ yul sa ga dog drug cig/ mi yul skye 'thing nas/ srid pa'i mi'u rig bzhi'i/ mi 'phel de ni mo ru 'phel/ phyug 'phel de ni pho ru 'phel/ rmang gi ra ba stong la khad/ mi tshe g.yu+ung (g.yung drung) shor la khad/ mi'u sdug pa'i mgon tu mi gshegs par/ sdo (=rdo) dang shing gi rtsa ba nas ci cig mdzad/ de skad nyid tu zhus pa dang/ ye+es (ye shes) lha'i zhal nas re/ mi'u rig bzhi sdug pa de/ mi dang lha gnyis lag sbrel dus/ mi ngan pa skyid kyi bskyod/ khyi ngan pa zhagis gcod/ rta ni tshon po bres mi thub/ dang po mi dang lha ru lag pa sbrel/ lha'i mi la ma byas par/ mi'i lha yang gsol bar byas/ lha'i mi la 'tshos par byas/ lha dus dang dus la gsol bar byas/ **(8a)** srid pa'i mi'u rig bzhi'i/ dkar du zho bsnyes (mnyes?) kyang/ lha la gsol ma (=ba) brjed/ dmar du sbrum pa brtseg kyang/ lha lha (=la) gsol ba brjed/ skyur du chang brtsos kyang/ lha la gsol ba brjed/ thabs gzhob mkhon du byas/ dme mnol yugsum (yug gsum) byas/ nal dang rtsog du byas/ thabslang mun par 'thog/ lha'i brtan phur thabs kyis khyer/ lha'i th+y (thugs) la mdun (=dun) pa chag/ tshim la 'bu srin byung/ spyen la ling thog byung/ snyan gyi dbang po 'on/ ljags+yi dbang po dig/ shang kyi dbang po 'tshubs/ lha'i dbu lo yes/ zhal la grag pa chags/ sku ni yo yang mnos/ lha'i mi la skyobs ma nus/ de skad nyid du gsung pa dang/ srid pa'i pha wang smra mkhan des/ gshen yul gra ma drug stengsu/ **(8b)** gshegs 1 spyen (spyen 'dren) tshol du song tsam nas/ ya ngam (=ya ngal) gyim gong de dang 'phrad ste mjal/ srid pa'i pha

wang smra mkhan des/ gshen chen ya ngam (ngal) gyim gong nas/ rgyes ste rgyes nas phyagsum (phyag gsum) mtshal/ btude btud nas spus btsug nas/ yas kyis bon po gshegsuol (gshegs su gsol)/ sel gyi bono (bon po) gshegsuol/ de skad nyid du zhus pa dang/ gshen ya ngar (ngal) gyim gong des/ yas kyis bon po gsheg par byas/ srid pa ya ngar (ngal) gyim gong des/ sgam po pha wang ye zur btang/ ye+es (ye shes) sgron me lha la phyar/ lha'i spyan gyi gzigz tsam na/ 'di nas lha'i spyen (spyen 'dren) ma yin no/ ltasn (ltas ngan) cig tu 'dugo gsung/ pha wang ye zur zhal nas re/ bdag ni ltasn (ltas ngan) ma yin no/ bdag lha'i spyen (spyen 'dren) yin lagso/ bdag gi che ba smras na cho mi chung/ pha ni ya 'o **(9a)** gong rgyal lags/ ma ni sman btsun yid ring ma/ bdag ni pha wang smra mkhan lag(s)/ mgo'o byi bar 'dug pa de/ thabs zhob mkhon gsu+ṃ thub pa lag(s)/ so ni stag so yod pa ni/ srin can sha la za **ba** lag(s)/ ya mchu sho rang (=shog rang) yod pa ni/ bdud la shag chen 'debs pa lags/ smra lce ni tsho (=ne tso) yod pa ni/ lha mi gnyis kyis mjal sdum byed pa lags/ dmig (=mig) la koer (dkar 'od?) 'phro ba ni/ ye+es (ye shes) spyen dang ldan ba lags/ rna ba dung gi phyed sleb ni/ ye+es (ye shes) sgra dang ldan pa lags/ gshog pa thang dkar ldeb pa ni/ gnam rim pa bcum (bcu gsum) 'dzeg pa lags/ ster mo lcakyu (lcags kyu) yod pa ni/ dbal ri zur nas gshegs pa lags/ bdag ni ltas ngan ma yin lagswo/ bdag ni lha'i spyen (spyen 'dren) **(9b)** lagswo/ ye+es (ye shes) lha rnam gshegsuol (gshegs su gsol)/ de skad nyid du zhus pa dang/ ye+es (ye shes) lha'i zhal nas re/ khyed lha mi gnyis kyis mjal dum (sdum) byed pa na/ bden dang rtags du ci bskul skad/ pha wang ye zur mchis na re/ lha'i sgron mas sna drang nas/ khrung (khrung khrung) dkar mo'i gshog rtse dang/ khu byug sngon mo'i sgro lce dang/ sha (bya) rgod rje ngar lhu cig dang/ y+yd (g.yag) rnga mgron lnga (brong rnga) bun r dang/ bden dang rtagsu bskuro (bskul lo) skad/ pha wang smra mkhan ye zur des/ bden rtag lha'i phyag tu phul/ bden rtags 'di la tha+y (thugs) dgos la/ ye+es (ye shes) lha rnam gshegsuol (gshegs su gsol)/ ye+es (ye shes) lha'i zhal nas re/ ye nas 'jige ('jig rten) la 'jigs pa med/ 'phang dang de ni grib ma 'phong/ srid pa mi'u rig bzhi rnam/ snga lo **(10a)** ngan na bor rnam skad/ phyi lo bzang po len nam (=rnam) skad/ srid pa pha wang smra mkhan des/ lha rnam gshegs pa'i gzhanng (gzhan dbang) btabs/ ye+es (ye shes) lha rnam gshegsuol (gshegs su gsol)/ lha la gsol ba'i mi med na/ lha la sel byung kha yan 'gro/ lha 'khros pa de ni 'dre ru mchis/ mi la lha med skyabs med nas/ 'dre srin gdug pa tsha rag pa/ sgo nas bsrung ba'i khyi med na/ 'dre dang rkun ma tsha rag pa/ mi'i mgon dang skyabs la ni/ ye+es (ye shes) lha rnam

gshesguol/ de skad nyid du zhus pa la/ ye+es lha'i zhal nas re/ nges mi'i mgon du 'gro  
 ba na/ dgos pa'i yas rtags yod dam skad/ srid pa'i pha wang mchis (mchid) na re/ lha  
 cha lha rten re re mchis/ lha gzhi dkar po'i steng shed na/ nas kyi phungo (phung  
 po) **(rob)** bcuṃ (bcu gsum) yod/ gnaṃ rim pa bcuṃ (bcu gsum) yong (=yang) sgong  
 na/ 1 mda' dar me long bcuṃ (bcu gsum) mchis/ des pho lha brten pa'i lha brten  
 mdzod/ 2 lha rgyang ldem pa bcuṃ (bcu gsum) 'di/ sgra bla brten pa'i lha brten  
 mdzod/ 3 lha rdo dkar po bcu+uṃ (bcu gsum) 'di/ srog lha brten pa'i lha brten  
 mdzod/ 4 mda' bzang bya rgod bcu+uṃ (bcu gsum) 'di/ pho lha brten pa'i lha X/ 5  
 shel rdo mtshal gyi g.yu+rng (g.yung drung) 'di/ zhang lha brten pa'i lha X/ 6 g.yu  
 shug sngon po bcu+uṃ 'di/ ma lha brten pa'i lha X/ 7 nas kyi phungo (phung po)  
 bcu+uṃ 'di/ gsas rje brten pa'i X/ 8 lha 'bras zhal dkar bcu+uṃ 'di/ rgod gsas brten  
 pa'i X/ 9 dbal mdung ra ma bcu+uṃ 'di/ gna+ṃ sras (gsas) brtan pa'i X/ 10/ sras  
 (gsas) g.yag ru ring bcu+uṃ (bcu gsum) 'di/ gar gsas brten X/ 11 'bras lug ngo dmar  
 bcu+uṃ 'di/ dbals (dbal gsas) brten pa'i lha X/ mtshe'i **(ra)** phungo (phung po)  
 bcu+uṃ (bcu gsum) 'di/ 'thor sras (gsas) brten pa'i lha brten/ 12 gcod byed ral+ri (ral  
 gri) bcu+uṃ/ sgo lha brten pa'i lha X/ rdzas dang yo byed sna^ogs (sna tshogs) 'di/  
 lha^ogs (lha tshogs) brten pa'i lha brten mdzod/

### 3. Interview with Gendun

sngon dus le'u la las spyi yod de/ rgy rdzas gsog gnyer byed pa dang tshong byed  
 dgos/ dngos rdzas de 'gro song byas te lo re le'u rnam phyogs gcig tu 'tshogs nas  
 gto byed dgos/ sger gyi 'du khang med kyang sde ba so so'i spyi khang dang nang  
 chen kha shas nang du 'tshogs pa yin/ de dus mang tshogs nang du dme dang nal  
 dang yug sogs yod med gros bsdur zhib gsher byed dgos/ gal ted me dang nal yod  
 na le'us bka' phabs nas chad pa gcod dgos/ grib can de mi gral nas phud de bgar  
 dgos pas/ 'du khang dang la btsas bstod pa sogs kyi gras su 'ong mi chog pa red/ [...]  
 nal byed pa'i bza' mi pho mo gnyis kyis le'u la bshags pa byas te/ ja bam po che bag  
 cig la nal thag gcod byed ral gri gcig bzhag/ nal khal bcu rnam phul te ngos len zhu  
 dgos pa red/ de nas nal gto byed dgos pas bka' bskyon mang po gnang srol yod/ nal  
 gto byed pa'i mdos rdzas de shing phung steng du bskyal dgos/ lo gcig nang du  
 shing phung de skam par gyur na da gzod nal grib sangs yod pa yin zer srol yod/ de  
 nas mi gral du slar tshud par byed do/

#### 4. Sherab Dragpa's explanation of pollutions

khyo ga'i pha dang chung ma'i pha gnyis rus gcig pa yin na nal nag yin pas spang dgos/ gal te sdeb na mi gral nas phud pa'am yang na srid pa'i bla sil dang nal gto byed dgos/ kho ga'i ma dang chung ma'i ma gnyis rus gcig yin na nal dkar yin pas nyes kha cung tsam chung bas mnol bsang dang wa bsang lta bus chog/ khyo ga'i ma dang chung ma'i pha gnyis rus gcig pa dang/ khyo ga'i pha dang chung ma'i ma gnyis rus gcig na nal khra yin la/ de la'ang nyes kha cung zad yod pas bsang sil ci thub byas na bzang ngo/ yang ming sring lag sdeb ces pa ni dper na tshe skyab kyi chung ma'i ming po 'brug thar gyi chung ma ni/ tshe skyab kyi srings byas pa lta bu phan tshun brje b ani gtsog pa yin zer/ yang sha rus gcig pa'i gnyen 'brel gyis phan tshun dmar gsod byas pa ni dme zhes bya ste mi gral nas phud dgos/ gal te 'gyod bshags drag po byas na dme sil dang gtsog sil/ wa bsang zhabs khrod sogs kyi dag par byas rjes nyes sel byas chog/ yang gna' mi rnam kyi khyo ga shi ba'i bud med la yug sa mo zhes gtsog pa blta srol yod pa dang/ zas med par mu ges ltogs nas shi la'ang ngan pa zhig tu sems/ yang rid wags khyim dang grong srang du 'ong b ani than yin zer ba dang/ ri dwags dang gcan zan shi ba'i ro rnyed pa sogs ltas ngan du blta ba red/ wa ro rnyed na pha ro yin zer srol yod/ yang gcan zan gyis mi smras pa'am gsod pa ni chag sgo che ba'i 'byung ngan yin zer/ shwa ba dang shwa rgya gnyan lug sogs gsod na ri gnyan dang 'khon 'thab 'byung bas rang la chag sgo che ba yin zer/

#### 5. The *sel* ritual with 28 steps

[...] de altar dme dang nal gyi rigs rnam la srid pa'i bla sel 'di byed dgos pa yin no/ 'dir cho ga'i le tshan re re ngo sprodzhu na/ 1 sil gi dmigs pa zhes pa 'di'i brjod don ni/ sel bon rang nyid a'u ya ngal la sgom pa'i rim pa rnam bshad yod/ ya ngal ni sel bon 'di thog mar srol 'byed pa'i bon po de yin/ 2 sil sa gcod pa zhes 'di nil ha gas chen rigs lnga la brten nas sa 'dul byed thabs kyi cho ga zhig yin/ 3 sgron ma 'dzugs pa zhes pa 'di ni le'u bon gyi phyag gis sgron me zhig rten du btsugs nas srid pa grol ba'i gdung rabs rus chen lnga bshad pa zhig red/ 4 g.yu 'brug rtsi gsol zhes pa de ni mnol gtsog gi rigs rnam g.yu 'brug la tshangs pa'i yon tan yod pas de la brten nas gtsang sel byed pa ste/ rten sbrul yin la dkar chab gtor dgos/ 5 rgya mi 'phrang sel zhes pa de ni kong tse'i gsungs yin la rus chen lnga po (ldong 'bru dbra wa zhang rgyal drang rje) re re nas gtsang sel byed pa'i cho ga zhig yin/ rten la

sgron me lnga dkod dgos/ 6 sprel khra bshad pa zhes pa de ni rdzu 'phrul can gyi sprel dkar gyis lha dang 'dre gnyis kyis bar du gtsang gtsog shan 'byed byed pa'i don zhig yin/ rten sprel dkar yin/ [...] 7 a bo ya ngal zhes pa 'di ni yang ngal bon pos mdzad pa zhig yin srid/ dme ba gtsang byed cho ga zhig yin la/ yi ge ma dag pa shig du mang/ rten ni pha wang dang bya ma byil sogs yin/ 8 - 11 skabs 'dir bla zog mchod pa 'byung ste/ [...] bla zog rnam ni rid wags rigs mi 'dra ba lnga yin de g.yung dwags ni gras su 'dus med/ sha ba dang rkyang gnyis go sla g.yag rgod dang gnyan lug dang ra rgod bcas yin/ 'di rnam gnyan gi sgo nor yin pa ma zad/ ldong sogs gnyan las grol ba'i rus chen lnga'i bla zog yin/ de phyir rus so sos rang la mgon pa'i lha srung du brtsis nas gsol mchod byed dgos pa'i srol dar yod/ [...] 8 dgra chos lug shug zhes pa ni thug kar lug shug sgra bla mchod pa'i gzhung yin/ lug de ni srid pa khongs nas grol ba'i thugs kar ste sgra bla yin la/ ri dwags gnyan te sprul ba'i lug yin no/ 9 dgra chos ra shug ni ra dgra blar mchod pa'i lugs yin la/ gnyan ra zhes bshad yod pas sgo zog ra ma yin par ri dwags ra rgod de yin/ de'ang sprul ba'i ra yin cing mthu rtsal nus stobs dang ldan pas dgra bo 'dul ba'i nus mthu yod par bshad 'dug/ rab yin na ra la srungs btsugs nas ri gnyan la phul dgos pa zhig yin no/ 10 dgra chos bya shug zhes pa ni bya pho bya mo la srungs btsugs nas ri gnyan la phul dgos pa'i byed thabs so/ de ltar byas na ri gnyan dga' nas yon bdag gi bsam don 'grub par gsungs so/ 11 dgra chos g.yag shug zhes pa ni 'brong g.yag sgra blar bkur ba ste/ mthu stobs dang ldan pa' sprul ba' g.yag yin pas dgra bo 'dul ba'i nus mthu chen po yod do/ 12 tshe lo drug bcu'i bkag sil zhes pa 'di ni kong tse'i bka' yin la/ sbar kha brgyad dang lo skor drug bcu'i dme mnol sil ba'i cho ga zhig/ ma dpe mi gsal ba dang ma dag pa mang ngo/ 13 dme sil zhes pa 'di ni dme bo'i grib sel ba'i cho ga yin la rdo ba dkar nag bsreg pa'i steng du khurus chab gtong dgos/ gshen po dang thag ring ba'i sar wa nang khrid nas de'i sne nas dme bo de la khurus byed pa'i cho ga zhig yin no/ dme 'dre bkar ba'i glud kyang dgos so/ bya ma byil ni dme nal sel bar bskos pa'i bya yin pas de'i cho ga'ang byed dgos so/ 14 bkag sil zhes pa ni mi grangs mi 'phel ba'i bkag 'dre rnam sil gis bsal ba dang glud kyis bkar dgos pa'o/ 15 bya ma byil rdel sil ni dme nal sel ba la pha wang dang bya ma byil sprel dkar rnam ched du bskos pa yin pas de dag la brten nas cho ga byed dgos pa'i phyir ro/ khyad par nal sil la dgos nges yin/ yi ge ma dag pa shin tu mang/ 16 nal sil ni rus gcig pa'i gza' mi pho mo la byed dgos pa'i cho ga zhig yin/ rdo ba dkar nag bsregs pa'i khurus cha bwa rta la drangs ba'i sne mo nas nal pho nal mos khurus byed dgos pa'o/ pha wang dang bya ma byil sprel dkar rma bya sogs kyis khurus byed dgos/ khurus byas pa'i chab rtsi shing la btab na rtsi shing skam 'gro ba yin zhes bshad srol yod/ 17 tsogs sil zhes

pa 'di yug sogs la sel byed pa'i zhig yin la 'gro stangs snga ma dang gcig yin/ yi ge ma dg pa shin tu mang ngo/ 18 sil gi rdor bsang zhes pa 'di sgra bla dang wer ma sogs la bsang mchod phul ba' tshig bshad cig yin no/ 19 rdor gi bkra shis dang smon lam zhes pa ni go sla'o/ 20 phya khu ye zhes pa ni srid pa'i pa bshas nas g.yang 'gugs byed pa'i le tshan zhig yin/ 21 sgron ma 'gyogs pa 'dis mchod me zhig bkyag dgos/ dkyil 'khor sgo dbye dgos pa' ched do/ 22 sku bstod 'di phyogs bzhi dbus lnga'i sgo ba rnam kyis sgo 'byed pa'i phyir du sku bstod pa yin no/ 23 rtsi rdo dkar po zhes pa 'dis bya mdos kyi rdzas rnam yar bstod mar bkar byed bzhin rus rgyud kyi mgon lhar bstod pa'i cho ga'o/ 24 khram btab zhes pa 'dis khram shing bcags par byed dgos/ 25 me tog smon lam zhes pa 'dis srid pa'i ba mo de me tog bcu gsum gyi thog tu rim bzhin 'ded dgos/ bam o de ni srid pa grol phug yin pa'i bshad srol yod/ 26 rdor gi smon lam gzhi bting zhes pa 'dis rdo ra dang rdor lug bya mdos la phul dgos/ thud dang sha mar sogs kyang phul/ 27 rgya ma bcags pa ni/ phyogs bzhi dbus lnga'i rus lnga la mdos rdzas rgya mas 'jal te phul dgos/ rus rgyud dar ba'i ched du yin/ 28 pa kar phyag 'tshal zhes pa ni pa kar gyis phyogs bzhi dbus lnga las g.yang blangs la sna yar la drangs/ srid pa'i ba bshas nas rus lnga yar la bstod dgos/ des srid pa'i pa las rus chen lnga grol ba'i lta ba bzung yod/ rjes su mda' bstod dang phye mar bstod pa sogs bya'o/

## 6. Myth from *Nal sil*

(4b) yang nal gi bkad (bkag) sel yad (yag) pa' dpe'/ (5a) gser ri g.yu' lung 'gul ba na/ stag cha 'a ('al) 'ol bya ba de/ lha rab dgu'i chu (chung) ba yin/ dus dang skal ba de tsaṃ na/ stag cha sha ba bshol du song/ sha ba bshasi' (bshas pa'i) rlo thogsu/ the' mo bka' ma bzhin du 'ong/ rtsog dang nal du byas pa la/ de lha drug spu (spun) drugis gto'i gshegsuol (gshegs su gsol)/ bka' 'dra chi yin zhus pa la/ phyag (phya) 'khaṃs mo t+yud (rgyud) tshal byas pa/ mgon byed lha rnaṃs mnol ba yin/ bkad (bkags) 'dre byas pa mo la bzung/ med kyang sa btses bka' sgyur byas/ rmang bdud bkrol'i sel bon gnyer/ de yang (5b) thag skaṃ shel mong (mang po) bsod (bsags)/ mgon byed lha 'khaṃs las/ phya bon kong chung gnyen (gnyer?)/ nal thub yas rnaṃs kral du mnga'/ shing rtsi spu rig mong ba'i (mang po'i)/ nal thub gzud (gzugs) 'gro mong (mang po) yi/ nal sel bkad (bkags) sgyur 'bung don byas/ nal bu 3 yang yas bsod (yas su bsags)/ bya ma byi 13 la/ mda' gzhu'i 'khor 3 rgyab du bcings/ nal yas rnaṃs la nal sel byas/ gser ri g.yu' lung dang/ phyi'i tor kar 'gyur las/ nal bkad

(bkags) rtsog lte mar la bsel/ 'dab chad (chags) gcan zan mang po'i/ 'byung ba rang bkaḍ (bkags) rang gis byung/ 'byung'i (byung ba'i) (6a) don gi rtsog nal yul phud byas/ stoben (stob chen) pong dril mgar ba yi/ nal la rmu phag cheno (chen po) byas/ g.yasu song ba spyan du bsal/ nal shal ~~phyag-mtsho~~ 3 la nal drug phyung/ mgar ba'i ra la dung rtse rgon/ nal gyitn (gyi gtan) la phya mtsho nang las phung/ phyi ba zal mo rng ma la/ stag ma 'ur bu'i bzhor bub tang/ mtsho la rkyal du rmug pa la/ khrag nyi dus 1 la mtsho las thon/ 'gyid tor stog gin 'byung du bzhuḍ (bzhus)/ gnam sa'i par las 'gying mar bston/ pa (=sa) kar bya ma byi 13 gis/ (6b) nal 'dre lha m^n (btsan) 'guls ('gul las) bston/ lha m^n (btsan) pa la mi grang blang/ chu byi sram tsha dang/ rtilo grum tsha dang/ wa mo mnol tsha 3 du byung/gser ri g.yu' lung ngosu kyang/sha ma g.yu'i chab dmiḍ (dmigs=mig) nang du bskyur/ ri la gnas pa'i s^ḍ (sa bdag) dang/ chu la n+yas'i (gnas pa'i) mtsho sman dang/ lha mtshan (btsan) kun ka mnol/ nal gi brlang pa kyenu (kyen du) song/ khi^n zor (khams chen /?/ zo dor) nal gi mnol/ lha mi 'phrin lam nal gicod (gi gcod)/ 'phel byed mi krang (grang) skye shing la/ rtsog dang nal gis bya nag bab/ dmud dag lha dag kar (7a) po la/ rmang gi mdud pa nog (nag po) chad (chags)/ mi grang phyud (phyugs) 'phel ma ~~nyan~~ na/ de nas stag chad (cha) 'al 'ol gis/ gto'i dyalo (rgyal po) gshegsuol (gshegs su gsol)/ stang dbyal nal bkaḍ (bkags) bsal ba'i phyr/ 'phel byed rtsis mkhan mnol ba la/ de la ci rtsi zhus pa la/ t+yo'i (gto'i) rgyal mo la gnyer/ da rtsog nal bsal bin (bzhin) du/ rmang sel bkaḍ (bkags) sgyur byed pa'i tshe/ mo bon khoḍ ru gshegsuol (gshegs su gsol)/ gnam sa'i par la ya stag bsoḍ (bsogs)/ nal thub mgar ba pong 'ong dang/ bya ma byi nal yas gis/ (7b) gser ri g.yu' lung 'gyur shed las/ rtsog nal sil gi mar la gsal/ lha dug spun gsum yas gi 'bras/ rang dug rang ris gsal/ mgar ba bshal ba dang/ grol phug g.yu mtsho gteng shed las/ nal gi sha ma thang la phyung/ rtsog yas mong (mang po) bsoḍ (bsags) pa'i/ nal sel bka' sgyur byed don du/ nal thub mgar ba'i bka' skur byas/ rmang grol byas nas mi grang slang/ bkaḍ (bkags) shing bor la rmang bdud bkrol/ nal sel bka' skyur byas yag ~~slang~~ pa'i/ ~~bkags~~ mi grangs 'phelo phyug rtsis chag//

7. Facsimile of the translated part of the manuscript *Purification of Pollution from Incest* (courtesy of Ngawang Gyatso).

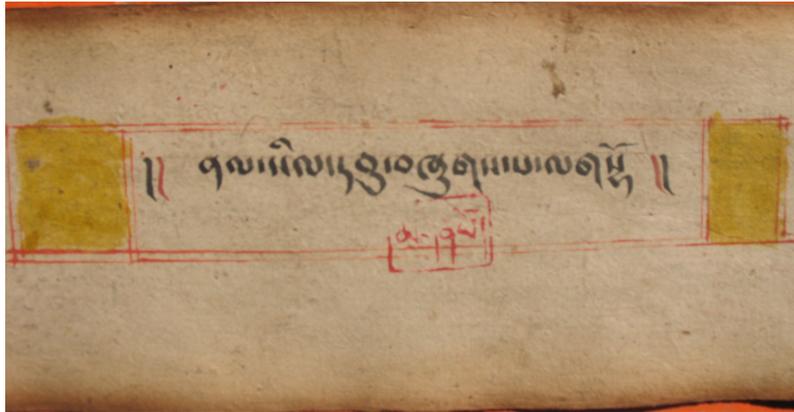


Plate 6  
Fol. 1a.



Plate 7  
Fols. 4b-5a.



Plate 8  
Fols. 5b-6a.



Plate 9  
Fols. 6b-7a.



Plate 10

*Fol. 7b.**Acknowledgments*

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# Attitudes of Bangkok Catholics Toward Buddhists According to the Theology of Religions

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*Abstract* This research was conducted to study attitudes of Bangkok Catholics toward Buddhists. The four-model theology of religions was used as the theoretical framework to ascertain the results. The study first critically examined the four-model theology of religions. Then in-depth interviews were carried out with 25 Bangkok Catholics to examine their attitudes, positions, and views toward Buddhism and Thai Buddhists according to the theology of religions. It was found that none of the Catholic subjects had the attitude of exclusivism, while the majority had the attitude of pluralism. This study shows the significance of how a tiny minority Asian Church has adapted to a dominant Buddhist majority socioculturally, politically, and even theologically.

*Keywords* Catholic Church, Thailand, theology of religions, Buddhist-Catholic relations

## *Introduction*

Today, relations between the tiny Catholic community (0.55% of the country's 68 million population)<sup>1</sup> and the wider, predominantly Buddhist community in Thailand are often seen as very good. In the media, there is an absence of reports of tensions and conflicts, and also of much less violence between the two communities. Catholic contributions to the society are noticeable, for example, from the numerous Catholic educational and health institutions all over the country. Most of the people served by these institutions are Buddhists. The recent

<sup>1</sup> These figures were tabulated from the latest data from *The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church*, accessible at <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org>.

apostolic visit of Pope Francis to Thailand (November 20–23, 2019) generated largely positive feelings throughout the country by people of all religions. The Pope was welcomed by high-level government officials, including the Prime Minister, and also met with the King and the Buddhist Supreme Patriarch.

Some local writers stress the peaceful nature of all Thai people and their shared values such as compassion and imply that this is the reason for the peaceful relations between Thai Buddhists and Thai Christians (Bunchua 1994, 60). However, in the history of relations between Catholics and Buddhists (both the State and the populace), we do find conflicts and even violence. Serious conflicts between these two communities were reported in 1730, 1779, and from the mid to the end of the 19th century. In the last century, some severe tensions erupted in 1940–1944, in the late 1950s and early 1980s. Seven Thai Catholics were martyred in 1940 (Winitchakul 2015, 82–84). Reasons for these conflicts were mainly political, but the religious attitudes of Buddhists and Catholics have also played a role. For example, priests in the late 19th century forbade Catholic civil servants from participating in a mandatory Buddhist ritual, in addition to lobbying for Catholics to be exempted from taxation and *corvée* labor (Strate 2015, 68).

With this background, Buddhist-Catholic relations in Thailand today might be expected to be a little more complex than what is seen on the surface. Kenneth Fleming (2014, 17) describes Buddhist-Christian relations in Thailand from the past to the present as an “entanglement”.

The intention of this paper is to find out what attitudes Bangkok Catholics have toward Thai Buddhists today. The study of Christians’ attitudes toward other religions is a field within theology called the theology of religions. The typology in the theology of religions today is four-pronged, commonly termed exclusivism, inclusivism, pluralism, and particularity. While exclusivism has been the predominant attitude of Christians toward other religions throughout its history, inclusivism is today embraced as the official attitude of the Catholic Church and the mainstream Protestant Churches. Pluralism today is prevalent among liberals and particularity is being developed with post-modern ideas. This paper attempts to answer the question: What attitudes according to the four-model typology of the theology of religions are Bangkok Catholics today inclined to in their relations with their Buddhist neighbors? The data used in this study was collected by

interviewing 25 mainly Bangkok Catholics so as to extract their views and attitudes. But first, let us analyse the four-model theology of religions in a little more detail.

## 1 *Theology of Religions*

Within Christian theology, the theology of religions, at its most basic level, “involves constructing an interpretation of how Christianity relates to other religions, what the nature of these religions is, and what may happen to followers of other religions soteriologically (to do with salvation).” (Hedges 2010, 16).

The traditional models of the theology of religions are three—exclusivism, inclusivism and pluralism—but since the beginning of this century, a fourth model has been added and termed “particularities” by some scholars, such as Paul Hedges (2010, 17). Paul Knitter, one of the first to describe the four-model typology, calls them by different names: the “replacement”, “fulfillment”, “mutuality”, and “acceptance” models respectively (Knitter 2002, 239). For the sake of simplicity, I will use the more traditional terms, those used by Hedges, and in the singular: exclusivism, inclusivism, pluralism and particularity.

### 1.1 Exclusivism

Exclusivism holds that there is only one truth, and this truth is the Christian revelation found in biblical texts. By default, all other religions are false, therefore Christianity is meant to replace all other religions. This has been the dominant attitude for much of Christian history. Historically this attitude is encapsulated by the classical phrase articulated by the Church: *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* (outside the Church, no salvation). This phrase actually puts the possibility of salvation not only in Christianity alone but in the Catholic Church entirely. Today, exclusivism is mostly found in Churches commonly referred to as Evangelicals and Pentecostals (Knitter 2002, 20-21). Moreover, the World Council of Churches<sup>2</sup> has an exclusivist stance in terms of its theology, though in practice it has been

2 The World Council of Churches brings together 500 million Protestants and Orthodox Christians in 110 countries and territories. There are 350 member Churches including Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, and Reformed Churches, as well as many United and Independent Churches according to its website <http://www.oikoumene.org/en/about-us>.

ferently calling for interreligious dialogue since its founding in 1948 (Knitter, 2002, 42-44).

How does exclusivism explain the existence and presence of other religions? In a variety of ways: one is that they are all evil and Satanic, devised by the devil to trick and trap humanity into hell and damnation; another is that they are systems created by the human imagination due to people's folly and sinfulness. Yet there is another that assumes that other religions are genuine efforts to reach God, therefore they contain noble and worthy things; however, because these are just human efforts and not acts and revelations by God, one can never reach God through these other religions (Hedges 2010, 21-22).

One major figure in the exclusivism model is the Swiss Protestant theologian Karl Barth (1886-1968). Barth explains that one is saved by a four-fold "alones": by God's grace alone, by faith alone, by Christ alone, and by Scripture alone (Knitter 2002, 24).

## 1.2 Inclusivism

Inclusivism also maintains that there is one truth which is the Christian revelation; however, it does not see other religions as simply false. There are truths in other religions, and people of other religions can be saved, albeit through Christ without their knowledge. Christ and the Holy Spirit are at work in other religions too. The revelation of Jesus Christ is the truth, but this truth is not confined to a certain Church or even to Christianity alone.

Inclusivism is considered the mainstream Christian attitude toward other religions today. The Catholic Church, Orthodox Church, and mainstream Protestant Churches seemed to endorse it as their official policy. However, inclusivism has its roots in the Catholic Church in the time of the Reformation (16th century) (Knitter 2002, 63). The Council of Trent (1545-1563) came up with the formula of "baptism by desire", which means those who were not baptized (with water) into the Church but lived moral lives according to their conscience, can be saved by their implicit desire to be baptized. They were somehow mystically attached to the Church (Knitter 2002, 67).

