THE STUDY OF ASIA – BETWEEN ANTIQUITY AND MODERNITY

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Book of abstracts

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Coffee Break Project

SOME INTRODUCTORY WORDS

After months of discussions, organizing efforts and sleepless nights, we proudly present the Third Edition of the Coffee Break Conference. For those of you who don't know yet who we are and why we are here, we will try to explain shortly why this project came to be. As to who we are, on our web site we describe us as "A group of young researchers who are variously linked to Asian texts, ideas, problems, languages, etc. but who have to do with methodologies elaborated in the Western world and who are mainly based in the West". The reasons why we gathered together for the third time are manifold, yet there is one which is the most important: to discuss about serious matters in a relaxed atmosphere, possibly while sipping a cup of good coffee. But what serious matters would we like to discuss about? As one can immediately notice from the conference program, the arguments and areas of research covered by the papers could hardly be more various and different, and range from translations techniques in antiquity to the recent trends in development studies. Although apparently unrelated, they share one very important common feature: all of them deal with Asian cultures—or if you prefer, with the Other. This fact has a first major consequence, namely the choice of the methodology and the attitude with which one should approach the study of different cultures—different in terms both of time and space.

Shortly, we hope that with our Coffee Breaks we managed to provide a friendly environment in which it should be possible to discuss ideas, even receiving harsh criticisms, but still without the feeling that these criticisms are bound to remain unheard.

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KINGS OF THE WILD: HINTS OF UNORTHODOX SOVEREIGNTY IN ANCIENT, MEDIEVAL, AND MODERN INDIA

Chair: Danila Cinellu

ABSTRACT OF THE PANEL

In recent decades, a good deal of ink has been spilt addressing the problem of authority in South Asia in unexpected ways, and one of the leading ideas is that transcendental authority pertains more to kingship than to *brahmanhood*. Without any shadow of doubt, the influence of Heesterman's work is an overarching topic insofar as it embraces several disciplines. Yet, the fact remains that disciplines like indology, history, and anthropology, are seldom united in the name of a line of research inspired by the idea that the royal transcendental authority is, first and foremost, a non-ideological residuum. The huge anthropological debate concerned with the rehearsal of J. G. Frazer and A. M. Hocart as forebears of the study of kingship from a religious point of view is a case in point for witnessing the many difficulties in unknotting the bond with strict sociologic rules.

The panel stems from the idea that the term "kingship" is, in itself, a scientific tool which can easily turn out to be a "controlling" device, since, more often than not, it prevents scholars from detecting aspects institutionally "out of control", nonetheless of vital importance for a deeper understanding of the emic representation of cultural meaning with specific respect to the construction and maintenance of authority.

Every paper presented here approaches, in some way or another, the problem of a liminal mode of being sovereigns, privileging a processual framework of analysis.

KINGSHIP AND "CONTRA-KINGS". SEARCHING FOR SOME HARMONY IN THE FRAZER-HOCARTIAN DEBATE

Danila Cinellu

ABSTRACT

It would be legitimate if the title of this paper suddenly recalls to the reader's mind two significant articles marking two important phases in the study of Indian society: A. Gould's "Priests and contra-priests" (1976) and D. Quigley's "Kingship and contra-priests" (1996). In the last two decades, no anthropologist of India has proved to be so sanguine like Quigley in marrying the cause of Geert's theory of the *exemplary centre*, thus playing a crucial role in the re-foundation of the anthropology of kingship as fundamentally based on the comparative method. Especially thanks to the appearance of *The Character of Kingship* (Quigley ed. 2005), whose more direct precedent is represented by *Kingship and the Kings* (Galey ed. 1990), any serious anthropologist is nowadays warmly invited to stop belittling J. G. Frazer's and A. M. Hocart's importance reclining on the prosaic excuse that their respective theoretical frameworks (evolutionism and diffusionism) are no longer tenable. This said, I hasten to emphasize that, by using the somewhat arcane compound term "contra-kings", it is not my intention to indulge in punning for the simple sake of anthropological continuity; not at least as far as the current dominant criteria of revisiting Frazer are concerned. Actually, I will set about the task of conjuring up some order from a state of the art which, despite its constituent objective of dialoguing with the eminent Sanskritist Jan Heesterman, still fails to acknowledge the obvious historical connection between Frazer and Hocart as Indo-Europeanists who broached the thorny subject of dual kingship

and rather betrays a "Durkheimian" totalizing bias in dealing with the "sacred".

Utterly subscribing to the assumption that the Frazerian case study of the *Rex Nemorensis* represents a touchstone in the anthropological study of kingship, I will start by illustrating that it is not the case which can easily substantiate the common proposition according to which the "sacred king" is the place articulating the social order. Against the intellectual fashion of seeing scapegoat kings almost anywhere, on the premise that the Latin "King of the Wood" was a warrior-priest (not a king in the etymological sense of the word), I will show the ignored fact that Hocart endeavoured to follow the Frazerian tracks in trying to come to terms specifically with Indian kingship as anciently split into two different domains. I think that these clarifications may be of some help for highlighting Heesterman's own adherence to the lines of research arranged by the otherwise unfairly misunderstood forefathers of the anthropology of *sacred* kingship. By exploiting the ring-composition device, my intention is to unravel one and only contention: namely that the undervalued theme of the *jungle kings* offers a means of crossing disciplines and uniting them—as the anthropologist B. Schnepel rightly points out—and, at the same time, links social anthropology to its own apparently quite unknown past. Therefore, I will briefly focus on the way Heesterman approaches the theme of the "sacred" in "King and Warrior" (which, incidentally, makes part of the influent collection *Kingship and the Kings*), by making of this same article a springboard for pushing back the argument to the Greco-Roman world and giving, thus, some more clue about the contribution of the *classicists of Cambridge* on mystical kingship.

Throughout a glance at the history of ideas, I will try, in sum, to establish some harmony in a debate somehow short in hermeneutical and exegetical coherence. I hope, in this way, to be capable of virtually re-uniting what anthropological progress obdurately intersperses: a common everlasting debt to the glorious group of the *classicists of Cambridge*, of which Frazer was part and Hocart an impenitent follower in times where the hailed "Malinowskian revolution" caused an alienation from historical concerns.

THE *VRĀTYAKAṆḌA*: A KIND OF JAINA ASCETICISM IN A VEDIC GARB?

Moreno Dore

ABSTRACT

The present paper cannot be considered as a report of a concluded research, rather it deals with an analytical proposal for a possible fresh approach to the well-known *Vrātya* problem. Nonetheless my next steps will depend on this. The starting point of this inquiry dates back to 2007, when I began focusing my attention on some details on the speculative horizon of the *Atharvaveda*. At the same time this inquiry of mine can be included in the general frame of a broader research in progress I am sharing with Dr. Tiziana Pontillo.

We aim at reconstructing the assumed ascetic and gnostic non-brahmanic pattern which might have been merely marginalized in Vedic and late Vedic Literature. Although this is not a new topic, since many Indologists have been analysing it for over a century, still considerable doubts exist around it. We do recognize as one of the most innovative as well as inspiring contributions, among many interesting and valuable others, the orthogenetic hypothesis promoted by Jan Heesterman since the early 60's. Nevertheless the meagre attention allotted to the *Atharvaveda* is quite disappointing. In fact in the *Vrātyakaṇḍa* (Book XV of the *Śaunakīya Atharvaveda*) we find a hybrid figure who, despite being praised as a god, is clearly an ascetic who sounds completely unrelated to the culture of the Vedic poets but partially matching with the better-known ascetic practices arisen from the so-called Greater Magadha area (Bronkhorst 2007).

Nevertheless since the features of extreme asceticism resulting from this specific AV-source discouraged me from comparing it with the middle way of Buddhism, I have been rather led to

this preliminary survey of the distinctive attributes of Jaina asceticism, in order to find some possible shared aspect. Therefore, my reconstruction of the *Vrātya*-asceticism will emerge either by contrast with the Vedic culture or by analogy with Mahāvīra's and Pārśva's teachings.

GODDESSES AND FERTILITY IN THE VEDIC PERIOD: LOOKING FOR STRATIFICATIONS

Elena Mucciarelli

ABSTRACT

The Sautrāmaṇī ritual embedded in the royal consecrations has some peculiarities which let scholars like Hillebrandt and Renou suggest that the core of Sautrāmaṇī might have its roots in a non-brahmanical tradition adopted and adapted into the big *śrauta* building.

One striking element is the liquid used to offer oblations, namely the *sūrā,* a kind of fermented liquid which is usually severely prohibited.

As also Malamoud has pointed out, the *sūrā* is the opposite of the *soma*, but it is also tightly bound to it: during the performance of the *Sautrāmaṇī*, which repeats the structure of a *soma*-offering, there is a clear intention to evoke the *soma* and in a few moments to substitute *sūrā* with it.

This two oblations seem to represent a *mithuna* and the fermented liquid stands for the woman.

Moreover, there are three gods playing a role both in the performance and on the mythological level: Indra, the Aśvin and Sarasvatī as a figure of Speech (*vāc*).

According to the *Saṃhitā* of the white *Yajurveda*, Sarasvatī uses her healing power on Indra in a very significant way: she makes him live again, and doing this she is his mother, as the cow is too, again a figure of *vāc*.

This small ritual gives an important hint on the role of fertility within the sacrifice. This element is even stronger in another important royal consecration, the *Aśvamedha*, where the wife of the king, the *mahiṣī,* is there to let the sexuality flows into the horse sacrifice at its apex.

Within the question for what might come from a non-brahmanical source among the material used to conjure up the ideal of sovereignty during the Kuru-Pañcāla dominance and in the later Vedic period, I start to wonder if semantic field of fertility might reveal us something about the different strata that merged in Vedic corpus.

Going back to *vāc* and Sarasvatī, the connection between the two is not to be found in the *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā*. Ludvik speculates that the overlapping between Speech and the Goddess is based on the connection with *dhī*, indeed the mainly riverine Goddess of the Ṛgvedic time was then the ruler of poetic inspiration or vision (*dhī*), often evoked as a cow. The imagery of the cow, shared by Sarasvatī, *dhī* and *vāc* as well as Aditi, the mother *par excellence*, seems to start an "hermeneutic vortex" that shades the chronological boundaries between the texts.

In this contribution I would like to propose some criteria to tackle a diachronic analysis that may lead to single out a development in the ideal of fertility or in the representation of it with regard to the royal power.

VIṢṆUVARDHANA, THE ROYAL PROPAGANDA AND THE GODDESS

Cristina Bignami

ABSTRACT

This contribution focuses on Viṣṇuvardhana's emerging sovereignty within the third decade of the XII century. Especially between the 1130 and the 1140, the Hoysaḷa king deployed different means of communication in order to strengthen his dynastical power and gain the autonomy. During these years a few royal rituals as *aśvamedha*, *tulāpuruṣa* and *hiraṇyagarbha* were performed in order to celebrate the military victories in the north of Karnāṭaka, in the Noḷambāvadi territories. Due to these victories the king will take the epithet of *Noḷambāvdigoṇḍa* 'hero of Noḷambāvadi', a term that is also to be found on the coins of the royal Mint.

Among the instruments of propaganda there is the construction of the royal *tīrhta* of Beḷūr; indeed this sacred building has a peculiarity that is worth analysing, namely the sculptural addition of the Madanikās. The iconographic choice to depict woman figures encircled in the arboreal vault and the inscriptions of the artists at the label of the monuments are the core of this work.

The method suggested by the historical-anthropological studies of Kulke, Schnepel and Derrett stressed the importance of contextualising the phenomenon of little kingdoms which played a big role along the medieval period; I decided to follow this approach within the research, in fact Karnāṭaka shares a similar development with other states of the Sub-Continent: emerging tribal dynasties turn in a short run into an empire. Although the dynamics of this process present many variations along the different states and periods, it is still possible to single out some common elements. Let us make some examples: the cult of the *kuladevati* turned into the royal family Goddess, the propagan-

da used by the king to diminish and control the external attacks from the neighbour kings; and finally, the construction of the royal temple as an important *tīrtha,* which is intended to make the cult of the king as strong and alive as that of the god.

Going back to the case-study of Karnāṭaka, we may see that the Madanikās of the Cennakeśava temple in Beḷūr trace back to the female subject of the Yakṣī. The connection between these two iconographies lies on the cult of Vāsantikā, *kuladevati* of the Hoysaḷa family. This Goddess is already present in the foundation legend of the dynasty, attested in the inscription n. 124 of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*: "By the boon of that Yakṣī the season being spring (*vasanta*), from the name of the season the king worshiped her as the goddess Vāsantikā". The connection between the king and the Goddess is also represented in the coins with the epithet *Noḷambāvdigoṇḍa*, where the two figures are punched together.

Within a propagandistic effort, the choice to let the artists sign their works and add information about their origin was clearly intended to show the extension of Viṣṇuvardhana control of the territory.

Indeed all the artists who wrote their origin came from the north of Karnāṭaka (Noḷambāvadi) where Hoysaḷa fought against Cāḷukya and their feudatories in order to weaken their empire and get at the hard core of Cāḷukya kingdom.

One element I would like to stress: Beḷūr, royal and religious *tīrtha,* was the nerve centre of Viṣṇuvardhana's policy which is embodied between the 1130 and the 1140 in the artistic, cultural and "royal" means of the Madanikās. Therefore, among many other levels of interpretation carried by these wonderful works of art, I would like include also the message of power and strength that the king allotted them.

CAN THE WORSHIP OF *NARASIṂHA*-MANTRA SERVE AS A CONVERTING CEREMONY?

Ewa Dębicka-Borek

ABSTRACT

Although the modern studies dealing with Indian modes of religious conversion concentrate mostly on the movements from Hinduism into Islam, Christianity or Buddhism, such practices seem to have been common also in the opposite way as well as between sectarian affiliations within Hinduism itself. In fact, the meaning of the term conversion changes in different contexts and, therefore, Robinson and Clarke in the *Introduction to Religious Conversion in India* (2003) propose to take into consideration two models of the practice: the first one while speaking about the conversion into Islam or Christianity as it appears to demand from its neophytes abandoning the old religion at once, and the second, regarding Hindu traditions, as being a *fluid process of changing affiliations of religious beliefs and traditions.* Yet, it seems that the latter model of conversion still comprises different types: while Orr (2000) and Bayly (1989) stress the common features shared by Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, but also Jainism and Buddhism within Tamil society during the Cola period and pre-eighteen century, Stietencron (2005), analyzing the chapter of *Somaśambupaddhati* entitled *Vratoddhāraviddhi*, which contains the rules for non-Śaivas willing to convert into Śaivism, shows that during the pre-Muslim period Śaivism should be perceived as an independent religion. Also Raman (2007), on the base of the 14th century Tamil hagiographical Vaiṣṇava texts, points to the strong religious boundaries between Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas leading to a public abandonment of Śaivism and becoming instead a Vaiṣṇava ascetic. Still, another facet of Indian conversion is the concept of Hinduization/Sanskritization understood as a gradu-

al incorporation of the aboriginal cults into the so called Great Tradition of Hindu community.