In more recent times, the German Jesuit theologian Karl Rahner (1904-1984) was a key figure associated with the inclusivist model. For Rahner, because God

is love, He wants to save all people and moreover acts to save all people through grace. Grace, in addition, has to be embodied—take material form. The religions—their efforts, symbols, rituals, stories—are in fact embodiments of the presence of God and God's grace in human history. Other religions are therefore included in God's plan of salvation. People are saved not despite their (non-Christian) religions but because of their religions. Nevertheless, Rahner, being faithful to Christian teaching, asserts that salvation comes only through Jesus Christ absolutely. What is different from exclusivism is that while for the exclusivists one cannot be saved without knowing and consciously accepting Jesus Christ, for Rahner one can experience the saving action of Jesus Christ in their own religions—without realizing that it is Jesus Christ who is the final cause of their salvation. What of the role of Christianity then? For Rahner, the Christian religion, or specifically the Catholic Church, is a “sacrament”, a “historically tangible vanguard” of the hopes of the people of God. Being a Christian, then, is not an advantage one has over other religions but a responsibility to live up to.<sup>3</sup>

A watershed moment came for the Catholic Church when the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) seemed to adopt inclusivism as its official attitude toward other religions. The most often cited Vatican II document that affirms this stance is *Nostra Aetate, Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions*. This short document attempts to create common ground among religions. It acknowledges the various religions that have developed over history as ways to provide answers to basic questions on the meaning of human life. On Buddhism, the document states it “realizes the radical insufficiency of this changeable world”, and “teaches a way [...] to acquire the state of perfect liberation or [...] supreme illumination.” The document declares that “the Catholic Church rejects nothing that is true and holy in these religions”. And furthermore, “she regards with sincere reverence those ways of conduct and of life, those precepts and teachings which, though differing in many aspects from the ones she holds and sets forth, nonetheless often reflect a ray of that Truth which enlightens all men.” It calls on Catholics: “Through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, carried out with prudence and love and in witness to the Christian faith

3 See Knitter 2002, 70-75 and Fredericks 1999, 24-27.

and life, they recognize, preserve and promote the good things, spiritual and moral, as well as the socio-cultural values found among these men.”<sup>4</sup>

The assertion that Vatican II marks a turning point to the attitude of inclusivism frequently refers to *Nostra Aetate*. We see first a very reconciliatory tone devoid of tension, judgment and condemnation. The tone is that of building bridges and seeking what is common. Nevertheless, on closer inspection, we see that *Nostra Aetate* implies that Christianity holds the entire Truth, while other religions have only part of that Truth. It also implicitly maintains that while other religions are human efforts, Christianity is the full divine revelation. On the call to dialogue and collaboration, this document cautions “prudence” and “in witness to the Christian faith”. We see that the call for dialogue and good relations has the aim of promoting “social justice and moral welfare, as well as peace and freedom” for “all mankind”,<sup>5</sup> and also to maintain “peace with all men”.<sup>6</sup> It has nothing to do with any theological shift on the part of the Catholic Church. Thus, we can say it fits into the scheme of inclusivism— that Christianity (and moreover the Catholic Church) has the whole Truth, and other religions have part of the Truth.

### 1.3 Pluralism

In the new post-colonial world setting, where equality and human rights have become central issues in national and international discourse, both the exclusivism and inclusivism just didn’t work. Christians have discovered rich and ancient cultures, philosophies and religions, especially in Asia. Other religions just can’t be treated as inferior to Christianity, much less Satanic or evil. The idea of equality among religions thus began to come into the consciousness of Christians. For the other religions to be so rich and ancient, they must be very profound and important, or at least as profound and important as the “true” religion— Christianity. Hence, the idea that all religions somehow lead to the same ultimate thing came into being. All religions have the same essence. Each religion uses a

4 *Nostra Aetate*: 2.

5 *Ibid.*: 3.

6 *Ibid.*: 5.

different language, but they all aim at the same ultimate thing. This “same ultimate thing” is termed differently by different scholars. For John Hick (1922–2012), it is “God”, later revised to “the Real”; for Paul Knitter (1939–), it is *soteria*. For Wilfred Cantwell Smith (1916–2000), it is “transcendent”, and Stanley Samartha (1920–2001) calls it “Mystery” (Fredericks 1999, 96).

John Hick, an English Protestant philosopher and theologian, asserted that “God” or “the Real” is one, while expressions of this are many. Put in other words, the noumenon is one and the same, but the phenomena are very many. The fact that the great religions (Hick refers to the Axial religions) have similar goals of achieving peace and compassion, and similar ethical values, is one evidence of “the Real”, though they have different doctrines (Knitter 2002, 114–117). Moreover, according to Hick, all the great religions have the sense of a higher reality that is beyond language and beyond human ability to conceptualize (Fredericks 1999, 49).

The centrality and uniqueness of Jesus Christ in Christianity need not be dismissed. It can be explained by making a distinction between scientific/philosophical language and poetic language. Jesus as Messiah, Savior, Word of God, Son of God, etc. are poetry, symbolism, and metaphor—used to express the experiences of the people rather than hard literal or scientific facts (Knitter 2002, 119–121).

For pluralism, there is a “core mystical experience” or “core mystical reality” in all religions, though due to different social constructions, religions can have mind-boggling differences that can look like contradictions (Knitter 2002, 125). The innumerable symbols, doctrines, ethical rules, and rituals of the world’s religions- all reflect the one divine light (Fredericks 1999, 39).

#### 1.4 Particularity

Particularity came on the coattails of postmodernism and post-liberalism. Contrary to pluralism, it rejects the notion that there is a common core and a common goal in all religions, or that there can be a grand narrative behind all the religions of the world. One can only speak in the language and from the tradition of one’s own religion. As Christians, particularists hold that Christianity is the only path for them, but God can and may be at work in other religions in unknown ways; hence other religions must be accorded due respect (Hedges 2010, 27–29).

A key figure in this model is George Linbeck (1932–), an American Lutheran theologian. Linbeck approaches religion from what he calls the “cultural-linguistic”

perspective. In this perspective, we do not first experience the world, then find the language to express it. Rather, it is our language that creates our world. Hence, we do not have a religious experience and then find the words/language to express it. Rather, it is the religious language from our culture that makes and shapes our religious experience. As such, there is no basis for comparing one religion with another. There is an unbridgeable gap. Religious concepts and experiences are not translatable from one religion to another. There is incommensurability among religions. Every religion offers a comprehensive and complete framework, and a universal perspective to explain everything and provide one with ultimate meaning in life. No religion can be measured or judged by another (Knitter 2010, 180-182).

Particularists do encourage and promote interreligious dialogue but limits should be placed. To describe dialogue in the view of Linbeck, Knitter uses the image of “a good neighbor policy”, where conversations are encouraged, but each neighbor’s backyard is clearly defined and fences put in place so that one does not infringe on another’s space. In such dialogue, “there are no pre-determined rules for the conversation [...] no necessary items on the agenda (such as social justice or the environment) [...] and the relation between religious believers will just happen, if they happen.” (Knitter 2010, 183-184).

Mark Heim took the particularity model further by claiming that religions use different languages because they have different ends, different goals, different “salvations” and different “ultimates”. For example, there is no comparison between Buddhism’s nirvana and Christianity’s heaven. There are “permanently co-existing truths” in religions. The different ways of the different religions continue eternally, without ever coming to a common point. Heim is committed to interreligious dialogue not in order to disagree with the other (convince the other of its falsehood) or to agree (try to seek a commonality) but to accept and learn from the real differences.<sup>7</sup>

One particular development in the particularist model is comparative theology. It stresses on having dialogue first. It is the fruits/data from dialogue that would then build a theology of religions (Knitter 2010, 203). Proponents claim they have discovered treasures and new meanings in biblical texts from other

7 See Knitter 2010, 192-194.

religions (Knitter 2010, 206). James Fredericks (1999, 139-140) explains it as follows:

Comparative theology is the attempt to understand the meaning of Christian faith by exploring it in the light of the teachings of other religious traditions. [...] Christians look upon the truths of non-Christian traditions as resources for understanding their own faith.

He gives the example of how the Hindu story of Krishna and the gopis can help Christians appreciate the Gospel story of the Prodigal Son.<sup>8</sup>

It needs to be pointed out that particularism as a fourth model of the theology of religions is not universally accepted by all concerned thinkers and theorists. Some have the view that particularists are in fact either exclusivists or inclusivists under a post-modern guise (Hedges 2010, 16.3). It is not difficult to see why. Some particularists might be seen as a kind of exclusivist in that they are very Christianity-centered and do not believe there is salvation in other religions. But instead of blatantly condemning other religions as false, they claim other religions are incommensurable with Christianity. This can be interpreted as indeed claiming they are false but in a polite way. Some particularists can also be seen as inclusivists in that for them people of other religions “can” or “might” achieve salvation, albeit perhaps a different kind of salvation, or a salvation that is lower than that of Christianity’s,<sup>9</sup> or that the question is an open one. It comes back to the inclusivist view that we are all saved by Christ, whether we know it or not.

Another criticism is that it is against evidence that the various religions are really radically different. In fact, there is cross-fertilization and cultural exchange among religions throughout history. Additionally, any particular religion is not a

8 Fredericks 1999, 140-143. In the story of Krishna and the gopis, or milkmaids, the gopis are enchanted by Krishna and his playing the flute. Consequently, they become jealous of each other and try to hoard Krishna for themselves. But then Krishna disappears, only to reappear after the gopis realize their foolishness, but now Krishna miraculously multiplies himself so that there is a Krishna for each gopi. In the story of the Prodigal Son, the younger son of an estate owner demanded his share of wealth, then squandered the wealth in another country, coming back only when he was in abject poverty. The father, rather than punishing his son, calls for a celebration because his son was lost but now found. However, the elder son became jealous and resentful, for he wanted to hoard the father all for himself.

9 Heim, in Hedges 2010, 163-164.

monolith (Hedges 2010, 175-176). There are different cultural and even theological expressions within a single religion. Religious practitioners, especially mystics, have made interreligious cross-overs (Hedges 2010, 179). Knitter speaks of interreligious friendship in which people learn to speak across religious divides without erasing religious differences (Hedges 2010, 182).

### 1.5 Some Observations

It can be generally said that the four models of the theology of religions are “developmental” in the sense that one comes after the other in time sequence and due to cultural, philosophical, political, and societal developments in Western Christianity. A later model is to a greater or lesser extent a reaction to a former model. This is very clearly the case in particularity, which is a reaction to pluralism, which is viewed as too universalistic. Pluralism was a reaction to inclusivism in that it sees inclusivism as not “inclusive” enough. Inclusivism is a reaction—a breath of fresh air—to centuries of exclusivism. So, in a sense each model emerges due to the experiences of the earlier model. This also means that each model has learned from the previous model and is critical of the previous model. However, later models have not replaced earlier models. All four models are present in Christianity today—followers continue to treasure and defend what they consider to be essential in Christianity.

Another observation is that the particularity model (and for that matter even the pluralism model), as the latest model, is still developing, and at this stage it is uncertain if it really is a different model from the other three. The particularists have very different views from each other. Fredericks, in fact, never viewed his comparative theology as within the particularity model, much less recognize particularity as a fourth model. Instead, he claimed his model to be the solution to the impasse in the theology of religions, especially the impasse that arose as a result of arguments by pluralists (Fredericks 1999, 163). It is Hedges who views Frederick’s comparative theology as within the particularity model.

With this theoretical framework, we are ready to examine our Thai subjects to see which model they are inclined to.

## 2 *Attitudes of Bangkok Catholics Toward Buddhists*

The field work is qualitative, involving interviews with 25 subjects, who are all Thai Catholics—laypeople, priests and nuns. The main method for finding subjects was snowball sampling. I first interviewed a few Catholics that I was personally acquainted with, then through these contacts expanded the number through snowballing. Though I principally selected Catholics who were living in Bangkok and had spent most of their lives in Bangkok, I was also opportunistic in that I interviewed whoever was willing to be interviewed. Thus, one of the interviewees is not a Bangkokian but an ethnic-minority priest in northern Thailand. All in all, the subjects comprise: 17 Catholic laypersons, five Catholic priests, and three Catholic nuns. The interviews were anonymous. I named the subjects as follow: Priest A, Priest B, Priest C, Priest D, Priest E, Nun A, Nun B, Nun C, Layperson A, Layperson B, Layperson C, Layperson D, Layperson E, Layperson F, Layperson G, Layperson H, Layperson I, Layperson J, Layperson K, Layperson L, Layperson M, Layperson N, Layperson O, Layperson P and Layperson Q.

Below are the interview questions to the respondents.

1. *What is the main difference between Buddhism and Catholicism?*
2. *Can Buddhists attain salvation—meaning have eternal life in heaven? Why/How?*

### 2.1 Findings

Based on their responses to these questions, we now look to see what their attitudes are according to the four-model theology of religions.

On Question 2, directly related with the theology of religions, none said that Buddhists cannot be saved without knowing and accepting Jesus Christ. And all but two—Laypersons B and K—said definitively that Buddhists can be saved in one way or another, and without having to change religions. The two who did not say this definitively also did not claim that Buddhists cannot be saved, but merely left it as an open question. None had the attitude of “by grace alone, by faith alone, by Christ alone, and by Scripture alone” for salvation. As such, we can rule out exclusivism for any of our subjects. We now examine each subject to see signs of inclusivism and pluralism in their attitudes toward Buddhists, which is addressed in the second part of Question 2: “Why/How?” The respondents who affirmed definitely that Buddhists can be saved, gave two broad reasons/ways. One is along

the lines that God is good and omnipotent, therefore He grants salvation to all. The other is that Buddhism, like any other religion, teaches people to do good things, therefore those who follow its teachings will attain salvation; it is another way to salvation, or might even be another kind of salvation. The first attitude can be broadly said to correspond to inclusivism and the second to pluralism.

We now look into each subject's responses to all the questions, as well as any additional things they said, and consider them in light of the four-model theology of religions. The quotes below are verbatim if the subject spoke in English, which was the case in about three-quarters of the interviews, and are translations if they spoke in Thai.

Priest A said that Buddhists have "the same goal with us, even though they don't have God." He also said it's a "different track, different tradition, context [...] somehow, ultimately it is the same." He speaks very much in accord with pluralism. However, he is quick to assert that this is his personal opinion: "That is my opinion—ultimately it's the same." But as a priest he has to tread on a tightrope: "We still maintain that it is different [...] we still maintain that theologically speaking it's a different way [...] however, ultimately we do not know". This seems to lead to particularity as a solution, for he does not see the religions as all equal: "But all religions are not equal. I do not think they are equal. Equality should not be the basis to start with, because each tradition—you cannot compare."

Priest B sees Buddhism as being theologically different from Christianity: "Definitely, Christianity believes in God who is above nature and who created nature. Buddhism, I think, in itself doesn't have a belief system, in God. So, I think it is technically agnostic." Thereafter, he seems to speak like an inclusivist: "They might be saved through the grace of our God. [...] we think of that as a possibility and as a hope. God's mercy might be enough, that others who even do not believe in him, can be saved through Jesus Christ." But Priest B also shows signs of particularity: "They have their own way that is similar to salvation, and for them they often call it nirvana."

Priest C speaks more like a pluralist: "Eventually it's the same [...] if we go very deep into the religions, in a sense people are not different [...] the same things, you can call them in different words, but the meaning is the same. So, in terms of

Christ, religion, it's the same, but we call them so many things." Being a priest, he is perhaps acutely aware of the Church's official position of inclusivism, and tries to bridge the gap between inclusivism and pluralism: "Everybody can go to heaven [...] people of good will. It is only in Christ that we can attain salvation, right? But Christ is bigger than what we have in our narrow understanding." This is actually expanding inclusivism until it encompasses the views of the pluralists. It is seeing Christ in all the religions and the paths to salvations. In my own opinion, Priest C can do this because, first, he belongs to a minority Church—the Church in Thailand—and second, he belongs to a minority Church within a minority Church, as he is a hilltribal who has to contend with the culture of the larger Thai Church. He comes from a background of animistic beliefs and practices around him. For him, Christ has to be expanded to encompass the culture of the predominantly Theravada Buddhism of the nation in which the Thai Church operates, as well as the culture of the hilltribes that are part, though a lowly minor part, of the Thai Church. He is actually a "closeted pluralist" in the sense that he, just like Priest A, officially adheres to inclusivism because he is a priest, an official of the Catholic Church, a religious professional, but his life experience makes him a pluralist.

Priest D is quite hesitant on the question of Buddhists attaining salvation, but his view is quite clearly inclusivistic: "God is tremendous kindness, and actually salvation is at hand [...] they will be baptized by water, baptized by blood, and baptized by the will. If they really do that, I'm sure they can gain their salvation". Also, "there is a way to salvation even outside the Church [...] if you believe in good things and doing good, I believe there is a way."

Priest E too quite clearly holds the view of inclusivism: "According to the mercy of God, every people—our Lord has redeemed them all. But the best, the direct way, to salvation is by Jesus Christ, our Lord Jesus." He seemed to be saying there is truth and goodness in other religions, but Christianity is normative.

Nun A said, "There is not only one way, there are many ways." She does not seem to put Christianity above the other ways: "As a Catholic, I have my way. They have their way [...] like when you want to drink water, you drink in another way, but you become quenched, and I also become quenched." As such, she seems to be inclined toward pluralism. However, on closer inspection, she does not place Buddhism as really equal to Christianity: "But we still evangelize, share our faith, because it is a short cut." Saying Christianity is a "short cut" is akin to saying non-

Christians can be saved, but Christianity is the easier, faster way to salvation. It does place Christianity in a special position. As such, Nun A might not fully adhere to pluralism. There is a strong element of inclusivism.

Nun B echoes Priest E in saying that while “people who do good and are honest in their lives and in following their religion can have salvation,” the Christian way, “believing in Jesus Christ, is the direct way; the other ways are roundabout ways.” Thus, she can be said to hold to inclusivism.

Nun C distinguishes religion in its pure form from religion that has been syncretized, and says Christianity and Buddhism are the same in their pure forms. She said both Buddhist and Christian salvations are “for me, the same”. They are different languages, thus Buddha speaks about “the absolute” and Jesus speaks about “heaven”. But “nowadays Buddhist tradition say heaven—the same word.” Moreover, “we believe the same—dharma—to be a good person. The Christian doctrine is more or less the same [...] the same moral as Buddhist tradition.” She can be said to incline toward pluralism.

Layperson A also seems to be pluralistic: “The ultimate goals of Buddhism and Christianity are no different; they only use a different language.” Also, “I think the words heaven and nirvana are the same.”

Layperson B is more reserved in her views of Buddhism, saying it is very difficult for Buddhists to attain salvation, but “like what Pope Francis says we don’t build boundaries between religions. [...] Jesus wants us to lower the boundaries with other religions.” She also mentions that the Buddha prophesied the coming of Jesus Christ; thus Buddhism is a preparation for Christianity. She adheres to inclusivism.

Layperson C said that “according to Catholic belief, God came for the sake of all people [...] there is no discrimination according to religion; all can go to heaven”. She seems to adhere to pluralism. However, she could not explain much further on the nature of salvation, or whether it is through Christ that people of other religions attain salvation. It is unclear if she holds to inclusivism or pluralism.

Layperson D also seems pluralistic. She said, “They can have salvation; all religions teach us to do good.”

Layperson E seems to be the only respondent who spoke in clearly particularistic terms. She often mentions a “gap” or incommensurability between the religions. For example, “salvation is not a Buddhist word!” She also said: “The next life for Buddhism and Christianity is different. For Buddhism it’s nirvana; you go to the zero, nothing; we look forward to our Lord, to be with God.” She seems to suggest it is not useful or meaningful to compare the two.

Layperson F too has a tendency toward particularity: “Buddhists [...] call it nirvana. Nirvana means no more rebirths. It’s not the same.” But she did not explain further.

Layperson G, however, is clearly pluralistic. He says, “Religions are the same [...], the goal is the same.”

Layperson H said that all can attain salvation but it is an “individual deal” between the person and God. Coupled with his strong emphasis on evangelization, he most probably adheres to inclusivism.

Layperson I seems more pluralistic: “The same. We have a hell and they also have a hell [...]. If we do good, our life after death will be good. That’s all.”

Layperson J considers being a Christian as a “calling” for the few who are “chosen”, and “a privilege”. Buddhists can attain salvation “with their limited knowledge, with what they have, if (they) obey and follow faithfully, without selfishness.” She sounds like an inclusivist. Moreover, she is the other respondent, apart from Layperson B, who says Buddha prophesied the coming of Christ, implying that Buddhism is a preparation for Christianity.

Layperson K seems to be a pluralist, for she said: “I think the teaching is the same. I can feel that the teaching is the same; only different language.”

Layperson L is more obviously inclined toward pluralism. Apart from saying there is “no difference in the core of the teaching but difference of the words,” she also rejects the inclusivistic view that all are saved through Christ. “Don’t need to be [...] maybe inside that body that we call Jesus Christ, can be like Krishna or Buddha,” she asserts.

Layperson M may not sound so categorical, but she too shows pluralistic tendencies. She says that Buddhists can attain salvation because “they have the teachings of Buddha, which teaches them to do good [...] if they follow their religion and do good, they can go to heaven.”

Layperson N is another respondent who shows pluralistic tendencies. She said there is no real difference between the two religions, for they are “plugged into

the same source". She is also of the view that "Buddhism and Catholicism complement each other, and it's a very beautiful combination." This is akin to the pluralistic view that there are many paths to the same summit, and she additionally makes a link between the paths and the summit by seeing the paths as complimentary.

Layperson O too tends toward pluralism. He said Buddhism is "not that different from Christianity", and "the main difference [...] is belief and how to get there". Nevertheless, he sounds like an inclusivist when he seemed to see Christianity as normative. While affirming that Buddhists can be saved, he said, "if it's a Buddhist person who has not been exposed and never thought about it, and living a good virtuous life, helping others in a way that is in accordance with Christian teaching that he or she doesn't even know about, then why not?" As such, it seems that for Layperson O, Christianity is still the ordinary way to salvation, while people of other religions who adhere to "Christian teaching" without knowing it can be saved. This is more like the attitude of inclusivism and "anonymous Christians".

Both Laypersons P and Q are more clearly pluralistic. Layperson P said all "good people" will attain salvation and "the goal is the same" for Buddhism and Christianity. "The only difference is one is good and prays to God, and the other is good and prays to Buddha." This reflects the attitude of different paths to the same goal, of pluralism.

For Layperson Q, "if they have led good lives according to their religious teachings, they go to heaven."

From the above, we can broadly say that Priests B, D, and E, Nun B, and Laypersons B, H, and J have attitudes that correspond to inclusivism, and Priests A and C, Nun A and Laypersons A, D, G, I, K, L, M, N, P, and Q have attitudes that correspond to pluralism, while Nun C and Laypersons C and O straddle both inclusivism and pluralism. In addition, Laypersons E and F can be said to have attitudes that correspond to particularity. That means, of the 25 Catholic subjects, we can put seven into the inclusivism group, 13 in the pluralism group, three in between inclusivism and pluralism, and two in the particularity group. By far, pluralism seems to be the most "popular" attitude according to the theology of religions for our Thai Catholics. If we look at the division among priests, nuns,

and laypersons, we see that pluralism is represented by all three categories, but it is the laypersons that are most likely to be pluralistic. This may not be surprising, as the official Church position is that of inclusivism, and it is more likely for priests, and to a lesser extent nuns, to adhere to the official Church position. The prevalence of an attitude of pluralism is perhaps not surprising considering Catholics account for only 0.5% of the country's predominantly Buddhist population. It could be that having an attitude of pluralism makes for a more comfortable living environment for such a tiny religious minority. The less pluralistic one is, the less one is integrated in national life, and the more tensions with the majority population.

Something in addition needs to be said of particularity. We have categorized two laypersons among our Catholic subjects as having attitudes that correspond to particularity, based on what they say. However, these two are not the only ones who show a particularistic attitude. Two other subjects show signs of particularity in their thinking, more specifically the branch of particularity called comparative theology, though they might primarily be inclined toward either pluralism or inclusivism. Priest C compared the Buddhist concept of reincarnation with the Christian concept of resurrection. He referred to the late renowned Thai Buddhist monk, Buddhadasa (1906–1993) as saying that reincarnation is a cycle, and “each moment of your breathing is already reincarnation”. This, he likens to the Resurrection: “In the liturgical year, there's death and resurrection all the way. It's a kind of repeating the life of Jesus Christ— you're born, you get into the normal life, the passion, you die [...] if you really believe in Jesus Christ, you die and resurrect every week, every Sunday”. Layperson Q makes another comparison: “In Buddhism there is the parable of the four stages of the lotus flower. Christians have the Parable of the Sower”.<sup>10</sup> Such comparisons of theological concepts are

10 In the Parable of the Sower (Luke 8: 5-15), a farmer went out to sow his seed. Some fell along the path, and birds came and ate it up. Some fell on rocky places, where it sprang up quickly, but the plants died for they had no roots. Other seed fell among thorns, which grew up and choked the plants. Still other seed fell on good soil, where it produced an abundant crop. In the Parable of the Four Lotuses, the readiness of a person to receive the dharma can be compared to the four stages of the lotus flower. One lotus flower is buried in mud; it hears the dharma but understands nothing. Another is still under the water; it is diligent and not easily discouraged, and would one

unsurprising in the context of Thailand. Due to the prevalence of Buddhism in Thailand and the mandatory study of Buddhism in school, non-Buddhists are familiar with Buddhist concepts and practices in their environment. Catholics normally learn catechism in church, Catholic school, or family environment; thus they are exposed to both Buddhist and Catholic religious traditions, and making comparisons between religious concepts would seem natural.

The following chart simplifies the responses of the subjects according to the four-model theology of religions.

Table 1  
*Summary of subjects' attitudes according to the four-model theology of religions*

Theology of Religions	Number of subjects
Exclusivism	0
Inclusivism	7 (+ 3 that equally adhere to pluralism)
Pluralism	13 (+ 3 that equally adhere to inclusivism)
Particularity	2

### 3 Conclusion

This paper set out to find out what attitudes Thai Catholics, being a tiny minority in their predominantly Buddhist environment, have toward Buddhism and their Buddhist countrymen. The theoretical background used was the four-model theology of religions, namely exclusivism, inclusivism, pluralism, and particularity. The method used was qualitative—in-depth interviews with 25 Bangkok Catholics. We see from the results that most of the respondents support either inclusivism or pluralism, with pluralism being supported by most laypeople. This is not

day receive the dharma. Yet another is emerging out of the water surface; it has a good intellect and is ready to receive the dharma. Finally, one is above water and ready to bloom when touched by the sun's rays; it is conscientious and ingenious, receiving the dharma immediately upon hearing it.

surprising as they interact with Buddhists in their day-to-day lives and are fully assimilated into the culture and lifestyle of the Buddhist-Thai nation. A few of the subjects have attitudes that correspond to particularity—these seem to be those who have quite a wide knowledge of both Buddhism and Christianity, and see that certain aspects of doctrine and faith are incommensurable. In addition, two subjects practiced comparative theology by naturally comparing concepts and stories from Buddhism and Christianity. These findings are unsurprising for a Catholic population that is a tiny minority that has assimilated to a dominant Buddhist majority.

However, it is inclusivism, rather than pluralism, that is the official attitude of the Catholic Church toward other religions. The experience of Thailand and the Thai Church shows that local Catholics do not, or perhaps cannot, always adhere fully to official Church teaching in their daily lives. A myriad of factors, not within the scope of this article, come into play to determine local Catholics' attitudes toward the predominant religion of their environment. These factors include social, cultural, economic, political, and even theological.

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# Annihilation of Caste or Its Reinforcement? Emancipation Strategies of Tamil Dalits

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*Abstract* The struggle for the emancipation of the Dalits has a long and rich history in Tamil Nadu. It was accelerated in the 1990s in connection with the widespread dissemination of Ambedkar's ideas, which were accepted and further elaborated—especially by the Paraiyars and the Arunthathiyars. Despite this, the caste barriers among Tamil Dalits do not seem to have diminished. Based primarily on original sources in Tamil, this article sets out to answer the question of why this is the case. It compares the ideological production of the three major Tamil Dalit castes (the Paraiyars, the Devendrars, and the Arunthathiyars) in relation to four respective spheres: designation, caste histories, caste heroes, and attitudes towards the question of caste. It explores the role which caste plays in their ideologies and their strategies of emancipation. Primarily, the article argues that there exists a growing divergence between the trajectories of the emancipation efforts of the three castes, with seemingly little prospect of mutual cooperation in the near future.

*Keywords* Dalits, Tamil Nadu · emancipation, identity, caste

## *Introduction*

After more than one hundred years of lower caste mobilization, the issues of untouchability and discrimination have lost none of their topicality. The same goes for the question of dis/unity among the Dalits<sup>1</sup> and the prospect of cooperation between them. There are three major Dalit castes in Tamil Nadu: the

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of simplicity, I use the term “Dalit” throughout my article as it is the most commonly used term to designate the former untouchables. At the same time, I am fully aware of the fact that not all Dalits agree with this term (see below).

Paraiyars, Pallars/Devendrars and Chakkiliyars/Arunthathiyars.<sup>2</sup> Their emancipation process has proceeded at an unequal pace, with the Arunthathiyars lagging behind in several respects. The objective of this article is to delve into the recent ideological production of the three castes and to answer the following questions: 1) Do their emancipation strategies differ and, if so, why? 2) What are the areas of disagreement? 3) What role does caste play in the ideologies of the three castes? 4) How do the Arunthathiyars cope with the dominance of the two larger and better-organized castes? 5) Is there a potential for more tangible cooperation? In addition to these key issues, the article touches on several other important points, especially some recent changes in the Dalits' shaping of their narratives and the dissemination of their ideas. The article argues that there exists a growing divergence between the trajectories of the emancipation efforts of the three castes. This process is documented in four respective areas, which are attitudes towards the term "Dalit" and other designations, specific caste histories, the celebration of caste heroes, and mobilization around the issue of caste.

The divergence of their attitudes is viewed from the perspective of Dipankar Gupta's concept of castes as being discrete units having their own ideologies and caste hierarchies (Gupta 2000). This conceptual framework is rather convenient, but it does not mean that the three castes are perfectly homogenous and lack inner disagreements. Secondly, even caste ideologies develop and change. There are plenty of movements within each caste and fierce discussions are common. As Louis Dumont (1970, 34) noted: "The caste, unified from the outside, is divided

2 The Pallars changed their name to "Devendra Kula Velalar", while the Chakkiliyars changed their name to "Arunthathiyar". For this reason I use these names throughout my article. To avoid confusion, I have retained the name "Paraiyar" as the alternative designation, while "Adi-Dravida" is sometimes used to refer to all Dalits in Tamil Nadu. I do not wish to offend anyone's feelings, but selecting the "best" term is always a kind of compromise in this sphere. Equally difficult has been the issue of whether to use the Tamil or Anglicized form of names. I have decided on the Anglicized form in cases where the names are already used in English written sources, while the Tamil form is used for comparatively lesser well-known persons or places. In the transliteration of Tamil terms, I follow the conventions of the Tamil Lexicon.

within.” In my article, I will focus only on the prevailing tendencies and mention the “dissenting voices” only when important.

So far, the attention of most research efforts has been focused on the largest of Tamil Nadu Dalit castes, the Paraiyars.<sup>3</sup> The other two castes, the Devendrars and the Arunthathiyars, have been less frequently researched.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the ambition of this article is also, at least partly, to rectify this shortcoming. Secondly, most studies dealing with Dalit emancipation focus either on the Dalit movement in general, one or more of its aspects, one particular caste or one particular locality, usually a village. This article offers a cross-section of views in relation to all major Dalit castes in a single region. It provides profiles of the intellectual production of the ideologues and leaders of the three castes. Although I am well aware of the limitations of the following statement, I do consider ideologues and leaders as an important force behind Dalit movements nowadays.<sup>5</sup> Recently the voice of Dalit women has also become important and attracted attention of researches. However, the gender aspect of Dalit movements in Tamil Nadu already lies beyond the scope of the article.<sup>6</sup>

The end of the 1980s can be considered a turning point for Dalit movements in Tamil Nadu. The celebrations associated with the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Dr Ambedkar were accompanied by numerous translations of his writings into Tamil and the widespread dissemination of his ideas. As the

3 We have at our disposal several monographs, for example, Michael Moffatt's *An Untouchable Community in South India: Structure and Consensus* (1997); Robert Deliege's *The World of the "Untouchables"* (1997); Sathianathan Clarke's *Dalits and Christianity: Subaltern religion and Liberations Theology in India* (2005); Hugo Gorringer's *Untouchable Citizens. Dalit Movements and Democratisation in Tamil Nadu* (2005); Joe C. Arun's *Constructing Dalit Identity* (2007); Raj Sekhar Basu's *Nandanar's Children. The Paraiyars' Tryst with Destiny, Tamil Nadu 1850-1956* (2011); Jeremiah Anderson's *Community and Worldview among Paraiyars of South India. 'Lived' Religion* (2013); and a number of articles.