The aim of the paper is to consider the question whether the worship of Narasiṁha (Man-Lion) deity (*narasiṁhakalpa*) as described in one of the oldest texts of Vaiṣṇava *Pāñcarātra* tradition, i.e. *Sātvatasaṁhitā* (1st half of 9th century), might be interpreted as a converting ceremony. Unlike the *Śaiva-āgama* sources, there are probably no evident testimonies of converting ceremony within the *saṁhitā*s of *Pāñcarātra* apart from, as Raman argues (Raman 2007), the description of *pañcasaṁskāra* rite (*Īśvarasaṁhitā* 21. 283cd–325). In special circumstances the rite enabled a person to cross over from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism. Therefore, it might be significant that there is a traditional link between both texts, *Sātvatasaṁhitā* and *Īśvarasaṁhitā*: the latter is said to be a *vyākhyā* 'specific commentary' of the former one. Besides, I would like to draw the attention to the character of Narasiṁha since in spite of being primarily associated with Vaiṣṇavism, the deity is also recognized by Śaivas. Furthermore, the Man-Lion played a key role in the process of Hinduization of the Ceñcū tribe of Andhra Pradesh, the tribe which is nowadays allowed to worship the idol of its princess in one of the temples located in the area of Ahobilam, claiming to follow the *Pāñcarātra* mode of worship.

PAHARI *BHAKTI*: TOWARDS A HISTORY OF DEVOTIONAL VAISHNAVISM IN THE WEST HIMALAYAS

Arik Moran

ABSTRACT

The unlikely emergence of the remote Himalayan valley of Kullu as a centre of *bhakti* 'devotional' Vaishnavism c. 1650 has customarily been explained as a residual outcome of regional integration into the Mughal Empire. However, recent research on the role of ascetic movements in the political, social, military and economic history of early modern India suggests that the *bairagi sadhu*s behind this shift in religious orientation played a far greater part in the mountain kingdom's development than the mere "conversion" of its *raja* that is reported in local tradition. This lecture traces the development of *bairagi* involvement in Kullu to revise the customary account of state formation in the early modern West Himalayas. It shows that Vaishnava ascetics directly contributed to Kullu's development at various historical junctures and links these processes with different phases in the Ramanandi *sampraday*'s parallel evolution in north India. The acculturative processes that this entailed are also examined, demonstrating the multiple directions in which Kullu and Ramanandi lore influenced each other, including the adoption of Himalayan accounts in Vaishnava guise in contemporary Ramanandi texts.

AN INDIAN OLD MAN ADVISED A WESTERN RESEARCHER: ASK WHILE YOU ARE WALKING. DISCUSSION ON DEVELOPMENT STUDIES METHODOLOGIES

Chair: Barbara Benedetti · Paola Cagna

ABSTRACT OF THE PANEL

After 1945, Development Studies (DS) were promoted mainly based on a neo-colonialist discourse (Kothari 2005), despite its own main purpose is to improve existing living conditions. In the next decades, DS defined itself as an independent discipline among social sciences as a product of a specific political context (Harriss 2005). A main feature of DS is the political and economic relevance of development agents, such as international agencies or NGOs, as well as the political implications of development theories and practices. It is often argued that development industry (academia, international agencies, civil society organisations, etc...) presents continuities with colonialism, resulting in forms of neo-colonialism (Kothari 2005).

Further, DS have been analysing and understanding processes of social change, implications of policy interventions, and strategies to improve existing living conditions. Because of economic, political and cultural complexity of the subject, DS are nowadays a cross-cutting disciplinary field with considerable implications on the epistemological discourse. As other social sciences, DS consider the human being as the main research subject. However, this subject plays an active role all over the research process. Since human being is the research subject of the present research, the research should be based on the social interaction between researchers and research participants, which all are exposed to a process of change of their initial knowledge and assumptions.

This process consequently influences the whole research as well as the final knowledge.

Hence, how do we discuss about methodology in DS? Chambers (2005: 76) affirms that methodology is "a way to do things": DS should focus more on the purpose to improve existing living conditions rethinking the relationships with research subjects; DS should value research participants assuming that their contributions are precious in order to sparkle a change process of the status quo. As Chambers (2005) calls for, DS should create a self-critical epistemological awareness in order to going back on research process and to reflect on it. A contribution for such awareness in the process of knowledge production can be found in Haraway (1991), who introduces the idea of situated knowledges: in the real world there is more than one and unique truth, consequently, all knowledge is partial and contextual.

All these reflections are mainly the result of research fieldworks. During these experiences, the main question that researcher usually faces is the relation between her/him and the research participants. Both researcher and research participant are embedded in a no-neutral social relation: it is about identities, cultural and social backgrounds, and different purposes, which are entwining each other with a reciprocal influence. Consequently, the interaction researcher/research subject is embedded in power relations and the knowledge coming out from this process is always a product of such relations. Considering these relations is more important since participatory approaches have been highly promoted in the last two decades. Moreover, beyond the debate between advantages and disadvantages of using quantitative or qualitative methods, how does the development researcher interact with research subjects? How do researchers deal with the relation between power and knowledge? Can the researcher change the perspective on a specific phenomenon or subject? Or is her/his perspective on that subject always partial? In a context as the development knowledge industry so embedded in politics (establishing priorities and topics, allocating funds among sectors and regions), how development researchers choose which

topic/subject/region to explore? How does the specific position of the researcher as regards the research participants influence the final knowledge?

The purpose of the panel is a reflection process based on research fieldwork experiences that will address the above questions.

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CONVERSATION BETWEEN BOUNDARIES: SELF-CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON FIELD WORK

Barbara Benedetti · Barbara D'Ippolito

ABSTRACT

The paper is rooted on our PhD researches. More specifically we both conducted the field work for several months in two different so called "developing countries", in order to explore social change processes in rural contexts focusing on gender issues. Our main question was around: "how can the production of knowledges be tied explicitly to a material politics of social change favoring less privileged communities and places?" (Geiger & Nagar 2007: 2).

Development Studies (DS) deals with the complexities of development processes in instrumental role in political and practical commitments to improve men and women well-being in specific territories (Sumner & Tribe 2008).

DS provides conceptual frameworks sensitive to relevant socio-economic and political aspects by recognizing the need to keep into account features, concepts and tools from relevant ranges of disciplines. Moreover DS relates to these elements with scientific rigour in order to grasp complexity of issues in which "phenomena of different ontological status are interlinked" (Sumner & Tribe 2008: 752). Development Studies evolved into a multi- and inter-disciplinary field of study seeking to understand social, economic, political, technological and cultural aspects of social change, particularly in developing countries. DS also aims at contributing in solving social problems that both development and its absence may produce.

During our research processes we dealt with women's everyday life experiences as material and immaterial practices for reproduction of society as a whole.

DS is moreover characterized by normative and policy concerns. According to Chambers (2005) DS should create a self-critical epistemological awareness in order to reflect on research processes, afterwards. On the importance of reflecting upon the position of the researcher Rose (1997) suggests that this reflexivity should look both "inward" to the identity of the researcher, and "outward" in her relation to her research and what is described as "the wider world".

We also handled issues related to power relations between us and subjects of research (farmer women in particular) in our fieldwork. We definitely recognised concrete women's lived experience as both the key place of building knowledge in their society, and "the path that encircles dominant knowledge, where women's live experiences lied outside its circumference or huddled at the margin" (Hesser-Biber 2007). Consequently, during our research process we tried to consider a number of relevant issues emerged, which could be understood in terms of "boundaries" and engage a negotiation among them.

Feminist theories have constantly resisted to procedures of exclusion which are inherent to the disciplinary organization of knowledge, both because of the feminists' attention to women's contradictory social experiences" (De Vault 1996) and their key preoccupations of negotiating and making visible issues of power and positionality in the research process (Oakley, 1981; Haraway, 1991; Harding, 2004).

As feminist researchers we based our fieldworks on all of the above and we encountered evident limits in particular dealing with two key concepts within feminist research: setting common empowering objectives with women "investigated"; the political relevance of research for the subjectivities we worked with and our goal of transformative research.

In this paper we introduce the idea that it is possible to share objectives and aims into the research relationship only if disciplinary boundaries fall down by recognizing "the other" subjectivities on field therefore they earn the possibility and capability to speak for them self.

In this perspective we intend transdisciplinarity as the possibility to engage with other subjectivities and "speaking with them" at any step of research work. Without this idea of "knowledge co-production" is lack of the real possibility to transform reality.

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ASKING AND OBSERVING ALONG THE WAY, RESEARCHING MIGRANT INFORMAL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS IN INDIA

Valentina Prosperi

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses on a research fieldwork experience in India. The broader study is on labour in the informal economy—or unorganised sector—in India, because the data on the country are clear: about 92% of the Indian work force is employed outside the formal sector; 92% of the Indian labour force exposed to job/income insecurity, exploitation, violation of rights and absence of effective legal protection. The focus is on the construction sector, one of the fastest growing in the Indian economy.

The information presented in the paper has been gathered during repeated visits to industry relevant labour markets and to construction sites in major Indian cities. The research methods utilised include participatory observation, focus groups, interviews to key informants and structured interviews (questionnaires) to construction workers. A case study has been realised in Delhi, specifically in two work sites in the two main Universities, where public institutions have contracted construction work to private companies who employ largely migrant labour, including women. The fieldwork has been carried out between March 2008 and February 2009.

This paper concentrates on the methodological experience of research. It outlines the motivations of the researcher in the choice of the realm of investigation, possibly influenced by cultural and social backgrounds; it touches further upon research identity, discussing the position of a researcher in India as an outsider; it investigates the power relations between researcher and

research subject and the degree to which the latter participates in the research, touching upon the debate on the advantages and disadvantages of using qualitative or quantitative methods; and finally tries to explore how fieldwork data can produce knowledge and how eventually this can be used by the research participants or in their favour, but also the difficulties of the researcher in trying to do so.

The paper shows also the methodological challenges posed by researching in the realm of informal economy and trying to capture its internal logic; those are attributable to the diverse degrees of awareness of the actors involved, to the power dissemblance and to the interests protected by the very system of production.

CYBERNETIC SOURCES: THE HISTORICAL SCIENCES IN THE AGE OF DIGITIZATION

Chair: Mark Schneider

INSTEAD OF AN INTRODUCTION: SOME REMARKS ON DIGITIZATION WITH EAST-ASIAN WRITING SYSTEMS

The last one or two decades have seen a fair amount of ambitious digitization projects, not only in the Western hemisphere but also in parts of the world which seem far removed from the trodden paths of European and American historical, linguistic or codicological research. In this paper I want to call attention to the situation of digitization efforts in East Asia, where large projects have been accomplished almost unnoticed by the better part of the Western academic world. Notable examples are the digitization of the Chinese classics, or of the *Taishô Tripiṭaka*, a collection of the Chinese Buddhist canon and its Japanese commentaries.

Along with the usual, these projects have to fight with problems arising from the writing system. A logographic writing system, to use the most common term, poses its very own challenges to the task of digitizing a source, not the least among them encoding and font range. Other problems are of an institutional nature.

In my paper, I will concentrate mostly on Japan, with just a few casual remarks on the situation in China. First, I will talk about the more technical problems involved in processing historical sources produced on the basis of such a complex writing system. Then I will report on some factors obstructing or aiding large-scale digitization projects which are based in the peculiar structures of East Asian academic landscapes. I will proceed to introduce some concrete examples for such projects and the solutions they have found for the problems outlined before, and conclude with a general outlook.

<TITLE TYPE="ALT" XML:LANG="ENG">TEI AND CATALOGUING SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS</TITLE>[1]

Camillo A. Formigatti

ABSTRACT

Primary sources—be they literary, archaeological or of other nature—are the backbone of historical research, and the first crucial step of every scientific enterprise is their correct classification and description. Besides being carriers of texts (i.e. literary sources), manuscripts can also be looked at as archaeological artefacts belonging to the material culture of a given society. Among the primary sources they are thus a treasure of information for archaeologists, historians and literary scholars alike. Yet precisely their richness and complexity makes their evaluation and interpretation difficult. Manuscript catalogues provide very often a first clue on how to approach this task. The correct and accurate description of a manuscript includes a great deal of critical analysis, both of the text(s) it carries and of its material aspects. Moreover, a catalogue entry very often gives a first appraisal of the state of the art by means of a selected bibliography.

In the field of South Asian studies, manuscript catalogues played an even more important role. During the 19th century many European scholars travelled to the Indian subcontinent and to Central Asia in search of manuscripts of Sanskrit and

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[1]. As shown in the xml type attribute, this is only an alternative title for the paper. If you have any other preference as to the main title, please feel free to add it—but please, do not forget to tag it correctly, i.e. <title type="main" xml:lang="eng">[your title goes here]</title>.

Middle Indo-Aryan texts, very often working with the help of local Paṇḍits. In 1868 the Indian Government set out in an ambitious enterprise to compile a catalogue of all Sanskrit manuscripts in Indian and European libraries. It is thanks to reports and catalogues written by scholars who travelled through the whole of India collecting and buying manuscripts, and to catalogues of Indian manuscripts kept in European libraries that the knowledge of Sanskrit literature made a huge step forward. Many texts hitherto unknown—and many others that had been deemed lost—were discovered.

Unfortunately not all collections have been fully catalogued. The collections of South Asian manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library comprise Pali, Sinhala, Burmese, Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts. Only a small part of the Sanskrit manuscripts has been catalogued by Cecil Bendall in 1883. The Sanskrit Manuscripts Project, Cambridge is currently cataloguing all Sanskrit manuscripts in the collections with the aim of making their descriptions available to the scholarly community through a digital catalogue. Moreover, a significant portion of the holdings will be digitized and thus become accessible all over the world.

The present paper will investigate the advantages and shortcomings of a digital catalogue as compared with a traditional catalogue in book form. Particular attention will be devoted to the encoding of the information according to the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) standards. The highly hierarchical organization of the TEI schema for cataloguing manuscripts often forces cataloguers of South Asian manuscripts to put the relevant data in the Procrustean bed of categories developed for Western manuscripts. Yet a digital catalogue has many advantages over catalogues in book form. The second part of the paper will thus focus on aspects such as the digitization of manuscripts, the possibilities opened up by cross referencing information and the open character of digital texts. A short conclusion will be provided—or may be not, who knows? After all, digital texts are always an *in fieri* process, and so is this catalogue.

NATURAL LANGUAGE PROCESSING IN PHILOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Vanja Štefanec

ABSTRACT

The use of quantitative methodology is not a novelty in philological research. The information about the frequency of certain linguistic units or textual patterns and their distribution within a text or corpus has proven to be very useful by many scientists working with text. That information can be a very convincing argument when dealing with various questions which philologists often have to address, such as dating of the text, identifying textual layers, determining the authorship, determining the relation between different texts, composition strategies, etc. In the field of indological studies we could mention a few authors like Nabaneeta Sen, Daniel H. H. Ingalls or John Brockington who have very often employed this methodology in their research.

Without the use of information technology, all analyses could only be performed on a small sample of the text. The main assumption in this approach is that the selected sample adequately represents the population, i.e. the entire text or corpus of texts. The researcher then takes a certain risk by postulating that the parameters obtained from the sample are also valid for the entire population. The error of that assumption is negatively related to the sample size, which is, of course, limited by the amount of data that a human researcher can manually analyze in a reasonable time. Manual data analysis is not just costly and time-consuming; it is also an arduous job that requires a lot of concentration and focus. If the analysis is performed by more than one person, it is often complicated to ensure consistency between different people, and, if the amount of data is very large, it becomes difficult even for one person to be consistent throughout the entire anal-

ysis. The benefits of using a digital computer in that process are numerous. Not only that a computer is able to work considerably faster than a human, but it also maintains constant accuracy and consistency. It is only necessary to provide the data in some machine-readable format and to formalize the analysis in the form of an algorithm or a computer program.