4 For the Devendrars, see, for example, Mines 2002; Ramaiah 2004; Mosse 2012; Heyer 2018. See also Carswel & al. 2015.

5 Cf. Hugo Gorringer, *Untouchable Citizens*, which emphasizes movements rather than ideologists.

6 For the standpoints of Dalit women, problems of gender and other related topics, see especially the recent publication edited by S. Anandhi and Karin Kapadia, *Dalit Women. Vanguard of an Alternative Politics in India* (2017), which contains further references.

economic advancement of the Dalits was not matched in relation to their social status, this resulted in an emboldened assertion of their rights and, subsequently, in an increased level of violence committed by caste Hindus against Dalits.<sup>7</sup> The same response aroused their penetration into the bodies of local administration.<sup>8</sup> Also at this time, the first two important works of Tamil Dalit writing by Bama and Sivagami were published.<sup>9</sup> They attracted a lot of attention and the body of Tamil Dalit writing has grown fast since then, be it fiction or non-fiction. This is why the article focuses mainly on about the past thirty years.

The article is based predominantly on original sources in Tamil as well as interviews with selected activists and leaders.<sup>10</sup> I assume that for proper understanding of the inner workings of the Dalit movements in Tamil Nadu, going into original sources is inevitable. Dalit intellectuals or politicians write mostly in Tamil as their production is primarily destined for their caste members. Very little has been written in English, though in the last 15 years the number of translations into English has considerably increased. Reading original sources is thus a condition for acquiring further information and deeper understanding of the dynamics of these movements.

7 See in particular Pandian 2000.

8 After the passage of the 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments, which reserved seats for members of SCs and STs in panchayats, the elections in several constituencies resulted in a boycott on the part of caste Hindus. In the village of Mēlavaḷavu the winning Dalit candidate was killed, along with six of his colleagues; serious problems were reported at many other places.

9 Sivagami (Civakāmi) in her novel *Paḷaiyaṇa kaḷitalum* ([*Old scores*], Tañcāvūr: Aṇṇam, 1989) criticized the “old generation” of Dalit leaders and the patriarchal character of Dalit movement. Bama first published an autobiographical novel *Karukku* (Maturai: IDEAS, 1992). In *Caṅkati* (Maturai: IDEAS, 1994) she narrates stories of Dalit women. Both writers have become important voices within Dalit movements in Tamil Nadu.

10 During two research trips (February 2016 and February 2017) I conducted semi structured interviews with about 20 activists and leaders from all three castes.

I *Sources of Research*

As mentioned above the production of Dalit intellectuals has considerably increased in the past thirty years. It goes hand in hand with the growing literacy of Dalits as well as with their economic potential. The days are gone when Dalit writers were desperately looking for a publisher for their works (Anand 2003). Nowadays, they publish rather freely even with bigger publishers. But it is not only printed sources—Dalits have recently become very active in other media as well. They have realized that meetings or festivals are not efficient platforms for reaching their caste members (and of course voters) any longer. As Gowthama Sannah, propaganda secretary of the *Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi* (hereinafter VCK), says: “Now with the advance of technology there is a huge question mark over whether we can reach the grassroots without harnessing it because all existing media. [...] At present we are in the process of trying to take the media into our hands.” (Gorringe 2013, 89).

That is why Dalit activists and leaders are more and more visible on the internet. Especially the Devendrars have recently created a lot of webpages, blogspots, they also use facebook profiles and other social media. These activities culminated in launching a TV channel *Velicham* (meaning “light”) by the VCK in 2013.<sup>11</sup> Quite naturally, some of my data are drawn from the internet sources as well.

To return to the printed sources, their topics and character differ greatly. They range from short articles in newspapers and journals to brochures and books providing explanations of particular developments, issues or requests. A few collections of essays, interviews and speeches have recently been published as well as a few newly narrated caste histories. Many of them are highly subjective or ideologically tinged and must therefore be handled with care. A rather “loose interpretation” of historical events and folk etymologies is quite common. There are, however, also sophisticated contributions with elaborated argumentation and noteworthy ideas. This literature is destined primarily for their fellow-caste members and aimed at raising their awareness of Dalit issues and ongoing discourse, as well as instilling self-esteem and pride in them. Through these texts

11 The webpages of the TV channel can be found here: <http://velichamtvin>. (accessed October 20, 2016)

Dalits seek to question the mainstream production, contest the dominance of higher castes in this respect and carve out for themselves a respectable place in the society. Rather surprisingly, this huge body of sources remains, to the best of my knowledge, largely unresearched.

## 2 *Designation*

The importance of selecting the “right” name for a movement does not have to be emphasized here. In the process of emancipation of Dalits we encounter number of names which all bear a slightly different connotation. By selecting one of them, Dalits not only name themselves but also signal a certain message to the rest of the society. The first designation coined by untouchable leaders in Tamil Nadu was that of “Adi-Dravida”. This name appeared at the end of the nineteenth century and referred to the original Dravidians who were subjugated by the Aryan invaders and bereft of their land. At that time the Paraiyars received a lot of attention from the British administration and were frequently described as “disinherited sons of the earth” (Bergunder 2004, 68-69). They started to mobilize under the leadership of Iyothee Thass (1845-1914), Rettamalai Srinivasan (1859-1945) or M. C. Rajah (1883-1943). One of the first socio-political association of untouchables, the Madras Adi-Dravida Jana Sabha, appears to have been founded as early as 1892 (Majumdar 1965, 259). However, this Sabha as well as the term “Adi-Dravida” itself were from the very beginning associated mainly with the Paraiyars. This was the reason for its split and founding the Dravida Mahajana Sabha open to all untouchables (Mohan 1993, 48-49). Still, the other two major untouchable castes, the Devendrars and Arunthathiyars, seem to have remained aloof. Later they formed their own caste associations, the Arunthathiyar Mahajana Sabha in 1920 and the Devendra Kula Mahajana Sabha in 1924.

Now it is usually taken for granted that the term “Adi-Dravida” refers to Paraiyars only, despite some attempts to prove otherwise. While acknowledging the ongoing resistance to this designation on the part of Arunthathiyars and Devendrars, Kō Rakupati in his essay “Adi-Dravidas: symbol of a casteless society” (Rakupati 2014, 165-175), is at pains to show that not only the Paraiyars but even

other communities accepted this name during the Adi-Dravida movement in the 1920s and 1930s. It is true that the term “Adi-Dravida” later became a kind of generic name as even the state department caring for the welfare of the Scheduled castes and Tribes was named “Adi Dravidar and Tribal Welfare Department”.<sup>12</sup> But the Devendrars did not accept it and in the 1980s even filed a case in the Madras High Court, calling for the implementation of the term “Harijan”—apparently to avoid using the term “Adi-Dravida” (Rakupati 2014, 166).

History was to repeat itself after the term “Dalit” became popular in Tamil Nadu in the 1990s. The term “Dalit” is usually understood as expressing a kind of defiance or resistance on the part of Dalits and is widely accepted by Dalits throughout India. The Devendrars, however, object to the appropriation of this term by the Paraiyars, as well as to the way in which they try to mobilize other Dalits.<sup>13</sup> At least one section of them strongly disapproves of being labelled “Dalit” to the extent that on their webpages they have issued a “warning” to journalists and others not to refer to them as “Dalits” any longer.<sup>14</sup> Instead of this generic name they prefer to be designated by their caste name. They continue to petition the Tamil Nadu government, as well as the Central government, for the unification of the seven sub-castes<sup>15</sup> under the official designation of “Devendrakula Velalar”. They have even observed a fast in an attempt to achieve this objective.<sup>16</sup> Instead of “Dalithiyam” (*talittiyam*; meaning Dalitness) aiming at eradication of caste, they have developed the concept of “Mallarism” (*mallariyam*;

12 This department was created in 1988 after bifurcation from Social Welfare Department. See the webpages of the department: <http://www.tn.gov.in/rti/proactive/adtw/handbook-adtw.pdf>. (accessed September 17, 2016)

13 See especially the book by Nānacēkaraṅ (1998), which is an argumentation not only against the term “Dalit” but also against many aspects of the “mainstream” Dalit movement.

14 “Akappaṭṭavarai ellām talit eṅṅu collum aṅivilikal!” (Ignoramuses calling everyone Dalit). <https://devendrakulavelalar.wordpress.com/>. (accessed June 12, 2016). I was told by Punitha Pandiyan, the editor of the Dalit magazine *Dalit Murasu*, that he received phone calls from the Devendrars asking him not to call them “Dalits” (Chennai, 3 February 2017).

15 *Pallar, paṅṅāṭi, kālāṭi, kuṭumpāṅ, tēvēntira kulattāṅ, kaṭaiyaṅ, and vātiriyaṅ.*

16 “Puthiya Tamizhagam cadre hold fast for one name,” *The Hindu*, published online on June 26, 2013, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/Tiruchirapalli/puthiya-tamizhagam-cadre-hold-fast-for-one-name/article4852787.ece>. (accessed August 24, 2016)

derived from the caste name *malla*), which will be briefly introduced in the following sections of this article. The concept of Mallariyam seems to be a kind of extreme ideological point. Not all Devendrar intellectuals and leaders identify themselves with this stream. K. Krishnasamy, the founder and President of the Puthiya Tamizhagam party, uses the term “Dalit” in his rhetoric rather normally. On the other hand, Krishnasamy ascribes to numerous aspects of the Mallariyam ideology.<sup>17</sup> He is praised by the exponents of Mallariyam as one of the three important Devendrar leaders aiming especially at the cooperation of the backward communities.<sup>18</sup>

Arunthathiyars also strive for the substitution of the derogatory term “Chakkiliyar” by “Arunthathiyar”, and for the inclusion of all sub-castes under this term.<sup>19</sup> Their efforts in this respect, however, seem to be somewhat less passionate than those of the Devendrars. On the other hand, Arunthathiyars normally use the term “Dalit” as a common designation.

The term “Dalit” does not seem to have much usage among the common Dalit folk, but being a relatively new term in Tamil Nadu, it is perhaps still too early to judge.

17 For example, he claims that the three famous Tamil dynasties, i.e. the Cholas, Cheras and Pandyas originated from the Pallar community (Naig, 2018).

18 The other two important leaders are John Pandian—the symbol of the Devendrar bravery and the head of the Progress Federation of the Tamil People (an outfit with political ambitions), and Kurucāmi Cittar—an ideologue exploring mainly the Devendrars’ culture and folklore. See *Ūṇacēkaraṇ* 1998, 100-102.

19 See, for example, the interview with Es. Ūi. Kalyānacuntaram, the leader of the *Tamiṇṇāṭu aruntatiyar jaṇanāyaka muṇṇaṇi* (The Arunthathiyar Democratic Front of Tamil Nadu) who requests the inclusion of these subcastes: *aruntatiyar*, *cakkiliyar*, *āṭi āntirar*, *āṭik karnāṭakar*, *cemmāṇ*, *paṭaṭai*, *mātikā*, and *mātāri*. Anṇucelvam (ed.). 2006, 6-7. However, not always is there agreement on what subcastes should be included among Arunthathiyars leaders as some exclude Adi-Andhras and Adi-Karnatakas.

### 2.1 Caste histories

Dipankar Gupta (2000, 1-5) starts his study on hierarchy and difference in Indian society by the assumption that “no caste, howsoever lowly placed it may be, accepts the reasons for its degradation” and its members explain the fall from earlier positions of supremacy by lost wars, misfortune, carelessness or deceit.<sup>20</sup> Along the same lines, leaders of low castes across India claim that their caste histories, their past achievements as well as their great figures have been purposely devalued and obliterated in the mainstream representation by higher castes. They have exercised considerable efforts to reconstruct their caste histories and rediscover their glorious pasts. The first attempts of this kind can be encountered at the end of the nineteenth century. No doubt that the decennial censuses organized by the colonial administration played a crucial role in inducement of these activities. In the course of time, the census commissioners were besieged by petitions with often inordinate claims of higher status based usually on folklore and mythology (Dirks 2001, 206).

Dalits in Tamil Nadu are not an exception to this rule. They also started to compose their caste histories at the end of the nineteenth century and resumed this activity with a new zest recently. Nowadays, however, they no longer rely on mythology, folklore, or oral sources only, but they try to establish their narratives as “academically proven facts” and search for evidence in old texts (mostly Sangam literature, bhakti texts, as well as medieval genres), colonial gazetteers, and ethnographical studies. Sometimes they try to use even an archaeological evidence, copper plates, temple inscriptions, etc. They present their narratives as results of research and provide them with footnotes, quotations from the texts, etc. They try to support the reached conclusions by references to academic literature. Nevertheless, the texts often contain numerous subjective interpretations and unsubstantiated assertions.

20 The same argument is proposed by Robert Deliége in *The Untouchables of India* (1999, 71-88), who has collected several myths of origins of various untouchable communities from both North and South India. Deliége argues that they have a similar structure and that through these myths untouchables contest their inferior position in society.

## 2.2 The Devendrars

The most complex and elaborate attempt has been made by the Devendrars. They have explored Sangam texts, Kamban's Ramayanam and the texts of *Pallu pirapantam*,<sup>21</sup> from which they have drawn conclusions relating to the history and culture of the Devendrars.<sup>22</sup> The findings have been summed up in several books on their caste history, with an emphasis on the particularity and erstwhile grandeur of this community.

On the whole, the Devendrars argue that they were an independent agricultural community (Taṅkarāj 1975, 1-33). They were referred to as Mallars and had martial qualities. Sometimes they claim to be the descendants of the three famous Tamil royal families, Pandyas, Cheras, and Cholas.<sup>23</sup> Later they were deprived of their land and subordinated. This process culminated in the seventeenth century under the Nayaks, when their proud caste name Mallar (meaning warrior or chief) was changed to the derogatory Pallar. When explaining the origin of their newly accepted caste name, they are not unanimous. Some of them derive it from Indra, the king of the Devas (Pālacuppiramaṇiyam 2000, 67). Nānacēkarāṇ (2001, 2-5) argues that *Indraṇ* was originally the god of rain of the *Marutam* land called *Vēntaṇ*. There was no connection between this god and the Vedic Indra, in later times, however, they were equated because of the similarity in name and function.

The Mallars are well attested in the Sangam texts and the change of the name from Mallar to Pallar cannot be excluded (Hanumanthan 2004, 130). There is evidence to show that some of the communities considered nowadays untouchable occupied dignified positions in ancient times (Basham 1954, 145). The same seems to be applicable in the case of the Mallars who in the Sangam age had

21 A medieval literary genre dealing with the life of Pallars (most of the works date to seventeenth and eighteenth centuries); see Zvelebil 1995, 511-512.

22 They started to publish such works in the 1990s. See, for example, Cittaṇ 1993.; Vēṅkaṭarāmaṇ 1998 and Aṟivunampi 1999.

23 See mainly Ācirvātam 1992. The Cheras, Cholas, and Pandyas are highly respected by Tamils as bearers of Tamil glory.

access even to the king (Hanumanthan 2004, 129-132).<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, their claim that they ruled South India under the dynasties of Pandyas, Cheras, and Cholas seems to be somewhat far-fetched.

### 2.3 The Arunthathiyars

While the Devendrars argue for the particularity of their community, the Arunthathiyars seem to be preoccupied mainly with their efforts to prove that they originate in the Tamil country and that they are Tamils. The reasons for this are obvious. They are considered to be immigrants as most of them speak Telugu or Kannada at home and they have been made to feel alienated on various occasions. Although the discourse of Tamil nationalism has gradually changed,<sup>25</sup> Tamilness is still an important “asset”. This is attested by the vehemence with which the Arunthathiyars, or at least one section of them, claim their Tamil origins. Currently, the most visible movement of the Arunthathiyars, headed by Athiyaman, has expressed this idea, even though the name of their movement, i.e., Aathi Tamilar Peravai (Forum of the original Tamils). They argue that they originally lived in the *Takaṭūr* land, an area comprising western Tamil Nadu and parts of neighbouring Karnataka and Andhra, with its heart being in contemporary Dharmapuri. This region was ruled by the *Atiyar* kings of the *Veḷir* dynasty, who originated from the same stock. After the collapse of this kingdom it was divided up between Tamil, Kannada and Telugu speaking lands. This is where the Arunthathiyars learned these languages, although, later, many of them returned to their place of origin (Iḷaṅkōvan 1998, 1-20).<sup>26</sup>

The Takaṭūr kingdom as well as the Atiyar kings are attested in the late and post Sangam texts,<sup>27</sup> their connection with the Arunthathiyar community is, however, more than problematic. Iḷaṅkōvan (2002, 10) offers a linguistic “evidence”. He connects the name *Arunthathiyar* with the name Atiyar through the distortion of the word *arumai* (meaning rarity, greatness, pre-eminence) prefixed

24 The article talks not only about the Devendrars but also about some other communities.

25 See, for example, Narendra 1999 and Harris 2001.

26 See also Iḷaṅkōvan 2002, 5-26 and 87-91.

27 The most famous of these kings was Atiyamāṅ Neṭumāṅ Añci (about the second century AD), the patron of poet Auvaiyar. See Nilakanta 1975, 111-112.

to the word *Atiyar*: *arumai + atiyar* → *aruntatiyar*. The whole phrase would mean the great Atiyars, but this explanation is unacceptable on etymological grounds.

Secondly, this theory counters another explanation of the name of the community. It maintains that the name Arunthathiyar is derived from the woman's name Arundhati. She was a woman of exemplary chastity and she is mentioned in old Tamil texts. The name "arunthathiyar" substituted the derogatory name "chakkili", which was allegedly heaped upon a part of this community when they returned from Andhra in the seventeenth century (Iḷaṅkōvaṅ 1998, 19).

Not all Arunthathiyars agree with the concept of Aathi Tamilar (original Tamils) as it ignores the identity related to Telugu and Kannada languages. It is a source of certain dilemma among the Arunthathiyars and a reason for emergence of new movements. Nevertheless, the Aathi Tamilar Peravai is still the most vociferous movement within this community.

#### 2.4 The Paraiyars

A noteworthy contribution to discoveries of the Paraiyars' history has been made by Puṅkaṅūr Irāmaṅṅā. He claims that the Paraiyars were the original community from which the other communities of Tamil Nadu sprang. He appeals to the Paraiyars to identify themselves with the Tamil land and Tamil language: "Paraiyar is the old name of the Tamil race." (Irāmaṅṅā 2003, 89). And elsewhere: "That is why the Paraiyars should make the Tamil language their weapon of struggle. They should speak pure Tamil and put proper, place, and all other names in pure Tamil." (Irāmaṅṅā 2003, 69).

Rather surprisingly, Puṅkaṅūr Irāmaṅṅā's book is an interesting but rare example. The production of such publications by the Paraiyars is much less in evidence than is the case with the other two castes. On the other hand, the questions of Tamil and Tamilness are often a subject of speeches of the Paraiyar leaders including the VCK president Thirumavalavan,<sup>28</sup> for which he is sometimes

28 A lot of statements of this kind can be found in the translation of his speeches, where he, for example, says: "Today, during our lifetime if such a danger comes to Tamil and the Tamil nationality and the Tamil culture, we cannot be passive onlookers. To rescue this land, to rescue

criticized. Nathaniel Roberts (Roberts 2010) argues that by this pro-Tamil rhetoric the VCK not only appropriates the progressive idealism of Dravidian movement but also deprives “them of their most credible charge against the VCK (i.e., that it is a narrowly caste-based organization)”. Thus it is more than just an appeal to language patriotism and there are clear ambitions to conflate this bond for language with ideals of the Dalit movement.

Secondly, not only Thirumavalavan, but also other Paraiyar ideologues are much less obsessed with efforts to “prove” their glorious past and they disapprove of too audacious attempts to do so. Instead, they propose a kind of common background for all backward communities with little internal differentiation in the past,<sup>29</sup> and focus more on the issue of untouchability in general, the present state of the society, or the ways to liberation.

What do these caste histories tell us? First of all they are a sharp reply to accusations that these communities do not have history and culture of their own and can be considered only a kind of “appendage” to the high caste society. Through these histories Dalits claim not only to be deeply anchored in the history of Tamil society but to have had an important if not a leading position within it. They impart self-respect to the Dalits and carve out for them a respectable place in the history of the nation from which they would argue they have been almost erased. To achieve this, Dalit ideologues purposely remove themselves from the realm of mythology and try to attach credibility to their narrations by venturing into the disciplines of linguistics, archaeology, history, and ethnography, as well as by using scholarly language and scholarly approved sources and facts.

Besides this general frame, the interpretations of history by a particular caste differ significantly. For obvious reasons, the Arunthathiyars mainly emphasize their Tamil origins. A strong attachment to the locality can, of course, be found

this language means we are retrieving our lives, our histories. When my dear mother tongue that served as a source for the languages of the world is being defamed, I cannot merely keep watching.”  
Thirumaavalavan 2004, 120.

29 With reference to Rāj Kautaman’s interpretation of Dalit history, Pandian (1998, 304) talks about “faceless past, without heroes or heroic episodes”. This does not mean, however, that myths and caste histories are absent altogether in the case of the Paraiyars, they are just much less prominent.

even in the histories of other castes—something perhaps inevitable in the Tamil land.

The Devedrars' strong emphasis on their splendid history, unique and rich culture of this community as well as the braveness of its members is clearly meant to strengthen their caste identity. Their insistence on the former glory can be even insulting to other communities. For example, one of the latest publications dealing with the Devendrars' history, the book by Centil Mallar (2012), was banned with a sedition case filed against its author after some complaints came from other castes. The ban was lifted under the condition of changing or deleting problematic passages. While some of the statements were rejected even by the members of the community, the ban was broadly condemned as a violation of the right of expression (Ilangovan 2013).

The Paraiyars, on the contrary, are more willing to suppress their caste identity vis-à-vis other Dalit castes to facilitate their cooperation. Let us see how these two conflicting concepts, Dalithiyam and Mallariyam, manifest themselves in other emancipation activities.

### 3 *Caste Heroes*

Badri Narayan in his study on Dalit heroes and their utilization in voters mobilization in north India argues that: "Today the Dalits link all the heroes who are symbols of Dalit identity with themselves, irrespective of the caste they belong to". And a bit further: "It is thus evident that a broad category of Dalits is emerging under the influence of the BSP. To strengthen and develop this category, the individual castes that were earlier antagonistic to each other, have been renarrating their caste histories so as to link themselves with each other." (Narayan 2006, 90). The study thus makes it clear that caste heroes and caste histories are instrumental not only in effective mobilization of Dalit voters by the BSP but also in creating the awareness of Dalit unity. The situation in Tamil Nadu is different as there are two Dalit political parties representing castes with contradictory views in this respect. All the more reason to look what caste heroes the Tamil Dalit communities use in their narratives and in what way.

The revered figures can broadly be divided into two categories: 1) legendary or close to legendary figures from more distant history who are usually revered for their braveness. Their stories are often preserved in the folklore. 2) modern time leaders who are respected for their struggle against untouchability by creating an ideology, by taking concrete measures as well as by their personal example.

The main objects of reverence for the Arunthathiyars are Madurai Veeran and Oṅṭivīraṅ. Oṅṭivīraṅ Pakaṭai was a commander in the army of Pūlittēvaṅ, a poligar (title for local chieftains and petty kings in South India) fighting against the British in the eighteenth century. He is held in esteem for his exceptional braveness (Iḷaṅkōvaṅ 2004). There are a few other Arunthathiyar heroes from similar backgrounds who are venerated by them. For example, we can identify Poṭṭip Pakaṭai and Mutalām Muttāṅ Pakaṭai. Both served as bodyguards of Kaṭṭapommaṅ, perhaps the most famous poligar fighter against the British, a man who, in the end, was hanged by them. Recently a woman fighter named Kuyili came to the forefront of their attention. She set herself ablaze during an attack against the British.

With reference to Madurai Veeran, he was a general in Thirumalai Nayak's army, winning many victories and suppressing the Kallar robbers. Then he fell in love with Vellaiyammāl, a dancer from the palace. He was punished for this transgression of caste hierarchy and killed at the king's order. After his death he was deified and worshipped by Arunthathiyars, as well as by other Dalit and non-Dalit castes. Iḷaṅkōvaṅ, however, does not agree with this general perception of Madurai Veeran. He says that in fact Vellaiyammāl was Madurai Veeran's wife, deriving from the same caste as him. The story about her being a higher caste palace dancer or even the King's daughter was allegedly invented in order to legitimize Madurai Veeran's murder. The real reason behind his death was the fact that he raised his voice against the practice of casteism and against the king himself. He is thus celebrated as a martyr and one of the first fighters against the caste system (Iḷaṅkōvaṅ 2003). There are yet other emancipatory retellings of the Madurai Veeran story, which remain as testimonies of the intimate relationship between Arunthathiyars and this figure.<sup>30</sup>

30 See also Aruṅṅ (not dated) and Rāyappaṅ 2013. Rāyappaṅ tries to elucidate the history of Madurai Veeran by oral evidence and by research in the localities connected with this figure.

The most important figure from this category for the Devendrars is Veeran Sundaralingam—another general in Kaṭṭapommaṇ’s army, who set himself on fire and blew up a British ammunition dump. In the same way as Oṇṭiviraṇ he is celebrated as a freedom fighter and considered to be an important figure in the history of the Devendrars, and consequently in the history of the nation.<sup>31</sup>

The special importance that Dalit castes impart to freedom fighters is understandable. This can again be found not only in the South but also in the North. Badri Narayan (2004, 200) argues that the Pasis also celebrate freedom fighters from their caste in order to “prove their important role in the nation-making process, and to establish themselves as respectable citizens”.

Rather surprisingly, the Paraiyairs’ efforts to glorify the historical figures originating from their ranks are nowadays mild, be it Thiruvalluvar, the author of the Tamil classic Thirukural, or the saint Nandanar. There were clear attempts to use these figures to contest the religious as well as social superiority of higher castes (Blackburn 2000, 449-482; Basu 2011, 242) but nowadays they do not seem to play an important role in the Paraiyars’ rhetoric despite their potential for mobilization.<sup>32</sup>

As refers to the modern time leaders, the Paraiyars as well as Arunthathiyars highly venerate Dr Ambedkar but also Jyotiba Phule<sup>33</sup> or Periyar. In their homes or offices, the pictures of Buddha can often be found alongside the pictures of these leaders. The Paraiyars also tend to draw the attention of their fellow caste

31 His life-story was recently turned into a play (see Jivaṇ 2005).

32 Nandanar was asked to enter fire to redress his low status before entering Lord Shiva’s temple in Chidambaram. For more information on Nandanar, see Clayton 1906. I was told by Punitha Pandiyan that the Paraiyars revere Nandanar, but do not use him in their mobilization efforts as there is no reistance in his story—in the end he submitted to the Brahmins (Chennai, 4 February 2016).

33 As for Ambedkar, many of his works have been translated into Tamil; articles dealing with its various aspects or his life frequently appear in Dalit Murasu and other journals. As for Phule, selected writings were translated into Tamil in 2005, recently even his biography in Tamil by Dhananjay Keer and a number of articles have appeared.

members to the examples of M.C. Raja or Rettamalai Srinivasan, and especially to recently “discovered” leader and activist Iyothee Thass.

Although the Devendrars recognise Ambedkar’s merits, the modern leader par excellence for them is Immanuel Sekaran.<sup>34</sup> He was an activist, reformer, and politician, who was murdered in the 1957 riots between Devendrars and Thevars.

All these figures appear in the form of statues, pictures, posters, etc. and Dalits use them massively. They are used not only for the propagation of Dalit awareness among fellow caste members but also as a means of asserting Dalit rights, thus challenging the higher castes and the state authorities. Clearly, Dalit symbolism is an important part of the emancipation struggle.

When a symbol of the people violently restricted for centuries from public participation appears—standing upright and proud—in the town square, it is evidence that they will not be kept from participation in public life. It is proof that they belong. (Tartakov 2012, 97).

Dalits often erect statues of their leaders in public spaces which demonstrates the process of their empowerment as well as their claim over the Panchami land. As Nicolas Jaoul (2006, 200) says: “To these villagers, installing a statue was a daring act that cashed in on the new power equation. It gave shape to their new status, enacting a political change that would otherwise remain beyond the realm of the local reality.” Attacks on the Dalit symbols are an evidence of the power of these symbols as well as the changing relations of power.

Dalits often demand the recognition of their heroes and leaders as important historical figures at the national level. By this they claim their share in the history of the country and an appropriate position in society. Besides erection of statues to these revered leaders and pasting of posters, they also organize memorial festivals and public celebrations to mark their anniversaries. In 2010, the

34 The awareness about Ambedkar among the Devendrars is growing. Their acceptance of Ambedkar’s legacy, however, cannot be compared to that of the Paraiyars’. Judged by my own experience during my field trips to villages around Tirunelveli, pictures as well as statues of Ambedkar are quite frequent (see also Mines, 2002), they can be found in Devendrars homes. Even in the south, the statues are used to contest the Dalit rights. The statues get damaged by dominant castes, the pictures scratched. More often than not, the pictures are, however, rather small and placed in the corner of a big poster of Immanuel Sekaran, John Pandian, Pasupati Pandian or K. Krishnasamy.

Devendrars succeeded in their demands for the issuing of postage stamps bearing the image of their leader, Immanuel Sekaran. They also succeeded, though only for a short time, in naming a transportation corporation after Veeran Sundaralingam. One of the demands made by Aathi Tamilar Peravai to the government is that they should 1) recognize Oṅṭivīraṅ's actions as India's first freedom struggle 2) construct a memorial to him 3) include the history of Oṅṭivīraṅ in the school curriculum and text books.<sup>35</sup>

What is important from our point of view is the Paraiyars' emphasis on modern leaders and fighters for social equality. The statues of Ambedkar, the chief architect of the Constitution, are perceived as a symbol of lawfulness, democracy, and protection of their rights. Caste heroes and freedom fighters play an important role in the narratives of the Devendrars and the Arunthathiyars. They are meant to demonstrate the historical role and the strength of the community.

#### 4 *Attitudes Towards the Question of Caste*

We have seen that the attitudes of the three castes towards common designation, the way of presenting their caste histories and their choice of caste heroes are dissimilar. The Devendrars reject the name "Dalit" as well as the Dalits' concept of emancipation. They argue that while the Dalits fight against caste, the concept of Dalithiyam itself is based on caste. They understand Dalithiyam as an "anonymous" coalition of several untouchable castes, in which the particularity of each caste is dissolved for the sake of the common goal. These castes aim at establishing a casteless society, a goal that Devendrars find illogical and even impossible, at least in the immediate future:

[...] to eradicate caste completely as the Dalithiyam says is an impossible thing. It does not mean that we wish to preserve the caste system. We would be happy if casteism disappeared. But it is not possible to resist the dominant attitude of a few dominant castes that vigorously shake this country without the very same consciousness. In a way—a thorn can be removed only by another thorn. (Nāṅacēkaraṅ 1998, 101).

35 <http://www.aathithamizharperavai.com/ondiveeranrevivalmeet.html>. (accessed June 22, 2016)

Thus, instead of a “false Dalit unity”, they seek to ground their strategy in “reality, (*yatārttam*)” (Nānacēkaraṇ 1998, 100). They want to combat the dominance of the higher castes and present themselves as a proud community, one which has its own particular history and culture. This is why they pay so much attention to their own caste history and caste heroes. These newly invented narratives are used for the mobilization of caste members. It is thus clear that for the Devendrars, caste identity is very important. This is one of the reasons why Ambedkar is not as popular with the Devendrars as he is with the Paraiyars or Arunthathiyars. In an interview for the magazine *Dalit Murasu* (Mīṇāmayil 2011, 20), the Devendrar activist Cimcaṇ draws the following conclusions relating to the Devendrar movement:

To tell you the truth, the Pallars do not know who Ambedkar is. They only know that he was a reformer. Besides that, they mistakenly suppose that his Mahar community is equal to that of the Paraiyars here. They believe that this is the reason why the Paraiyars accord him such importance.<sup>36</sup>

And, a little later:

It is true that with the rise of Dalit politics, Arunthathiyars and Paraiyars have also witnessed an upsurge, but Pallars lag behind. The reason for that is their fighting spirit. Caste is even behind that! They only want to retaliate against the caste Hindus. They don't know about the eradication of caste. They just want to prove that they are not inferior to caste Hindus.