Among the pioneers in the use of digital computers in philological research, we should definitely mention Barend A. A. van Nooten and Daniel H. H. Ingalls. Already in the 60's, van Nooten used a computer to analyze the prose sections of the *Ādiparvan* in the *Mahābhārata*, while Ingalls performed a metrical analysis of 14,000 verses from different parts of the *Mahābhārata* and *Buddhacarita* in the 70's. Considering the limited access to computers at that time and also the fact that all of the text had to be manually typed onto a punched tape and the programs/algorithms had to be purpose-made, their effort was certainly remarkable.

Nowadays, that process has become much more simple. First of all, there is no need to work with samples any more. On the one hand, our digital computers and grid infrastructures have enough processing power to analyze extremely large amounts of (textual) data, and on the other, owing to numerous digitizing projects, an enormous amount of texts has been made available in digital format. Analyzing entire texts instead of samples completely reduces the sampling error which makes the results of any philological research more accurate and more relevant. Moreover, the complexity of possible analyses that could be automated and applied to text also has increased substantially. In the beginnings of the automated text processing, the only analyses possible were at the level of a token, i.e. the form of a word appearing in the text. One of the few possible outputs was, for example, an automatically generated concordance, that is, a list of tokens with their corresponding co-text.

Today it is possible to perform not just simple text processing, but also very complex language analyses on all linguistic levels (phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic), while the

required linguistic knowledge is formalized and stored in a computational model. There are a number of available development environments (e.g. NooJ, NLTK, GATE, etc.) that are able to make use of these models and apply them on a text or a corpus. The most common output of such processing is the annotated text, i.e. text furnished with linguistic annotations that can be easily searched and subjected to statistical and distributional analyses.

And how can a researcher benefit from that kind of analysis? Here we shall give only a few examples. For instance, if the text is morphologically analyzed (that analysis usually includes lemmatization and morphosyntactic annotation), it becomes a trivial task to determine the size of its vocabulary, to search for a certain word in all its forms, as well as to identify possible loanwords or rare words. Also, text can be searched for words in a particular morphosyntactic form and thus, for example, metrical patterns of certain morphosyntactic categories could be determined.

In a syntactically analyzed text (that includes shallow and/or deep parsing) it is possible to search for particular syntactic structures and locate the segments containing rare or unusual structures. Moreover, one can examine whether certain structures are uniformly distributed throughout the text, as well as find syntactic correspondences between different texts. On the level of syntax it is also possible to find contingent traces of oral composition of the text.

If the text is semantically analyzed, it can be shown how certain concepts are lexicalized and how the lexicalization is related to other factors. Very advanced natural language processing systems can also automatically detect Proppian functions in the text.

In this paper we will show some state-of-the-art techniques and tools for natural language processing with a special emphasis on their application in philological research. We will explain how these tools are used on the example of the Indian epic *Rāmāyaṇa* and also describe how available resources can be used and employed in our own research.

PRESENTATION OF THE CESAR PROJECT

Vanja Štefanec

ABSTRACT

Human language technologies crucially depend on language resources and tools that are usable, useful and available. In the last decade linguistic resources have grown rapidly for all EU languages, including lesser-resourced ones. However, even where available, such tools and resources have been developed mostly in a sporadic manner, in response to specific project needs, with relatively little regard to their long-term sustainability, IPR status, interoperability, reusability in different contexts as well as to their potential deployment in multilingual applications.

Even where language resources and respective tools have been developed in sufficient quantity, they are difficult to deploy, because typically they have been idiosyncratically designed and are thus of a low interoperability level, which poses an obstacle to portability across languages, domains, and applications. It is difficult or, in many cases, impossible to get access to resources that are scattered around different places, are not accessible online, reside within research institutions and companies and exist as "hidden language resources", similar to the existence of the "hidden web".

High fragmentation and a lack of unified access to language resources are among key factors that hinder European innovation potential in language technology development and research. The CESAR project (CEntral and South-east europeAn Resources), in close harmony with META-NET and sensitive to the dynamics of community practices, intends to address this bottleneck by means of enhancing, upgrading, standardizing, and cross-linking a wide variety of language resources and tools, as well as making them accessible, thereby contributing to an open linguistic infrastructure.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS: SPACES AND CHARACTERS IN THE CURRENT ASIAN CONTEXT

Chair: Giacomo Tabacco

ABSTRACT OF THE PANEL

What social sciences (in particular anthropology) have to say about characters and society within the contemporary "post-post" Asian context?

And, to be more accurate, what kind of new interpretations scholars and researchers are able to propose about a changing framework that probably no longer fits a reductive post-modernist label?

In this panel, we wish to answer the mentioned questions, sharing participant observation findings and assessing new points of view. To do so, some key topics (or characters' common experiences) may be kept in mind:

1. *being young*; young generations leading role as society larger group with peculiar wishes, fears and limited agency;
2. *being a labourer*; the individual and public experience of unemployment, job-seeking, labour and retirement;
3. *being a migrant*; new bias in global migration, relocation to mega-towns and industrial areas phenomenon and life in an over-urbanized milieu;
4. *being part of the global market*; individual and "local" outcome of the macroeconomic crisis.

THE NOISE CONNECTION: EXPERIMENTAL MUSIC IN CHINA AS A NETWORKED SUBCULTURE

Gabriele de Seta

INTRODUCTION

The impressive economic development of the People's Republic of China is the object of ongoing debates. The debates are often focused on sociopolitical issues and sometimes overlook cultural phenomena that might help understand the big picture. In China, particularly amongst the youth, the growing interest for cultural consumption, paired with an increased freedom of production and dissemination of works of art, music, cinema and literature, has given rise to variegated trends and subcultures. Music is a fertile ground for the formation of subcultural communities, and is a domain open to multiple levels of analysis and interpretation. Given its recent appearance and peculiar features, I chose to focus my attention on the experimental music scene emerged in China during the past ten years.

One of the first live performances I attended in China was NOIShanghai X, the tenth installment of a series of experimental shows that has already been running for two years in Shanghai. The evening of the 4th of August 2007, a band called Torturing Nurse performed at the (now relocated) 696 Live Bar on Kunming Road. On the small stage Junky and Xu Cheng, the two core members of the project, were employing a mixed array of electronic and acoustic devices to produce an oversaturated, distorted and completely arhythmic and amelodic wall of noise—smashing a star-shaped electric guitar and repeatedly hitting their instruments in the course of the twenty-minute show. In front of the stage, standing on a plastic table and surrounded

by the engaged audience, two girls, Jia Die and Dr. Dildo—the first completely nude except for a red rope bondage, the second dressed as a sexy nurse—performed a sadomasochistic game involving hot wax.

Every time I introduce this kind of performance, apart from the disbelief regarding the possibility of its existence in "Communist China" (*sic*) and the clichéd *those-Asians-are-crazy* comments, the most common interpretation coming from a Western audience is that, through their use of loud noises, violence, pornography and confrontation, these performances must surely be extremely political and critical towards the Chinese government. But are they? I argue that this kind of generalization is too simplistic and eventually untenable, and I will explain my reasons through an ethnographic account of the subcultural community of experimental music in China.

There are different advantages in surveying experimental music in China: first, the community is small, relatively tightly knit and animated by an ongoing critical discourse; second, aural, visual and textual documentation is widely available and preserved on records, magazines and online pages; third, participant observation is encouraged by the frequency of the live shows, enriched by the possibility of interviewing musicians and audiences on the spot while also following their equally significant online activities. These factors facilitate the research work, endowing the collected data with a high degree of representativeness.

I present here a short summary of my research about the experimental music community in China. Great part of my observations were physically conducted in Shanghai, where I interacted with the community as a productive member, organizing events and collaborating with some musicians. Thanks to the highly mediatized character of this scene, I could also interview and follow musicians from other parts of China through social networks and file sharing services, just as their audience habitually does. With this paper I hope to show how a subcultural community can be the perfect gateway to analyze an array of issues about cultural production, dissemination and consumption in contemporary

China, as well as to question generalizing and Western-centric interpretations of these phenomena.

TEN YEARS OF NOISE

I broadly define experimental music as music that transgresses the conventional boundaries of time, space, harmony, narrative, instruments and identity. Experimentation has challenged the paradigms of composition, performance and listening in several occasions and different places. Since almost ten years, the People's Republic of China has also added its voice into the mix: during a decade of profound social and economical changes, a small experimental music scene has flourished in the Chinese underground culture.

The birth of the experimental scene, as both Groenewegen (2005: 26) and Karkowski and Yan (2007) point out, can be situated between the years 2003 and 2004, when various live events and record releases confirm the existence of a cohesive community. In July 2003, the Taiwanese record label Post Concrete publishes *China—The Sonic Avant-garde*, a double-CD compilation that represents the first comprehensive collection of experimental music in China. The Sounding Beijing Festival, organized by the sound artist Yao Dajuin in late 2003, and the first edition of the 2pi Festival, organized in Hangzhou in the same year by the guitarist Li Jianhong, are considered the first breakthrough events for Chinese experimental musicians. Since the first years of the decade, more and more artists have joined the fluctuating field of experimentation, enriching the lexicon of underground music in China with a wide-ranging array of sounds and innovations (de Seta 2011: 8–9).

EXPERIMENTAL MUSICIANS, NETWORKED LISTENERS

Almost ten years after the first festivals and records, the experimental music scene is established and prolific. It is a very small

community: the active musicians are less than one hundred, and just a few dozen are known by the majority of the audience. The audience itself is in the order of hundreds of fans and followers, a number confirmed by the extremely limited editions of CDs and tapes (often less than fifty copies), the number of spectators attending a concert (around thirty people), and the limited percentage of *Douban*[1] users that listen to experimental albums. Given its size and cohesiveness, the terms subculture and underground community are appropriate to describe the small-scale scene of experimental music in China.

As it is still the case with most of the musical subcultures in China (indie rock, punk, metal, hip hop, etc.) experimental musicians and audiences largely belong to the middle-class youth residing in urban areas: in terms of social status, they are not a marginal minority. What makes of these young urbanites a subculture is their shared musical background: the oldest pioneers, like Li Jianhong, Junky or Zhou Pei, came in contact with pop and rock music through *dakou* 'pirated' tapes and CDs in the mid-late eighties, then joined rock bands and contributed to the independent music scene, gradually shifting towards more experimental sounds; the youngest members, having approached music through the Internet, are a generation of "digital natives" (Prensky 2001: 1) that enjoy the same variety of *xiazai* 'downloaded' records available to any other listener worldwide. The activities of both generations of musicians reveal how the birth of the community is profoundly linked to productive networking practices: sharing records, setting up bands, organizing shows, publishing fanzines, creating websites, promoting interaction and discussion all contribute in shaping a cohesive community (Frith 1996: 64–65). The material shift from black market records and

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1. Launched in March 2005, *Douban* 豆瓣 'bean segment' is one of the major social network websites in China, providing an open database for user reviews and thematic discussion boards.

paper fanzines to MP3 files, the Internet and social media did just facilitate and reinforce these networking practices.

Without the fan magazines, the exchange of records, file sharing and message boards, a few hundred musicians and listeners scattered in dozens of cities populated by millions of people would hardly manage to bring together a cohesive community, let alone to reach an international audience or organize big events like the yearly MiniMidi or Sally Can't Dance Festivals. If artists performing an underground and unpopular music in small and peripheral venues for limited audiences get published on international record labels, tour abroad and organize yearly festivals, this is mainly thanks to the networking opportunities provided by the new media, and the interest of a segment of urban youth to employ them in the pursuit of identity and self-definition. Moreover, the fluid, distributed and inclusive nature of online-based networking provides both musicians and listeners with the possibility of playing an equally active role in their contribution to the community.

DESTROYING MEANING, CONSTRUCTING LANGUAGE

The majority of Chinese experimental musicians are college students or tertiary workers employed in fields often not related to music. Some have an educational background in arts, literature or design, but only a negligible percentage comes from musical studies or conservatories. They usually define the practice of experimental music as a hobby, not as a career, and are rarely interested in the academic world of sound art or *avant-garde* music. Their efforts aim to establish a self-sustaining community of production, dissemination and consumption able to function outside of the regular channels of conservatories and without the commercial superstructure of rock studios, labels and magazines. This will to organize a community might appear in contradiction with their noisy, excessive and confrontational performances, but it's not.

Many performances of experimental music feature provocative or unwelcome content, from the bondage scene described above to nudity, use of raw meat, self-violent behavior, destruction of objects and instruments, satirical costumes and, in general, an extreme use of loud noises as a purposeful act of disturbance. Cover arts and concert flyers often contain gruesome imagery, ironic appropriations of popular iconographies and absurdist montages. Band names and record titles also contribute to this universe of paradoxical excesses: Torturing Nurse, Radiocore Blowjob, Rice Corpse, Ultracocker Shocking, Dissociative Disorder and Horse Without Legs are just some examples. Yet this content is extremely heterogeneous in nature: experimental musicians do not develop a coherent aesthetic, but focus instead on a full-blown attack on meaning itself. Accepting every external attribution of meaning and nullify it in aural, visual and verbal noise is the main strategy that experimental musicians employ to escape meaning itself.

I argue that the extreme aesthetics and practices of experimental music are not examples of outright political intervention—and even when they occasionally are, the dissent and criticism are submerged in the constant noise of new records and concerts to the point of becoming parodies of themselves. The whole subculture does not develop around a coherent and organized political stance, preferring to exploit the networking possibilities of new media in order to experiment on new forms of communication and mobilization: destroying meaning to construct a language.

RECORDING POSSIBILITIES

The performance, production and consumption of experimental music in China reflect the desire for a subculture capable of sustaining itself outside the market paradigms of mass culture. Musicians and audiences make use the networking opportunities granted by the new media to challenge current meaning practices and experiment new regimes of language. Can the project of this urban, subcultural and experimental youth be deemed successful?

In terms of short-term achievements, it definitely succeeds in stimulating new dynamics in cultural production, dissemination and consumption. Musicians and audiences produce a constant flow of documentation (pictures, videos, reviews, recordings and discussions) that is uploaded on countless websites, shared throughout the community and automatically preserved as historicized group experience. In turn, the all-round mediatization granted by the new media (Auslander 2008:4) ensures the dissemination and the reproduction of performance practices and communal organization: the accumulation of multi-media documentation effectively legitimates the existence of the self-sustaining subculture, and at the same time testifies the possibility of a performance not subordinated to the mechanisms of stardom or the paradigms of musical education.

As for the a long-term project of constructing a new paradigm of language, the outcome is far from clear—yet I do believe that, in perspective, the apparently noisy and disorderly strategies could actually prove to be the most political ones.

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ADAT IN GAYONESE DISCOURSE AND PRACTICE: THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNIC IDENTITY IN INDONESIA

Sehat Ihsan Shadiqin

ABSTRACT

I will conduct my research in Gayo, a highland in Aceh Province, Indonesia. Gayo is an ethnic community that resides in three districts of Aceh: Central Aceh, Bener Meriah and Gayo Luwes. Gayonese calls those districts as *tanoh Gayo* 'the land of Gayo'. According to the population census of 2010 the population in those district accounts for 468.297 individuals. Commonly, people living in Gayo are farmers, working on cultivations of coffee, cacao and vegetables. Takengon, the main city on the highland, is 256 km from Banda Aceh, the capital of Aceh province.