The Devendrars' emphasis on the exclusivity of their community is not particularly surprising at the pan-Indian level. Loyalty to one's own caste and pride in their culture are idiosyncratic characteristics that are equally valid in relation to both lower and higher castes. As one Jatav leader has said: “We do not want to be absorbed into others (castes and religions) and thereby lose our identity. [...] Would not India brighten her face if the highest qualities of the Jatav race are given the highest place.” (Lynch 1968, 218). The logical consequence of loyalty to one's own caste is repulsion for other castes, which is true even for the castes that are contiguous (Gupta 2000, 173).

36 While Cimcaṇ's opinion might be somewhat far-fetched; lower popularity of Ambedkar among the Devendrars is presumable. I noticed pictures of Ambedkar while doing research in villages around Tirunelveli, however, most often they appeared on the background of a big picture of Immanuel Sekaran or Veeran Sundaralingam.

The Devendrar's attitude towards caste can be, however, surprising. Dalit movements are perceived as being engaged in a battle against Brahmanism and the caste system. This can also be said about the Paraiyars. From the very beginning of their struggle, the Paraiyars adopted the theory of an Aryan (Brahmin) invasion and their subjugation of the Adi-Dravidas. They revere Ambedkar and follow his approach to emancipation. They fight against caste discrimination and challenge majoritarian Hinduism, especially its right wing elements, the RSS and Hindutva.<sup>37</sup> On the political level they are represented by the VCK with its main motto being: "Caste annihilation is people's liberation" (*cāti olippē makkaḷ viṭutalai*). This party has for a long time been trying to counter the two Dravidian parties, create a third front, and include other secular forces and marginalized groups into the movement. Although the Paraiyars also claim that they once had an important position in society, the "exclusivist" tendency is least visible in their case. They are more clearly focused on the unification of all Dalits and the bridging of differences between them. This means that the Paraiyars are willing to suppress their caste identity, over which they superimpose Dalit identity in order to strengthen the movement. In their ideology they use the "neutral" term "Dalit" for all Scheduled Castes and disapprove of the "separation" tendencies of other castes. This has been evident on numerous occasions. An eloquent example can be found in an issue of the magazine *Dalit Murasu* that deals with the Paramakudi riots in 2011. It also contains an article written by the Devendrar author Iḷampariti (2011, 22-31). He starts his article by providing an outline of the history of the Mallar people, only then switching to the main topic. The article is followed by a note from the editorial board, stating that:

[...] the terms "Paraiyar", "Pallar" or "Chakkiliyar" and others were enforced upon us for several centuries by the Hindu caste society to disgrace us. As we do not agree with these terms, we use the term "Dalit" to designate all Scheduled Castes across India. Although the terms "Devendrar" or "Arunthathiyar" occasionally appear in the magazine *Dalit Murasu*, we do not agree with them. [...] Similarly we do not approve of the term "Mallar", which has recently appeared to substitute for the sanskritizing

37 See, for example, Thirumaavalavan's collection of essays entitled *Uproot Hindutva: The Fiery Voice of the Liberation Panthers*.

term “Devendrar”. We do not agree with the new explanations, exclusivist politics or histories tending to highlight and isolate only one community. [...] Still we respect the right of the author to use them.

No wonder that the Devendrars’ emphasis on caste and the uniqueness of their community are often the target of Paraiyar castigation. Rakupati (2010, 111-112) is perhaps too harsh in his criticism of Mallariyam when he says that the only difference between Brahmanism and Mallariyam is that the former no longer openly insists on caste, although to say that the Devendrars approve of Brahmanism would be wrong, or at the very least an oversimplification. As Karanth argues, replication among untouchables “may also be seen as a way of establishing an independent cultural identity as well as expressing dissent against the hegemony of the dominant social order.” (Karanth 2004, 138).

#### 4.1 The role of the Arunthathiyars

Ideologically the Arunthathiyars stand somewhere between the Paraiyars and Devendrars and their attitude thus could be of crucial importance. Currently, the most visible organization among the Arunthathiyars is the above mentioned Aathi Tamilar Peravai. It is not yet a fully-fledged political party, but its leadership has political ambitions. In the 2016 Legislative Assembly elections they supported the *Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam* (DMK) and hoped to be given a few tickets to contest the elections in the districts of Western Tamil Nadu, where this community is most numerous.<sup>38</sup> In addition to their participation in the rediscovery of the Arunthathiyars’ past and in proving their Tamil origins, they are actively involved in the scavengers movement. They demand an end to manual scavenging, the introduction of new devices for cleaning toilets and sewage pits, the abolition of dry latrines, the rehabilitation of scavengers in dignified occupations, and last but not least, compensation for the family members of scavengers who die at work by poisonous gas in cesspits or by drowning.<sup>39</sup> They have petitioned the government to pass and implement the appropriate

<sup>38</sup> Personal discussion with Athiyaman, Coimbatore, 11 February 2016.

<sup>39</sup> On the national level, this movement is known as *Safai karmachari andolan* and similar demands have been submitted by manual scavengers all across India. There are several monographs dealing with various aspects of this issue in English, see, for example Srivastava 1997.

legislation. In addition, they have organized several rallies and published several booklets, which draw the public's attention to this issue.<sup>40</sup>

In Tamil Nadu it is mostly Arunthathiyars who do the scavenging. It is one of the reasons why they are considered inferior by non-Dalits as well as by other Dalit castes. Instances of discrimination against Arunthathiyars by other Dalit castes are not difficult to find. Athiyaman even argues that in regions cohabited by both Arunthathiyars and Paraiyars or Devendrars, the three-tumbler system can be found.<sup>41</sup>

On the whole, they are one of the most backward and worse-off castes in Tamil Nadu. The literacy rate of Arunthathiyars is lower than those of the Paraiyars and Devendrars, and they argue that they have limited access to political representation<sup>42</sup> as well as to various programmes of affirmative action as most of them are usurped by the two other Dalit castes. For that reason, they have been demanding inner reservation (*ul otukkītu*) for Arunthathiyars within the general system of reservations for all Scheduled Castes. The demand for special reservation for Arunthathiyars was expressed for the first time during a book welcoming festival organized by the *Iḷaiṅar vali kāṭṭum paṇi* (Youth Guidance Service) in 1984 (Mativaṅṅaṅ 2007, 48). It was followed by numerous conferences, petitions, rallies, picketing, and even attempts at self-immolation in 2000 (Mativaṅṅaṅ 2007, 49). Eventually, a one-man commission was appointed to examine the legitimacy of the Arunthathiyar demands. In his report the retired judge of the Madras High Court M. S. Janardhanam recommended a separate

40 The most elucidating one is a booklet with the eloquent title *Malattil putaiyum māṅpu* [Dignity buried in shit] (Kōyamputtūr: Ātit tamiḷar pēravai, not dated).

41 One tumbler for non-Dalits, one for Dalits, and one for Arunthathiyars. Interview with Athiyaman in Aṅṅucelvam (ed.) 2006. It is confirmed by other sources as well, like Perumāḷmurukaṅ 2016.

42 They, for example, complained that reserved constituencies are primarily in Devendrar or Paraiyar inhabited areas, and if a reserved constituency is in the region where Arunthathiyars form the majority of the Dalit population, the political parties still prefer to nominate a Paraiyar or a Devendrar. For this reason, Arunthathiyars even boycotted the elections in 2009 (Ahmed 2009).

reservation of three per cent, which was accepted by Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi. The acceptance of this demand met with strong opposition, namely on the part of the Puthiya Tamizhagam, which argued that inner reservation would destroy Dalit unity and would be unjust to the other Scheduled Castes in Tamil Nadu.<sup>43</sup> The leader of the Puthiya Tamizhagam, K. Krishnasamy, even challenged the allocation of the three per cent sub-quotas to Arunthathiyars in the Madras High Court.<sup>44</sup> There was an immediate reaction from Arunthathiyars, who accused the Devendrars of casteism and the abuse of their dominant position towards the Arunthathiyars. Mativaṇṇaṇ, in his rather astringent essay, argues that K. Krishnasamy is slowly losing his following among Devendrars due to the emergence of other leaders, as well as due to the growing power of the Nadars and Thevars in the region. For this reason he allegedly has decided to play the caste-card and target the less powerful Arunthathiyars.<sup>45</sup> Interestingly enough, a few years later K. Krishnasamy decided to exempt the Devendrars from the list of Scheduled castes and appealed to the Tamil Nadu government in this respect. This decision, however, was not approved of by some sections of the community. His way of argumentation is that the Devendrars are a unique community which historically does not belong among untouchables (Naig 2018).

The Arunthathiyars are ideologically closer to the Paraiyars. However, due to their backwardness and weaker political organization, their interests are largely neglected by the two Dalit political parties. They feel aggrieved and tend to support the DMK during elections, rather than a Dalit party. This is also one of the reasons why, to some extent, they perpetuate their caste identity despite their Ambedkarite outlook. They are afraid that otherwise they will simply be swallowed up by the bigger castes and very little will be left for them. To prevent

43 The inner reservation was, however, criticized even by some sections of the Paraiyars. One of the most frequent arguments was that to divide the 18 per cent reservation allocation among 77 Scheduled Castes in Tamil Nadu is not only inadvisable but also impossible.

44 “Three p.c. sub quota in SC reservation challenged.” *The Hindu*, published online on August 17, 2012, <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-tamilnadu/three-pc-sub-quota-in-sc-reservation-challenged/article3783715.ece>. (accessed April, 6 2016)

45 As a symptom of the dominance of the Devendrars, he also mentions instances of rape against Arunthathiyar women by Devendars and their subsequent ability to play it down in court (Mativaṇṇaṇ 2012, 13-24).

this, they have demanded special sub-quotas for their community, a request that was eventually acknowledged. Nevertheless, the Arunthathiyars were not completely satisfied with the three per cent sub-quotas and have further demanded the careful counting of their total numbers and an increase in sub-quotas to six per cent. Two Arunthathiyar activists even sacrificed their lives in support of this issue.<sup>46</sup> Being the most challenged community in the region, the Arunthathiyars would argue that the progress made by the Dalits can be measured by reference to the progress made by the Arunthathiyars (Atiyamāṇ 2003, 25-35).

### 5 *Prospects for Cooperation*

To complete the picture that I have tried to paint here one more important question needs to be answered: Is there potential for more tangible cooperation among Dalits in Tamil Nadu? When talking to Dalit leaders or reading their essays, they all emphasize the necessity of cooperation. At the same breath they, however, admit that they are sceptical about it. We have seen that all three castes have their own set of problems. As Gowthama Sannah, propaganda secretary of the VCK, aptly remarks: “When you take up one of those issues for political purposes then you end up excluding the next sub-caste. Then caste norms are reinforced; the norms they thought to destroy are being strengthened in this process.” (Gorringer 2013, 63). This seems to be something that the Dravidian parties are extremely good at, or at least Dalit leaders often accuse them of their conscious efforts to keep Dalits disunited, and minimize their electoral success. To quote from the interview with Gowthama Sannah once more: “the identity as Pallar, Paraiyar and Chakkiliyar—was not so prominent some 6-7 years back. Now, due to being stirred up by the Dravidian parties, these sub-caste issues are

46 In Tiruppur, on 26 September 2013, a 34 years old Arunthathiyar activist named Neelaventhan, a finance secretary of Aathi Tamilar Peravai, burned himself alive as part of his campaign for an increase in the inner reservation for Arunthathiyars to six per cent. See Īrōṭu Aruḷ (ed.) 2014. Two months later, a 45 years old Arunthathiyar female activist, Rani, sacrificed herself for the same reason in front of the Ambedkar statue in Tirucci.

being articulated and campaigned around on the premise of social justice. The Dravidian parties have had a huge hand in stirring up these feelings.” (Gorringe 2013).<sup>47</sup> The impression that the caste barriers have not diminished after so many years of mobilization and on the contrary seem to be enforced can be encountered often. This impression can be nurtured by the performance of the two Dalit political hegemony which came into existence at about the same time and neither of which managed to cross its caste base<sup>48</sup> as, for example, the BSP did. In the case of Tamil Nadu, Dalit leaders admit that besides the cultural/ideological differences or competing economic interests, an important problem is often the personal ambitions of various leaders or unwillingness of one caste to cede the leadership to the other.

As I have mentioned, there are many movements within each caste which do not always follow and agree with the above outlined ideologies. An example would be P. Chandrabose, head of the *Tiyāki immāṇuvēl pēravai* movement which rejects the “exclusivist” attitude of the Mallars, seeks to remove caste distinctions and fights for the intercaste marriages (Anṇpuceḷvam 2006, 65-78).

There have been a few projects having ambitions to surpass the limitations of caste. To name one such project, I can refer to *Cāti olippu aiyykkiya munṇaṇi* (The United Front for the Annihilation of Caste), which was started in 1994 by 12 important leaders from all three castes, including Thirumavalavan, Krishnasamy, and Athiyaman (Anṇpuceḷvam 2006, 63). It does not appear to have achieved much and to find more information about this front is rather difficult. From the very beginning it was formed as a high-ambition supra-caste project trying to coordinate the activities of the current most important leaders, but as such it failed. The more potential can perhaps be found in movements trying to mobilize people on the grass-root level. Various local movements or cooperative societies often join people from all Dalit castes.

47 The voices saying that the government(s) are consciously trying to divide Dalits especially by means of inner reservation come from Dalit leaders from other parts of India as well. See, e.g., Yagati (ed.) 2009.

48 In their twenty-year-long existence the two Dalit parties have only once joined the same coalition during elections.

The same goes for various initiatives of Dalit women. They often criticize Dalit movements as being patriarchal, refuse to remain silent, and try to change the course of the things, often across caste lines.<sup>49</sup>

The question of intercaste marriage is especially important in this respect. Especially the Paraiyars and Arunthathiyars openly call for intercaste marriage as an integral part of the Ambedkarite strategy for achieving a casteless society. The criticism of endogamous marriages and especially honor killing appear frequently.<sup>50</sup> The Arunthathiyar leader, Athiyaman, himself married a Devendrar woman. But again it seems to be a question of ideological attitude more than practice as these couples have not been accepted by their families and feel intimidated, as Athiyaman himself testifies (Anṇucelvam 2006, 55).

## 6 Concluding Remarks

From the researched literature as well as from the secondary sources, it seems evident that the Paraiyars were better organized in their emancipation struggle and that they have managed to take advantage of this fact. The legend of Nandan, the presumed Paraiya authorship of *Thirukkural*, as well as certain privileges experienced by the Paraiyars, all combined to stimulate the interest of the colonial officials and ethnographers in this community.<sup>51</sup> An important source of a certain degree of independence and higher income levels was their employment in the army under British rule. They were also actively involved in the issue of “Panchama lan”, i.e., the claiming of waste land and the land distributed to the untouchables by the colonial government.<sup>52</sup> Already at the end of the nineteenth century they

49 For Dalit women’s concepts of politics, gender, caste difference, and other related topics, see Anandhi and Kapadia (eds.), *Dalit Women*.

50 Recently a collection of essays on this topic was published by Sṭālīṇ Rājaṅkam (2016).

51 An illuminating outline of the early colonial interest in the Paraiyars and the first attempts at recording their history can be found in Basu 2011, 19-25.

52 It is not an intention of this article to go into more detailed analysis of the emancipation struggle

published numerous magazines and newspapers.<sup>53</sup> In the course of their emancipation struggle they identified themselves with the ideas of Phule, Periyar, and especially Ambedkar, which they further elaborated into the concept of Dalithiyam aiming at eradication of caste and at social equality.

The other two castes try to keep pace with the Paraiyars and to defend their own interests, which they consider to be endangered. The Devendrars had the advantage of the land ownership—as certain proportion of them owned some land, they were less dependent on the higher castes and were economically better-off. Within their emancipation struggle and in their reaction to the Paraiyars' activities, they try to strengthen their caste identity, which is especially clear in the case of the Devendrars. The Devendrars have evolved a counter ideology, based on caste identity, and seek to improve their position 'within the system'. It is, however, not only the Devendrars. The abandonment of caste eradication among Dalits is nothing new and various movements have gradually espoused ideologies starting from "some brand of Marxism to the worst type of old-fashioned casteism." (Deliége 1999, xi). Nowadays we can even observe the inclination of some Dalit movements towards the ideology of Hindutva.<sup>54</sup>

The Arunthathiyars are the most badly-off caste of the three, as measured on economic, social, educational, and political levels. They have their own specific problems, be it linguistic alienation or their role in manual scavenging. This is why they refuse to enter the broader Dalit fold, despite subscribing to the same ideas of liberation. They want to be sure that their interests are protected, and their problems are taken care of. This is a situation that the Dravidian parties easily utilize (sometimes perhaps even unconsciously) for their own benefit, thus maintaining the disunity of the Tamil Dalits. By addressing their specific problems, they contribute to the strengthening of caste barriers among the Dalits. The most striking example is, of course, the use of inner reservations. The

of Dalits during the colonial period. Readers may consult, for example, Rupa Viswanath 2014; specifically for the Paraiyars see Basu 2011.

53 Although only some of the 38 Dalit magazines published between 1869–1943 are mentioned as published specifically by the Paraiyars, it seems probable, that the Paraiyars stood at the origin of most of them (if judged by its name or the name of the editor). See Pālacuppiramaṇiyam 2017.

54 See, for example, articles contained in the book edited by Anand Teltumbde, *Hindutva and Dalits. Perspectives for Understanding Communal Praxis*.

awarding of these to the Arunthathiyars hugely contributed to the growth of tension among the Dalit castes. It is thus clear that what hinders the Dalit movements most is the persistence of caste and their conflicting attitudes towards it.<sup>55</sup>

In my article I have tried to cover the last thirty years. It is beyond doubt that caste ideologies evolve and change. They are influenced by various factors from within as well as without. There are numerous movements within every caste, and “dissenting voices” do appear. The Dalit discourse started a counter-hegemonic one, but later succumbed to Tamil nationalism.<sup>56</sup> The influence of Tamil nationalism is clear in the case of all three castes though it is criticized by some Dalit intellectuals. Similarly, the tendency to avoid identity building among the Paraiyars has its limitations and some Paraiyar leaders seek to mobilise on a caste basis. For example, it manifests in the propagation of Dalit arts, especially drumming, which shows that Paraiyars are far from united in this respect (Hons 2018, 1-16). It is thus evident that without some appeal to their caste consciousness, the mobilization of voters is difficult. That is why Satyanarayana (2014, 57) argues for a shift in the Dalit discourse “from annihilation of caste to equality of castes, and from the equality of individuals to equality of castes.”

The impact of these ideologies on the Dalit common seems to be growing along with the importance of print and other mass-media. Television and the internet media are going to play an important role in the mobilization of common folk in the near future due to its widespread use, due to the increasing literacy

55 Here, I can only agree with Karthikeyan, Gorrige and Rajangam (2012, 34) who in this respect say: “[...] Dalit politics will continue to be characterised by an emphasis on symbolism and identity. Worse still, even as caste walls between Dalits and caste Hindus have been dismantled, new walls have taken root between different dalit castes. The absorption of brahmanical values of hierarchy and untouchability by Dalits represents perhaps the single biggest failure of, and challenge to, Tamil dalit movements.”

56 The interaction with the hegemonic discourse and political influences already lay beyond the scope of this article. Profiles of the PT and VCK political parties as well as further references can be found in Andrew Wyatt 2010.

among Dalits, as well as the potential improvements in the economic position of many Dalit families.

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# Verb Collocations in Chinese— Retrieving, Visualization and Analysis of Corpus Data

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*Abstract* The study freely follows my articles about sentence constituents in Chinese. In this article, unlike the previous ones, I try to use mainly the statistical approach. The statistical approach is based on two criteria: the position of a noun to the verb (keyword) and its frequency (or more precisely the logDice score) in one sentence. The obtained statistical data are displayed in the form of a heatmap. The data analysis not only shows the differences between verbs, but the results may also be seen as a possible solution to complex issues, such as tagging of verbs, categorizations of verbs etc.

*Keywords* Modern Chinese, corpus linguistics, collocation, logDice, heatmap, visualization

## *Introduction*

Identifying collocations is a very interesting topic not merely in the field of foreign language acquisition. In my previous articles on this subject, I mostly adopted the principles which were based on syntactic rules and secondarily on statistical data (Gajdoš 2018a, 27-39). Such a methodological approach has some benefits, but on the other hand may cause inherent disadvantages.<sup>1</sup>

In this study, I try to employ more statistical technics to address the issue of sentence constituent or dependency.<sup>2</sup> As the title suggests, this study focuses on

1 One of the shortcomings that may be mentioned here is searching for, e.g., an object of a verb placed only to the right side of a verb and thus ignoring the evidence of left positioned objects.

2 It would be inappropriate to state that the ambition of this article is to find sentence constituents.

*verb + noun* collocations, i.e. nominal collocation candidates to a verb,<sup>3</sup> namely a potential subject and an object. That is to say, while searching for the co-occurrence of nouns with a certain verb, only minimal syntactic restrictions are imposed.<sup>4</sup>

Furthermore, it is also necessary to point out limitations and potential factors that might influence the results. First of all, the text (or text data) on the input is not a raw text, on the contrary, it is already processed to some extent by means of tokenization, part of speech tagging (hereafter POS) etc. Therefore, the results are only valid for the corpora and the tagset used in this study.

## 1 Methods

Let us assume that the frequency of the occurrence of one word along with another with a certain distance in-between them (e.g. in one sentence, but not only in one sentence) is not random. This means that if one would like to find potential *verb + noun* collocations in one sentence, the logical step is to search for the occurrence of the most frequent nouns with a verb (at left and right side), while narrowing the scope of the research to one sentence.<sup>5</sup> This might be done by using the following CQL query:

```
((meet 1:[tag="NN"])[tag!="NN" & word!="的"]1 1) within( <s/> containing
3:[tag="VV" & word="提供"]) & 1.word!=3.word
```

It rather aims to reveal “dependencies” between a verb and its actants—using the terminology of e.g. dependency approach.

- 3 The verbs hereafter are only verbs tagged as VV. For more information about the tagset, see Xia 2000.
- 4 The syntactic rules are derived from empirical observations and therefore this approach may not be classified as a “purely” statistical approach.
- 5 In this study, I focus only on collocations of verbs and nouns, but one may also examine connections with other parts of speech or without limitation of parts of speech.

where the operator MEET restricts the search to a noun NN (which is followed neither by another noun NN nor DE)<sup>6</sup> within one sentence <s/> that contains a given verb VV.

The list of the most frequent nouns that appear in a single sentence with the given verb *tígōng* 提供 can be obtained directly from the *Hanku* corpus UI (Node forms) (Gajdoš, Garabík and Benická 2016, 21-33). Because the research is very demanding regarding the computing power of the server, most of the search was conducted in the subcorpus of legal Chinese (*zb-law*).<sup>7</sup> At this point, however, it should be noted that the overall statistics may be to some extent skewed due to the relatively small size of the subcorpus. The following chart shows the result (only the first 10 nouns).

<u>word</u>	<u>Frequency</u>	
P   N 机构	2,189	
P   N 部门	1,610	
P   N 单位	1,442	
P   N 资料	1,440	
P   N 服务	1,362	
P   N 规定	1,262	
P   N 企业	1,202	
P   N 人员	1,189	
P   N 材料	1,138	
P   N 情况	1,084	

Figure 1

10 most frequent nouns with the verb *tígōng* 提供 in one sentence.

6 In order to obtain more “meaningful” results (without noisy data), this limitation is imposed. This is the only systematic restriction applied throughout the search. This rule permits a noun, e.g. *fúwù* 服务, to be a part of an attribute clause. For more information about the operator MEET, see Sketch Engine, n.d.

7 See more in Gajdoš 2016, 40-46.

The next step is to retrieve the frequency of the occurrence of each noun with the given verb at positions 14 to 1 (hereafter referred as -14 to -1) from left and 1 to 14 from right.<sup>8</sup> The table below illustrates the frequency of the co-occurrence of the 10 most frequent nouns with the given verb in the span of -6 to 6.<sup>9</sup> The verb is at the position 0. For practical reasons the number of nouns is limited to the 40 most frequent.

Table 1  
*The frequency of collocates at different positions to the verb jìnxíng 进行*

collocate	freq. of collocate	freq. of 进行	-6	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	1	2	3	4	5	6
部门	41476	21095	178	164	121	82	75	202	0	0	2	2	11	14
机构	34843	21095	147	133	127	53	86	522	0	0	3	7	23	28
规定	35337	21095	61	89	91	57	59	735	3	3	2	5	20	25
单位	28028	21095	77	109	74	92	50	256	0	0	10	23	35	42
人员	24086	21095	60	73	91	67	83	554	0	1	9	9	35	21
情况	14153	21095	35	41	47	48	87	868	1	4	10	16	28	38
检查	8423	21095	22	26	9	7	6	5	383	849	233	94	48	40
企业	29894	21095	64	40	51	47	23	230	1	5	4	19	27	20
机关	19254	21095	46	40	39	37	38	70	0	0	0	6	14	21
工作	23263	21095	24	19	25	21	46	247	20	29	22	30	20	30

8 The span here is motivated by practical considerations as the calculation of further distances is time consuming and technically demanding, nevertheless possible. My previous research on this topic (using mainly syntactic rules) has indicated that the protentional object takes position in the 1 to 6 span and not further (Gajdoš 2018b, 188).

9 The span here is limited to -6 to 6 due to the page size.

At this point it is appropriate to explain and list all CQL queries that were executed. As already mentioned, to minimize interference of syntactic rules on research findings, only a few of them were adopted. On the other hand, it is also necessary to add that the given approach may, and in several examples does, commit errors.<sup>10</sup>

Let us start with position 1 (right side of the verb):

```
[word="提供" & tag="VV"] (meet [word="服务" & tag="NN"][tag!="NN" & word!="的"]1 1) within <s/>
```

Positions 2 to 14:<sup>11</sup>

```
[word="提供" & tag="VV"][word!="服务"]{1} (meet [word="服务" & tag="NN"][tag!="NN" & word!="的"]1 1) within <s/>
```

事项， 公司登记机关应当 提供 /VV 查询 /NN 服务 /NN 。 </s><s> 第七条 依法  
类型的职业介绍机构， 提供 /VV 就业 /NN 服务 /NN 。 </s><s> 本条中  
信息实行分级管理， 并 提供 /VV 查询 /NN 服务 /NN 。 ( </s><s> 一 )  
书面同意的信息使用者 提供 /VV 查询 /NN 服务 /NN 。 </s><s> 国家机关  
类型的职业介绍机构， 提供 /VV 就业 /NN 服务 /NN 。 </s><s> 第十二条  
根据社会公众的需要， 提供 /VV 统计 /NN 服务 /NN 。 </s><s> 第十八条  
经营者和其他社会公众 提供 /VV 信息 /NN 服务 /NN 。 </s><s> 第五十五条  
服务机构应当为残疾人 提供 /VV 优先 /JJ 服务 /NN 和 辅助性服务 。 </s>  
</s><s> 6 、 为操作人员 提供 /VV 咨询 /NN 服务 /NN ， 及时解决应用中出现

Figure 2

*Results of the CQL query at the position 2.*

- 10 To write a CQL query that minimizes such errors would affect the outcome to a much greater extent. Furthermore, it is not a trivial task.
- 11 The digit {1} in curly brackets means the number of tokens to be repeated. This is true for the position 2. The digit increases according to the distance. See more at: <https://www.sketchengine.eu/cql-for-geeks/>.

Position -1:

```
(meet [word="服务" & tag="NN"][tag!="NN" & word!="的"]I 1)[word="提供" & tag="VV"] within <s/>
```

Position -2 to -14:<sup>12</sup>

```
(meet [word="服务" & tag="NN"][tag!="NN" & word!="的"]I 1) [word!="服务"] {1}[word="提供" & tag="VV"] within <s/>
```

服务 /NN 是 /VC 电力 /NN 市场 /NN 主体 /NN 应当 /VV 无偿 /AD 提供 /VV  
 服务 /NN ， /PU 也 /AD 可 /VV 分类 /AD 向 /P 社会 /NN 提供 /VV  
 服务 /NN ， /PU 或者 /CC 超出 /VV 备案 /NN 的 /DEC 项目 /NN 提供 /VV  
 服务 /NN ， /PU 或者 /CC 超出 /VV 许可 /NR 的 /DEC 项目 /NN 提供 /VV  
 服务 /NN 是 /VC 指 /VV 向 /P 上网 /NN 用户 /NN 无偿 /AD 提供 /VV  
 服务 /NN 是 /VC 指 /VV 向 /P 上网 /NN 用户 /NN 有偿 /AD 提供 /VV  
 服务 /NN ， /PU 并 /CC 为 /P 下岗 /VV 失业 /NN 人员 /NN 提供 /VV  
 服务 /NN 存在 /VV 缺陷 /NN ， /PU 仍然 /AD 向 /P 消费者 /NN 提供 /VV

Figure 3

*Results of CQL query at the position -7.*

Of course, there are other ways to search for collocation candidates, e.g. searching for the most frequent words (in our case, nouns) to the left and right side as separate lists. But in this study, the method described above is chosen.

12 The digit in curly bracket means the number of tokens to be repeated. For the position -3, the digit is 1, for -14, it is 12. It is rather tricky to eliminate other nouns for the position 4 to 14 without imposing a constrain on the whole query.

## 2 Statistical Measures

The frequency count of two-word co-occurrence might be a useful indicator of their relation or, in other words, might indicate a kind of relation between them. However, corpus linguistics has already shown that there are better commonly used indicators to be considered, e.g. different statistical measures—the *t-test*, the *log-likelihood* test, the *chi-squares* etc.<sup>13</sup> Without going deep into the details of statistics, the *logDice* as an association score was chosen mainly because “the score does not depend on the total size of a corpus. The score combines relative frequencies of XY in relation to X and Y.” (Rýchly 2008, 9). It is worth noting that the *logDice* also provides a good basis for visualization. The following formula is used to calculate the *logDice*:

$$\logDice = 14 + \log_2 D = 14 + \log_2 \frac{2f_{xy}}{f_x + f_y}$$

where  $f_x$  is the number of occurrences of a word X,  $f_y$  is the number of occurrences of a word Y and  $f_{xy}$  is the number of co-occurrences of the words X and Y.

There are other key features of the *logDice* score that need to be mentioned: Theoretical maximum is 14, in case when all occurrences of X co-occur with Y and all occurrences of Y co-occur with X. Usually the value is less than 10. Value 0 means there is less than 1 co-occurrence of XY per 16,000 X or 16,000 Y. We can say that negative values mean there is no statistical significance of XY collocation (Rýchly 2008, 9).

As it is obvious from the table 1, all data—frequency of a noun, verb, co-occurrence are already available for the calculation.

## 3 Visualization

There are many examples of studies that present useful (statistical) data, but the lack of visualization may result in the situation where a reader may easily overlook important information or a phenomenon from the data. This undoubtedly is true

<sup>13</sup> For more information, see e.g. Baker, Hardie and McEnery 2006, 31, 109 or McEnery a Hardie 2012, 51-54, 125.

for huge amounts of statistical data. For this reason, I opted for the visualization of statistical data.

There are many data visualization tools available,<sup>14</sup> for this study, the heatmap of Matplotlib<sup>15</sup> was chosen mainly because of its simplicity and that it can be used in Python scripts (Hunter 2007).<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, a heatmap can well suit the intended purpose of this article.

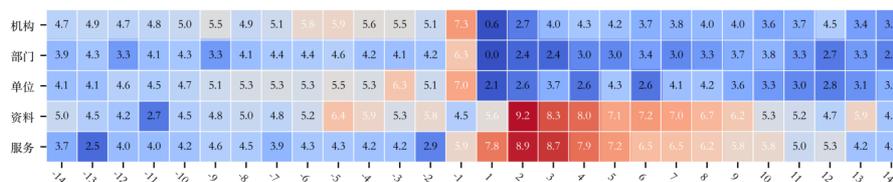


Figure 4

*The visualization of the verb 提供 and its noun collocates.*

#### 4 Data Analysis

At the beginning of this chapter, it is necessary to note that although based on the submitted statistical data from the subcorpus *zb-law*, the analysis in this chapter is rather derived from visualization and cannot be seen as purely statistical. All statistical data are freely available upon request in the form of comma-separated values (CSV) and pdf files.

<sup>14</sup> The most common text data charts are *word cloud* or *donut/pie plot*.