My first fieldwork in Gayo was one year ago. I had been there for several months to live in a Gayo family house and learn Gayo language. When I interviewed Aman Guntur, a *tetuwe adat* 'leader of the *adat*', the latter being a custom or traditional community in Gayo, he said that nowadays Gayo people have lost their identities. It is indicated by less and less Gayo people using their own language, and by the youth becoming more accustomed and easily adapting to foreign cultures. The traditional arts are also less appreciated. Furthermore, he assumes that the Gayonese have left their local values which come from Islam and have succeeded in adopting Western culture. According to Aman Guntur, Gayo culture is the identity of the community and cannot be ignored. He also said that the best nations in the world are those who maintained their cultural identity. Therefore, Aman Guntur stated Gayonese natives have to return to the *adat* practiced by their ancestors long time ago.

The "back to *adat*" spirit in Indonesian ethnic communities has been expressed by different ethnic groups across Indonesia after President Suharto resignation in 1998. During his regime, Suharto, even acknowledging Indonesia as being a multi-cultural society, but at the same time he wanted to implement a unified national culture, using the Javanese culture as reference. Through regional government law (UU. No. 5 tahun 1974) and village government law (UU. No. 5 tahun 1979) Suharto has dismissed the *adat* governance system in Indonesia. Therefore after Suharto resignation, many ethnic communities in Indonesia demanded the right to implement *adat* in their regions. In 1999, the *adat* community established an organization called *Aliansi Masyarakat Adat Nusantara* (AMAN, Archipelagic Alliance of Adat Communities). The AMAN arranged a conference every four years to consolidate their vision. Last conference was held last April 2012 in Tobelo, North Halmahera. In every congress, the members of AMAN emphasize the importance of the *adat* community's sovereignty over their area, demanding the right to manage land and natural resources.

In Aceh province the movement has started to take place several years after the Suharto's regime (called *Orde Baru* 'New Order') collapsed and followed by *orde reformasi* 'reformation order'. In the early period of the reformation regime, a conflict between the Aceh Freedom Movement (GAM) and Indonesian Army happened in Aceh. The conflict finished after the Helsinki Peace Agreement between GAM and Indonesian Government in 2005. However, in 2001 the *adat* community established the *Jaringan Kekerabatan Masyarakat Adat* (JKMA, Adat Community Network) of Banda Aceh, which subsequently affiliated with the AMAN. Like another *adat* NGO in Indonesia, JKMA supports and encourages *adat* revitalization in Aceh—especially in *mukim*[1] governances—and the involvement of the *adat* community in the management of the forests. JKMA have branch offices across Aceh, as other local NGOs that support the "back to *adat*" campaign.

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1. *Mukim* is a unity of 7–10 villages under the sub-district region.

The *adat* movements are not only supported by the ethnic community and local NGO, but also by the government of Aceh. Aceh Government has established the *Majelis Adat Aceh* (MAA, Aceh Adat Council) to implement the idea of *adat* in governance. MAA published many books about the *adat* of Aceh. Trough these books they want to explain the *adat* terms that are less known by Achenese people. They created a version of *adat* according to their reading of Aceh's history and then tried to disseminate it throughout the community. The most popular ideas about *adat* are the *hukum adat* 'customary law' and *pengadilan adat* '*adat* court' one. They argue that the customary law will decrease most of the violence in society, and most of the criminal cases can be solved inside the community without the need for a formal court. To implement this idea MAA has campaigned the role of *imum mukim* '*mukim* leader' as an informal judge. The *mukim* should solve disputes, disharmony, and other cases that happen in the community. The MAA has supported the legalization of two *qanun* 'regional law in Aceh', namely the *Qanun Pembinaan Kehidupan Adat dan Adat Istiadat* (No. 9/2008), literally: 'law of *adat* life coaching', and *Qanun Lembaga Adat* (No. 10/2008), literally: 'law of *adat* Council'. Moreover, since 2010 the MAA has been promoting the *Qanun pemerintahan Gampong* 'law of village government' containing procedures for village governance based on the *adat* values of Aceh.

Now, let's observe two peculiarities of the Gayo context. First, like other "back to *adat*" movements across Indonesia, the Gayo community aspires and makes efforts to restore the role of *adat* in land ownership and governances. According to the Gayo *adat*, there is a *Sara kopat* system that is the collective government based on *adat* leader command. It is believed that the *Sara kopat* has been the genuine role model of government in Gayo history, so it has to be revitalized and redesigned for the contemporary context. However, Gayo is still a part of the Aceh administration, so the *Sara kopat* can be regarded as *mukim* like in other regions in Aceh. Second, taking into account the movements for the *adat* values, the *adat* movement in Gayo society makes an effort to popularize the traditional values in an appropriate modernized

version. The values regard rituals, social norms, history, language and art. The *adat* movement is also supported by young generations that campaign for it through the Internet.

Let us return to my interview with Aman Guntur. I argue that Aman Guntur's point of view regarding the importance of the "back to *adat*" movements is part of a broader "development of ethnic identity" bias in contemporary Indonesia. According to Tores (2006), ethnic identity is developed from the sharing of culture, religion, geography and language by individuals often connected by strong loyalty and kinship and proximity. Ethnic identity can be found in how people learn from rituals, symbols, and behavior that manifest themselves from underlying values, beliefs and assumptions. In the Soviet-era Eastern European context, national identity was based on local life in communities, which meant that group membership was grounded in feelings of kinship, collectivism and solidarity, and this prevented the formation of a civil nationalism (Greenfelt 1993). But the case of other nations like Russia shows how many citizens identify not only with their ethnic group, but also with the state and the region in which they live, even during a period of painful transition, and that self-identification is influenced to an increasing extent by concerns about civil rights and political freedoms (Kolossov 1999).

In the Indonesian context, development of ethnic identity through *adat* revitalization can be found in several publications. In the introduction to their volume, Davidson and Henley argue that "...the current interest in *adat* is not just a national offshoot of international discourse on indigenous right; nor are the form it has taken fully explained by the pressures experienced by the groups concerned during and after the New Order period. The revival also reflects a specifically Indonesian ideological tradition in which land, community and custom—rather than, say, blood, language, class, or the law of the state—provide the normative reference points for political struggles" (2007: 38). McCarthy (2005) argues that "the *adat* arrangements are constantly renegotiated. *Adat* customary orders are tied to local notions of identity and associated notions of appropriateness, and as such constitute

patterns of social ordering associated with both implicit deeply held social norms and more explicit rules. Considering the institutional pluralism characteristic of this area, this article concludes that, while the State and *adat* regimes often compete to control the direction of social change, they also constantly make accommodations, and in some respects need to be considered as mutually adjusting, intertwined orders".

In my research I want to analyze how the discourse about *adat* is developing in Gayo society, how the various actors explain *adat* and how *adat* could be a solution for the social problems in the Gayo community. More specific points of my work are still in the form of research questions:

1. What does "*adat* Gayo" mean in Gayonese mind? Who can describe "*adat* Gayo" in that term and why? Why Gayonese believe that "back to *adat*" is an important issue for the development of their community?
2. How Gayonese interpret their history, ritual, social norm, language and art in contrast with Western modernity?
3. What are the roles of each actor in the movement of *adat* Gayo?
4. How will the revitalization of *adat* Gayo contribute and relate to the politic development, human right and the contemporary democracy in Indonesia? What's the future of *adat* Gayo?

The Islamic thought and the *adat* Gayo have been studied by John Bowen in 1987 and are the subject of several books. Bowen has structured focused on how *adat* and Islam have been affecting one another in social public discourse as well as on how these points of view influence the development of a positive law in Indonesia. However, with the collapse of the New Order, there have been many changes in Indonesia, changes that also impacted on the *adat* society. Bowen (2003) briefly mentions the "rise of *adat* society" in the post-New Order Indonesia. He speaks of a "remapping *adat*" mechanism, where the Gayo have re-discussed the role of their culture

in modernity. The situation described by Bowen in his last book will be the starting point of my research; I will attempt to observe the discourse of Gayo in the lives of indigenous people in Indonesia. Colchester and Lohmann (1993) stated that the rise of *adat* society is often thought of as the continuation at sub-national level of an old tradition of anti-imperialism. Although in many senses the fluctuations in Gayo society are already described in the fore-mentioned research, the contemporary developments are still worth observing. Several actors continue arguing about the righteous and most relevant versions of *adat*, while the influence of outside interests, such as NGOs, personal interests influence the position of the government, companies and their position regarding *adat*. Hence, the original *adat* has become more and more exploitable due to the influence of many interests.

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SPEAKING OF SUCCESS: OVERWORK, MALAISES AND DREAMS AMONG A GROUP OF JAVANESE FACTORY LABOURERS

Giacomo Tabacco

INTRODUCTION

Last April, a British newspaper correspondent covered the topic of underpaid overtime at PT Panarub, an Indonesian Adidas major contractor (Marks 2012). The *militant* report exposed the very demanding corporation attitude as a result of the increased industrial demand for the London 2012 Olympics. The article itself shows a scenario that is neither unknown nor surprising; from media reports on Western and Asian workers to social science scientific surveys (as the pioneering one by Ong, 2000) factory work is currently a commonplace topic. Furthermore, as a result of the peculiar features of the present-day capitalism, labour formal and individual codification is often shared by different far-away Lilliputian levels. This leads to a severe awkwardness of anthropologists who need to critically work out their biased thoughts about a topic that is charged with moral considerations.

CORRODED INDIVIDUALS

In the present paper I am going to reassess some material I collected during my 2010 ethnographic fieldwork which took place within the same social milieu described by the mentioned article. To be more precise, I aim to give an anthropological diachronic interpretation of the job-seeking course, the working *present* and the desired future of three workers who, during the ethnography span, were holding a position as factory workers within the Grater

Jakarta area. Yet Indonesia, as long as other South East Asia countries (namely Malaysia, Cambodia, Vietnam and so on), is one of the top outsourcing destination. This makes the three present factory workers the very "sites" and "subjects" (as recently maintained by Silvia Vignato 2010: 151) of the post-modern flexibility or, with Sennett (1998), of the individuals' corrosion process. Now the fitting question is *why* and *how* the three present workers incarnate this *status quo* and also why they are of some anthropological interest. I will start with the description of the highly industrialized environment in which the labourers live. Tangerang, Cikarang and Bekasi are home of some of the largest national corporations of the garment, footwear, rubber, high-tech, chemical and food&beverages industry. Factories of this region produce goods both for the internal demand and for export. For instance, the majority of the people I interviewed has been hired by a local plant (PT Panarub) that assembles professional soccer shoes for the Adidas brand. Contrariwise, as a confirmation of the area's varied industrial nature, one of the three labourers I will focus on hereafter is part of a company producing clothes for the internal demand only.

It's very common among scientists who covered the Jakarta industrial neighbourhoods to pinpoint sites ugliness and life uneasiness in such an environment. Although after the first weeks of residential fieldwork within the labourers communities I arguably started to consider Tangerang and similar areas friendlier spaces than downtown Jakarta, there are no doubts *alienation* may be used as an effective descriptive key-work. First of all, I need to point out the hardness of everyday life because of over-crowded spaces (up to 6 residents may sleep in one shared room), shortage of running water, air pollution, lack of garbage collection, high temperatures during dry season and frequent flooding during wet months. Plus, in this urban hell it's really difficult to shift from a place to another (namely traveling from home to the factory, to a drugstore or to a clinic) as narrow roads are always too busy (or too flooded) when compared to the number of private and public vehicles.

SPEAKING OF WORK

The three present interlocutors (Encum, Tora and Suseng) easily narrate their own individual history as a job-related (or career-related) history. There is an often shared script that starts with the job-seeking stressing course and shifts to the though working present. Indeed, speaking of work is the preferential way to speak of the self and this happens as a result of some cultural peculiarities that I am unfolding further.

Encum, Tora and Suseng are three young Indonesians who belong to the *kampung* space I have just described.[1] They are also part of a sociocultural process I chose to name *Indonesian dream*, a mechanism that can fit all the workers on whom I focused my research. The mentioned labourers are Javanese natives (born and raised in a far-away province) who relocated to Jakarta seeking fortune. Like all other interviewed individuals, the three of them were lucky enough to succeed (completely or partially) in finding a worth job and in obtaining a guaranteed monthly wage. As predictable, the very attractive wellness condition my interlocutors aimed to is both economic and social. Factory work can actually ensure a 1.000.000 IDR monthly salary, allowing independence from their families and comparatively high purchasing power. In looking at the *new* social and material wealth, it is necessary to notice how money (and, more broadly, life in town) always activates a moral discourse. For instance, I recorded a sense of pride in Encum Tora, and Suseng because of their success in obtaining a fixed-term contract and for being worthy mothers or child. Somehow, the three young labourers incarnate what Sennett (1998: 20) calls the former capitalism model in which a thick bureaucratic net together with self-discipline (in short, working hard) leads to long-term and cumulative results. Contrariwise, no moral shame is shown for engaging in a contemporary (in contrast to the *kampung* level) activity as for

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1. *Kampung* is the Indonesian-Malay word for local community and suburb site.

the Ong's (2000: 187) neophyte factory women living the cultural drama of possession.

Encum, for example, is a skilled sewing worker who earns more than her husband and proudly gives a critical contribution to her 5-members family. Furthermore, a remunerative factory activity (unlike informal work and casual jobs) is quite prestigious and makes a person socially "richer". Let's just add an example about the fact men and women I met often wear their factory uniform even at night or during their spare time; this is, in my opinion, a good display of how proud they are of job position held and how glade they are to show neighbours and relatives their social achievements.

KEY TO SUCCESS

The key to enjoy all the *Indonesian dream* features (above all, the possibility to rent a house and to buy a motorbike) is to be a good factory worker, more precisely a well-behaved and strong employee. It's no surprise people I talk to show off their physical endurance to labour (often having 12-hour shifts), don't deal with factory working dangers and neglect prospective health problems.[2] Besides, in such an environment, illness itself is rightly seen by workers as an event that may ruin individual and family running. Even if interviewed laborers are covered by a limited welfare program, body disorders may always hazard their job and are often far too expensive to handle. A sick body is useless within the factory compound and in the sociocultural mechanism that made my interlocutors move to Jakarta.

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2. With Lyn Parker, I may add getting married and forming a family is the top life goal for Indonesian youths. Hard factory work and proper behavior are considered a good guarantee to fulfill the marriage and parenthood desires. For a in-deep description of Tangerang migration and work model see Warouw (2008).

The greater part of the labourers I spoke to are very young Indonesians who have never personally experienced serious illness and who are still able to overwork their bodies, with no care for their health. Basically, there is a practical reason for this since my contacts are in their early 30s and are still strong enough to work over-time almost daily. Plus, and this is a cultural motive, health (including diet) is not a big priority when compared to wages level and long-term contract attainment. The potential of getting sick or the risk of a work accident are seen as unrealistic possibilities and always come after the economic benefits of a factory work life. At this point, I wish to show up mentioned labourers are more flexible and less attached to a long-term contract than is often believed. Key to success, in the current capitalist scene, is not limited to body discipline; as rightly maintained by Warouw (2008) in his fresh survey about Tangeran, new key is being open to change (namely to dismissal). It is not coincidence my interlocutors picture themselves as the ones who make the final life decisions and, in their narrations, rarely use passive verbs, right like Sennett's corroded Western white collars (1998: 28).