<sup>15</sup> Matplotlib is a Python 2D plotting library which produces publication quality figures in a variety of hardcopy formats and interactive environments across platforms. See more at: Matplotlib, n.d.

<sup>16</sup> As the whole process of retrieving corpus data is in this case very time consuming, I have written a Python script to compute the frequency and the *logDice* score, e.g. only for a pair of one noun to one verb, it is necessary to use  $28 + 2$  queries; that means for one verb, more than 1000 queries need to be executed.

#### 4.1 Auxiliary verbs

When comparing the visualizations of verbs, at first glance, the heatmaps look different. First, let us have a closer look at the most frequent verbs here, namely *yīngdāng* 应当, *jìnxíng* 进行, *yīng* 应, *kěyǐ* 可以, *dé* 得. It is not hard to see that most of them are so-called modal or auxiliary verbs. From the visual point of view, it is clear that they share some similarities:

- there are no examples of nouns at the position 1 (see e.g. the heatmap of *kěyǐ* 可以)
- there are very few examples of nouns at the position 2 with a very low *logDice* score
- nouns with the highest *logDice* score tend to be at the position -1, the only exception is the verb *dé* 得<sup>17</sup> by which the nouns occupy the position -2

Based on these assumptions, it is not difficult to formulate a basic formal condition on which *auxiliary* verbs might be identified. i.e. *if the mean of the logDice score of all nouns at the position 1 is close to 0,*<sup>18</sup> *then this verb might be classified as an auxiliary verb.*

As for the nouns with the highest *logDice* score at the position -1, it is premature to state that all these nouns should be considered as potential subjects. This seems to be a more complex issue and therefore, in the following chapters I will focus only on potential objects.

<sup>17</sup> This distinction may be clarified with the fact that the verb *dé* 得 is almost exclusively (87% of all) used in negative form (with adverb *bù* 不).

<sup>18</sup> This assumption is based on empiric and needs to be tested statistically.

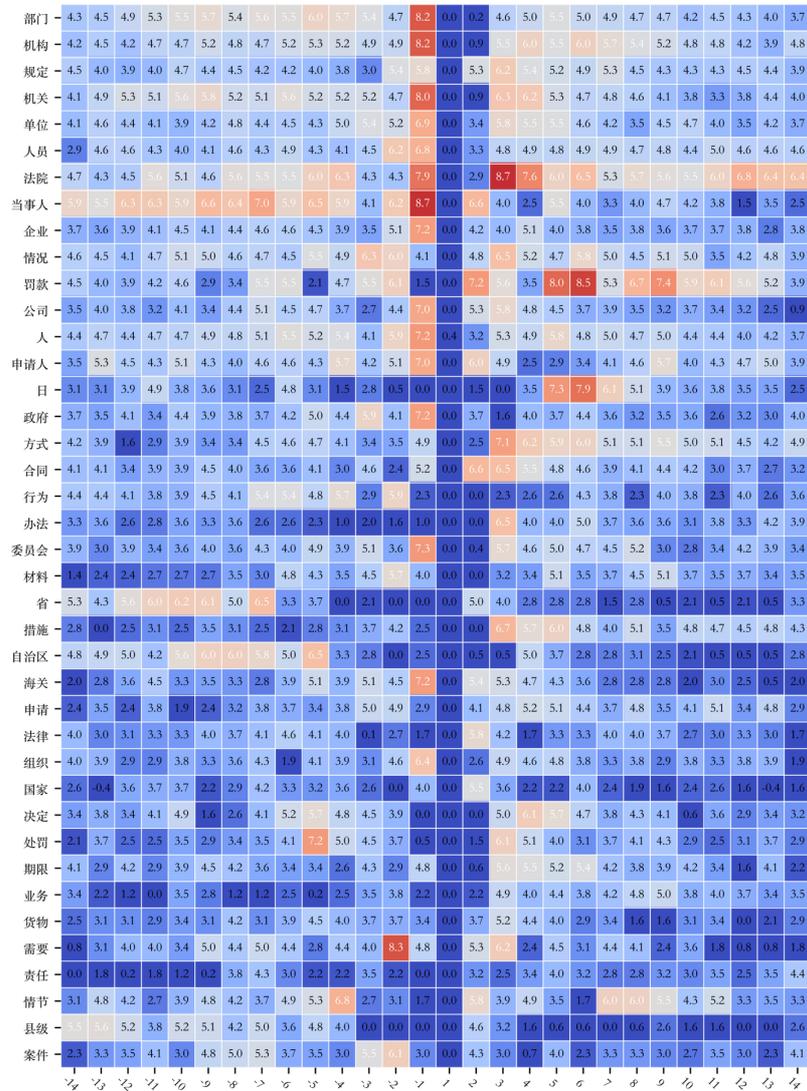


Figure 5  
The heatmap of the verb kěyǐ 可以.

4.2 Other Verbs

As for the rest of the verbs (not meeting this condition), it is not so easy to identify corresponding indicators. To begin with, it is apparent that the heatmaps of these

verbs are more heterogenous. For this reason, it is necessary to deal with individual verbs separately.

Let us have a look at the next verb.

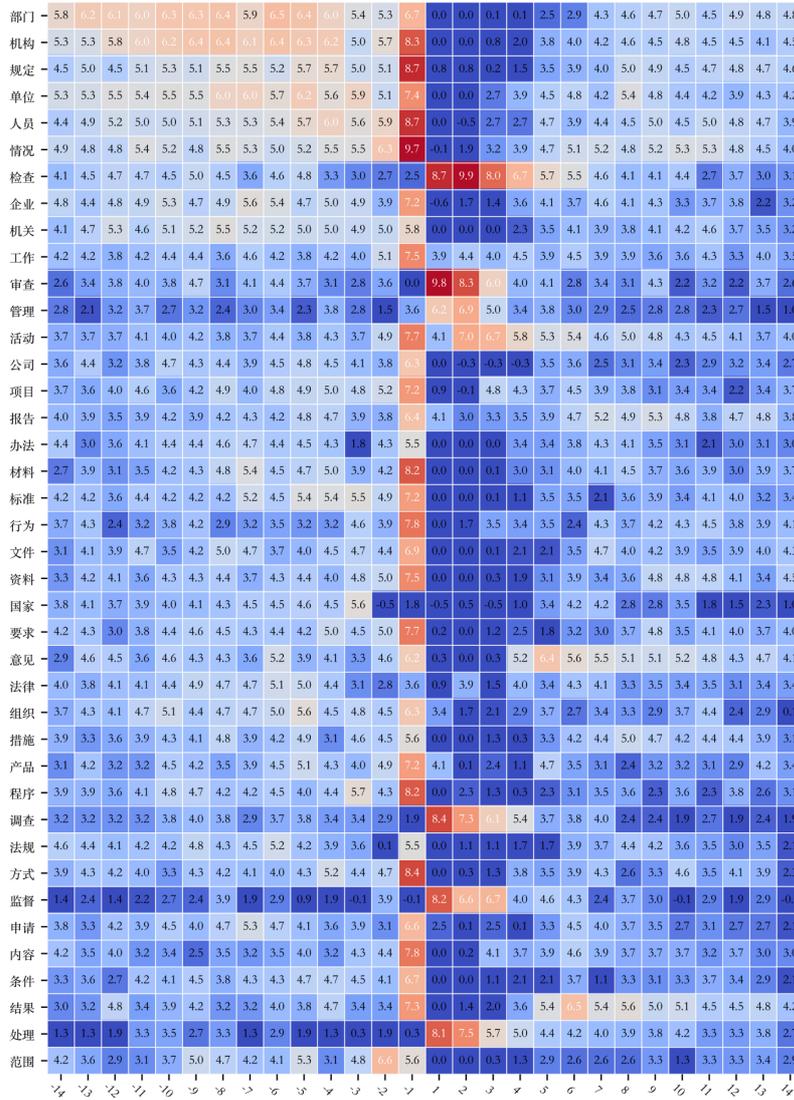


Figure 6  
The heatmap of the verb jinxing 进行 in the subcorpus zh-law.

At first glance, it may be seen that there are two significant groups of nouns (orange to red color)—the first that predominantly occupies the left side (mostly the position -1) but not the right side, and especially almost never appears at the position 1 (e.g. *bùmén* 部门, *jīgòu* 机构, *guīdìng* 规定 etc.) and the second group which occupies the positions 1, 2 (e.g. *jiǎnchá* 检查, *shěncá* 审查, *diàochá* 调查 etc.). Yet another factor determines the second group—the *logDice* score at the position 1 (2) is always higher than the score at the position -1 (the verb *huódòng* 活动 doesn't meet this condition), more precisely, the max value of the *logDice* score must be at the positions 1 to 5. This second group then may be described as potential objects and therefore the verbs can be considered *transitive*.

Let us see what result we get from the “corpus-based” approach to object collocates and compare them.<sup>19</sup>

<u>word</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
P   N 检查	591
P   N 审查	319
P   N 管理	289
P   N 监督	255
P   N 处理	231
P   N 检验	141
P   N 评估	123
P   N 处罚	112
P   N 调整	109
P   N 核查	103
P   N 调查	102

Figure 7

*Potential objects to the verb jìnxíng 进行.*

19 The CQL query: (meet (meet [tag="NN"] 1:[tag="VV" & word="进行"]-5 0) [word="。 !? !!" | tag="SP"]0 1) within ([word="进行"] [2,6) within <s/>). For more information, see Gajdoš 2018b.

It seems that the results from two different approaches are comparable, i.e. the typically (strong) collocations<sup>20</sup> from the heatmaps are nouns: *jiǎnchá* 检查 (9.9), *shěnchá* 审查 (9.8), *diàochá* 调查 (8.4), *jiāndū* 监督 (8.2), *chǔlǐ* 处理 (8.1), *guǎnlǐ* 管理 (6.9) etc.

It is clear that the *corpus-based* approach brings forth more collocates directly with less effort, and comparing the statistical approach, one may see that we have not found as many “objects” in the list of the 40 most frequent nouns. Let us take another example—the verb *tígōng* 提供.<sup>21</sup> Here it may be seen, at least for some nouns (just to mention *zīliào* 资料 or *fúwù* 服务), that the heatmap looks very similar. This suggests that such verbs can be considered transitive.

20 See more at: <https://www.sketchengine.eu/most-frequent-or-most-typical-collocations/>.

21 In order to make the heatmap more comprehensible, it may be useful—in some cases—to adjust the maximum *logDice* value of a heatmap to higher or lower level, e.g. *vmax* to 7.5 or 9 as it is the case of all heatmaps here.





Firstly, it is clear that we have got a different list of nouns, and there is more “noisy data”, i.e., the nouns that have no relation (dependency) to the given verb (deep blue) or the POS tagging is questionable (e.g. nouns(?) “http”, “com”). The second finding implies that the typicality (strength) between the *KWIC* and the collocate (measured by the *logDice* score) decreases (e.g. *zīliào* 资料 9.2 vs. 6.5). It is also worth noting that the span extends or moves more to the right as the highest score holds mainly the position 2 (even 3, 4 for *fúwù* 服务).<sup>22</sup> All these assumptions are goals for future research to be proved.

### Conclusion

In this article, I tried to use and explain why and how to use as little syntactic properties as possible to identify nouns that may be somehow related to a verb. I also explained why the *logDice* measure was chosen to visualize the collected data. Some examples of comparison between my previous “corpus-based” approach and a more statistical approach was presented in this study.

To conclude, the patterns exhibited via heatmaps, clearly show that relevant data is mostly present at the positions -5 to 5 to a verb in the subcorpus *zb-law*. It is also obvious that the typicality between a verb and a potential object is stronger than that of between a verb and a potential subject.

The analysis indicates that a group of verbs might be categorized by similarities in their heatmaps. The analysis of a single verb *per se* demonstrates different collocation preferences in two registers. From the perspective of *noun + verb* relation, the survey also suggests that a noun may be considered as an object of the verb if it meets the criteria defined here. The situation regarding the subject is more complicated and more effort is needed to provide satisfactory solution to this topic.

I presented data in the form of heatmaps that revealed some relevant factors that should be taken into consideration when determining the characteristics of verbs and sentence constituents. I hope that this study may become an impetus towards further research.

22 The figure shows only the span -6 to 6.

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# Critical Remarks On Current Romanization of Korean Into the System of Slovak Graphemes

Miloš Procházka

*Abstract* Romanization of Korean alphabet into Slovak writing system that is currently in use (codified some decades ago) has been inherited from previous period of close diplomatic and ideological relations between former socialist Czechoslovakia and Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea. Currently, the Czech Republic uses its own transcription system that differs slightly from the Slovak. The Slovak Republic since the beginning of 1990s has strengthened its ties with the Republic of Korea while mutual exchange (economic, cultural, education and in the field of sports) between both republics has increased dramatically within last two decades. Moreover, both languages have undergone a certain shift in phonology since 1950s; so naturally, the old system of Romanization does not meet the current demands. This reveals that the revision of currently used Romanization system of Korean into the system of Slovak graphemes is highly desired.

*Keywords* Romanization, Korean language, Korean phonology, Korean alphabet, Korean graphemes, Korean sounds, Korean phonemes, Slovak language, Slovak phonology, Slovak alphabet, Slovak graphemes, Slovak sounds, Slovak phonemes

## *Introduction*

The problematics of language transcription, whether the language possesses its own writing system or not, is complex and interferes with phonetics, phonology and morphology of both source and target language.

The Korean writing system differs considerably from the Slovak system of graphemes. The Korean alphabet is morphophonemic (even though in the past, it was more phonemic), which means that the same morpheme can be pronounced in different ways. Slovak orthography is essentially phonological, with a small

proportion of phonetic and historical-traditional elements. Due to non-overlapping phonetic and phonological system of both languages, it is impossible to set one-to-one correspondence between Korean and Slovak graphemes. Besides, Slovak orthography is (horizontally) linear, unlike Korean where graphemes are grouped into syllables, often written in vertical position.

The foundation for creating Romanization of Korean alphabet (called [hanɣul] <한글> in the Republic of Korea and [tɕosʌŋɣul] <조선글> in Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea) into Czech and Slovak languages was laid in 1950s in former socialist Czechoslovakia, which resulted from close diplomatic relations with Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). There were no established relations between Czechoslovakia and Republic of Korea (ROK) until 1990s (i.e. until before the Velvet Revolution of 1989).

After the partition of Korean Peninsula in 1945, the North Korea adopted official language (文化語 <문화어> [munhwaɰ], "Cultural language") based on the dialects of Pyongyang and vicinity (apparently it being a birthplace of Kim Il-sung, the founder of DPRK). Whereas in the South Korea they adopted official language (標準말 <표준말> [pʰjodzunmal], "Standard language") based on the dialects of Seoul's middle class. The phonology of both dialects had (partially) an impact on language divergence of South and North Korea (Sohn 1999, 76). There are certain phonological features characteristic to each dialect as well.

We have to realize that there have been certain changes in the Korean language over the past six decades and therefore a pivotal task in revising the existing transcription system will be to reflect on these changes. Obviously, the question arises whether there is a need for a completely new transcription system (or adjusting inadequacies of the old system would be sufficient). The question is both legitimate and reasonable. Should we strive to put our energy in creating a new way of transcription and then bother others (or even force them) to adopt and use it? In this article, I would like to answer these questions, focusing on the problems with current Romanization system in Slovak language.

The question arises, which of the two—the North-Korean or the South-Korean official language—we should choose for analysis. It should be taken into account that in 1950's the first Czechoslovak pioneers of Korean language created transcription of the North-Korean dialect that reflected different pronunciation

from what we are using today. Generally, what we currently consider to be the Korean language is actually its dialect from South Korea's capital Seoul. This variation of Korean Language is the most widespread in South Korea and it is likewise taught all around the world. In this article, I will use South Korea's "Standard language" as a basis for my analysis.

### 1 *Methodology*

For the creation of new Romanization system of the Korean language, we need to take into consideration a few aspects of its practical usage. The first of them is the target group of users. Usually, students learning Korean language (regardless of whether they attend courses at the university or privately) can manage to master Korean alphabet within a few days, so the first thing students are taught is none other than the Korean alphabet itself. It means that there is no need to create Romanization for Korean language learners because to master the Romanization system would (ineffectively) consume more energy and time compared to the straightaway acquisition of the Korean alphabet (University students are taught the Romanization system only after they have mastered the Korean alphabet). We have to consider also Slovak linguists interested in Korean language, who could possibly become another target group. Since we have Yale Romanization system that is perfectly applicable for linguistic research, there is no need to duplicate the system that has been time-tested for decades.

The target group we have to take into consideration primarily would be common Slovak speakers who have no particular knowledge of the Korean language, not to speak of linguistics. It would be counterproductive just to substitute graphemes (the source language) of one system with another set of graphemes (the target language) without a deeper reflection on both source, and the phonetics and phonology of the target language. In that sense, the problematics of Romanization lies in the authentic delivery of phonemes of the source language into writing system of the target language that corresponds best with phonetics and phonological rules of the user language. A prerequisite to start research on sounds in a language is adequate amount of available data. Measurable data are especially valuable, e.g. recorded sound outputs analyzed by the

spectrogram (a crucial point would be selection of an appropriate reference group for sound recording and analyzing).

In the very first step, I suggest utilizing a tool “(Rule-based) Korean grapheme to phoneme conversion” (Wang 2009, 843), but only virtually. In order to do that it is essential to understand the phonetic structure of individual Korean phonemes, sounds of the source language. Because Korean graphemes do not always correspond to actual pronunciation (Korean writing system is not purely phonemic), we have to understand phonological rules that transfer phonological into phonetical representation (phonological derivation), especially the changes on the Korean syllable boundary i.e. the consonant cluster simplification. The phonetical representation is only a transitory stage and we have to proceed to the next step—an analysis of the phonemes of Slovak language because it indicates perception of sounds by Slovak native speakers, the target group for Romanization; in other words, Slovak vowels, consonants and consonant clusters that are conventional in the Slovak language. As a part of this analysis, it is essential to identify overlapping structures (identical or to a higher degree similar ones) and absent structures (not only single phonemes but also the groups of phonemes, particularly consonant clusters). Subsequently, we must inquire how to substitute or replenish them with appropriate graphemes from target language.

In principle, there are two approaches regarding selection of those absent structures in target writing system. The one that preserves the original pattern of sounds (by one-to-one representation) expressed by unique graphemes often provided with a special diacritical mark (comma, slash, dot, wave etc.) that distinguishes the sound from a similar one represented by a grapheme without that mark (e.g. for aspirated vs. unaspirated sound etc.). The second way is to ignore those distinctive characteristics (of Korean phonemes) and use only graphemes already existing in the target language, being aware that some phonemes of a source language should be simplified, even radically.<sup>1</sup>

1 Koreans do not bother themselves with using special graphemes representing various consonants, for example consonant /z/, when they write loan words in Korean alphabet. Even though they used to have grapheme <△> in the Middle Korean that could have been pronounced in 16th

The crucial aspect of effective Romanization system is to be unambiguous. We need exact transition of Korean graphemes (on systemic level) into target (i.e. Slovak) writing system. To create an effective Romanization system means to define precise rules that are independent of the person who is making the transcription respecting all exceptions. The crucial part is to select written representation of a phoneme of the target language that is closest in its pronunciation to the original. On top of that, we have to detect the most proper record of phoneme strings, often represented by consonant clusters.

In the text, I will try to answer these questions. We will consider two bases for the analysis. The first would be phonetic and phonological levels and the second a writing system level. I will decompose the system of Korean phonemes, analyze them according to most current research in the field of Korean phonetics and phonology. I will compare this analysis with the existing system of graphemes and then build a comprehensive view on transcription from Korean into Slovak language.

## 2 *Slovak and Korean Vowels*

Let us put the vowels at the forefront of our analysis. Vowels differ from consonants in higher degree of openness and smaller degree of barriers; thus, tones prevail over noises. From acoustic viewpoint, they are more bright and longer, compared to consonants. Therefore, they can form a core of a syllable that is rarely possible in case of consonants. Even in didactics of Korean Language for foreigners, the first step is to acquire correct pronunciation of Korean vowels. The reason for that is not only the relative easiness of the learning process but because vowels form the (ever-present) nucleus of a Korean syllable.

### 2.1 Phonetic characteristics of monophthongs

We will proceed vice-versa (from target to source language), beginning with the Slovak vowels. Complete inventory of monophthongs consists of short vowels [ɪ]

century similarly to /z/ (but other linguists disagree with that, e.g. Stonham 2010, 371), they use grapheme ⟨ʒ⟩ (in IPA symbol „tʃ“) instead.

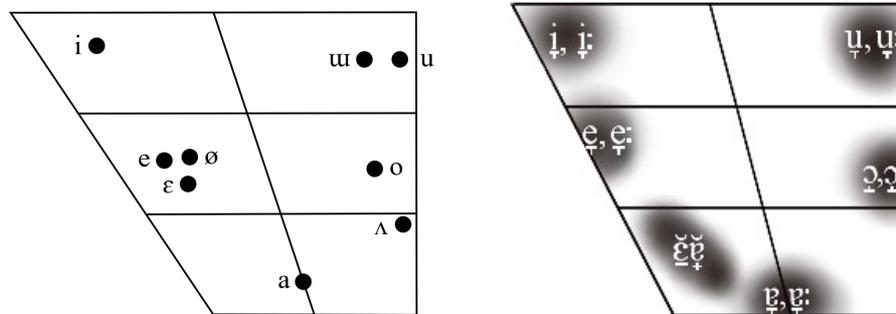
í or ý)<sup>2</sup>, [ɛ] ⟨e⟩, [a] ⟨a⟩, [ɔ] ⟨o⟩, [ɯ] ⟨u⟩ and long vowels [i:] í or ý, [ɛ:] é, [a:] á, [ɔ:] ó, [ɯ:] ú. Standard Slovak lists an additional vowel [æ], orthographically represented as ä, which does not have a long counterpart. Its use is becoming rare, and its pronunciation nowadays often merges with [ɛ] (Hanulíková 2010, 378).

Pavlík (2004, 87-110) shows an analysis that is even more precise. He analyzed eleven short and long monophthongs [ɐ] ⟨a⟩, [ɐ:ɐ] ⟨á⟩, [ɛ̃ɐ] ⟨ä⟩, [ɛ] ⟨e⟩, [ɛ:] ⟨é⟩, [i] ⟨í⟩ or ⟨ý⟩, [i:] ⟨í⟩ or ⟨ý⟩, [ɔ] ⟨o⟩, [ɔ:] ⟨ó⟩, [ɯ] ⟨u⟩, [ɯ:] ⟨ú⟩. For the purpose of this paper we can effectively use the set of monophthongs described by Hanulíková (2010, 378).

Subsequently, we can now discuss Korean vowels.<sup>3</sup> In the Standard (South) Korean Pronunciation, we distinguish 10 monophthongs analyzed by Shin (2013, 97): [a] ⟨ㅏ⟩, [ʌ] ⟨ㅓ⟩, [o] ⟨ㅜ⟩, [u] ⟨ㅠ⟩, [i] ⟨ㅣ⟩, [e] ⟨ㅔ⟩, [æ] ⟨ㅖ⟩, [ɯ] ⟨ㅡ⟩, [ø] ⟨ㅚ⟩, [y] ⟨ㅟ⟩. It is apparent from the real usage (amongst users in South Korea), that there are only seven distinguishable sounds: [a], [ʌ], [o], [u], [i], [ɛ] and [ɯ]. The phonemes /e/ and /æ/ that are (still) represented by two distinct graphemes have merged into [ɛ] (a sound somewhere in between). Other two vowels /ø/ and /y/ lost their original pronunciation decades ago. Currently, they are represented by a combination of two vowels and thus they are pronounced as diphthongs [wi] and [we] respectively.

2 In this article square brackets (e.g. [ɔ]) are used to denote phonetic representation of sounds (in IPA), slash brackets (e.g. /i/) are used to denote representation of phonemes and guillemets (e.g. ⟨o⟩) to denote graphemic realization of a sound or a word.

3 Unlike in Slovak where vowels are arbitrary part of a syllable, in Korean orthography they are obligatory part of a syllable.



Picture 1

Single vowels chart—Slovak on the left (Pavlík 2004, 95–97), Korean on the right (Lee, Hyun Bok 1999).

## 2.2 Phonetic characteristics of diphthongs

Beside monophthongs, there are diphthongs both in Slovak and in Korean language (no triphthongs are allowed in Slovak).<sup>4</sup> Slovak distinguishes four diphthongs, all of them are rising, [iɪ] ⟨ia⟩, [iɛ] ⟨ie⟩, [iɯ] ⟨iu⟩, [ɥɔ] ⟨ô⟩ (Hanulíková 2010, 376).<sup>5</sup> Pavlík (2004, 96) specifies the four diphthongs expressed in a following transcription [i̇ɪ̇], [i̇ɛ̇], [i̇ɯ̇], [ɥ̇ɔ̇].

Korean diphthongs are all rising. Modern Korean has no falling diphthongs. All Korean diphthongs are composed of an on-glide (that is a glide preceding a monophthong)<sup>6</sup> and one of already mentioned Korean monophthongs. The first set of diphthongs are combination of a glide (or a non-syllabic semivowel sometimes attached as a part of palatal approximant consonants) /j/ with five monophthongs /a/, /ʌ/, /o/, /u/ and /ɛ/ (the same situation counts for diphthong combinations with /e/ and /æ/ where there is no distinction between them in

4 In Korean, there are a few words where three vowels are following each other thus forming a “vowel cluster” (similar to consonant cluster), but we cannot consider them to be true triphthongs (Shin 2013, 114).

5 Orthographic representations of Slovak phonemes are shown in parentheses ◦.

6 No combination of vowel and off-glide is feasible in Korean. Even though a diphthong [uɨ] ⟨-⟩ is ambiguous and considered by some linguists to be off-glide, Shin (2013, 110) refutes this claim.

common pronunciation): [ja] ⟨ㅈ⟩, [jʌ] ⟨ㅊ⟩, [jo] ⟨ㅊ⟩, [ju] ⟨ㅠ⟩ and [jɛ] represented by ⟨ㅈ⟩ or ⟨ㅊ⟩.

The second set of diphthongs are combination of a glide (a non-syllabic semivowel) /w/ with four monophthongs /a/, /ʌ/, /i/ and /ɛ/: [wa] ⟨ㅘ⟩, [wʌ] ⟨ㅙ⟩, [wi] ⟨ㅚ⟩ and [wɛ] represented by three distinct graphemes ⟨ㅘ⟩, ⟨ㅚ⟩ or ⟨ㅙ⟩. There is no such diphthong combination of /w/ (⟨ㅙ⟩) and /o/ (⟨ㅝ⟩) in Korean.

The third “set” of diphthongs is composed only of one pair—a combination of an on-glide /w/ with vowel /i/, creating diphthong [wi] ⟨ㅟ⟩.

Korean diphthongs that are created as a combination with a glide /j/ are as well represented in Slovak orthography as a combination of semivowel (approximant palatal consonant) ⟨j⟩ and a vowel (e.g. ⟨ja⟩ “I”, ⟨ju⟩ “her”).

Even though a grapheme ⟨w⟩ appears only in loan words in the Slovak language, it can be pronounced in the same way as labiodental /v/ that is realized as a glide /ʋ/ but only in coda position (sometimes transcribed as ⟨w⟩), e.g. /krv/ [krʋ] “blood”. In this manner, the Korean on-glide /w/ can be (at least for our purpose) identified with a sound [ʋ], in the Slovak language either as a part of diphthong [ʋo] or [v] in coda position (Hanulíková 2010, 376).

For Slovak speakers, the diphthong [wi] ⟨ㅟ⟩ is likewise the Korean close back unrounded vowel /u/ ⟨ㅡ⟩; it is non-existent in Slovak phonetics. Its substitution will be subject to the same principles as to that of the single vowel /u/ ⟨ㅡ⟩.

### 3 *Slovak and Korean Consonants*

#### 3.1 Phonetic characteristics of Slovak consonants

Let us now discuss the Slovak consonants. Consonants are sounds produced by obstruction and there is a great qualitative and quantitative diversity in the system of Slovak consonants. Slovak language distinguishes following inventory of consonants:

Table 1  
*Inventory of Slovak consonants (Pavlík 2004, 106)*

	Bilabial		Labio-dental	Alveolar		Post-alveolar	Palatal		Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p	b		t̚	ɖ		c	ɟ	k	g
Nasal			m̥	ɲ			ɲ		ŋ	
Trill				ɹ̥					ɹ	
Alveolar taps				ɻ						
Fricative			f	v	ɸ	ʒ	ʃ	ʒ	x	h
Affricate			t͡ɸ	ɖ͡ʒ	t͡ʃ	ɟ͡ʒ				
Central Approximant	w		ʋ				j			
Lateral Approximant				l			ʎ			

A few Slovak consonants can be realized as allophones in certain environments. The alveolar nasal /n/ has a velar allophone [ŋ] before a velar, e.g. ⟨mienka⟩ [mʲɛŋka] (“opinion”), and a labial allophone [m] before a labial, e.g. ⟨hanba⟩ [ɦamba] (“shame”).

The labiodental /v/ is realized as voiced fricative [v] (only in onset position before voiced obstruents). It is realized as voiced approximant [ʋ] in syllable onset before a vowel or a liquid; devoiced in onset before a voiceless obstruent; and in coda position as a glide [ʋ̥] or as a segment [ʋ̥] of diphthong [ʋ̥ɔ̥] ⟨ô⟩ (Pavlík 2004, 105), sometimes transcribed as ⟨w⟩ (Hanuliaková 2010, 374).

### 3.2 Phonetic characteristics of the Korean consonants

Diverse Korean consonants are enriched by allophones of Korean phonemes. Korean /p/, /t/ and /k/ are unsound stops [p], [t] and [k] only in word-initial onset position. However, they are sound consonants [b] (or [b̥]), [d] (or [d̥]) and [g] (or [g̥]) respectively in word-medial onset (or word-medial coda combined with

following vowel); and unreleased consonants [p̚], [t̚] and [k̚] in word-final coda position (or morpheme final followed by onset consonant). Allophone of lax alveolar fricative consonant /s/ is pronounced [ɕ] before /j/, /i/ and /wi/. Before all other vowels, the allophone is [s]. The same case is with tense consonant /s̚/ - allophone [ɕ̚] before /j/ and /i/, allophone [s̚] before all other vowels (Shin 2010, 69).

Allophones of glottal fricative /h/ in word-initial position are [ç] before /j/ and /i/, [x] before /u/, [ɸ<sup>w</sup>] before /u/ and /o/; and before all other vowels in word-initial position, it is pronounced as [h]. The voiced allophones of the same phoneme /h/ in word-medial position are [j], [ɣ], [ɦ] and [β] (Shin 2010, 77).

Table 2  
*Inventory of Korean consonants (Shin 2013, 57)*

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveolo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop (plosive)					
Lax	p <ㅍ>	t <ㅌ>		k <ㄱ>	
Tense <sup>7</sup>	p̚ <ㅍ̚>	t̚ <ㅌ̚>		k̚ <ㄱ̚>	
Aspirated	p <sup>h</sup> <ㅍᄉ>	t <sup>h</sup> <ㅌᄉ>		k <sup>h</sup> <ㄱᄉ>	
Nasal	m <ㅁ>	n <ㄴ>		ŋ <ㅇ>	
Fricative					
Lax		s <ㅅ>			h <ㅎ>
Tense		s̚ <ㅅ̚>			
Affricate					
Lax			ɕ <ㅈ>		
Tense			ɕ̚ <ㅈ̚>		
Aspirated			ɕ <sup>h</sup> <ㅈᄉ>		

7 Shin (2013) uses graphical representation of tense stops marked with asterisk < \* > (e.g. /p\*/); Kang (2011) uses apostroph < ' > (e.g. /p'/); but I make use of representation by combinational diacritical mark < ̚ > from IPA charts (e.g. /p̚/).

Liquid (lateral approximant)				
------------------------------	--	--	--	--

	l <ㄹ>			
--	-------	--	--	--

Allophones of affricate phoneme /tɕ/ are [tɕ] in word-initial position and [d͡ʑ] (resp. [d͡ʑ̚]) in word-medial position. There are no allophones corresponding to the tense and aspirated phonemes, [tɕ̚] and [tɕʰ] respectively (Shin 2010, 80).

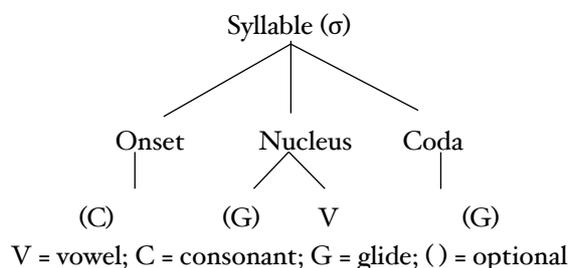
Phonetic realization of liquids in Korean is made through allophones of phoneme /l/ that is realized either as the alveolar lateral approximant [l], or as the alveolar tap [ɾ] (Shin 2010, 86).