FALLING APART

Nevertheless, a Bourdieuian sense of *malaise* is changing Encum's lifestyle while body sickness is jeopardizing Tora's and Suseng's *Indonesian dream*. The former woman (a 34-years-old mother of three children) has been suffering from severe articular pain for more than 10 years. Encum—who is an active union member—told me she is convinced her suffering is the result of an uncomfortable position at the factory sewing table, adding she needs to stay still for hours every day with short breaks. The Javanese woman is a very committed wife and mother who can't lose her job since the family budget depends on her salary. Furthermore, Encum cannot afford to take sick leaves that may end up in wage reduction or even in dismissal. The effective solution to keep on working is to use pain killers, namely drinking on a daily ba-

sis some *jamu* (a ginger based traditional medicine) and taking *Paracetamol* tablets when the suffering is more intense.

Tora is a young suffering woman (aged 28) who was forced to quit her job in a Japanese-owned high-tech firm. A severe accident at work ended in the amputation of four fingers from her right hand and made Tora handicapped. The employer refunded all the health care costs and provided a hand prosthesis but afterwards fired the woman. Tora is still unemployed and not entitled to a pension; furthermore, she's actually suffering from a social sickness as she regard herself as a mutilated, unattractive and failed migrant woman. During 2010, she was on demand of a pension trying to turn her unproductive body to a new source of gains.

Suseng (a 30-years single man) had been working bare feet at the tincture bay of a garments small firm for few months when he discovered his skin was literally burned by the chemicals. His story is then quite unique. He started as an obedient worker (who accepts an unsafe task in order to achieve factory workers lifestyle) and quickly became the leader of a group of colleagues who denounced bad working environment to employer. As a predictable results, all the complaining labourers were fired the moment they spoke out. At the time of my stay in Cikarang, Suseng was unemployed and waiting for a trial his supervisors are standing for unfair dismissal and declared to prefer to get money as a compensation than to risk his life as a factory worker.

CORE CONCLUSION

Encum, Tora and Suseng have been worthy *kampung* members because they managed to make capital out of their migration course and job quest. Besides they respond to current capitalism features by actively producing a world-view that enables them to narrate the post-modern fragmentation (made of competitive job seeking, dismissal real risks and demanding jobs). The text above attempts to unveil *why* and *how* these three characters are post-modern sites and subjects. I am suggesting here there is a

deep sense of malaise that shifts past the solely biological suffering, past the moral concerns of the *kampung* versus modernity fight Ong's daughters must face and past the encompassing labour ethics and same uniform wearing logic. Encum, Tora and Suseng, in picturing themselves as anti-*kampung* and anti-long-term-job heroes, end up suffering because of a constant sense of "falling from grace" and because their in-progress identity is in conflict with the (job) experience.

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CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN SOUTH ASIAN RELIGIONS

Chair: Serena Bindi

ABSTRACT OF THE PANEL

This panel will explore ways in which different religious discourses in South Asian settings deal with a number of contemporary issues and attempt to respond to a variety of social concerns. Current literature has brought much attention on how, by providing answers, formulating discourses and developing practices, religious traditions have historically dealt with a variety of social, medical and political issues emerging in both rural and urban settings. In South Asia, in the complexified current local landscape of globalization and transnational migrations of persons and ideas, religious leaders and movements have to deal with a large spectrum of "old and new" issues. Some of these issues, such as secularism and caste discrimination, do not have a recent origin. Nevertheless, they remain at the centre of contemporary religious discourse which keeps struggling to address them, often in ambiguous and complex ways.

Alongside these more "traditional" ones, new concerns have recently started to emerge together with the expansion of urban contexts and growingly modern lifestyles. The increase of poverty, advancements in technology, the emergence of new conflicts, environmental issues, the strengthening of wealth disparities, the laicization of society and the loss of faith all represent new challenges which need to be addressed by religious discourse.

We invite contributions which may adopt historical, anthropological, sociological and textual approaches to address the ways in which religious leaders and traditions come to be under strain in diverse urban and rural contexts in order to produce discourses which deal with old as well as emerging issues.

DO NOT ASK ABOUT CASTE. IF YOU LOVE GOD, YOU BELONG TO GOD

Daniela Bevilacqua

ABSTRACT

This speech wants to briefly introduce the main feature of the *Ramanandi sampradaya*, a Vaishnava group established by Ramananda in the 13th–14th century. Indeed Ramananda is said to have opened the *bhakti* to all people without considering their castes and their religious affiliation.

Considering the importance of caste system and the relevance of *varnashrama dharma* in Indian tradition, my purpose is to delineate the historical background in which this idea of an "open *bhakti*" spread in North India through the *Ramanandi sampradaya*, its meaning and consequences on a social level. Afterwards, I'll compare this information to some ethnographical data, results of my first fieldwork, to describe the contemporary situation. Nevertheless, these data are only a first attempt to analyse a more complex reality, which will be subject of my second fieldwork.

Hence, I will consider these main points:

1. The origin of the *sampradaya* with Ramananda and his perspective of the relation between caste and *bhakti*;
2. The systematization of the *sampradaya* during the 18th century;
3. The 20th century with Bhagavadacarya and the new emphasis on the social opening of the *sampradaya*;
4. Few considerations about the present situation.

"NOWADAYS GODS DO NOT ALWAYS HELP US". BELIEF, SKEPTICISM AND EXPLANATIONS FOR RITUAL'S FAILURES IN GARHWAL

Serena Bindi

ABSTRACT

Based on the observation and analysis of different kinds of healing rituals in the Central Himalayan Region of Garhwal (Uttarakhand), this talk examines the discourses and practices which social actors bring into play to justify and explain the occasional failure of ritual performances.

The main aim of the paper is to call attention to the fact that this way of reflecting and talking about ritual failures is a powerful means to protect the legitimacy of the local healing system. Moreover, by suggesting an "easy" solution against ritual failure (which consists in increasing one's belief in Gods) this reasoning offers a potent instrument to control the widespread cultural anxieties linked to the many uncertainties of a fast-changing context.

PAKISTAN, SECULARISM AND RELIGION: A SEMANTIC DILEMMA

Massimo Bon

ABSTRACT

In the recent history of Pakistan, the category of secularism has been assumed as in analogy with the concept of *ilhad*, and then with that of *ladiniyyat*; meaning, the first, 'deviation from the right path', while the second literally 'irreligiousness', although its semantic spectrum appears as being even much wider.

Based on both an analysis of some peculiar semantic implications of the Urdu homologue of the word "secularism" and on a series of vis-à-vis interviews conducted in Pakistan, the paper will focus on how different scholars, belonging to a variety of muslim schools of thought, perceive the concept of secularism often in distinct and even contrastive ways.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUES IN THE ASIATIC CULTURES

Chair: Artemij Keidan

ABSTRACT OF THE PANEL

For millennia, the humankind has continuously faced the issue of translation, especially because the instances of multilingualism have always been far more widespread—both historically and geographically—than one could imagine (on this point see Weinreich 1953). Still, translation never ceased to be a difficult task for translators. The present panel is devoted to the study of the problem of translation in general and particularly that of translation in the cultures of Asia. Oriental cultures are, unfortunately, often disregarded when the translation studies come into account. However, they offer many extremely interesting cases in such respect, first of all because of the extreme diversity of the somehow "exotic" oriental languages, in comparison to the so-called "Standard Average European" (as defined in Haspelmath 2001). In fact, the more different are the source and the target languages, the more difficult is the translation process. Furthermore, the most influential translation theorists—from St. Jerome to Eugene Nida—come from the European cultural milieu, which makes it very interesting trying to apply their theories to some very different facts and situations.

In the present panel we base our approach on the semiotic theory of the natural language, as it has been shaped in the last century, especially by such authors as F. de Saussure, L. Hjelmslev and others. The semiotic approach to translation studies, even though not very popular nowadays, offers the possibility to describe all the translation issues, in whatever language, from a unified and very promising viewpoint (cf. Stecconi 2004, mostly concerned with Ch. Peirce's semiotics). By accepting this approach, we will

be able to insert translation studies within a well-established and developed framework, which is that of the modern general linguistics, especially of the functionalist school, rooted in the ideas of de Saussure and aiming at the study of the linguistic diversity and the universal features of language.

TRANSLATION: THEORY AND PRACTICE

Many books have been published with this title, starting from the seminal work by Nida and Taber (1982). In our approach we prefer to put the practice first, and then to infer the theory: by "practice" we mean the eternal problem of the *difficulty* of the translation process; with "theory" we refer to the problem of *definition* of translation in general. Let us try, first of all, to understand the reasons why translation could be so difficult. We think that there are three such reasons.

Structural anisomorphism

First, languages are structurally different: they vary in unpredictable ways, due to the Saussurean *arbitrariness*. Particularly, the arbitrariness of the "meaning boundaries" is of great importance here: languages can have unpredictably different and mismatching lexical meanings, as well as incompatible grammatical values and categories. This means that not only do the words *sound* differently across languages (which is due to the Saussurean "meaning-to-signifier" arbitrariness), but also, more importantly, they are *anisomorphic* cross-linguistically. Lexical meanings are, so to say, *shaped* differently in different languages. A famous example of this is offered by L. Wittgenstein (1953). To a single German word *Spiel* correspond several different words in English, covering different subsets of the semantic area referred to by the German noun: *game* or *match* (e.g. in football) or *play* (e.g. in theatre) or even *gambling*. Obviously, each English word covers also some additional semantic areas that are not referred to by the German word. This means that the semantic boundaries of words'

meanings are shaped in an arbitrary way and are not easily comparable cross-linguistically.

The linguistic anisomorphism is attested also at higher levels than that of the words: not only do people use different words and grammatical constructions, but they also assume different, and often incompatible, linguistic "behaviours". For example, the speakers of Japanese and Korean, in the everyday speech, use many complicated strategies—not only grammatical but also lexical and pragmatical ones—to express various degrees of honourability while addressing other participants of the conversation. Obviously, this is not something *impossible* to express in an European language, but simply it is not *customary* for the Europeans to pay so much attention to this aspect of the reality: their linguistic habits are different.

Therefore, the whole process of linguistic communication is based on a set of arbitrary choices at every level of analysis. In most cases this makes the translation by a "parallel shift" quite impossible. Simply, speakers of different languages describe the real world in different, mutually incompatible ways.

Meta-semiotic diversity

A second problem for the translator is represented by what could be labelled as the "pervasive meaningfulness" (or "semioticity") of the linguistic communication. The best account of this phenomenon is offered by the semiotic theories of L. Hjelmslev (see Hjelmslev 1953; see also Badir 2006). He developed the conception of *meta-semiotics*, i.e. a semiotic system that "speaks" about another semiotic system. From Hjelmslev's point of view, in the footsteps of that of de Saussure, a semiotic system has a double-sided nature: it is constituted by a *plane of expression* and a *plane of content*. Now, the semiotic system as a whole can also become either the meaning or the expression of a meta-semiotic system. Let us exemplify this complicated theory with some concrete cases.

For a semiotic system to be the *expression* of a meta-semiotics means, simply, that the way we speak of something becomes mean-

ingful by itself. This is often called *connotation*. Thus, e.g. a slang sentence can mean the same thing (i.e. have the same *denotation*) of its standard English equivalent, but it will have a different connotation. In other words: the way it says what it says *means* something (for instance, a slang sentence might mean that the speaker comes from a lower social group). In order to find a translational equivalent for such a situation, the translator must re-create in the target text the same connotations of the source text, while maintaining its denotative meaning. This same kind of connotative meta-semiotics is to be observed in poetical or sacred texts: they have their proper denotative meaning, but also a connotative value (either aesthetic or sacred), deriving from a meta-semiotic interpretation of their own wording and sound. And all the poetry translators know how difficult could be the translation of a poem with the preservation of the original metrics, rhymes and strophes.

In the opposite case, a semiotics may become the *content* of a meta-semiotics. Generally, whatever "speaking about the speech" belongs to this kind of meta-semiotics that Hjelmslev termed *denotative meta-semiotics.* The most obvious instance of such phenomenon is represented by texts on grammar and linguistics. When we describe a language linguistically, we actually do a meta-semiotic operation, since the *content* of our discourse is, in itself, a semiotic system (i.e. a language).

Informational asymmetry

Another factor that makes texts difficult to translate depends on the intimate nature of the linguistic communication as a process. We must bear in mind that human communication is additive: in order to understand each other we have to share a *huge* amount of pre-existing information so that we could easily and successfully add *small* pieces of information upon it. Bare sentences in isolation could be, and often are, totally incomprehensible, although being perfectly grammatical, if we ignore the presupposed information. Each sentence develops some theme or topic that all the speakers belonging to the communicative situation are supposed to already know. Such knowledge may come from different

sources. First, some information comes from our physiology: we know some data by our nature, i.e. because of the inner structure of our body and mind. This information could be considered universally acquired by all the speakers, but different languages might lexicalise and/or grammaticalise it in different ways. Thus, the awareness of the body parts, the cardinal directions, the basic perceptual schemes belong to a common mental background shared by all the humans. According to the theorists of the cognitivist approach to linguistics, "human language and thought are structured by, and bound to, an embodied experience" (Lakoff & Johnson 1999: 233).

Moreover, most importantly, there is the culturally acquired information, from which most of the conversational implicatures theorised by Grice are determined. Language is (also) a behaviour, so that the speakers must know the rules of "how to behave" linguistically, and Gricean implicatures are such rules. More generally, the linguistic communication supposes that the addressee of the message (or text) is provided with the same bulk of culturally acquired information and knowledge background as the speaker.

Finally, a very important part of information comes from the situational context of the conversation (or narration). Speakers are able to capture some notions from the direct observation of the communicative circuit. Such notions could be either structural (e.g., participants of the discourse) or occasional (e.g., referred objects and their properties).

WHAT IS A TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

The complete and perfect comprehension of a text implies the comprehension of all of the above-mentioned semiotic levels. The basic literal meaning of the words is only the tip of an iceberg: meta-semiotic connotations, presuppositions and implicatures are supposed to be correctly understandable by the community of speakers to which the text is addressed. The translation, therefore, could be defined as an "adaptation of the source text to a

different target community of speakers, conserving as far as possible the semiotic and informational complexity of the source text". Note that according this definition also a commentary of an ancient text in a modern fashion becomes a translation. Thus, a modern commentator of Homer makes his poems understandable to a target of readers different from the audience to which Homeric poems were originally addressed.

A perfect translation is impossible, since the source text is always an extremely intricate conglomerate of linguistic and cultural structures, that usually cannot be conserved in their entirety in the target text. During the translation process, the translator faces three kinds of problems.

1. First, he has to resolve the structural incompatibilities between source and target languages (preserving as much as possible the original grammatical and lexical information).
2. Then comes the meta-semiotic analysis: all the meaningful semiotic levels of the source text must be identified; such levels have to be ordered hierarchically; the foremost level—i.e. the one that the author of the source text intended as primary—is to be individuated.
3. Finally, the cultural and informational background presupposed by the source text must be made available to the reader of the target text.