#### 4 A Syllable

##### 4.1 Structure of a Korean syllable

Korean orthography reflects rather morphological structure of Korean words than phonological. Knowing morphology of Korean words is crucial in understanding Korean phonology (Shin 2010, 199). The structure of a Korean syllable is determined by the characteristics of its segments. The core part of a syllable is called “syllable nucleus”. In the Korean language, unlike in Slovak,<sup>8</sup> a nucleus is formed solely by a vowel—only vowels are syllabic. Basic structure of a Korean syllable is shown in the picture below:

8 Consonants /r/ and /l/ have a very high degree of sonority in Slovak phonological system and they can form a syllable nucleus (Gregorová 2010, 83) as e.g. in *vŕk* (wolf), *prsteň* (ring), but in other Slavic languages a vowel has to precede them, e.g. in Polish *wilk* (wolf), *pierścień* (ring).



Picture 2

*Structure of a Korean syllable (Shin 2013, 158).*

The structure shown above is a flat structure and we can further subdivide it, thus forming a rhyme (formed by nucleus and coda) or body (formed by onset and nucleus). The principle by which segments are built up into a Korean syllable states that as many margins should be included as onsets preceding the nucleus, and then any margins that remain should be included as the coda after the nucleus (Lee, Park and Lee 2010, 204). That's why a Korean syllable resembles a body type structure (Shin 2013, 160).

We can observe eight feasible syllable structures in Korean (Shin 2013, 140–142). The most common syllable type is CV, comprising 42.8% of all occurring types found in dictionaries. The next is CVC type comprising 36.1%. Others, the least represented types are CGVC (5.4%), CGV (5.3%), V (3.2%), VC (2.9%), GVC (2.3%) and GV (2.1%). To summarize the facts, the frequency of syllables with onset is 89.6% (in dictionary) and without onset in only 10.4% of dictionary cases. On the other hand, syllables without coda are more frequent (53.4%) compared to syllables with coda (46.6%).

In almost half of the dictionary cases, the syllable contains a coda (Shin 2010, 140). When followed by a vowel, consonant is syllabified (pronounced). But combining a coda with the next syllable's onset, a consonant cluster is formed.

Syllables can be grouped into “phonological words” which do not have to overlap with “morphological word” (Shin 2013, 164). There are cases when two (or more) morphological words can form one phonological word. Phonological principles that apply to the syllables within one word could extend beyond the

borders of one particular word, which we must take into account when transcribing phrases using redesigned Romanization.

Segmentation of a word e.g. <할아버지> [harabɛi] (“grandfather”) shows that Hangul segmentation is not decisive in syllable identification, but instead the above-mentioned principle of Korean syllable segmentation plays pivotal role (Shin 2013, 161). The segmentation system is essential for Korean transcription into linear writing system (e.g. Latin script).

#### 4.2 Consonant clusters

The Slovak Language is rich in consonant clusters. There can be up to 139 two-consonant clusters, 85 three-consonant clusters and 7 four-consonant clusters in initial position of Slovak words. We can find only 44 two-consonant clusters and 4 three-consonant clusters in final position of Slovak words, so their number is lower than in word initial position (Gregová 2010, 82–83). In a few Slovak words we can find five-consonant clusters (e.g. /zmrzl/ in <zmrzlina>) as well, but in reality they are combinations of initial and final cluster groups.

Observing the Korean syllable structure, the Korean language shows completely different picture of feasible consonant cluster combinations that suggest certain restrictions related to consonant cluster formation. Consonant clusters in word initial position are completely non-existent (there are even no consonantal digraphs for onset). On the other hand, onset of a syllable allows more phonological contrast, namely 18 consonants, with the exception of /ŋ/ (grapheme <ㅇ> in onset represents phonetically empty sound).

Table 3

*Complete set of Korean consonant strings (Martin 1988, 30)<sup>9</sup>*

	final	-p	-t	-k	-m	-n	-ŋ	-l	-h
initial									
p <sup>-</sup>		p <sup>ˀ</sup> p	t <sup>ˀ</sup> p	k <sup>ˀ</sup> p	mb	mb	ŋb	lb	p <sup>ˀ</sup> p <sup>h</sup>
p <sup>h-</sup>		p <sup>ˀ</sup> p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>ˀ</sup> p <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>ˀ</sup> p <sup>h</sup>	mp <sup>h</sup>	mp <sup>h</sup>	ŋp <sup>h</sup>	lp <sup>h</sup>	n/a
p <sub>ɿ</sub> <sup>-</sup>		p <sup>ˀ</sup> p	t <sup>ˀ</sup> p	k <sup>ˀ</sup> p	mp <sub>ɿ</sub>	np <sub>ɿ</sub>	ŋp <sub>ɿ</sub>	lp <sub>ɿ</sub>	n/a

9 The original table is Romanized using Yale system of transcription that I converted to IPA system. I added the last column (“-h”).

t-	p̣ᵀ	ṭᵀ	ḳᵀ	md	nd	ŋd	ld	ṭᵀ <sup>h</sup>
t <sup>h</sup> -	p̣ᵀ <sup>h</sup>	ṭᵀ <sup>h</sup>	ḳᵀ <sup>h</sup>	mt <sup>h</sup>	nt <sup>h</sup>	ŋt <sup>h</sup>	lt <sup>h</sup>	n/a
ṭ-	p̣ᵀ	ṭᵀ	ḳᵀ	ṃᵀ	ṇᵀ	ŋ̣ᵀ	ḷᵀ	n/a
s-	p̣ᵀ̣	ṣᵀ̣	ḳᵀ̣	ms:	ns:	ŋs:	ls:	ṣᵀ̣
ṣ-	p̣ᵀ̣	ṣᵀ̣	ḳᵀ̣	ṃᵀ̣	ṇᵀ̣	ŋ̣ᵀ̣	ḷᵀ̣	n/a
te-	p̣ᵀ̣ᵀ	ṭᵀ̣ᵀ	ḳᵀ̣ᵀ	mḍ	nḍ	ŋḍ	lḍ	ṭᵀ̣ᵀ <sup>h</sup>
te <sup>h</sup> -	p̣ᵀ̣ᵀ <sup>h</sup>	ṭᵀ̣ᵀ <sup>h</sup>	ḳᵀ̣ᵀ <sup>h</sup>	mḍ <sup>h</sup>	nḍ <sup>h</sup>	ŋḍ <sup>h</sup>	lḍ <sup>h</sup>	n/a
tẹ-	p̣ᵀ̣ᵀ	ṭᵀ̣ᵀ	ḳᵀ̣ᵀ	mḍᵀ	nḍᵀ	ŋḍᵀ	lḍᵀ	n/a
k-	p̣ᵀ̣ᵀ	ṭᵀ̣ᵀ	ḳᵀ̣ᵀ	mg	ng	ŋg	lg	ḳᵀ̣ᵀ <sup>h</sup>
k <sup>h</sup> -	p̣ᵀ̣ᵀ <sup>h</sup>	ṭᵀ̣ᵀ <sup>h</sup>	ḳᵀ̣ᵀ <sup>h</sup>	mk <sup>h</sup>	nk <sup>h</sup>	ŋk <sup>h</sup>	lk <sup>h</sup>	n/a
ḳ-	p̣ᵀ̣ᵀ	ṭᵀ̣ᵀ	ḳᵀ̣ᵀ	ṃᵀ̣ᵀ	ṇᵀ̣ᵀ	ŋ̣ᵀ̣ᵀ	ḷᵀ̣ᵀ	n/a
h-	p <sup>h</sup>	t <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	m <sup>h</sup> ~ m	n <sup>h</sup> ~ n	ŋ <sup>h</sup> ~ ŋ	l <sup>h</sup> ~ l	n/a
m-	mm	nm	ŋm	mm	nm	ŋm	lm	n/a
n-	mn	nn	ŋn	mn	nn	ŋn	ll	nn
l-	mn	nn	ŋn	mn	ll	ŋn	ll	n/a

Consonant clusters in Korean could be formed by a coda (a single consonant grapheme or a digraph) with the next syllable onset. Moreover, the Korean coda is subjected to “drastic simplification” (Cho 2015, 32). In contrast to (relatively) modest Slovak phonological processes related to consonant clusters<sup>10</sup> (that is contrary to the abundant amount of consonant clusters), we can detect up to eight basic sound patterns of Korean phonological rules<sup>11</sup> (patterns of pronunciation are applied in following order): /n/-Insertion, Palatalization, Liaison, Lateralization, Word Final Neutralization, Nasalization, Aspiration and Fortis (Wang 2009, 844–846). For the correct Romanization, we have to take into account these rules.

10 Mainly, regressive voice assimilation (obstruents are assimilated to the voicing of a following consonant, even when a word boundary intervenes) and final devoicing of voiced obstruents (Hanulíková 2010, 376).

11 In reality, the Korean phonological rules are even more abundant.

Respecting five of the above-mentioned basic rules,<sup>12</sup> we can define three types of two-consonant clusters, which gives us 39 combinations in total. “Final coda type followed by a vowel” (14 two-consonant clusters: /ss/, /tɛtɛ/, /ks/, /ktɛ/, /ntɛ/, /lg/, /lm/, /lb/, /ls/, /ltɛ/, /ltʰ/, /lpʰ/, /ps/, /ptɛ/), “syllabic boundary type” (7 two-consonant clusters: /mm/, /mn/, /nm/, /ŋm/, /ŋn/, /nn/, /ll/ and 15 two-consonant clusters: /p̚k̚/, /t̚k̚/, /k̚k̚/, /p̚t̚/, /t̚t̚/, /k̚t̚/, /p̚p̚/, /t̚p̚/, /k̚p̚/, /p̚s̚/, /t̚s̚/, /k̚s̚/, /p̚t̚ɛ̚/, /t̚t̚ɛ̚/, /k̚t̚ɛ̚/) and “morpheme <ㄱ> /kwa/ boundary type” (3 two-consonant clusters: /ŋg/, /lg/, /mg/).

Table 4

*Phonotactics of compound final consonants in medial and word-final coda position*

Sequence	ㄱ	ㄴ	ㄷ	ㄹ	ㅂ	ㅅ	ㅈ	ㅊ	ㅋ	ㆁ	ㄷ	ㄹ
Medial	k̚s̚	ndz	n(h)	lb	lb	ls̚	ltʰ	p̚s̚	lg	lm	lpʰ	l(h)
Final allophone	k̚	n	n	l	p̚	l	l	p̚	k̚	m	p̚	l

There are sets of consonant clusters in writing that form a coda, but according to Korean phonology “they cannot be syllabified into coda position as the Korean coda allows only one consonant. When a vowel follows in the next syllable of a suffix, the second consonant can surface.” (Cho 2015, 29). There exist 12 digraph consonants that could be placed in medial (in case of a morpheme followed by a vowel) or word-final coda position (see table 4 with their actual pronunciation). If followed by a consonant, the cluster (digraph and following consonant) undergoes neutralization of the first or second consonant from digraph because the coda position in a syllable can carry only one consonant in surface forms (therefore some phonemic consonant clusters are reduced to a single consonant).

12 When the first syllable ends with a double consonant (digraph) and it is followed by a syllable starting with a vowel, the last consonant resyllabifies in the following onset. But, when followed by another consonant, one of the two consonants (of a digraph) deletes to conform to the principle.

## 5 Romanization Systems

### 5.1 Romanization of the Korean Language

Since the beginning of the study of Korean Language at the end of 19th century, more than two dozen Romanization systems have been proposed over the time (Holstein 1999, 1–22). The most widespread McCune-Reischauer system, currently used worldwide (especially by The Library of Congress), was developed in 1930s during a period of Japanese colonial occupation of the Korean Peninsula.

The authors (George McCune and Edwin Reischauer) created Romanization that adopted phonetic transcription using graphemes mostly from English language. The Korean government (ROK) officially adopted the system on January 14, 1984. Gradually, it has been used first nationwide and then worldwide. Currently, McCune-Reischauer system of Romanization is used predominantly in the USA with the Library of Congress as its main supporter.<sup>13</sup> Since the beginning of the new millennium, the Korean Government has pushed through a new Romanization system.

Another Romanization system developed on the grounds of Yale University by Samuel E. Martin, one of the most outstanding linguists of Korean, is used mainly for the purpose of linguistic research unable to cope with practical pronunciation of Korean (Pucek 2013, 51). Yale system could be regarded more as transliteration than transcription. It uses only Latin script symbols, plus some marks which record certain phonological phenomenon that do not appear even in original Korean text (Martin 1992, 5). Non-linguists, even Korean speakers, have considerable difficulties decoding and reading it properly. This transcription has no practical use outside the linguistic research.

Koreans do not introduce new elements (graphemes) into the current system of Korean script. In order to transcribe <외래어> /weræʌ/, (“words originated from abroad”, i.e. all “foreign” words, except Sino-Korean words), Koreans use existing system of graphemes; even though the original set of graphemes (some of middle Korean graphemes are obsolete) from the 15th century contain vocal elements that

13 See official documents of the Library of Congress.

existed only in Chinese pronunciation or disappeared during the past centuries due to non-usage of those phonemes.

### 5.2 Representation of Korean sounds in the system of Slovak graphemes

Official Romanization of Korean into Slovak language was created in 1950s and is codified in Orthographic rules of the Slovak language “Pravidlá slovenského pravopisu” (further as “PSP Romanization”, PSP 2000, 50–51). The PSP Romanization table assigns one Korean character to one letter in Slovak. The complex syllables in Korean are represented only by simple one to one representations of separate graphemes. The table is supplemented with simple text stating that in Academic texts we can substitute the Korean grapheme ⟨eo⟩ (that represents Korean vowel ⟨ㅜ⟩) with letter ⟨ö⟩ and grapheme ⟨eu⟩ (that represents Korean vowel ⟨ㅡ⟩) with letter ⟨ü⟩.

Table 5

*Slovak Romanization (PSP 2000, 50–51)*

Korean	Slovak	Korean	Slovak	Korean	Slovak	Korean	Slovak
g	k, g	ss	ss	ae	ä	oe	ö
gg	kk	ng	ng	ya	ja	yo	jo
n	n	j	č, dž	yae	jä	u	u
d	t, d	jj	čč	eo	o	weo	wo
dd	tt	ch	čch	e	e	we	we
l, r	l, r	k	kch	yeo	jo	wi	ü
m	m	t	tch	ye	je	yu	ju
b	p, b	p	pch	o	o	eu	u
bb	pp	h	h	wa	wa	eui	ui, i
s	s	a	a	wae	wä	i	i

The problematics of Korean script transcription is two-dimensional. The first level is phonemic, that is one-to-one representation of each Korean grapheme. The overlapping structures must be maintained and disjunctive must be replaced by existing structures in target language script, even at the expense of losing

distinction made in Hangul orthography. The second level is closely related with phonology.

## 6 *Critical Remarks and Suggestions*

### 6.1 Representation of individual sounds by Slovak graphemes

In amending the old Romanization system of Korean (into Slovak writing system), the golden rule “let us preserve what must be preserved and perfect what can be perfected” turns out to be very practical. Naturally, most graphemes in PSP Romanization must be preserved and only half a dozen of them have to be reconsidered.

First, let us discuss the absent representations of Korean graphemes. As we emphasized at the very beginning of this paper, the ultimate purpose of creating Romanization system is to help non-speakers of the Korean Language to read basic Korean personal, geographical (toponyms) and other non-specific names or titles. In order to do that, we have to substitute those absent graphemes with the already existing in the list of Slovak graphemes.

Among simple vowels, there are only two to be reconsidered. Namely, open-mid back unrounded vowel /ʌ/ ⟨ㅓ⟩ and close back unrounded vowel /u/ ⟨ㅡ⟩, that are absent in vowel inventory of the Slovak language. To follow the principle of closest pairs resemblance,<sup>14</sup> I would suggest representing both /ʌ/ ⟨ㅓ⟩ and /o/ ⟨ㅕ⟩ with only one Slovak grapheme ⟨o⟩ due to the difficulty for non-Korean Slovak speakers in distinguishing between them. There is no deeper sense in keeping those vowels distinguished by two different graphemes, as specified in “Slovak academic Romanization” (grapheme ⟨õ⟩ for /ʌ/ ⟨ㅓ⟩ and ⟨o⟩ for /o/ ⟨ㅕ⟩). The second vowel /u/ ⟨ㅡ⟩ does not have similar pronunciation with any of the Slovak vowels. Due to the fact that most Slovaks do not speak Russian any more, it is not suitable to substitute vowel /u/ ⟨ㅡ⟩ with Russian letter ⟨u⟩ (close central unrounded vowel

<sup>14</sup> A pair of phonemes that are closest to each other in terms of phonetics (and one of them has no counterpart in target language inventory of graphemes) are represented by only one common grapheme.

/i/); not to speak of Polish close-mid advanced central unrounded vowel /ɨ/, represented by letter ⟨y⟩, that has rather different characteristics in Slovak language or French muted vowel /ə/. The closest in its pronunciation is back close rounded vowel /u/ represented by a grapheme ⟨u⟩.

Regarding Korean diphthongs, we have discussed a combination of a glide ⟨j⟩ with five monophthongs /a/, /ʌ/, /o/, /u/ and /ɛ/ (/e/ and /æ/) thus creating [ja] ⟨ㅈ>, [jʌ] ⟨ㅊ>, [jo] ⟨ㅊ>, [ju] ⟨ㅊ> and [jɛ] ⟨ㅈ> (in fact [je]) or ⟨ㅈ> (in fact [jæ]). Usage of the glide ⟨j⟩ is natural for Slovak users.

Korean vowels are not subject to phonological processes of changing their phonetic value when followed by various consonants. Thus, the writing representation of a Korean vowel remains unchanged.

The problem with aspirated consonants (namely, stops /k<sup>h</sup>/, /t<sup>h</sup>/, /p<sup>h</sup>/, or an affricate /tʃ<sup>h</sup>/) lies in the different concepts of their pronunciation in both languages. They are non-existent in Slovak language. Taking into account the old Romanization system, a phoneme /p<sup>h</sup>/ ⟨ㅍ> (e.g. in ⟨ㅍ파> /p<sup>h</sup>a/ “spring onion”) is transcribed as ⟨pch⟩ that likewise exists e.g. in Slovak word ⟨pchat’⟩ (“to push”) with rather contrasting pronunciation [px] (consonant cluster) compared to original single consonant [p<sup>h</sup>]. Analogical principle applies to other aspirated consonants. The equivalent of a phoneme /t<sup>h</sup>/ ⟨ㅌ> (in ⟨토르소> [toruso] “torso”) is ⟨tch⟩, pronounced as [tx] (in ⟨tchor’⟩ “fitch”) and equivalent of /k<sup>h</sup>/ ⟨ㅋ> (in ⟨쿠션> [k<sup>h</sup>uɕʌn] “cushion”) is ⟨kch⟩, pronounced as [kx] (in “Bakchus”). The same applies to /tʃ<sup>h</sup>/ ⟨ㅌ> with Slovak equivalent ⟨čch⟩, pronounced as [čx] (but there is no such compound in Slovak language). In fact, there could be two ways to handle this problem. One is to completely omit second part ⟨ch⟩ (of a trigraph) that follows ⟨p⟩, ⟨t⟩, ⟨k⟩ or ⟨č⟩, leaving only unsound stops<sup>15</sup>. A different approach would be to substitute ⟨ch⟩ with ⟨h⟩<sup>16</sup>. In favor of this way of transcription lies the fact that there are no consonant clusters ⟨ph⟩, ⟨kh⟩, ⟨th⟩ or ⟨čh⟩ in Slovak.<sup>17</sup>

15 A similar principle that we applied to vowels /o/ and /ʌ/, ignoring their distinct characteristics.

16 I have inferred this concept from the assumption that composition of two morphemes /pukʷ/ ⟨북> and /han/ ⟨한> gives a compound that is pronounced [puk<sup>h</sup>an] (“North Korea”), in pronunciation identical to (a fictional word) ⟨북한>. The Romanization is represented by a chain of letters ⟨pukhan⟩.

17 There is only ⟨zh⟩ cluster, e.g. in ⟨zhoriet’⟩ “to burn”. But the sound [z] is non-existent in Korean.

Intensified (tense) consonants—stops or an affricate—are completely absent in the Slovak system. Unlike aspirated consonants, tense consonants are the most challenging in acquisition of Korean sounds by Slovak learners. Although they are Romanized as geminated graphemes ⟨kk⟩, ⟨tt⟩, ⟨pp⟩, ⟨ss⟩ and ⟨čč⟩, it does not correspond to their pronunciation in Slovak. There are a few words in Slovak with geminated orthography: ⟨mäkký⟩, ⟨vyšší⟩ or geminated pronunciation ⟨odtok⟩, ⟨rozseknút⟩ or geminated nasals /mm/ ⟨zlomme⟩ (that is close in pronunciation to Korean [pamman] ⟨뱀만⟩) or /nn/ ⟨cenný⟩ (Korean [manna] ⟨만나⟩). But they are qualitatively distinct from Korean tense consonants /k/ ⟨ㄱ⟩, /t/ ⟨ㄷ⟩, /p/ ⟨ㅍ⟩, /s/ ⟨ㅅ⟩ and /t͡ʃ/ ⟨ㅉ⟩,<sup>18</sup> even though Korean digraphs that depict them were created as a gemination of a single consonant (Pucek 2013, 20).<sup>19</sup> Thus, Romanization of these consonants is misleading (as well calling them “geminated consonants”). Repeatedly, I would recommend omitting gemination of tense consonant graphemes and retaining only single consonants ⟨k⟩, ⟨t⟩, ⟨p⟩, ⟨s⟩ and ⟨č⟩, even though it means loss of distinctive characteristics.<sup>20</sup> This is applicable only for initial onset position and for medial onset position only in the case when followed by a vowel (Kim 2004, 65). Otherwise, when followed by a consonant, its pronunciation differs considerably (see 6.3).

## 6.2 Representation of compound sounds by Slovak graphemes

Next comes the combination of a glide (a non-syllabic semivowel) /w/ with four monophthongs /a/, /ʌ/, /i/ and /e/ thus creating /wa/ ⟨ㅘ⟩, /wʌ/ ⟨ㅙ⟩, /wi/ ⟨ㅚ⟩ and /we/ represented by three distinct Hangul graphemes ⟨ㅘ⟩, ⟨ㅙ⟩ or ⟨ㅚ⟩. There is no obstacle amongst Slovak speakers to pronounce diphthong /wʌ/ ⟨ㅙ⟩ (e.g. in

18 E.g. Kim (2004, 95) is moving away from traditional theory of Korean stop consonant distribution into lax, aspirated and tense. Traditional analysis cannot explain „the consonant-tone correlation in Korean whereby tense stops trigger a high tone and lax stops trigger a low tone.“ But for our case this makes no difference.

19 Korean Linguists in the Middle-Ages (15th century) were, at the time of Hangul creation, not fully aware of tense consonants' phonetics.

20 Providing additional mark (e.g. an apostrophe ⟨'⟩ or other) is redundant given the above-mentioned problem with acquisition of tense consonants by non-Korean speakers.

Korean word <권> [kwʌn]). It resembles (but only to a certain degree) Slovak diphthong <ô> [ɔ̯] (Hanulíková 2010, 376) or [ʊ̯] (Pavlík 2004, 96) as in Slovak word <koň> [kɔ̯ŋ]. Theoretically, it could be well substituted by digraph <uo> or single letter <ô>. We cannot apply the same principle to other diphthongs—compound sounds combined with /w/. They are non-existent in Slovak system (both phonologically and in writing). In order to adhere to the same principles applied to diphthong creation, we should retain writing <w> in Romanization.

There is a certain problem with Romanization of certain palatalized Korean consonants. Particularly, consonant /s/ before /i/ (or glide /j/) is palatalized (in standard South Korean pronunciation) to the same degree as consonants /tɕ/ or /dʒ/. It only brings confusion if there is no discretion between not palatalized <s><sup>21</sup> and palatalized <š> in Slovak Romanization (the only Romanized Korean consonants are palatalized [tɕ] <č> and [dʒ] <dž>). Thus, I would suggest relying on current standard South Korean pronunciation and transform it into a graphical form of consonant <š> before /i/ or glide /j/ (but in this case, grapheme <j> is reduced e.g. for <ʌʃ>, instead of <šja> I suggest writing <ša>).<sup>22</sup>

Table 6

*Recommended new Slovak Romanization—basic graphemes<sup>23</sup>*

Korea	Slovak	Korean	Slovak	Korean	Slovak	Korean	Slovak
n							
g ㄱ	k, g	ss ㅍ	s, š	ae ㅏ	ä	oe ㅛ	we
gg ㄲ	k	ng ㅇ	ng	ya ㅑ	ja	yo ㅜ	jo
n ㄴ	n, ň	j ㅈ	č, dž	yae ㅓ	jä	u ㅜ	u
d ㄷ	t, d	jj ㅊ	č	eo ㅓ	o	weo ㅓ	wo
dd ㄸ	t	ch ㅉ	č	e ㅓ	e	we ㅓ	we
l, r ㄹ	l, r	k ㅋ	k	yeo ㅝ	jo	wi ㅓ	wi

21 Apparently, due to the fact that the old Slovak Romanization is based on North Korean pronunciation from 1950s.

22 If we compare Slovak words “šialený” and “šál”.

23 In left columns called “Korean”, the very left letters are in fact the same letters used in PSP (2003, 50-51) called “Kórejský prepis” [Korean transcription].

m □	m	t ㅌ	t	ye ㅕ	je	yu ㅠ	ju
b ㅃ	p, b	p ㅍ	p	o ㅛ	o	eu ㅡ	u
bb ㅃㅃ	p	h ㅎ	h	wa ㅘ	wa	eui ㅡㅣ	ui, i, e
s ㅅ	s, š	a ㅏ	a	wae ㅙ	wä	i ㅣ	i

Another reasonable proposal concerns the pronunciation of consonant /n/ followed by the vowel /i/ or glide /j/. In this case palatalization of /n/ occurs. This could be transferred into Slovak Romanization—*ň*, despite violation of Slovak spelling where it is not possible to combine palatalized /n/ with /i/, thus creating *ňi*.

The same principle of grapheme ⟨j⟩ reduction should be applied in case of consonants /n/ ⟨n⟩ (e.g. for ⟨ㄴㅈ⟩, instead of ⟨ňju⟩, we should write ⟨ňu⟩), /tɕ/ ⟨č⟩ (e.g. for ⟨ㄸ⟩, instead of ⟨čju⟩, we should write ⟨ču⟩) and /dʒ/ ⟨dž⟩ (e.g. for ⟨ㄸㅈ⟩, instead of ⟨džju⟩, we should write ⟨džu⟩).

Distinctive characteristics of one sound could be phonetically based in one language, but in other language it could be based on allophone difference. Having this concept in mind, I have summarized the findings in the table 6.

### 6.3 Representation of consonant clusters

The most complex rules concerning Romanization include consonant cluster simplification (Lee, EunHee 2016, 50–68). This Romanization system stipulates that the phonetic principle be honored even at the expense of losing distinction made in the Hangul orthography. Some other aspects of Korean orthography should be reconsidered, as well. Regarding grammatical morphemes that are part of a phrase written in one uninterrupted string of letters, they should be preserved in Romanization as well. Lexical morphemes, especially those related to geographical names, are another story. They are integral parts of phrases in Korean, so I propose to keep writing them in Romanization and not to omit them and substitute with translation of that particular geographical morpheme. Instead of e.g. “river Amnok”, I suggest writing it with hyphen inserted between the geographical name and the geographical morpheme (“Amnok-kang”). Similar principle should be applied to Korean personal names. I here suggest writing hyphen between two syllables of given names (which, unlike family names, are two

syllable in most cases e.g. <진우> / teinu/ “Čin-u“) to distinguish from family names that are one syllable in most cases (e.g. <김> /kim/ “Kim”) or two syllable in a few cases (e.g. <남궁> /namkuŋ/ “Namkung”). I suggest keeping the writing order of Korean names, first family name and then given name.

In this manner, I sum up all possible combinations of final and initial consonant clusters and their actual transcription according to phonological rules of the Korean language (Kang, 2011, 449–494), in the Table 7. Looking at the table more meticulously, we can recognize following recurring consonant clusters: those repeating seven times (kk), those repeating six times (pp), those repeating four times (tt, mn, nn, čč), three times (ss, ll, pt, pk, pč, kt, kč, kp, tk, tp, mp, ngn), twice (ps, ks, mk, mb, mt, mm, mč, ms, ngm, nk, nč, nt, nd, ns, nm, ngp, ngt, ngs, ngč, ngk, lk, lp, ld, lt, lč, ls) and the rest appear only once (np, mg, mdž, ngb, ngd, ngdž, ngg, lb, lg, lm).

Despite specific phonological rules, there are minor exceptions that we have to take into account. Based on those exceptions, considering actual phonetic realization playing a primary role, we have to adjust transcription to actual pronunciation.

Table 7  
*Recommended new Slovak Romanization—consonant clusters*

final initial	-pʻ	-tʻ	-kʻ	-m	-n	-ŋ	-l	-h
p-	pp	pp	kp	mb	mb	ngb	lb	p
p <sup>h</sup> -	pp	pp	kp	mp	mp	ngp	lp	n/a
p <sub>n</sub> -	pp	pp	kp	mp	np	ngp	lp	n/a
t-	pt	tt	kt	md	nd	ngd	ld	tt
t <sup>h</sup> -	pt	tt	kt	mt	nt	ngt	lt	n/a
t <sub>n</sub> -	pt	tt	kt	mt	nt	ngt	lt	n/a
s-	ps	ss	ks	ms	ns	ngs	ls	ss
s <sub>n</sub> -	ps	ss	ks	ms	ns	ngs	ls	n/a
te-	pč	čč	kč	mdž	ndž	ngdž	ldž	čč
te <sup>h</sup> -	pč	čč	kč	mč	nč	ngč	lč	n/a
te <sub>n</sub> -	pč	čč	kč	mč	nč	ngč	lč	n/a
k-	pk	kk	kk	mg	ng	ngg	lk	kk

k <sup>h</sup> -	pk	kk	kk	mk	nk	ngk	lk	n/a
k <sub>n</sub> -	pk	kk	kk	mk	nk	ngk	lk	n/a
h-	p	t	k	m	n	ng	r	n/a
m-	mm	nm	ngm	mm	nm	ngm	lm	n/a
n-	mn	nn	ngn	mn	nn	ngn	ll	nn
l-	mn	nn	ngn	mn	ll	ng	ll	n/a

## 7 Conclusion

We have to admit that the target group for Slovak Romanization of Korean are Slovak users who know nothing of the Korean Language. The scope of usage itself is limited mostly to the cases of transcription of Korean geographical or personal names. From this point of view, it is reasonable to consider current PSP Romanization system as utterly inadequate and the purpose of this article was to pinpoint the main shortcomings of the current system. In addition, in the sixth chapter I have proposed several possible solutions to the problems with Romanization of several Korean (vowel and consonant) graphemes and their combinations and I have suggested following strictly the transcription that adheres to the principles of Korean phonology.

Yet, a deeper academic debate on how to choose the proper solution to the Romanization that fits the Slovak system best, should be deployed.

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# Portraits of Femininity In Korean Medieval Literature: Stories from Im Pang's *Ch'önyerok*

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*Abstract* This article deals with the most frequent character types depicting models of womanhood in medieval Korean literature. However, Korean literature does not offer only didactic characters, even though they were preferred and are prevalent as a result. In literati genres intended for entertainment, especially p'aesöl and yadam literature, the spectrum of characters is broader. We document this fact in an analysis of the *Ch'önyerok*, an anthology of stories written by Im Pang in the early eighteenth century. In it women are surprisingly dominant; their activities even compensate for their male counterparts' passivity and incompetence. Nevertheless, these narratives accept the established Confucian models for their protagonists. Therefore, we also aim to discuss the most popular female character types contained in the stories of the *Ch'önyerok* in the context of *kodae sosöl* and p'ansori tales that came later. Some present caricatures of the era, whereas others present everlasting ideals. Two stories about women demonstrate absolute female dominance; traditional gender roles are reversed and the female characters mock male vanity.

*Keywords* Korean medieval literature, Im Pang, *Ch'önyerok*, *p'aesöl*, *yadam*, models, biographies, women, ideal

## *Early Models of Womanhood and Paragons of Female Virtues*

During the last century Korea has been considered a country with clearly defined gender roles, where society is dominated by men and oppressed women have no opportunities to participate in public life. Studies focused on Chosön 朝鮮 (1392–1910) society speak about the discrimination of women in the pre-modern and modern eras. This misrepresentative and overly simplistic view reflects neither pre-Chosön Korea nor the prevalent reality of that time. It is based on the prescriptions and models contained in manuals, which are not necessarily true

mirrors of gender roles. This image of Korean society also comes from popular narratives intended for lower-class audiences, in which female protagonists suffer in many ways. The mentality pervading Korean society after the official adoption of Confucian ideology and the fact that literature was written almost exclusively by literati, that is, by men, also played a part in constructing this image.

Every genre of Korean literature—whether official or unofficial<sup>1</sup>—seems to have become very formulaic by medieval times. In the Koryŏ 高麗 era (918–1392) Korean literati began to establish exemplary narratives, mainly following biographical models derived from Chinese historical literature. They introduced stable narrative elements to most Korean prose—for example, protagonist types (or *propositions* in narratological terms)<sup>2</sup> and formulaic, predictable plots (or *sequences* in narratological terms)<sup>3</sup>—and defined a stable inventory of literary devices (usage of time and space, allusions, cultural symbols, etc.). This process gave birth to a firm and frugal form, a steady inventory of themes, and a limited typology of protagonists. Biographical writings (pseudo-biographies, fictitious biographies, novels) were the most frequent form of unofficial literature. Therefore, narratives mostly follow a simple linear path and depict truthful (believable) didactic models intended to educate the entire population.

The protagonists of medieval literature were modelled on certain stereotypes of ideal behaviour. Hence, the most frequent character types are men and include the king, the warrior, the loyal minister, and the filial son. In Koryŏ biographical literature, female protagonists are not common, but those that do occur are based on a limited selection of ideal types of women—mainly the devoted daughter and

- 1 I understand the term unofficial literature as referring to the whole spectrum of prosaic works intended for entertainment.
- 2 I have adopted the term *proposition* from Tzvetan Todorov's *Poétique de la prose* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1978). According to Todorov, a proposition is made up of three main categories: proper name, adjective, and verb (i.e., the hero's status, characteristics, and activities). Gérard Genette (*Fiction et Diction*, 1991) and Algirdas Greimas (*Du Sens II*, 1983) express a similar understanding of this term in their works.
- 3 Narratology was established in the 1970s by Tzvetan Todorov and his French colleagues—Genette, Greimas, Barthes, etc. Although these scholars differ somewhat in how they categorize narratives and in the elements they stress in literary works, they all share an interest in the “grammar of literature”.

the faithful wife or fiancée. A few female protagonists are found in the medieval chronicles of the *Samguk sagi* 三國史記 and *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事.<sup>4</sup> In the biographies (*yŏljŏn* 列傳) of the *Samguk sagi* the illustrious daughter Sŏlssi is a model of devotion to one's parents (*byo* 孝). The biography of Tomi's wife and the biography of Jiün's wife present the extremely faithful wife and the faithful fiancée, respectively, as models of womanhood.<sup>5</sup> We find no character or narrative representing the wise mother this early. Women fighting for their loves, who would become popular characters during the subsequent Chosŏn era, were also rare. In the Koryŏ concubine system, in which roles were not strictly defined, the main wife was not necessarily depicted in a positive light. For example, if she could not bear children, but one of her husband's concubines became pregnant, the wife would be portrayed negatively and the concubine positively. The situation would be reversed in later narrative schemes, where the wife is always a paragon of virtue and the concubine a negative character.

Stereotypical antagonists were also established in medieval literature. A typical male antagonist is the wicked official, which morphed into several other character types during the following dynasty. Female antagonists were established as the negative counterparts to the male, and a classical trio: the *stepmother*, the *concubine*, and the *mother-in-law* emerged in folklore stories.

Biographies were obviously instructive texts, and subsequent Chosŏn literature explored their evident didacticism in various and explicit ways. *Haengsildo* 行實圖 books (illustrated guides of the moral imperatives)<sup>6</sup> from the

4 The *Samguk sagi*, or the *History of the Three Kingdoms*, is the earliest preserved official chronicle. It was compiled and edited by Kim Pusik 金富軾 (1075–1151) and presented to the king in 1145. Its structure is based on that of Chinese historical works. Models of proper behaviour are contained in annals (*pongi* 本紀) and biographies (*yŏljŏn* 列傳). Biographies of women are rare and hence so too are models of womanhood. The *Samguk yusa*, or *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*, is a chronicle written by the monk Iryŏn in the 1280s. It does present some models of female behaviour.

5 *Samguk sagi* (ha), Kwŏn 48, 468–472.

6 *Haengsildo*, which depict proper behaviour, were, like similar Chinese works, distributed to educate the people. For details, see Lienü zhuan 列女傳 / Traditions of Exemplary Women, <http://www2.iath.virginia.edu:8080/exist/cocoon/xwomen/texts/lienuzhuan/tpage/toc/bilingual>. During the centuries, many series of *haengsildo* were produced; the earliest were more or less

early Chosŏn are the best examples. In the anecdotes they contain, the characters do not represent real men or women but *functions*. These characters were defined by a set of qualities that corresponded the newly adopted Confucian norms (*oryun* 五倫, the five moral virtues; *samgang* 三綱, the three relationships; etc.). Thus, we must read these characters metaphorically. Official literature tended towards uniformity, and the qualities of the characters were described briefly, because at the beginning of each story the proposition indicated to the reader how the plot would unfold. These stories differ only in their details.<sup>7</sup>

The protagonists of official medieval prose, however, were not as uniform as those of the later anonymous *kodae sosŏl* 古代小說 genre, where stereotyping led to the copying of the most popular protagonists and their stories, which were essentially fictitious biographies. Koryŏ literature was generally more closely connected to reality (i.e., the stories tried to present the illusion that they were telling the “truth”).<sup>8</sup> Therefore, protagonists, both male and female, did not share the same proposition (young, talented, exaggeratedly handsome). The portrayal of the protagonists in medieval Korean literature is highly varied, and each protagonist can follow a variety of ideals.<sup>9</sup>

In the earliest preserved literature, negative characters were men, and any bad women were mere character sketches. During the Koryŏ, negative characters acted against the law and against the generally accepted rules and morality of the male-oriented community. Confucian moral norms for women would be fully defined only later. *Naebun* 內訓 literature, which dates back to the fifteenth century, played a crucial role in this process.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, ethical norms and

compilations inspired by China, whereas later ones feature Korean protagonists. For how they were distributed, see Young Kyun Oh, *Engraving Virtues: The Printing History of a Premodern Korean Moral Primer* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

7 For details, see Miriam Löwensteinová, “Description of Hero in Korean Literature: From Myth to Classical Fiction,” *AUC Philologica: Orientalia Pragensia* 14, no. 1 (2001): 181–194.

8 Depicting the truth is a basic requirement in medieval Korean literature.

9 However, in many stories of the *paesŏl* and *yadam* genres not only are the protagonists uniform in their proposition, but the plot is also predictable.

10 *Naebun*, or “instructions for women”, are educative books intended exclusively for women in a male-dominated society. The first was titled *Naebun* and written by Queen Sohye in 1475. For

laws still varied at this time. Codification ended in the second half of the sixteenth century, when Confucianism was confirmed as the state ideology accepted in all strata of society. It was only during the Chosŏn era that literary models of womanhood were properly established. Historical stories of the Koryŏ era primarily contain positive characters, whereas negative ones are of secondary importance. Since the early Chosŏn, however, wicked characters provided the impetus for plot development, and hence negative models needed to be defined too.

### *Shaping Negative Models*

In the historical literature of the Koryŏ dealing with the previous eras of Samguk and T'ongil Silla,<sup>11</sup> we find several negative female characters. The *Samguk sagi* tells the story of Kwanna, a beautiful concubine who wishes to replace the queen. She makes false accusations against the queen and is executed in the end.<sup>12</sup> Although it seems the compiler is projecting contemporary morals onto an earlier time, and therefore distorting history, we can understand the primary message: Kwanna is a woman who desires to hold an *inappropriate position* (i.e., she is ambitious), which results in her sly behaviour.<sup>13</sup> The idea of a woman yearning for an inappropriate position is also present in the *Samguk yusa*. The biography of Kim Yushin states that the queen of Koguryŏ had violated the natural order with her actions. A

details, see Sinae Park, "Re-reading Queen Sohye's Naehun" (master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 2005).

11 This period stretched from the first century BC to 935 AD.

12 In this story, we encounter jealousy as a negative quality for the first time. It is not Kwanna who is jealous but the queen, who proposes to the king selling her rival to China. *Samguk sagi sang, Koguryŏ pongi, Kwŏn* 17, 397.

13 Kwanna is depicted as an extreme beauty with nine feet (*ch'ŏk* 尺) long hair. Since that time, extreme beauty was not considered wholly in a positive light. Jealousy also characterizes Queen U from the Koguryŏ, who asked her servants to kill the king's pregnant concubine (second century). *Samguk sagi, sang, Kwŏn* 16, Koguryŏ pongi, 380–386. Jealousy was a source of the fall of the Wŏnhwa 原花 (a women's ritual organization in Silla) and led to a murder. Jealousy was also a reason for conflicts between the main wife and lesser ones. Later, seven reasons for divorce (*ch'ilch'ul* 七出) were established, jealousy being one of them.

metaphor of a border river whose waters flow backwards is employed. A fortune-teller explains to the king that this omen reflects the imbalance between the male and female element in his bedroom, that is, his wife is acting against the principles of *yin* and *yang*.<sup>14</sup> The compiler presents three queens of Silla as seeking inappropriate positions. However, his most negative criticism is reserved only for Queen Chinsǒng 眞聖女王 (r. 887–897). He does not condemn her specifically as a woman but more or less because she is a bad ruler.<sup>15</sup>

Although the *Koryōsa* 高麗史, or the *History of Koryō*, of three centuries later contains a special section with biographies of rebels (*pan'yōk* 叛逆), cruel officials (*bongni* 酷吏), bad subjects (*kansin* 姦臣), and other negative personages, we find not a single biography of a bad woman. This book, however, does contain biographies of virtuous women. The only negative female characters we encounter are the partners of evil men. One example is the wife of Yi Ŭimin,<sup>16</sup> an abominable woman who killed her servant out of jealousy. Her second sin was having a liaison with her male servant. Yi Ŭimin killed her lover and rejected her.<sup>17</sup> One of her daughters is also mentioned in a similar light. In this story we see the basic features of the licentious woman, an infrequent character type.

Some Koryō queens who were involved in rebellions are presented negatively in the *Koryōsa*, but the most important female villain was Empress Qi 奇皇后 (1315–1369/70), who attracted the attention of biographers due to her planned attack against Koryō.<sup>18</sup> Whenever immoral women are mentioned, their negative

14 *Samguk yusa*, 113.

15 The *Samguk sagi* stresses her immoral and licentious conduct, which includes taking bribes and bringing attractive men into the palace and committing lewd acts with them. This evaluation may have arisen from the compiler's negative view of female rulers, who were sure to be incompetent. According to the *Samguk yusa*, she favoured her relatives and servants, all of whom disrupted the affairs of state, she ignored warning signs, she imprisoned people who opposed her, etc. *Samguk yusa*, 185.

16 Yi Ŭimin 李義旼 (1183–1196), general of Koryō, rose to power after the military rebellion in 1170. *Koryōsa* 128, *yōljōn* 41.

17 A very moderate punishment that bears witness to and underlines the bad character of Yi. *Koryōsa* 128, *yōljōn* 41.

18 Elected as a concubine of the last Yuan emperor, Togon Temür (r. 1333–1370), who would

female attributes are not presented using metaphoric language. To some extent, this observation also applies to portrayals of Empress Qi. Moreover, these women possess no “qualities” of their own. They are the evil counterparts of negative male characters; they are merely the sisters, lovers, or mothers of some man. Although these figures were wicked by nature and willfully committed acts against their kings or homeland, their stories do not instruct about a loss of morality.<sup>19</sup>

Although negative female characters in Chosŏn literature come from various social strata, they were mostly of low descent. Two particularly famous figures, notorious for their immoral behaviour, were the ambitious court ladies of Chang Noksu 淑容 張氏 (1472?–1506) and Chang Hŭibin 張禧嬪 (1659–1701). Both were treated not only in official records, such as the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (Veritable Records of the Chosŏn Dynasty) and the *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* 承政院日記 (The Diary of the Royal Secretariat), and other documents produced by court institutions, but also in popular literature. Chang Hŭibin, who is depicted as the essence of maleficence, is featured in novels such as *Inhyŏn wangbu jŏn* 仁顯王后傳 (Story of Queen Inhyŏn) and Kim Manjung’s 金萬重 (1637–1692) *Sassi namjŏnggi* 謝氏南征記 (Journey of Lady Sa to the South).<sup>20</sup> Both would later become protagonists of dramas from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

It seems Chang Noksu was the first fully developed negative female character in Korean literary history.<sup>21</sup> She is associated with King Yŏnsangun 燕山君 (r. 1494–1506), the notorious Chosŏn ruler who “showcased the worst aberration

eventually become his favourite and Empress Qi. Thanks to her position, her family gained fame, wealth, and titles from the Yuan and Koryŏ court. According to the biography of one Koryŏ refugee, she tried to force her son Ayushidara to send an army against the Korean king, Kongmin 恭愍王 (1330–1374), which was, however, defeated. This international aspect of treason is also rare and is a behaviour usually ascribed to men.

19 The popular literature of the Samguk, T’ongil Silla, and Koryŏ, influenced mostly by Chinese *quanqi* 傳奇 stories, contains no such story type. Even foxes and ghosts, fatally dangerous for every young man, are not as insidious as in later literature. In the *Samguk yusa*, written in the thirteenth century, we find the story of a tigress who, in a reversal of wild animal behaviour, helps her lover gain a higher position.

20 The plots of both these stories were based on the expulsion of Queen Min and her replacement by Chang Hŭibin.

21 Recently, the story of Chang Noksu has been performed as a drama in Chŏngdong Theatre under the title *The Palace: The Story of Chang Noksu*.

imaginable” (Yang 2000, 269-273). Chang Noksu played a strange part in satisfying his needs, acting as a procuress. The *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* reports that she was not as beautiful as one would expect: “Chang Noksu was a servant of Chean Taegun. She was smart and knew how to please others. Because she was very poor, Chang barely managed her life, marrying several times. [...] Chang learned to dance and sing. She sang well. Even though she was thirty, she looked like a sixteen-year-old girl!” (Yang 2000, 270). Her appearance was “not better than [that of] an average person”. In fact, her main quality was not her beauty but her “insurmountable excellence in flattery and coquetry”. She quickly climbed up the ladder; the king became fully dependent on her and elevated her to a position that was inappropriate: “Chang ventured out to be a procuress, seducing unsuspecting ladies into the bedroom of Yŏnsangun.” This bizarre relationship continued until Yŏnsangun’s fall. Then, Chang Noksu was beheaded (Yang 2000, 269-273). Chang Noksu was not only ambitious but also wicked by nature (corrupt); she represented all the worst qualities of concubines. Her low origin seems to support her immorality; she lacks a proper education, is greedy, and has no moral inhibitions.

Chang Hŭibin was one of the most well-known royal concubines of the Chosŏn period and the mother of King Kyŏngjŏng 景宗 (1688–1724). After giving a son to King Sukjong 肅宗 (1661–1720), she arranged to have his main wife, Queen Min (Inhyŏn 仁顯王后, 1667–1701), exiled. She was then elevated to the position of queen consort. This move led to factional strife in 1689 (*kisa bwanguk* 己巳換局).<sup>22</sup> In 1694 Chang Hŭibin lost the king’s favour, and the king brought Queen Min back to the court. But she died unexpectedly, and Chang Hŭibin was accused of killing her with black magic. King Sukjong sentenced Chang Hŭibin and her

22 The problem was that although Sukjong had an heir, he could not become crown prince due to his mother’s status. Queen Inhyŏn refused to adopt him because, among other things, she was young at that time. Therefore, she was demoted as a result of political plotting. This dispute led not only to the queen’s removal but also to a purge, which involved the banishment of government officials from the Western faction, the killing of the leader of the Old faction, and the banishment and later death of the queen’s father. Chang Hŭibin was elevated to queen consort as a result of these changes, and the Young faction came to power for five years.

companions to death.<sup>23</sup> Interestingly, in the same year King Sukjong issued a decree prohibiting concubines from becoming queen consorts in the future. Unlike Chang Noksu, who is simply immoral, Chang Hüibin is an ambitious, plotting woman hungry for power and for gaining her desires; she is willing to break all the rules of etiquette and even kill.

Both of these women used their abilities to attract the king's attention and gain power. This power, in the form of an elevated position, is considered *inappropriate*, due to their social origins and their poor dispositions, which only worsen and render these women paragons of the worst wickedness imaginable. They exploit their position to commit many illegal and shameful deeds, plotting with other negative characters such as shamans, witches, and women of dubious character, planning to have people killed, and so forth. In the end they are executed (punished). Their evilness is exaggerated in literature so that readers easily recognize it. They require no counterpart or partner; they stand alone as representations of pure wickedness.<sup>24</sup>

Two other examples of negative female models come also from the Chosŏn and are not so formulaic or connected exclusively with the stereotype of a woman who aims to gain power. The first, Ŏudong 於宇同 (?–1480),<sup>25</sup> was born into a noble clan and married a man from the royal family. She was known for her alleged adultery and was accused of having sex with men not only from the royal family or the nobility but also from the lower strata. According to Sŏng Hyŏn's 成俔 (1439–1504) *Yongjae chongbwa* 慵齋叢話, “she had sexual intercourse with young trashy men as well as with state officials and scholars; the government found it out and investigated them. Therefore, some people were tortured or dismissed from their positions; some were fortunately set free for lack of evidence.”<sup>26</sup> These scandalous

23 This was part of factional strife between the Westerners and Southerners. Beginning in 1689, the Westerners were executed and exiled, followed by the Southerners in 1701. King Sukjong was well known for his clever factional politics.

24 In these stories, the portrayals of the kings do not serve the same purpose. The bad king (Yŏnsangun) was killed (punished); Sukjong lived a long life and ruled for forty-five years. His rule was eventually considered to be harmonious, i.e., he was rewarded. The king as a character type in Korean popular stories was the only one not depicted in a black-and-white manner.

25 Her full name was Pak Ŏudong, but after her death she was erased from the family genealogy and mentioned only as Ŏudong or Ŏrüdong.

26 Sŏng Hyŏn, *Yongjae chongbwa*, translated by Kim, Nami et al. (Seoul: Humanist, 2016), 279.

affairs had no judicial precedent, and therefore there was great controversy about a suitable punishment for her. Many ministers, the prime minister included, proposed she be exiled, but King Sōngjong decided for the death penalty.<sup>27</sup> Her story is well known and is treated not only in the *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* but also in an anecdote contained in the *p'aesŏl* anthology *Yongjae chongbwa* written by Sōng Hyŏn, an eminent fifteenth-century scholar.<sup>28</sup> Even though Ōudong was a noblewoman, her unusual sexual behaviour sparked scandal. Her story has inspired many novels, dramatic works, and films. Nevertheless, in modern times many people have believed that she was a dancing girl, *kisaeng*, because of her extravagant behaviour typical of *kisaengs*.

The story of Chōng Nanjōng 鄭蘭貞 (?–1565) presents another negative model of womanhood. Her father was a nobleman, but her mother came from a lower social class. Her mother's origins determined her social status. As a girl she left home to be trained as a *kisaeng*. Later, she became a concubine of the most powerful man of the time, Prime Minister Yun Wŏnhyŏn 尹元衡 (1509–1565), father of Queen Munjōng 文定王后, and became his wife. It is said that Chōng expelled his main wife and took her place. She earned the trust of Queen Munjōng and was allowed to freely enter the royal palace. Chōng Nanjōng eventually became *chōnggyōngbuin* 貞敬夫人, the highest position the wife of a civil official could attain. She grew rich by abusing her husband's power and the queen's support, and through other illegal means. After the death of the queen, however, she was demoted to the lowest social class of the *ch'ŏnmin* and banished. She committed suicide in exile. Today her story still inspires works of literature. Not only does she exemplify all the bad qualities mentioned above, but her story has an additional social and romantic tinge (social status, suicide).

27 According to Chosŏn law, adultery was one of the most serious crimes, akin to murder. In the *Yongjae chongbwa* it is written that “when a woman behaved badly, it disgraced the country.” Sōng Hyŏn, *Yongjae chongbwa*, 279. Her punishment was likely so severe because the king wanted to set an example and because the situation was right for applying Confucian norms in practice.

28 The *Yongjae chongbwa* was published in 1525. Besides folk and ethnographic stories, it also contains contemporary tales, especially from 1499–1504.

Such concubines represent the first canonical negative models of womanhood.<sup>29</sup> Beginning in the Koryŏ era negative female characters also included female shamans,<sup>30</sup> witches, fortune-tellers, and the whole spectrum of magicians, whose services were in demand, but whose social status was very low. Since the Koryŏ, these professions were considered unclean and hence their practitioners were members of the lowest caste, the *ch'ŏnmin*. We also encounter dangerous female animals, such as a fox and a wild cat. Although these characters are not human, they always behave like the *false wife* or the professional *kisaeng*. In seventeenth-century Korean literature the stereotypical evil stepmother and mother-in-law, negative stock characters popular worldwide, began to populate sad and sentimental stories, whose protagonists are mostly women. These characters are thoroughly wicked, and their immorality is demonstrated throughout the narrative. Since the Koryŏ, we can find characters that are neither positive nor negative; they are simply objects of mockery. A typical example of a mocked female type is the widow known widely for being virtuous, who then engages in an illicit affair with either an official or a monk. (Officials and monks were the most popularly mocked male characters alongside the blind.) These characters came to life in *p'aesŏl* or *yadam* stories, brief narratives resembling

29 We have to differentiate between lesser wives (concubines) and *kisaengs*, the latter of which can represent the faithful wife and are therefore highly positive characters. All *kisaengs*, except those in folk anecdotes, are supportive characters. They lack the proper ancestry, but due to their faithful deeds and temporarily playing the role of a main wife, they finally become worthy of a higher position. The *Ch'unhyangga* 春香歌 (Song of Ch'unhyang) is a story about the love between a *kisaeng* and a boy from a noble family with a simple plot and a happy ending. In Korean literature, there are many stories of such *kisaengs*, but the story of Ch'unhyang is the most famous. Many variants were in circulation. The *Ch'unhyangga*, originally a drama and today a canonical work, has been reworked, updated, and adapted into films, dramas, and musicals many times.

30 The changing image of the female shaman is documented in Yi Kyubo's 李奎報 (1168–1241) *Nomup'yŏn* 老巫篇 (The Lay of the Old Shaman). Yi, a leading writer of the Koryŏ, considered shamans to be villainous and proposed their expulsion from the capital. In this poem, he portrays a shaman as an old trickster who manipulates people, their fates, and property and who deserves not only exile but death as well. This intolerance is strange because Yi lacked the rigidity of Confucian scholars. This aversion may have been caused, as insinuated in the foreword, by his own experiences with a shaman that lived near him.

anecdotes, written by literati. Im Pang's anthology *Cb'önyerok* 天倪錄 is a collection of such stories.<sup>31</sup>

### *P'aesöl Literature and the Variety of Female Characters*

Imperatives, prescriptions, and limitations ruled all aspects of the lives of Chosŏn-period literati. Although they were pushed into their position of elitist exclusivity, it did not mean they needed to avoid pleasure in reading and writing. Aside from impromptu poems composed during parties, they collected and wrote stories that were meant to entertain members of their own community. Although these stories feigned some level of morality, didacticism, and historicity, they were never incorporated in their *munjip* 文集, or collected works.<sup>32</sup> These stories were based on anecdotes circulating among the literati as well on folk stories. They were not, however, the simple folktales recounted by wandering or marketplace storytellers. These stories were recorded and refigured in classical Chinese following a prescribed form. These brief light-hearted tales were written for leisure and entertainment and belong to the *p'aesöl* and *yadam* genres.<sup>33</sup> The fact that they were intended for pleasure does not mean they were a form of lowbrow literature. They were stripped of many of their folk attributes; only broader popular themes

31 It is nearly impossible to render an English translation of this title. In my Czech translation of this work, I call it *Zápisky za hranicí uvěřitelného*, or *Records beyond the Boundary of the Believable*, because it contains accounts of the unbelievable, the strange, and the otherworldly.

32 *Munjip* contain the collected works of individuals that were selected and organized to build up or confirm the glory of a family (clan). Usually, no works that were intended as simple entertainment were included.

33 In Korean literary history we encounter the terms *p'aesöl* 稗說 (*p'aegwan sosöl* 稗官小說) and *yadam* 野談, which lack clear definitions. There are also no theories about their origins and development. The syllable *p'ae* 稗 means something small, or of little importance. The syllable *ya* 野 means strangeness and rusticity or wildness. *Söl* 說 and *dam* 談 are orally transmitted stories. These genres were derived from Chinese ones. In both countries they were used for recording the stories narrated on the marketplaces, i.e., for reporting about the mood of the people. This original meaning has nothing in common with the later Korean anthologies of literati, written in Chinese and distributed mostly among literati.

and motifs remained. The creators of these tales were not mere compliers; they were indeed authors. Not only did each author select his tales, but he also refigured them while applying his own style and taste.

There are a limited but not inconsiderable number of *p'aesöl* and *yadam* anthologies. Most of them were circulated in manuscript form, some of which have been lost and some of which exist in multiple versions. Copies are dated using the traditional cyclic year, and therefore, if a book is anonymous, sometimes it is not possible to prove its authenticity. Moreover, many of the anecdotes they contain are incomprehensible due to their connections to a certain region or a certain circle of literati. The most popular stories focus on supernatural beings, such as demons, ghosts, and Taoist immortals, as well as on some frequent human characters: lustful officials and immoral or angry women. Everlasting love is also a perennial theme. Therefore, only universal and ahistorical stories have survived. The three most famous Chosŏn anthologies are Yu Mongin's 柳夢寅 (1559–1623) *Ŏu yadam* 於于野談, Ŏ Sukkwŏn's 魚叔權 (?–?, seventeenth century) *P'aegwan japki* 官雜記稗, and Im Pang's 任墮 (1640–1724) *Cb'ŏnyerok* 天倪錄.<sup>34</sup>

#### *The Typology of Female Characters in Im Pang's Stories*

Im Pang's anthology belongs to the “unbelievable story” genre, which was popular since medieval times in China, Korea, and Japan. Its short narratives present a world that is colourful, penetrable, and open to a wide spectrum of both indigenous and domesticated foreign ideas. Here there is no position between good and evil. This world also has no visible boundaries, no limitations, and no strict rules, but it does have a relatively fixed stable of inhabitants.

These anecdotes bear heavy traces of their authors as they are mostly narrated from the author's perspective or that of his alter ego—that is, the authors recount

34 The author of the last anthology, Im Pang, was a typical literati of the time. He was talented already as a child. He was famous for his work and eventually reached the position of minister. He was exiled several times, and during his last exile he allegedly wrote his most famous anthology, the *Cb'ŏnyerok*, which originally consisted of sixty-two stories. This anthology was preserved in manuscripts, and one of them at the Royal Library served as a source for the first English translation of the *Cb'ŏnyerok* made by Canadian missionary J. S. Gale (1863–1937). It is not a full translation, and the published version also contains earlier *yadams* written by Yi Ryuk.

something they have witnessed, either directly or indirectly. This authenticity is supported by the illusion of historicity; most characters at the centre of these stories were real people, and the author gives brief biographical information about them. The narrator then recounts a story that he has either witnessed himself or been told by someone else, a story centered on the strange or unbelievable.

Thus, we find the protagonists in the realm of King Yama (the underworld) or in the realm of the immortals, where they meet people not of human origin. No women are present in King Yama's realm; apparently not even their wicked deeds are relevant in a male-dominated society. In anecdotes set in the realm of the immortals, the male immortals and their attributes are emphasized. Their female partners are mostly fairies who play the role of wife and are therefore of marginal importance. Not only are they beautiful and immortal, but they also possess human attributes, as demonstrated in the story of the country student, who enters the realm of the immortals and marries there a fairy. Although she is a fairy, she behaves like a normal wife. On one hand she is his guide and mediator, but on the other she gives birth to twins and when he travels home, she prepares a special set of clothes for him.<sup>35</sup>

*The realm of demons and ghosts* is not an exact location. It cannot be depicted; it is more or less a mental state in which the souls (*kobon* 孤魂 or *wōngwi* 冤鬼) of humans who have died unmarried or who have not been properly buried are forced to live. The only place these souls are connected with is the site of their death. *Wōngwi* display different behaviours in the stories in this anthology, but they are not present as females. Both demons and ghosts are plentiful in the human world, where they distribute misfortune, especially illness. Im Pang's anthology contains special female demons—foxes and wild cats in female human form that are dangerous to every man. It is clear to the audience what will happen if the man does not recognize such creatures as demons.<sup>36</sup> Im Pang's first story deals with a

35 In many stories, fairies live in their own community located somewhere high in the mountains. If somebody (mainly a young man) enters their space, they usually talk with him, joke, ask to exchange poetry, etc. The protagonists are attracted by their beauty and try to re-enter their world. Sometimes, they wither away or even die due to their love. Hence, fairies are like foxes, i.e., meeting with them is always dangerous.

36 Encounters with demons in the form of typhus, smallpox and other illnesses are fatal and reflect

boy studying at night. A fox metamorphoses into a *kisaeng* and visits the boy. But the boy suspects she is not human based on the way she snuggles:

He concluded that she was not a woman, but a demon of some kind, perhaps a fox, but he knew not what to do. Suddenly he decided on a plan, caught her, swung her on to his back, and rushed out through the gate into the official quarters, where he shouted at the top of his voice asking his stepmother and the servants to come. It was midnight; no one replied, and no one came. The woman on his back bit him furiously at the nape of his neck. By this he knew that she was a fox. Unable to endure the pain, he released his grasp. She jumped to the ground immediately, escaped and was seen no more (Im 2005, 482).

In the second such story the male protagonist finds himself in a more complicated situation. A man asks his wife for some chestnuts. A few minutes later, his wife returns with a plate, and a short while later, another iteration of his wife enters. He knows that one of them is a demon, but he is not sure which. Therefore, he decides to wait for the morning:

Kim once again received the chestnuts. Then he took firm hold of each woman, the first one by the right hand and the second one by the left, holding fast till the break of day. At last the cocks crew, and the east began to lighten. The one whose right hand he held said: "Why do you hold me so tightly? It hurts; let me go." She shook and tugged, but Kim held all the tighter. In a moment, she fell to the floor and suddenly changed into a wild cat. Kim, in fear and surprise, let her go, and she made her escape through the door (Im 2005, 483).

She-demons do not symbolize mere illness or danger; in medieval times, they represented inappropriate relationships, the dark side of fairies-cum-seducers. Both demons and fairies are associated with sex and illicit love of the most sophisticated type. Thus, the fox and the wild cat represent the essence of female evil. They possess magic abilities and are cunning, sly, and able to transform their bodies. The worst of all the foxes is the *kumibo* 九尾狐, a fox with nine tails. She is already made up without washing and changing her clothes. She is a real killer much like Chang Noksu, Chang Hüibin, and the later concubines of the *kodae sosöl* genre.

reality. But everybody knows how to act when meeting demons in the form of a fox. In both of these stories, the protagonist tries to remember the successful procedure for dealing with such a creature.

*Kisaengs*

In old Korean literature we find two types of *kisaeng*. As can be anticipated, the first stereotypical *kisaeng* character is a dangerous woman, aiming to destroy someone's career or kill. These characters are realistic: although various types of *kisaeng* existed within this complicated system, all came from the lower classes, and their profession of selling their bodies or entertaining men determined their reputation. This character type, even when hyperbolized, is far from the sentimental portrait of the *kisaeng* in the *kodae sosŏl* novels popular in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries that we will mention later. Throughout the entire Chosŏn era, stories, particularly anecdotes, about dangerous *kisaengs* were popular, not just among the literati but also among the common people. In these narratives *kisaengs* are professional and dispassionate. Their initial device is based on their physical beauty and ability to manipulate men, the result of their education. They show no glimpse of noble intention or chastity. They represent a function, and their proposition is strong. Their intelligence and professionalism help them achieve power. A typical plot begins with a visiting official publicly expressing his aversion to *kisaengs*, and the "local people" (the governor, his staff, and their dancing girls) testing him to see if he is not being hypocritical. There is an infinite variety of such stories. We find two in Im Pang's anthology; their plots are almost identical. The first sequence opens with the above-mentioned motif: "Whenever [the official] visited the governor, it was his custom, when seeing *kisaengs*, to tap them on the head with his pipe, saying: 'These girls are devils, monsters, goblins. How can you bear them in your presence?'" (Im 2005, 436).