At the end the translator has to make some choices: he has to select the most prominent communicative content of the source text, and try to preserve it in the translation, while some other features of the original text are necessarily lost. It is important not to mistake the selection of such prominent levels. An example of an overestimation of a secondary level is the one offered by E. Ionesco's *La leçon*: "[...] pour le mot *Italie*, en français nous avons le mot *France* qui en est la traduction exacte". The comic effect here is provided by the exaggeration of the presuppositional structure of the source text in spite of its literal meaning.

When it comes to decide which semiotic level to translate and which one to ignore, the decision might be "political". Thus, the decision of Jerome to translate *sensum de sensu* 'meaning by meaning' instead of *verbum e verbo* 'word by word' was purely a political one: for some extra-linguistic reasons (see Marti 1974) he gave up re-creating the exact wording of the source text (the Bible), thus sacrificing its possible sacred connotations, in order to improve the translation of the denotative content, because preserving both of these features seemed impossible.

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude we have to define the notion of the *translation technique*, which is the main concern of the present panel. A translation technique is, therefore, to be understood as a "procedure aiming at translating more than one semiotic level of the source text at once". The more sophisticated is the technique, the less footnotes and translator's comments are needed in the target text.

The papers of this panels are, then, devoted to the analysis of such techniques in the Asiatic cultures both of the past and also of the modern times. The translators who are under consideration here mostly belong to a pre-theoretical period, when nothing similar to the present approach to the theory of translation existed. But the solutions of the translation problem have been always quite similar, which is what we aim to demonstrate in our panel.

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THE MOST ANCIENT TRANSLATIONS: THE CASE OF MESOPOTAMIA

Stefano Seminara

ABSTRACT

Starting from the 2nd millennium (i.e. from the so-called Old Babylonian period), the Mesopotamian culture represents a particular situation of bilingualism, defined by J. S. Cooper (1969) "literary bilingualism": on the one hand Babylonian (or Akkadian) is the spoken and written language, on the other hand Sumerian is the medium of the learned ("academic") and religious communication. During the Old Babylonian period the ancient works of the Sumerian literature started being translated into Akkadian. The aim of this paper is to investigate the Babylonian science of translation.

The Babylonians did not leave a manual of translation technique, but it is likely that the teaching of the translation technique was entrusted to the school apprenticeship and therefore transmitted only through the verbal channel. The rare evidence of a Babylonian theory of the translation is documented only in a scholastic and rather obscure text: the so-called *Examination text A* where, at line 20, one of the most important principles of the Babylonian theory of translation is exposed. Here Sumerian is said to be a "mirror" (Akkadian *tamšīlu*) of the Akkadian language. This means that a relation of symmetry was supposed to exist between the two languages. On the contrary, two rather obscure terms—*pūhtu* (literally 'substitute, exchange object') and *egirtu* (probably from *egēru* 'to twist, to be or become twisted')—seem to relate to other types of translation equivalence: linear the former, oblique the latter.

Symmetry is the key to the comprehension not only of the Mesopotamian representation of the world, but of any aspect of

reality as well, including translation and any other science. From the Babylonian point of view, the cosmos consists of a series of layers (principally two: the heavenly and the earthly one, in other words macrocosm and microcosm), one perfectly corresponding to the other. It is on the ground of this conception that the most important Mesopotamian science was justified: the divination, which is nothing but the search of connections between phenomena occurring at different layers of the reality. If everything was a sign to be interpreted, the first sign was the writing sign, which due to its origins contained a set of different (sometimes contrasting) meanings, all of them possibly true. That is why the conversion of a text from Sumerian into Akkadian is to be intended as a sort of interpretation of the inner core, of the real sense of the text (and one which excludes all the other possible interpretations), rather than a proper translation. On this ground it is not difficult to understand that the Sumerian word for translation (*inim-bal*, literally 'to turn the word') could designate the divination and any passage from one code to another as well.

That is why so little attention was paid not only to the exact correspondence between the sense of the original and the translation, but also to the internal coherence of the target text.

On the ground of these principles, a science of translation was set up, with its own system of rules.

Symmetry is the most important rule of translation. On one hand, it depends upon the interlinear format of these texts (generally Sumerian version above, Akkadian version below). On the other hand, it is evident that the search of symmetry between the two versions was one of the principles of translation. It is not by chance that in *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, a mythological (or epic) text (edited by S. Cohen 1973, and more recently by C. Mittermayer 2009), Sumerian and Akkadian are taken together and labelled as *lišān mithurti* 'language of the correspondence', implying that this is a single language with two different aspects. (In similar terms, Nabû, the god of the scribal art, is called *sāniq mithurti* 'the one who takes care of the correspondence' in the same text.) Due to this search of symmetry, it can happen that ei-

ther the Sumerian or the Akkadian version sound almost illegible or unnatural. As a result of this process, many lexical or semantic calques are to be found in these texts.

Another important device is the translation through homophony. From the Babylonian point of view, if two names are homophones, they must have also a substantial affinity, which is the base of the translation through homophony. Therefore, if the Sumerian words A and B are homophones and C and D are their respective equivalences, A can be translated with D and, consequently, B with C. In this process of translation there is no clear distinction between phonetics and semantics.

As every cuneiform sign includes a series of meanings, many translations are possible. On this ground, another rule of translation is provided, which we could call alternative translation. Due to this principle, it can happen that to a sign or to a verse of the Sumerian version correspond two different translations in the Akkadian text.

Sometimes the translation is ideologically "adjusted": among the many possible meanings of the cuneiform sign, the scribe chooses the only translation which fits into the theological and cultural sensibility of the "target context". The most typical case is the reduction of the naturalistic aspects of the Sumerian pantheon through a translation (actually a new text) which underlines the dignity and majesty of the gods.

In synthesis the Akkadian version of a Sumerian text was not conceived as a support to the comprehension of the source text and the aim of the Babylonian translator seems rather to be that of using his own knowledge of the Sumerian to achieve sophisticated interpretations of the source text: the new interpretation of the original sense usually adjusted the ancient (Sumerian) text to the theological and ideological conceptions of the 1st Millennium. The knowledge of Sumerian was a starting point, not a final one.

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STUDY OF THE DIFFERENT TOCHARIAN VERSIONS OF THE SANSKRIT *UDĀNAVARGA*: TRANSLATION VS. ADAPTATION?

Fanny Meunier

INTRODUCTION

Most of the languages of Buddhism are languages used in translations and often designed for translations, since the Buddha Śākyamuni, according to the traditional account, had authorized the diffusion of his doctrine in different languages. Among the languages of Buddhism in Central Asia, Tocharian made a link in the transmission of Buddhist texts from India to the Far East between the 4th and 8th centuries. Buddhist Tocharian texts are often identified as target texts of an original Middle Indian or Sanskrit text. Furthermore, the same original texts are sometimes also identified as source texts of a Khotanese, Sogdian, Turkish, Tibetan or Chinese adaptation or translation. "Tocharian" is the name given to two languages very close and however different, Tocharian A (Toch. A) and Tocharian B (Toch. B), that we know from manuscripts discovered in Buddhist sites found in oases along the northern border of the Taklamakan desert, in the Tarim basin (now part of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China).

Several Buddhist texts, canonical as well as non canonical, have been identified in Tocharian translations. I chose to study the Tocharian versions of the Sanskrit *Udānavarga,* one of the most popular Buddhist texts in the Tarim Basin during the first millennium CE. The Sanskrit text is well established by a large number of manuscripts. In addition, this text is known in both Tocharian A and B, and also in prose as well as in verse. It can be linked with its original Sanskrit text, even sometimes in bilin-

gual manuscripts, and with other target *Udānavarga* texts in other languages of Buddhism such as Tibetan or Chinese. Its contents corresponds more or less to the Pāli *Dhammapadas,* made of 423 stanzas distributed into 26 chapters, including *inter alia* an other collection of stanzas from the same Pāli canon, just called *Udāna* (8 chapters of 10 stanzas). The *Udānavarga* finally contains more than 900 stanzas (in *śloka*), and its title means "*Udāna* in chapters" even if it is made of *Udāna* just for one eleventh. This new collection has been made by the *Sarvāstivādin* school, late enough to let it be attributed—right or wrong—to an identified "author", Dharmatrāta.

The *Udānavarga* has been preceded in Central Asia by the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada,* of which a new manuscript, dated approximately in the first half of the 1st century AD, has been recently edited from the fragments of the British Library (Lentz 2003). Around the 3rd–4th centuries we know two versions of the *Udānavarga* proper: a Gāndhārī one, in Kharoṣṭhī script, and the Subashi version, partially sanskritized from an original Gāndhārī tradition. This text represents one of the first attempts of sanskritisation made in Central Asia, trying nevertheless to keep as much as possible the Middle Indian phraseology and prosody (cf. Nakatani 1984). This first translation choice is relevant: the "how it is said" was as important as the "what is said".

As early as the 4th century AD, it seems that the *Udānavarga* has enjoyed a very wide diffusion in the Tarim basin, then in Tibet and China. We will focus on texts found around the city of Kucha, that included an Indian version of the *Udānavarga* perfectly sanskritised (edited by Bernhard 1965–1968), and an important Tocharian version, known especially in B but also in A, even if the fragments in the latter language are less numerous. In Tocharian actually the *Udānavarga* appears in different shapes: first as an autonomous text, in prose, in bilingual Sanskrit/Tocharian manuscripts or only Tocharian manuscripts; stanzas from the *Udānavarga* are also quoted in various Tocharian narrative or didactic texts. Then the *Udānavarga* has been subject to a commentary (according to the Pāli *aṭṭhakathā* genre), bearing the

title *Udānālaṅkāra* "Adornment to the Udāna", in which individual stanzas, or series of stanzas from the *Udānavarga* are quoted in translation, commented and attached to some episodes of the Buddha legend which gave rise to their enunciation. This text is totally written in verse and divided into chapters, each of them in a different metre. The *Udānālaṅkāra* is known from quite an important number of manuscripts in Toch. B (see for instance Sieg & Siegling 1949; and also the pieces published by Lévi 1933), but from some fragments only in Toch. A (cf. Sieg & Siegling 1933). Its title is known in Tocharian B as *Udānālaṅkāra* and the colophons of some chapters attribute it to a certain Dharmasoma. Until now, this title and this author remain unknown in the Buddhist Sanskrit literature. The colophons I mentioned do not say whether or not it was translated from Sanskrit. As Tocharian monks were usually given Sanskrit names, it is not definitely sure that Dharmasoma were an Indian monk, a missionary who would have come to the Tarim basin and thus have translated an original Sanskrit text for his auditors.[1] We can also imagine that the writer has taken as a basis the Tocharian version of the *Udānavarga* and has composed "around" it a commentary in the Indian way. The metre of the commentary and of the quotations of the *Udānavarga* follow the Tocharian system, which is different from the Sanskrit system. The writer was definitely well-acquainted with both Tocharian and Sanskrit. As far as we can tell from the available texts, the Tocharian commentary differs from the Tibetan commentary of the *Udānavarga.*

Since the Tocharian manuscripts are fragmentary, we do not have a full version of the *Udānavarga* either in Toch. A or Toch. B. Exceptionally we can compare the A version to the B version of the same stanzas. I built the corpus of this study from the text samples given by G.-J. Pinault in his textbook of Tocharian (Pinault 2008). I included other texts from the available editions: extracts

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1.   As assumed by E. Sieg and W. Siegling (1949–1953: Heft 1, p. 5) in their introduction to the edition of the Berlin fragments.

of the Toch. A and B *Udānavarga* edited by Sieg and Siegling in the editions of Tocharian texts from the Berlin collection,[2] and texts from isolated fragments found in other collections, that have been edited by other scholars.

ON TOCHARIAN TRANSLATION TECHNIQUES

Considering the text we will first focus on some word-by-word and phrase-by-phrase translation issues. Of course, similar facts can be found in the whole Tocharian Buddhist literature. The Tocharian speaking Buddhists used different strategies to translate terms from the Buddhist vocabulary:

1. loanwords with adaptation to the phonology of the target language;
2. calques that require a grammatical analysis of the Sanskrit word;
3. transposition by a word of the target language, thus creating a semantic correspondence which is more or less approximate;
4. neologisms which are not calques.

The transposition can create a new semantic property in a word of the target language, and sometimes it is based on a notion taken from the commentary of the word in question. As in other Buddhist traditions, it is likely that translations were elaborated in course of lectures held by Buddhist scholars. Loanwords are the most frequent case and reflect different stages of sanskritisation, sometimes wrong re-sanskritisation from a Prākrit original. An example of calque is the translation of Skt. *karman-* 'act', nomen actionis from the root *kar-/kṛ-* 'to do'; the translation in Toch. B is *yāmor,* deverbative abstract noun in *-r* from the root

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2. Sieg & Siegling (1921) for Toch. A; Sieg & Siegling (1949–1953) for Toch. B.

yām- 'to do', so that—shall we say after the modern translation theories—the term can be synchronically analysable and thus semantically motivated. Besides, Toch. A uses instead the word *lyalypu* as an expression of the same term, that literally means 'remaining', based on an interpretation of the original notion. The redactors of the Tocharian texts also had to deal with the necessity of finding equivalents to Sanskrit words linked to the realia of the Indian world, unknown from their own environment. The Skt. noun *kuñjara*- 'elephant' is translated by A *oṅkaläm,* B *oṅkolmo:* thus we can assume that this formation goes back to Common Tocharian stage. Actually the "Tocharians" took as basis of this designation of the elephant a noun that could be analysable in Sanskrit, *hastin*- 'gifted with a (supplementary) hand' (cf. Pinault 2009). We must note that there is no lexical "system" of term to term correspondence between Sanskrit an Tocharian. Different Sanskrit words can be translated by the same Tocharian word, and a Sanskrit word itself can be translated by different Tocharian words. Furthermore, Sanskrit compounds are often transposed into phrases, nominal sentences into verbal sentences; such devices will we discuss. This is due to the grammatical structures of Tocharian, that differ from the ones of Sanskrit. Unlike literary Tibetan in Buddhist texts, the "literary Tocharian" does not allow direct reconstruction of a Sanskrit model text.

We will then focus on facts connected with style, and precisely metaphors and similes. The genre of the text (prose or poetry) is quite relevant in this context. The prose versions seem to be word-by-word translations of the Sanskrit text and its metaphors whereas the verse adaptations take liberties. The *Udānavarga,* like the whole Indian literature, is nothing but the display of tropes: for instance, lots of stanzas are based on similes, often very syntactically condensed for the benefit of a hard-hitting parallelism. The Tocharian text of the *Udānālaṅkāra* chooses, in the cases I will study, to always repeat the basis of the comparison with the topic; when the basis appears with both the topic and the vehicle in Sanskrit, it is developed in Tocharian. Usually it seems that the *Udānālaṅkāra* always prefers to clarify the metaphor, either by

over-determination of the main noun compared to the original Sanskrit text (in order to make the transition from topic to vehicle less abrupt), either by signalizing it within a direct speech (the context of enunciation just being added compared to the original Sanskrit text).

Each lexeme, each case makes sense when one studies a translated text, whether it is a definitely exact translation or a looser one. It has been already noted that translation in Tocharian allows some degree of freedom, whatever that means. I hope to identify in this paper on the one hand some translation techniques word-by-word or phrase-by-phrase from Sanskrit to Tocharian together with the mechanisms that underlie them after the modern analysis of the philosophers of language and other theoreticians of translation. On the other hand, thanks to the corpus we have, which allows comparison between a versified adaptation and a prose translation from a original Sanskrit text, I will show that the Tocharian *Udānālaṅkāra* renders accurately the tropes of the *Udānavarga,* because the writer always explains their content, while adapting the form to its own metre and phraseology. The limit between translation and transposition can be pretty blurred. One may tackle the issue of the so-called freedom of translation in that case. It is likely that the adaptation of the Sanskrit original had also a pedagogical function in the context of the propagation of Buddhist faith.

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CHRISTIAN MIDDLE IRANIAN TRANSLATIONS WITHIN THE SYRIAC TRADITION

Chiara Barbati

CONTEXT AND GUIDELINES

In the 5th century, the "Church of the East" or "Persian Church" or "Nestorian Church" separated from the Patriarchate of Antioch, broke with the Monophysitic Jacobite Church of Syria and spread to the east achieving the greatest geographical scope of any Christian Church until the Middle Ages. The political rationale of separation lies in the historical context: a definitive statement that bishops of the Roman empire should not interfere in the affairs of the Church of the East would be welcomed by Persian authorities. The new Church spread across Mesopotamia, Marv, the chief center of missionary activity, Bactria, Sogdiana, Semirech'e and the south of Lake Balkash (South-eastern part of modern Kazakhstan) as well as along the South Indian Malabar coast and reached in the 7th century the Chinese imperial court of the Tang Dynasty.

Syriac, the official liturgical language of the "Church of the East", starting from Edessa, (present day Urfa, Turkey), the first centre of the Syriac-speaking Church, became the primary vehicle for the Christianization of large parts of central and south-central Asia as shown by literary and archaeological sources. A clay vessel bearing a Syriac inscription from Jambulin, Kazakhstan (5th–6th century), a clay fragment with the first two psalms in the *Peshitta* version from Penjikent, Tajikistan (7th–8th century), a steal in Chinese and Syriac (781 AD) recording the coming of Christianity to China one and a half centuries earlier; 25 Syriac rock inscriptions in the modern-day region of Urgut, Uzbekistan (10th century), a church (8th century) excavated in the village of Aq-Beshim, Kyrgyzstan as well as two East Syriac cemeteries (mid 8th – mid

14th centuries) with 568 gravestones with Syriac inscriptions where over 3000 people had been buried in the north of the same country, Syriac fragments (9th–11th centuries) including psalter, hymnbooks and service books coming from Bulayïq, Dunhuang and Toqsun (Turfan oasis, in present-day Xinjiang), and the fact that a contemporary version of the Syriac alphabet written vertically instead of horizontally is to some extent still used to write Mongolian give an idea of the huge territory covered by this language as a religious-missionary language.

Besides Syriac, local vernaculars were also used in the Church service. Concerning the Iranian area, even if no Middle Persian texts in Syriac script are extant, and despite the scarcity of the Christian Middle Persian literature in Pahlavi script, secondary sources indicate that Middle Persian was used as a liturgical language. For instance, John Chrysostom asserts that during his time the Bible was translated into the language of the Persians; Theodoret of Cyrrhus said that Persians had knowledge of the Bible. According to the *Chronicle of Seert* Bishop Mana of Rewardašir translated the corpus of Syriac literature into Middle Persian at the end of the 5th century, and the Catholicos Aqaq seems to have translated a survey of Christianity into Middle Persian for the Sasanian ruler Kawād I. Through the quotations of the Bible which are attested by the Pahlavi apologetic text *Škandgumānīg wizār* (9th century) one can infer the existence of other Sasanian versions of biblical texts. Moreover, we have some evidence on the controversies between Syriac and Iranian speaking monks in regard to the choice of the language to be used in the liturgy in several fragments of a Sogdian version of the life of John of Dailam, an Eastern Syrian saint and founder of monasteries in Fārs.

To spread its own message, the Church has to be able to communicate. Religious teachings, scriptural texts etc. had to be made accessible to new audiences. In other words, the Christianization passed also through an intensive translational activity, which included making choices of language, script and images. In my opinion, translation became of vital importance in a missionary

context such as that of Central Asia during late antiquity and the early Middle Ages: the silk road constituted an heterogeneous environment where Christian, Manichaean and Buddhist communities coexisted. Whereas Zoroastrianism (since the 3rd century) played a role of "state religion" in the Sasanian empire and, therefore, its religious literature was written in a language that was intentionally conservative, the "Nestorian" Church as well as the Manichaean one has universalist traits. This explains the existence of multilingual texts in both religious traditions. Syriac was the official language of the "Nestorian" Church and hence was used in the liturgy while the members of the community spoken Sogdian, Uyghur and, later, New Persian. Similarly, Middle Persian and Parthian were the official languages of the Manichaean Church and hence were used in the liturgy, while the members of the community spoken Sogdian and Uyghur.

The Christian Middle Iranian literature, which is entirely translated from the Syriac one, emerged in this cultural-historical context involving languages—on the one hand the Syriac and on the other hand the Middle Iranian languages—which are genealogically and typologically different. The result of this process of translation is a literature in different languages and scripts, both depending on the kind of text, its function and its addressees, a faithfully "translated" literature which does not show phenomena of religious syncretism, on the contrary, a literature which aims at very close formal and semantic correspondence.

This paper aims at exploring this translational process. From my point of view, however, it would be incomplete without also keeping in mind the notion of *Kulturübersetzung*, a notion which involves not only the translational turn *stricto sensu* but also the iconic turn. In fact, quoting Bräunlein (2009: 18) "the history of the global spread of Christianity is not only the history of ideas and doctrins; it is also closely connected with the history of images transfer, visual communication and the media". In particular, the scholar is referring to the Christian missionary activity in the Philippines in contemporary time but what he said it is also true for the Christian missionary activities along the silk road between

the 6th and the 11th centuries. Or perhaps I should rather say that this is what I try to demonstrate in this occasion and, in a more exhaustive way, in a book I am preparing for publication. My suggestion is that the process of translation from the Syriac tradition to the Christian Middle Iranian traditions has also involved the practice of the *Bildakten*, even if it has played a small role, at least in comparison to other practices of the *Bildakten*, i.e., that within the Syriac tradition itself, and that within the Manichaean one. In my field, the *Kulturbildwissenschaft als Translations-Forschung* (Mersmann 2004: 107) constitutes a completely unexplored topic. My current research aims at contributing to cover this gap.

Nevertheless, in the following pages, I will focus my attention on the translation turn, leaving the discussion on the iconic turn for the conference.

TEXTS

The main role is played by the Christian Sogdian corpus. The reason is easy to understand: Sogdian was already the language spoken by traders along the Silk Road and therefore was adopted by the missionary communities to spread their religious message. The Christian Sogdian literature in Syriac script consists of nearly 500 fragments, while the Christian Sogdian tradition in secular script comprises circa 50 fragments. None of them survives in anything near a complete form. All fragments come from the ruined monastery of Bulayïq (Turfan oasis): it is well known that no such text nor any fragment was discovered in the region called Sogdiana proper (that is in modern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan). Both literatures are part of the Berlin Turfan collection that is housed in the Academy of Sciences of Berlin and Brandenburg. Apart from the Berlin Turfan collection, there are few other Christian fragments in Sogdian secular script which are housed in London at the *British Library*. The corpus of Christian Sogdian literature comprises the following texts and fragments in Syriac script. The so called Sogdian Manuscript *C2*, published by Sims-

Williams in 1985, contains the story of the life, conversion and martyrdom of several personalities. The Gospel lectionary *C5* contains part of the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John: the main part of the text is in Sogdian only, but the rubrics are given in Syriac, and there are nine cases where the original Syriac text is immediately followed by the Sogdian translation. Several bilingual Gospel lectionaries present the original Syriac alternating with the Sogdian translation phrase by phrase. The verso of two small fragments from a single page, *C13*, contains the beginning of the gospel of Matthew in Syriac and Sogdian. *C23* is a bilingual lectionary of the Pauline epistles, with rubrics indicating the psalm verses to be sung before and after the Epistle. There is a psalter including the East Syrian psalm-headings; the first verse of each psalm is given in Syriac as well as in Sogdian. A unique fragment contains part of Psalm 33, with Greek quotations as headlines. Its text generally agrees with that of the Septuagint, while all other Sogdian translations depend on the Syriac Peshitta version with few isolated exceptions related to Tatian's *Diatessaron* and to the Old Syriac version of the New Testament.

Concerning the Christian Sogdian tradition in Sogdian secular script, the best preserved fragment of this group contains the *Credo*, published by Müller in 1913, and the end of an as yet unidentified prayer with a shortened version of the final *Gloria Patri* "in the will of the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit, for ever and ever, amen", which usually follows psalms. There exist some pages of the Book of Psalms, edited by Martin Schwartz in 1974 and in a second revised edition in 1982. It is remarkable that only this text was written in Sogdian script. It seems to be a text which had a wide circulation and popularity since the Iranian versions of the Psalms are preserved also in Middle Persian in Pahlavi script and in a New Persian and Syriac bilingual in Syriac script. Ch. Reck already noted that we find the same situation for the Manichaean fragments in Sogdian script: in fact, Middle Persian and Parthian hymns were transcribed into the Sogdian script to be read by persons who presumably were not able to read the Manichaean script. Returning to an overview of this literary cor-

pus, we find two fragments of a Melkite Book of Psalms, one of them published by Sims-Williams in 2004. This fragment is well known for containing a line in Greek. According to Sims-Williams, this text was possibly brought to Turfan from the Tashkent area where a Melkite community existed. Then we have several fragments of diverse content, such as prayers, homilies, and secular texts (for example, commercial transactions in which the priests took an active part), as well as 28 fragments of as yet unidentified content, yet belonging to a single manuscript written by one hand. It is known that almost all the names in the texts or in the glosses in the margins are Turkic or combinations of Turkic and Middle Persian and Turkic. According to Sims-Williams, this indicates two things: first, the community of the final period of the monastery was Turkic; second, the existence of Middle Persian name elements confirms the Persian background of the Christian community at Bulayïq.

Quite different is the state of sources in Middle Persian. Only one text in Middle Persian language in Pahlavi script (4th–6th–7th centuries?) is a translation of the psalter discovered in the Turfan oasis but, following D. Durkin-Meisterernst, since it is the only one and since in that area Middle Persian is attested as a liturgical language only in the Manichaean tradition, it seems to have been brought to Turfan rather than having been produced locally. The psalter consists of 13 fragmentary pages and is written in a variant of Pahlavi script whose ductus is similar to that of a Pahlavi inscription attested in a cross coming from Herat (Afghanistan) and studied by Ph. Gignoux. Besides it, no Middle Persian Christian text is extant, with the exception of the so-called "Nestorian crosses" from India and Sri Lanka bearing Pahlavi inscriptions: seven come from India, of which six (6th–9th centuries) bear the same Pahlavi inscription (one from Mount Thomas in Mylapore near Madras, four from Kottayam, one from Travancore in Kerala); the seventh cross was found in 2001 in Goa. In Sri Lanka one cross was found on a pillar in the ancient royal city of Mantota, the port of the capital Anunadhapura.

SEARCHING FOR THE TRANSLATION APPROACH

This literature satisfies all principles governing a formal equivalence translation, i.e., quoting Nida (2004: 161): "1) grammatical units, 2) consistency in word usage, and 3) meanings in terms of the source context. The reproduction of grammatical units may consist in: a) translating nouns by nouns, verbs by verbs, etc.; b) keeping all phrases and sentences intact (i.e. not splitting up and readjusting the units); and c) preserving all formal indicators, e.g. marks of punctuation, paragraph breaks, and poetic indentation". Assuming that, this research is aimed at outlining the different degrees of concordance referring to the morphosyntax, syntax and lexicon and considering, at the same time, the kind of text, its function and its addressees.

For example, taking into account the syntax, we have the highest degree of concordance: the result is the introduction of the Syriac word-order (VSO) even if that is entirely contrary to the word-order of the Middle Iranian languages (SOV). Just to give an example (taken from the Sogdian lectionary *C5*, gospel of Matthew, 10,16): the Syriac sentence ‹ḣⁱ ʾnʾ mšdr ʾnʾ lkwn› 'behold, I am sending you' is translated into the Sogdian ‹nʾy zẇ fšʾmmsqn šmʾxẏ› 'behold, I am sending you'. Despite it, we can note a strong effort to avoid grammatical Syriacism in the whole Christian Middle Iranian literature. The consequences of such phenomena will be discussed during the conference.

Instead, concerning the morphosyntax as well as the lexicon, there are different degrees of concordance depending on the kind of text, its function and its addressees. A deeper investigation and a wider discussion on it will be given during the conference: here I am just offering few examples for each point. With regard of the Christian Sogdian verbal morphosyntax, I consider the presence and the prominence of periphrastic verbal formations formed by the present participle in ‹-yq› + verb 'to be' ‹x-, sqw-, swq-/mʾt› as a result of the process of translation, since its presence depends on the presence in Syriac of similar formations used to express a progressive *nuance*. A further proof is the fact that

such periphrastic verbal formations do not occur in Manichaean and Buddhist Sogdian. In the same way, the presence—only in Christian Sogdian—of the construction ‹pr› + present infinitive of verbs like 'can, be able to' and 'wish' depends, from my point of view, on the Syriac construction ‹l› + present infinitive of the same verbs. And how to consider the Christian Sogdian verbal form ‹ž'tyt byq m'tnt› which translates the Syriac verbal form ‹mtmlln hwy› if not as a strong effort to reproduce as faithfully as possible the Syriac original form? In brief: usually, the Syriac medio-passive verbs are translated into Sogdian with a verbal formation which is constituted from past participle + the auxiliary ‹b(w)/qt› 'to be'. The verbal forms mentioned above is an exception. Sogdian ‹ž'tyt byq m'tnt› translates the Syriac ‹mtmlln hwy›, i.e., past passive progressive, *Ethpᶜᶜal* conjugation. In my opinion, the Sogdian uses the auxiliary ‹x-, sqw, sqw/m't› to render the Syriac progressive *nuance* and then adds ‹byq› ⇐ ‹b(w)/qt› to render the passive. One should note that ‹byq› is otherwise unknown to the Sogdian language—and therefore such a construction too- and it is attested once in the Sogdian lectionary *C5*, a text which is intended to be read to a Sogdian speaking community during the mass and which shows, in my opinion, the highest level of inculturation. Concerning the Christian Sogdian nominal morphosyntax, an extremely interesting point of discussion will be the marking of the direct object: an internal development or a result of this translational literature? Or both? And where are the boarders of such an interpretation?

Finally, it is well known that the lexicon is a very important source to discuss about inculturation. For example, taking into account the terminology of the Pahlavi psalter, Gignoux (1969: 234) pointed out the difficulties to translate concepts from one religious system to another and later Durkin-Meisterernst (2006: 15) noted that "clearly there was no intention of leaving the language of the original text completely behind". It will be discussed if "there was no intention" or if there was rather a lack of skills, for example, because inculturation was at the beginning? A completely different case is testified by the Sogdian lectionary

C5 (10th–11th centuries when the Christian community was well established in the Turfan oasis) which shows the creation of a proper religious terminology using, for example, Sogdian generic terms vs. Syriac *termini technici* loanwords even when a Syriac loanword is attested in other Christian Sogdian texts but with another function. I am referring to texts, which were not intended to be read during the mass but which were used within the monastery from a religious community with, at least, was able to well understand both languages, Syriac and Sogdian.