*Kisaengs* are far from being independent in planning their "revenge." They are instructed by men who display a certain regional sentimentality and are hence paradoxically proud of *kisaengs* from their region. The plot is formulaic: a selected girl frequently appears at the official's residence, standing in the most visible spots, exposing her beauty, talking with servants, and so forth. She then waits for him to act on his sexual urges. After she fulfils his lustful desires, she makes him a target of mockery. He is usually disgraced somehow—ending up naked in public, locked in a chest, or wearing women's clothing. This act of public shame symbolizes his fall from the pedestal of masculinity and the loss of respect for him. For example, Im Pang's story ends with the following lines: "The governor, splitting his sides

with laughter, ordered to bring some clothes; the first thing that came was a woman's green coat. The official hastily turned it inside out, slipped it on, and made a dash for his quarters in the Confucian academy." (Im 2005, 439).

Such narratives, which come in many variants in which details differ, are highly popular in folk literature and drama, where dialogues between "local people" serve to stress the official's disgrace.<sup>37</sup> In these intentionally entertaining stories *kisaengs* come from the lower strata of society and are associated with local authorities. Therefore, *kisaengs* need not have names. These stories have no biographical elements; they are pure anecdotes. These women are not the main protagonists, and they have no ambitions of playing any role, whether good or bad.<sup>38</sup>

### *Violent Wives: Reversed Roles*

The ideal model of womanhood was confirmed by manuals and defined by a set of qualities and skills. The ideal woman need not have any particular physical features, except those indicating fertility; her appearance however should not reveal an unfortunate character. A woman needed to be educated only to the extent that she could fulfil her future household duties, that is, she had to be familiar with the system of ritual duties and know how to manage the household and handle servants. She had to respect male dominance and, therefore, be obedient and modest. However, being a wife also meant ensuring one's husband behaves correctly and guiding him. "Between the husband and wife is a distance," stressed the great Chosŏn scholar Yulgok Yi I 栗谷 李珣 (1536–1584) in his primer *Tongmong sŏnsŭp* 童蒙先習 (The First Exercise Book for Uneducated Boys), where he comprehensibly expresses the principles of the male-female relationship (Yi 1992). A married couple is a connection between two families. Both husband and wife have inner and outer roles to play in their marriage, which define the order

37 Korean people love all kinds of stories in which not only members of the upper class are disgraced. Such stories can be most properly identified as anecdotes. They were amended to meet the tastes of the lower classes, and elements of low humour were added.

38 They are depicted in a more realistic way: in fact, *kisaengs* cannot represent qualities such as chastity or generosity. As they function as objects, they need not have names, they can be renamed, substituted, etc.

in their household: a husband must first control himself before he can guide his wife, and a wife has to take care of herself before she can properly take care of her husband. Marriage is a basis of the Way. Spouses have to respect each other and treat each other “as they would treat a guest” (Yi 1992, 35).

The wives that Im Pang presents illustrate these ideals. They are beautiful and able to manage their households and take care of their husbands, clothes, and meals. Take, for example, the wife of Sǒng Hach’ang. Despite having the above-mentioned positive attributes, she is also described as being “very sharp and angry”. She has her own rules and legal code that she based on state codes, especially the penal code. She holds a position of supreme authority to which nobody appointed her and from which nobody can depose her. Moreover, she extended her competences because her husband can be considered a habitual criminal. Therefore, the penalties graduated. All servants, as well as her husband’s family (especially the male relatives), were afraid of her. In the end no one risked opposing her and no one helped her husband. Im Pang describes her using highly metaphorical language: “In her grandeur and sovereignty she resembled Tang Empress Wu<sup>39</sup> and she behaved towards her husband as the empress did towards her imperial husband Gaozong” (Im 2005, 445).

Despite her husband’s efforts, he cannot escape her; she is the law. His wife will not grant him a divorce because there are no grounds for it. Things culminate during a discussion held between the husband and his relatives and friends, who express sympathy for him, mixed with feelings of scorn, of course. Their confused proposals for how to deal with his wife demonstrate male impotence:

“According to the law the divorce is not possible.”<sup>40</sup>

“Nevertheless, is there really no other solution?” [...]

“The only way is to kill her. But to kill her, it just does not work.” [...]

They did not invent a plan. Finally, bachelor Sǒng said: “I have no chance!”

39 The Empress Wu, an imperial favourite who usurped the throne and reigned in China in 684–705. Because of her behaviour towards her husband as well as her character she was a symbol of the cruel and evil woman and wife throughout East Asia.

40 Divorce is possible only if one of the partners commits a wrong. For women, there were seven such wrongs, referred to as the *ch’ilch’ul*: infidelity, sterility, jealousy, thieving, disobedience, infectious illness, and chattiness. This woman meets none of these conditions; in fact, she takes care of her husband in the prescribed manner.

They sighed for a while and then they came away (Im 2005, 446).

Her power is demonstrated in extremely absurd ways. When her husband attempts escape for the second time, she—as always—comes for him, arriving in a palanquin that signifies her power, scolds everybody, and asks her husband to come out from hiding. She deems his helpers to be his accomplices, but she focuses only on her husband. In this way, she acts according to official prescriptions for dealing with criminals, and therefore he is allowed no hat, no official hairstyle, no official dress, and no other sign of his status: “Because he was an offender, she did not allow him to wear a hat, she horsed him backwards and escorted him to the capital. At home, she interrogates him and punished him according to the law.” (Im 2005, 446).

This story ends with her death and a second absurd scene, in which the husband—according to the law—arranges a funeral for her and even cries. His friends come to congratulate him, expecting a banquet and a celebration of his sudden freedom. This picture underlines not only his impotence but also the incompetence of the whole male community.

We also find a story about an uxorious man in an anecdote about the heroic General U.<sup>41</sup> Despite his official importance, General U was afraid of his wife. She punished him by cutting off his famous beard because he, as she saw it, had not properly fulfilled his official duties (he invited *kisaengs* onto his ship, where all the crew enjoyed their company). With the loss of his beard, he also lost his position. The censor decided to remove General U from his post because he, as a coward, was no longer qualified to defend his homeland (Im 2005, 446). The entire male community in the story is afraid of this woman: all the sailors try to flee the moment she jumps on the deck of their ship. Curiously, they obey her orders—nobody knows how to deal with the situation, and they let her do whatever she wants because she is competent, and it seems as if she represents supreme power. She is also the mirror image of her husband: she is physically fit (she takes a journey of one-hundred miles in one day) and independent, needing no help or assistance. She physically punishes her husband, whipping him, and finally disgraces him by cutting off his beard, a symbol of his manliness and his authority. Her punishment is purely personal in nature; she has no other justifications for it. She simply

41 During the rebellion in 1624, he saved the king. He is also known as one of the generals who fought against the Manchu in 1627 and 1636. Therefore, this story can be classified as a popular historical anecdote, in which the unofficial parts of someone's life are disclosed.

proclaims that she is angry and punishing her husband will help calm her down (Im 2005, 446).

The female characters were exaggerated to enhance the amusement of these tales. In reality, main wives did possess great power; Confucian ideals, however, distorted the situation and portrayed women as subordinate to men. Let us now examine the female characters in both of these stories. They are obliged to ensure that their husbands behave properly. Although manuals do not forbid *kisaengs* and idle amusement, they warn against indulging in such pleasures and recommend ways to avoid them. Therefore, General U's wife essentially acts in a proper manner. Söng Hachang's wife also takes care of her husband. He is prohibited from escaping and merely disappears without announcing the purpose and place of his sojourn. Moreover, the story does not mention his duties, but nonetheless, we can be assured that he had them and his wife brought him back so he could fulfil them.

Both wives wield relatively absolute power because the people around them have accepted it; if authority is accepted and practiced duly, it cannot be wrong. Nevertheless, according to Confucian principles, it is an absolute wrong when the male element loses its dominance and is replaced by the female. This state of affairs indicates an imbalance between *yin* and *yang*, just as in the above-mentioned story about the river whose waters flow backwards. In both stories the husband represents male incompetence, which evidently arises because the order of domination (*yang*) and subordination (*yin*) has been reversed. Both wives seem to be imperishable, victorious in every situation. Their competence is proven by the men's behaviour; their husbands do not protest when they are punished, escorted back to their homes, or even beaten. They accept and respect female dominance because they have experienced it their entire lives, starting in childhood when they were guided by their grandmothers and mothers.

Such stories are not only a specialty of Im Pang. If we look at Yu Mongin's *Öu yadam*, we find an anecdote featuring the universal character type of the uxorious man:

In ancient times, a general led an army of ten thousand soldiers and they encamped on a broad plain. The general divided them into an east and west part and on each side of the camp a pole was erected. A blue flag was erected in the east and a red flag in the west. Then, the general told his soldiers: "Who is afraid of his wife, go to the red flag.

Who is not afraid, go the blue one.” In a moment, ten thousand soldiers ran to the red flag. Only one man was standing under the blue flag. The general asked him the reason of his bravery. He replied: “My wife warned me: ‘When three men gather together, they are always blabbing about women. Do not enter such places!’ And now, ten thousand men are gathered on one place! I had no courage to oppose my wife’s words; therefore, I went to the blue flag.” (Yu 2003).

### *The Everlasting Narrative of the Faithful Woman*

The first Korean love stories were written by a few literati and recorded in chronicles during the Koryŏ. Since then this theme has been present in every anthology. The countless variety of love stories that end happily seems to compensate for the absence of real-life romantics. In these stereotypical stories, female protagonists are emphasized. They reflect Korean ideals of love that overcomes all obstacles and never ends tragically. Such stories are full of Korean sentiment and emotionality.<sup>42</sup>

Im Pang presents two love stories in the *Ch’ŏnyerok*. Both are relatively short in comparison with the later *kodae sosŏl*, but these narratives do not consist of just one episode as most *p’aesŏl* and *yadam* stories do. Therefore, they cannot be classified as anecdotes. They are proper novellas featuring separate sequences in which the author tells the story of a girl and a boy. The female protagonists of these novellas, Il T’ahong and Charan, are typical examples of the faithful wife or fiancée character type, which continued to have the same basic proposition until the end of the Chosŏn. Only the name of this character and the details of her life story change.

In both of these stories the plot is based on the social inequality between partners and is driven forward by the female protagonists’ activities. The protagonists play the role of wife, even though they recognize the fact that their social status prevents them from remaining the main wife forever and hence they view their position as temporary. Their complexity and perfection are balanced out by the imperfections of their male partners, who are immature, spoiled, and incapable of doing anything without them. These boys’ traits may be exaggerated,

42 Korean aesthetics refer frequently to *chŏng* 情, a term that Koreans still use today to explain their most typical emotion.

but they are not ridiculed; they are realistic and believable. The girls' low social status is made up for by their activities; they know what to do and they protect their "husbands" and help them to keep familial and social ties in the proper order. The boys' deviation from prescribed social norms is the result of their love and is temporary; for the girls, though, it means an opportunity to improve their status.

These stories begin with a fateful meeting between a boy and a girl; it is the girl who pursues a further relationship. What is initially a platonic relationship transforms into a secret liaison, in which the boy's role is almost passive. Therefore, it is usually she who has to plan, and deal with everyday issues revolving around the household, money, and so forth. She takes care of his career and his education and makes sure he prepares for the state exams, which finally socialize him. It is also she who initiates their separation, a risky move for her. During their time apart she maintains her chastity, the chastity of a wife.<sup>43</sup> A happy end is inevitable. The male protagonist rises in status, and he mentions the female protagonist's contribution to his success. Then the couple is reunited, and the heroine elevated to the position of main wife.

These characters can properly be identified as *kisaengs*, but only in the sense that they are trained in music and dance. Charan is twelve; T'ahong is very young, and it is mentioned that she is still a virgin. Charan is selected to live with the son of the local governor, who is of the same age, to prepare for life as his "wife." Their separation is caused by his parents; his family has to move to another position. Therefore, his parents ask him if he will be able to live without her. He proves his immaturity by stating "There is no difficulty; when she is before me, she is my everything, but when the time comes for me to start for home, she will be like a pair of worn shoes. Do not worry about me, please." (Im 2005, 420).

Some days later he begins to pine for her so strongly that he cannot overcome his feelings. He leaves everything immediately and goes to be with her, unprepared for any obstacles he may face and without any plan. The fate of his journey is obvious:

He was a son from a noble family, always dressed in silk and eating dainty fare. He had never in his life walked more than a few feet from his father's room. [...] He went stumbling along through the snow, making poor progress. Hungry, frozen nearly to

43 During this phase, typical for later prose, she faces not only danger, but also temptation, when she considers becoming the mistress of a mighty man.

death, he had never known such suffering before. His clothes were torn, and his face became worn and blackened till he looked like a goblin. He went, little by little, day after day, till at last, when a whole month had gone by, he reached P'yöngan (Im 2005, 422).

When he finally reaches her, he is unprepared for what follows next. Therefore, all the decisions are on her: she manages their escape, she pays for their house, she works, she ensures that he receives a proper education, and she buys him books. Finally, she sends him to the capital. His role is limited to fulfilling her requests. The story features a formulaic happy ending: the king reunites the family and elevates Charan to the status of “wife”, a motif found in other stories as well: “Charan, who shared your life in the lonely mountains, is not a common woman. Her plans for your restoration were the plans of a master hand. She is not a *kisaeng*. Let her be your lawful wife; let her be elevated to the equal rank with her husband, and let their children hold this status forever.” (Im 2005, 425).

In the other story Il T'ahong, the female protagonist, takes the initiative from the beginning. She arranges their meeting, she finds a place where they can live their temporary life together, she asks the boy to return home, and she imposes the conditions of their future reunion. Her arguments sound reasonable, and he is unable to oppose her:

I have sworn my soul to you, and it is forever. But you have your duties to think of your parents. [...] Let us separate just now, and I'll keep myself for you till the time when you win the first place at the state examination and have your three days of public rejoicing. Then we will meet once more. Let us make a compact never to be broken. So then, until you win your honours, do not think of me. Do not be anxious. I have a plan by which to hide myself away in safety. Be sure that on the day when you win your honours, we shall meet again. (Im 2005, 427).

After he meets her demands, becoming socialized in the process, they live a happy life together. Nonetheless, T'ahong manipulates him not only during her life but after death as well. For him, the best news is that he will die and see her again.

Both of Im Pang's stories are about true, innocent love that is possible because it emerges in the protagonists' childhoods, before they have any social experience. Although these stories are romantic and sentimental (as well as predictable), they also contain some didacticism. Both the girls behave according to Confucian prescriptions for women. Readers (men) could only dream about such women; in their reality, marriage was not a matter of individual choice. Although they might

have been dreamlike, these female characters were also realistic and believable due to their historicity.

These *kisaengs* are “professional” wives. Although being a *kisaeng* meant unusual freedom in meeting men, none of these women aimed to remain independent.<sup>44</sup> *Kisaengs* desired to become wives, whether a main wife or a lesser one. When they appear in stories, they are very active in their relationships and demonstrate their superiority. They overcome their low status by taking risks and enduring suffering. They could be considered proxy, temporary wives, who also serve as mother figures. Their undeniable beauty is revealed by the fact that they have been chosen voluntarily by the male protagonist. From the eighteenth century onwards such *kisaengs* represented an ideal type of women in Korean literature. In fact, the most famous Korean story is that of Ch’unhyang, the daughter of a *kisaeng*. Ch’unhyang is an extension of the characters in *p’aesöl* and *yadam* stories. This female protagonist must go through hardships and structural suffering to make up for her low status.

### Conclusions

Various literary traditions were established in medieval Korea, including certain narrative formulas and genres. Official historical literature developed a tradition of didactic literature that emphasized positive and negative models of behaviour that reflected real social ideals. Although it addressed all layers of society, its messages were especially aimed at families of noble origin. The voice of the author/narrator possessed an ultimate authority. The most frequent portraits of women focused on faithfulness and a daughter’s filial duty; hence propositions were established that were later developed in various ways and fully domesticated. These stories consisted of one episode; they were short, simple, understandable by all, and therefore instructive. In order to make female characters more authentic, they were historicized—they were given names and their stories were set in a certain time and place. Nevertheless, these seemingly historical characters were formulaic, and their features could be changed and updated to meet current needs. Hence the genre of fictitious biography was born, in which narratives ended

44 In fact, they were not so independent. They were socially and economically dependent on men.

with the main characters receiving rewards for their good behaviour or punishment for their bad behaviour. Thus official literature eventually transformed into the *kodae sosŏl* genre, in which ideals and models were reduced and protagonists represented only a function. The presence of a certain character type hinted at the plot in advance. The ideals of womanhood presented in official literature were intended for parents, who would transmit them to their daughters and daughters-in-law. If their daughters-in-law followed the prescriptions these stories contained, their husbands could live a harmonious life because no disharmony could arise.

At the same time unofficial stories from medieval Korea feature a distinctive literariness. They were intended for amusement and emphasized the attractive, the strange, the unbelievable, and the miraculous. Model characters in such stories did not function as just models. Although the protagonists had names and the plots were based in history, this custom was more or less a convention, the result of a contract between the author and reader. Moreover, the author played the role of witness, and therefore he needed to have his own point of view. He was more a narrator than an authority. Thus, a second popular tradition was established, one that avoided the biographical pattern. *P'aesŏls* and *yadams*, which were inspired by folktales, were originally read and distributed by the literati, but would later be adapted into more popular forms, such as folktales and drama, to meet the tastes of the majority of Koreans. Thus, a broader range of female characters emerged; they did not need to have didactic functions.

Biographical stories have to be instructive and present easy-to-follow models of behaviour. Anecdotes are meant to be amusing. Official literature leads to simplification and repetition; unofficial literature intends to recount something out of the ordinary. Therefore, model characters presented in official and unofficial literature differ because they serve different purposes and have different connections to reality. The models of official literature might be based in reality, but they are exaggerated and tend towards *universality*. Model characters are presented in different types of official literature. Biographies present the stories of exemplary individuals, the *naebun* genre concentrates on particular aspects of behaviour, and *haengsildo* stories tell people how to behave in specific situations. All of these forms are didactic, and therefore formulaic (although such conventionality is also essential for classifying genres). On the other hand, stories

for amusement tend towards variety. Nonetheless, a relatively stable inventory of protagonists was established. These characters, however, are far from exemplary.

The crucial difference between official and unofficial literature lies in the *relationship between the author and reader*. Official literature created an ideological tradition, that is, it established how things *have to be*. The reader is a passive consumer, neither involved in the story nor asked to communicate with the author. In the unofficial literature of the literati, however, the reader is asked to cooperate, to use his fantasy; these stories are about how things *should (also) be*.

As we anticipated, in both traditions female characters are formulaic. The formulas presented in official stories were more productive because this literature was used to indoctrinate state ideology and was therefore widely distributed. Many of the models it contains were present in every genre until the modern era. To some extent, the stereotypical faithful wife and filial daughter remain models of womanhood in today's postmodern Korea, even though Korean ideas about womanhood changed drastically during the first half of the twentieth century. In unofficial tales we also encounter formulaic characters, such as fairies, foxes and wild cats, prostitutes, and various types of evil women. These are also meant for male readers, but more or less as a temptation or a warning. As the not very frequent portrait of a violent wife is concerned, though we do not find her in modern literature, this character type mirrors the reality of modern-day Korean women. Therefore, today's Korean male-oriented society can only dream about proactive women such as Charan, T'ahong, and Ch'unhyang, who seem to have disappeared completely.

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Bucková, Martina et al. *Reflexia mytologických motívov v duchovnej a materiálnej kultúre národov Ázie, Afriky a Oceánie* [Reflection of mythological motifs in the spiritual and material culture of nations of Asia, Africa and Oceania]. Bratislava: Ústav orientalistiky SAV, Igor Ilit'-RádioPrint, 2019—272 pp. ISBN 978-80-89867-04-2

Jana Benická

Myths and legends are an essential part of the spiritual culture of any country in the world. It is a basis on which the literature is built that is sometimes a part of their religious beliefs; an essential basis not only for the everyday life behavior but also for the whole culture derived from mythology. The publication presents an excellent opportunity to know more about the mythology and related beliefs, and their influence on the visual arts or other aspects of material culture by Slovak and Czech orientalists.

In the first chapter, Lukáš Pecha, in “Političtí bohové a božskí politici. Náboženská politika ve starověké Mesopotamii” [Political gods and divine politics. Religion and policy in ancient Mesopotamia] (pp. 3–24), describes close relations between religion and the rulers in ancient Mesopotamia where political life was tightly connected with gods and goddesses, and the existence of their monarchy was considered to be created by gods. Some of the rulers were treated as descendants of the gods. The legitimacy of a ruler depended on the fact that he was set on the throne by a certain deity. The divine origin was not necessarily required, but some rulers were declared gods posthumously.

In the second chapter, Daniela Zhang Cziráková, in “Drak ako symbol čínskej národnej identity, jeho symbolika a zobrazovanie v čínskom umení, úvod do problematiky” [Dragon as a symbol of Chinese national identity, its symbolism and its image in Chinese art. An introduction] (pp. 25–59), presents the symbolism of dragon, its possible origin, and also holidays, folk traditions and festivals linked with this mythological creature, such as Dragon Boat Festival and dragon dances during the New Year's celebrations. The author points out that the belief in the real existence of dragons was very common at the beginning of the 20th century. Unlike in the West, dragons are mostly positive deities in China. It may be due to different attitude to nature and the lack of anthropocentrism in China, in comparison to the West. In some legends, ancient Chinese emperors are dragon's

descendants. Later, the dragon was considered as emperor's symbol in Chinese history. The author explains some restrictions which are applied in using dragon's image, caused by its exclusivity for the emperor. The study describes more in detail using the image of dragon in historical monuments in Beijing.

In "Renevant Bórei a jeho vítanie ako návštevníka marebito v ranom kabuki manuskriptov Okuni Sóši" [Renevant Bori and his Welcoming as a Visitor Marebito in the Early Kabuki Manuscripts of Okuni Soshi] (pp.60-77), Ivan Rumánek introduces the phenomenon *borei* (the ghost of a dead person) and *marebito* (visitor) in an early period of Japanese drama. Manuscripts of Okuni Soshi contain four dramas from the beginning of the 17th century. It is possible to observe the development of ancient Japanese drama and its transition from traditional no drama to kabuki drama in this chapter. The author displays the special characteristics of Japanese drama and then presents the manuscripts.

Next chapter is devoted to Chinese studies. Author Eubica Obuchová, in "Čínsky vesmírny program a mytologické názvoslovie" [Chinese space program and its mythological nomenclature] (pp. 78-111), explains the changes in Chinese spaceships and rockets. The space program in China has been connected with political propaganda, but during the 1990s, China changed the policy and started to use names of mythological heroes and myths connected with space, stars, and especially to the Moon. She explains the background of the new names, like for example, the name of the spaceship Shenzhou (Divine or a magic ship), and their connections to Chinese cultural heritage. Besides the names, she shortly presents the history of the Chinese space program linked with Chinese political propaganda.

A study of Zuzana Kubovčáková, "Zvieratá v japonských mýtoch a legendách" [Animals in Japanese myths and legends] (pp. 112-143), displays animal myths in ancient Japanese empire chronicles. The author presents selected myths and legends about gods, ghosts, and animals. She also explains the symbolic meanings of these animals, their relations with deities and humans, especially that of the snakes, which are very often mentioned in the whole Southeast Asian region, not only in the myths of early Japanese religion Shinto, but also in Buddhist legends. Snakes in Japanese legends are represented both as beneficial and harmful for people. She tries to explain the links between religious and political interpretations of the legends, and their influence on the inner world of ancient inhabitants of Japan.

Martina Bucková, in her "Mýtickí stavitelia v Polynézii. Analýza mýtov o 'trpasličích ľudoch'" [Mythical builders in Polynesia. An analysis of myths about

“dwarf people”] (pp.144–177), gives us an analysis of “dwarf people” in Polynesian myths. These people are believed to have built many stone buildings in the Hawaiian Islands. They were considered as mythological creatures until some skeletons were found in 2003 in Flores Island. According to Hawaiian myths, people called Menehune lived in the mountains, and it was a challenging task for other tribes to find them. They were well-known for their skills. In some myths, they were the first inhabitants of the islands; sometimes, they spoke other languages. The author mentions some hypotheses about their origin. She focuses on the myths and legends about their building skills, that in the legends they used to finish everything within one night. Some legends consider these people as the ancestors of Polynesians or mention marriages of love relationships between them and other tribes living on the islands.

In next chapter, “Egyptské hrošie božstvá a ich vzťah k božstvám a mytologickým postavám starovekého Orientu a východného Stredomoria” [Egyptian hippo deities and their relationship to the deities and mythological characters of the ancient Orient and Eastern Mediterranean] (pp. 178–215), Veronika Dubcová presents mythological hippo characters, which were very popular deities in the Pharaoh period of Egypt around 2000 B.C. E. These deities often appeared in other nearby cultural regions in the Near East, but also in Minoan and Mycenaean cultures. She takes a closer look on their features and their relations to other deities and demons in Near East cultures, their cross-cultural contacts and their interactions in ideology, mythology, iconography and other aspects of culture. The author describes their shapes, the changes in the deities, and their functions in the pantheon of different countries.

Alžbeta Szomolaiová, in “Džinovia v arabskej a islamskej mytológii a teológii” [The role of Jinn in Arabic and Islamic mythology and theology] (pp. 216–242), explains the existence of Jinn in Arabic myths as a belief in parallel universes. In Islamic countries, Jinn is an integral part of the beliefs in the spiritual world. The author traces the origin of Jinn from ancient times, its specific features, such as the ability to change its shape, and also immortality, which is somewhat questionable. In her study, she mentions the description of Jinn in Koran, in folk literature, and poetry. She explains that the common belief in Jinn was complicated to capture for the Western writers, for whom it was difficult to grasp its peculiarities.

In “Kult kiahní a iných nákazlivých chorôb u kaukazských národov” [Cult of smallpox and other contagious diseases in Caucasian nations] (pp. 243–254), Beata Čierniková presents an exciting phenomenon of dealing with contagious diseases

in Caucasian nations. Without vaccination, which was partially unknown in these regions, and isolation of the patients, the existence of contagious diseases transformed into a cult. There was a common belief that the disease smallpox was caused by the deity of smallpox. If someone got the symptoms of smallpox, the process of healing was particular. Caucasian nations considered the disease as the presence of the deity in the house. Therefore, they avoided showing sorrow or fear, and they tried to please the gods by giving them gifts, flowers, and performances of dancing and singing.

In the last chapter, Helena Hadvigová, in her study “Samsáry—hinduistické prechodové rituály. Výklad základných pojmov a popis jednotlivých rituálov v životnom cykle hinduistu” [Samsara—Hindu rites of passage. Explanation of basic terms and description of individual rituals in the life cycle of Hindus] (pp.225–268), describes samskara as a vital part of Hindu rituals tracing them from birth to death. Samskara can be translated into English as sacrament, and it can be characterized as a specific ritual. According to the author, there are about sixteen different kinds of samskara in Hinduism, with specific socio-cultural importance, changing the social status of an individual after every samskara. The last one is funeral, which she specifies more in detail.

The book explains the role of myths and legends in all the above-mentioned cultures, giving the readers a deeper understanding of the importance of mythology as a crucial non-material culture. Due to the representation of several regions, it is also possible to observe various intercultural intrusions or borrowings, and the changes in myths and mythological creatures in different historical periods. The material presented here is a valuable source not only for Slovak-speaking Slovak and Czech orientalists but also for religionists and everyone interested in history, culture and mythology of Near East and Far East countries. Unfortunately, there is no resume of the publication in English, or abstracts of the chapters in English, therefore, this interesting source can be hardly useful for people from other countries who do not understand Slovak.

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Tošikazu Kawaguči [Toshikazu Kawaguchi]. *Než vystydne káva* {*Kōbīga samenai uchini*}, translated by Ivona Barešová. Praha: Kniha Zlín, Albatros media a.s. 2019—192 pp. ISBN:9788074737695.

Lena Králiková Hashimoto

*Než vystydne káva* is a Czech translation of the name of the modern Japanese play *Kōbīga samenai uchini*, which premiered in 2010 and which was novelized in 2015 by the screenwriter and director of the play, Toshikazu Kawaguchi. The play was novelized thanks to the commitment and effort of an editor, one of the audience members, and it quickly became a bestseller in Japan. Two sequels have been published since then, and a movie based on this series was released in Japan in 2018. The information that this is a novelized version of the play is briefly mentioned at the end of the book both in the original Japanese version and in the Czech version. As a matter of fact, this makes the publication itself much more interesting as well as the story.

Previously, translations of Japanese plays mostly focused on classics from traditional Japanese performing arts. For example, Noh, Kabuki plays have been translated and introduced into Western society, while modern plays have been left behind. This situation has not been very different from even that in the Czech Republic, which has a strong theater culture and a long history of interest in Japanese theater. According to Petr Holy (*“Asagao” staged by Czech Avantgarde*, 2004), the first translation of a Japanese play into the Czech language was *Dvě japonská dramata: Terakoya—Asagao* in 1911 (Alois Hynek), translated from *Japanische Dramen Terakoya und Asagao* (Karl Florenz, 1900). Since then, there have been several translations and publications about Japanese plays in the Czech language. In Brno, there is even a theater called Theatre Kyogen (Divadlo Kjógen), where kyogen plays translated into Czech language have been played for almost two decades now. There has also been a strong connection between Czech and Japanese puppet theater. Despite these connections, modern Japanese plays have not been as popular as other genres. There were exceptions like Kobo Abe’s and Yukio Mishima’s plays, which were translated mostly at the end of 1990’s, even though they are not exactly “contemporary”. However, from this point of view, *Než vystydne káva* is quite a refreshing change.

The story revolves around café Funiculi funicla, which has one special seat. This coffee shop offers customers a chance to time travel, if they satisfy a number of complicated conditions. The novel consists of four chapters—The Lovers, The married couple, The sisters, and The mother and daughter—and it makes much more sense if seen as a play. Most of the scenes (scenography) are limited in the café, and a limited number of the characters repeatedly enter the scene (like actors in a play), which perhaps makes the translation work more challenging, especially when making a variation in characters and conversations, and also when describing their emotional or relationship changes by going back in time.

Ivona Barešová has done this job wonderfully. The Japanese language includes complex formal language (Keigo) and stereotypical speech (Yakuwarigo), which tell readers what a character's personality is like or offer suggestions about their relationship among their ages, genders or social status or personalities. Kawaguchi uses minimum stereotypical speech in his original text compared to other Japanese writers, but even so, these formal/informal languages and stereotypical speech play important role in describing what kind of relationship they have in the story. In the Czech language, as in many other European languages, gender is expressed grammatically, which may sometimes fail to capture the nuance in Japanese. To a certain extent, this can help a translator create various nuances between two genders, but it can become a problem in some other cases. For example, one of the main characters, Kazu, has a gender-neutral impression in the original (She speaks politely with minimum Yakuwarigo, also has a gender-free name). In the Czech translation, this must have been impossible to maintain, but Barešová, in general, succeeded in maintaining the original impressions of the characters. This may have been thanks to her knowledge and study of keigo, which is one of her main interests. Barešová has also authored publications about Japanese language spoken by younger generation (2012) and Japanese culture (2016). In addition to these, there are her latest studies about Japanese given names—which naturally relate to the gender study and sociology in Japan. Her translation shows her deep understanding of the Japanese language and communication.

Barešová also possesses remarkable ability to translate, showing the Japanese custom and terminology properly to Czech readers. Her translation is nicely balanced between the respect for the original text and cross-cultural replacement, considering the equivalent culture. Translators usually need to choose between two options: to be faithful to the original text or to make a change or add something for readers to understand more easily. It seems that Barešová found an

ideal compromise. A bare minimum of indispensable description has been added in a quite natural way. In some cases, Barešová chose to use simple words as equivalence to a specific terminology, and these words, for example architecture terminology, are replaced reasonably without any disturbance.

Her more decent way of translation is rather pleasing, unlike the ones where we recognize the tendency among the publishers to make it easier for the readers to understand in the first place, at any cost, which may often result in a lack of faithfulness to the original due to the radical changes. *Než vystydne káva* is a nice example of how translators and publishers should work on foreign titles.

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