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TRANSLATION AND/OR/AS ADAPTATION?
THE TAMIL "VERSION" OF DAṆḌIN'S
KĀVYALAKṢAṆA

Daniele Cuneo

ABSTRACT

The focus of my contribution will be the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, a (probably) 12th century Tamil "translation" of the 7th–8th century Sanskrit *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* by Daṇḍin, a seminal work of Sanskrit poetics.

In order to go *in medias res* of my proposed topic and to convey the appropriateness of this text as a meaningful and possibly paradigmatic case study for the present research question on the issue of translation, its more or less implicit theoretical grounding and its practically employed techniques in the pre-modern world, I think that quoting Pollock's (2005: 637) words on the text is quite a safe choice:

> Measured by the crudest quantitative standards—miles travelled, size of readership, kinds of language-traditions influenced, numbers of translations and adaptations and borrowings—Daṇḍin's seventh-century *Kāvyādarśa* [a traditional name of the *Kāvyalakṣaṇa*] can safely be adjudged the most important work on literary theory and practice in Asian history, and, in world history, a close second to Aristotle's *Poetics*.

As this quote emphatically hints at, not only has Daṇḍin's *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* been significantly influential on the literary cultures of Sanskrit, Tamil (see Monius 2000), Kannada (see Pollock 1998), Pali (see Wright 2002) and Sinhala (see Wijayawardhana 1964; Hallisey 2003), but it exerted also a considerable influence on the

Tibetan (see Dimitrov 2002; 2010) and Chinese literary traditions (see Mair & Mei 1991), and, to an extent, also on the Mongolian one (see Pollock 2005). In particular, the influence across southern Asia took the shape of a plethora of often highly interpretive translations of the *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* produced between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries, the period Pollock (1998) termed the age of the "cosmopolitan vernacular", a time-span characterized by the emergence and the deliberate preference of local languages and the consequent birth of self-conscious local literary cultures, especially as a political "technology" for affirming and legitimising local dynasties over the trans-local, cosmopolitan ethos of the Sanskrit literary culture.

The influence of the *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* on the Tamil tradition as it is embodied in the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* probably deserves a monograph in itself. In the limited time-span of my contribution I will focus on the first of the three chapters of the work. This section covers less than one fifth of the whole work, but plays a central role in the economy of the text, as it points out Daṇḍin's conception of language and literature as well as a system of poetic paths, based on a sophisticated list of poetic qualities that the single poems should display. The aim of my research is to identify, when and if possible, the translational choices and conscious attempts to adapt the Sanskrit theoretical framework of interpretation to the concrete Tamil poetic culture of the time, especially aiming at uncovering the very ratio of such an outstanding intellectual enterprise.

Interestingly, my findings and my interpretation thereof parade against some conclusions of Monius (2000), the most important existing article on the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*. She argues that the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* is a very selective translation in which much of the original text—as to the first chapter, in particular, the poetic examples and the initial speculations on literary language—has been purposefully left out. The reasons for this choice were, according to Monius, the already time-honoured corpus of Tamil poetry and the well-established perception of Tamil as an "equal" of Sanskrit as a literary language, and therefore the lack of any

need to legitimise the Tamil language and literary culture through a complete rendition of the theoretical text along with the examples taken from the Sanskrit poetical tradition.

However, the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* does indeed translate almost the totality of the original Sanskrit text, but it divides it up between the aphorisms, where the various definitions are given, and the commentary, where the examples are rendered into Tamil. Yet, only some examples are proper, although enlarged, Tamil versions of the Sanskrit verses, while other examples are just supplied, and probably composed, by the author of the commentary, although anyway in strict accordance with the theoretical lines of the text, but independently from the meaning of the original examples.

My contention is that, at any rate, the assumption that the basic text and the commentary were composed by the same author at the same time—i.e. that the translator of the *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* into Tamil did not leave out any significant part of the text—seems to be the most logical one. On the other hand, I find quite far-fetched the other possibility of interpreting the same data, i.e. the idea that a later author composed a commentary on a Tamil translation of a Sanskrit theoretical text by actually looking back at the Sanskrit original and by sometimes directly translating and sometimes creatively modifying the very parts that the first translator, i.e. the author of the basic text, had chosen to avoid.

My research has not reached any definite conclusion yet, and surely the manuscript tradition of the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* needs to be thoroughly studied in order to settle the matter of the authorship of the commentary once and for all. Nevertheless, the very existence of the commentary on the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, a commentary that translates the poetic examples and the speculations on literary language that have been left out in the basic text, has to be brought into the picture, and has to be culturally and historically interpreted and justified, probably to the detriment of the conclusion of Monius (2000).

A concrete example will show how the Sanskrit text is interpretively translated into Tamil by translating the definition in the aphorism and by rendering and expanding the examples in

the commentary. Let's take one of the ten qualities that poetry should display in order to be regarded as following the best poetic path, i.e. the *Vaidarbha* style, or *Vitaruppa* in the Tamil version.[1] The still very literal English translation of the Tamil runs as follows (the Sanskrit original, whenever useful, is given and translated in the notes for the present comparative purpose):

COMMENTARY Appreciation: what is said in accordance with the nature of the world is what pleases the mind, if one says so.

APHORISM Appreciation is something that is highly praised and that will not go beyond the worldly ways.[2]

COMMENTARY

[As to the *Vitaruppa* style:]

"So that my bright self-control along with my great wisdom gets worn out, come, of that little girl who provided me with blemishes, the long dashing eyes reaching up to the ears,in a bright face surrounded by curly hair as fragrant as buds".[3]

[As to the *Kauṭa* style:][4]

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1. This very passage has been chosen here, because it displays both some verses that are clearly translated and enlarged from the Sanskrit original and some verses that are probably just composed directly into Tamil. The other passages of the work have either only exemplifying verses taken from the Sanskrit text or only independent verses or, as this case, a combination of both.

2. The aphorism is the straightforward translation of *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* 1.85ab: *kāntaṃ sarvajagatkāntaṃ laukikārthān atikramāt* 'Appreciation is what is liked by all people as it is in conformity with common ideas'.

3. This verse has no direct parallel in the Sanskrit original. The *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* 1.87 presents this other verse with the same purpose: *anayor anavadyāṅgi stanayor jṛmbhamāṇayoḥ | avakāśo na paryāptas tava bāhulatāntare* 'Oh lady of faultless limbs, to these growing breasts of yours there is no sufficient space between your creeper-like arms'.

4. This is the other poetic path, *Gauḍa* in Sanskrit, the one that is definitely not preferred by Daṇḍin, the one where any kind of exaggeration in both form and content is highly appreciated.

"Alas, so many days are needed by the scorching sun on his wheeled chariot to fly around [her] immense vagina, while for her long eyes, going out to her tresses, where bees hum spreading all over, there is not enough space to move, even in all eight directions!"[5]

"Was it because the one who resides in a lotus, who formerly created the wide sky in the beautiful immense universe, did not think: 'the breast of the girl who wears green[-golden] bangles with beautiful pearls will rise up, so as to increase in size' that the nature is such as that the space may not further widen?"[6]

Therefore, although I do agree with Monius' contention that Tamil language and literary culture did not need any legitimisation at the time of the composition of the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* because of their ancient and well-established tradition, I do not think that the lack of some parts of the *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* in its Tamil translation is evidence for it, as these parts were actually translated and enlarged in the commentary, which—in my working hypothesis—was composed by the very same author. Thus, to conclude this issue, I deem that a thoroughly researched assessment of the relationship between the aphorisms and the commentary of the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* is the very condition for the identification of the reasons of its composition, of the cultural politics of which it was the harbinger and of the theoretical and practical agenda it was aiming at accomplishing.

As to the comprehension of reason why the Tamil translation departs from the Sanskrit original in several cases, one potentially very fruitful source of information is the great array of the Sanskrit commentaries of the *Kāvyalakṣaṇa*, as it is highly proba-

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5. Also this verse has no direct parallel in the Sanskrit original.

6. This is clearly a Tamil enlarged version of *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* 1.87: *alpaṃ nirmitam ākāśam anālocyaiva vedhasā | idam evaṃvidhiṃ bhāvi bhavatyāḥ stanajṛmbhaṇam* 'Space was created too small by Brahma, as he did not foresee such a future growth of your breasts'.

ble that the Tamil translator had one of those commentaries in mind during his translational and hermeneutical activity. The first choice among the commentaries, due to its ancient date and theoretical richness, is the *Ratnaśrī* of Ratnaśrījñana, although no concrete results have been achieved so far.

Another possibly very fruitful path of research is the comparative analysis of the various translations of the *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* in other Asian languages and literary cultures. In particular, I am presently focusing on the Tibetan version of the text, i.e. the *Sñan ṅag me loṅ*, which is probably the most literal translation of the text among its various embodiments, insofar as it follows the century-long tradition of very sophisticated and accurate translational techniques developed in the Classical Tibetan culture. Another viable candidate is the *Subodhālaṇkāra*, a Pali text that is highly influenced by Daṇḍin but that is no actual translation, although many passages follow the Sankrit text very closely.

As a conclusion, I would like to try and draw some very tentative and temporary conclusions about the question I raised in the title of the present contribution. Is the Tamil "version" of the *Kāvyalakṣaṇa* actually a translation of the Sanskrit text or rather an adaptation, or maybe both at the same time? Or is this dichotomic framework of interpretation a viable option at all? In other words, is not it the case that all translations have to be regarded as adaptations (especially in the light of the contemporary debate on translation studies, so clearly and challengingly summarised in the blurb of the panel)?

In general terms, I believe that any translation cannot but be an adaptation to a new cultural and linguistic framework of references and signification. However, with respect to the whole gamut of the different ways of rendering any given text in another language, I think that both the quite plausible view that every translation is an adaptation and the quite implausible one that there are translations, on one side, and adaptations, on the other, end up being inadequate or, at least, not so theoretically fruitful. The whole spectrum of possibilities, from bare-bones literal rendering to selectively adapting specific chunks of a text (one might

think of the two cases mentioned before, the *Sñan ṅag me loṅ*, and the *Subodhālaṇkāra*), is what we are faced with, if we try and mentally survey the field, even in a very cursory fashion.

In particular, as to my present case of the Tamil "version" of the *Kāvyalakṣaṇa*, the Tamil text does follow the Sanskrit quite closely, in both definitions and examples, as we have seen. However, the intention of the Tamil author is clear: he wants to adapt to the Tamil literary culture the poetics that Daṇḍin propounds for Sanskrit literature. In order to achieve this goal, he both enlarges examples from the Sanskrit original and forges new ones, cleverly adapting the form and the content of the poems to both the Tamil aesthetic taste and the Tamil metrical patterns, quite different from the Sanskrit ones. Furthermore, he meaningfully leaves out some passages of the original text, such as, paradigmatically, the discussion about the prose genres (*Kāvyalakṣaṇa* 1.11–12 and 1.23–28), for the quite obvious but essential reason that there are no prose genres in the Tamil literary culture of pre-modern South India. Therefore, it is clear that the *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* should be considered as more than a simple translation, although the Sanskrit original is indeed translated, and sometimes even verbatim. For this case, I would vote, in the end and for the time being, for the label "translation as adaptation", as an adapted translation meant for a practical use of the text content is clearly the agenda at stake.[7]

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7. A very different case, for instance, are the numerous contemporary translations of classical legal texts of ancient South Asia, say, the *Mānavadharmaśāstra*, where the translation of a prescriptive work is triggered by a merely scholarly interest and by no desire whatsoever to actually apply the prescriptions upheld by the text to the present time of the translator.

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TRANSLATION AS INNOVATION IN LITERATURE: THE CASE OF A SANSKRIT BUDDHIST POEM TRANSLATED INTO CHINESE

Laura Lettere

TRANSLATION IN THE BUDDHIST CONTEXT

The translation of religious texts is a crucial issue in the history of Chinese Buddhism. From the end of the III century AD Buddhist monks have started debates about the effectiveness of various translation techniques and made various attempt to create a valid and universal method of translation (Ch'en 1960). Different schools and translation bureau developed, and the techniques employed in the translated works may well be considered as an external evidence in order to date the translation and determine its authorship (Hureau 2008).

From the IV century onward, the work of translation was carried on by teams in which the leading figure was often attributed to a foreign monk who was well versed both in the original language of the text and in Chinese. Monks coming from India and central Asia often brought the original texts to be translated with them; they were responsible for the authenticity and integrity of the text; at the end of the process of translation, the authorship of the work was attributed to foreign monks for obvious reasons of prestige (Nattier 2010: 1–30). The whole process of translation began to assume a ritual and religious significance—translation itself was considered a form of ritual and thus linked to particular festivity periods of the religious calendar (Hureau 2008).

As far as we know from historical records, the life of the famous translators, was all but a serene one if we consider them in their relationship with political power. Foreign monks were supposed to get the protection of powerful kings, local princes or

important monasteries in order to pursue their work: the attention that political leaders paid to them was mainly due to reasons of authority and prestige; as a consequence foreign monks often had to live segregated and were to follow to the strict rules imposed by interested forms of patronage (Chen 2004).

Nevertheless, the efforts and gains of these devoted translators have been hardly dealt with by western scholars of Translation Studies. The origin of Translation Studies in the West is often linked with the necessity of translating the Bible in Greek and Latin in the first place (Bassnet 1999). Max Deeg (2008) draw an interesting parallel between the translation of the Bible in the German dialects, which started between the V and the XI century, with the process of translation of Buddhist text into Chinese. He also states that German scholars were well versed in linguistics and grammar, while Buddhist monks discussions about translation "were held on an abstract level rather than dealing with technical issues of translation" (Deeg 2008: 62).

In fact, there are reasons to believe that Buddhist translator dealt with technical issues in various cases, and he was probably aware of the difference among phonological loans (音譯 *yīnyi*, in this case the foreign word is rendered according to its pronunciation; in the case of Chinese, since the smallest phonetic unit employable is thought to be the syllable, in most of the cases the result of this process is a tentative imitation of the sound of the original word) and translation according to the meaning (義譯 *yìyì*, in this case each part of the foreign word is translated with a Chinese word with the same meaning—this method is particularly tricky when translators have to deal with Sanskrit compound words, in which the relationship among different part of the compound is not always clear); as Ch'en (1960: 185) pointed out, there were several lists of words that could not be translated according to the meaning, but only related into Chinese by using characters according to their phonographic value.

A CASE EXAMPLE: A PECULIAR TRANSLATION FOR A PARTICULAR POEM

The case of the 佛所行赞 *Fo suoxing zan* (T192), the Chinese translation of the *Buddhacarita*, a Sanskrit poem of the I century b. C., is a peculiar example for at least three reason: 1) the choice of keeping the versified form of the original in the translation, thus producing the first long poem in the history of Chinese literature; 2) the frequent use of devices meant to adapt and simplify the text for the target audience; 3) the marked and conscious use of a form of "censorship" about contents.

As a premise, it would be the case to underline that the authoriship of the translation is still debated. The preface of the text in the digital edition of the Taishoo canon still states that the translation was the work of the monk Dharmakṣema (304–439), so dating it back to the IV century AD. At least one internal evidence in the same canon (the catalogue created by Seng You 僧祐, *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集, T2145), states that the work had been carried on by the monk Baiyun 寶雲, of the Liuheshan temple. It has been impossible up to now to find out where the oldest colophon of the work is located; the use of this material may be of great importance in order to solve the question about the authorship.

The Chinese text has been often used by western scholars as a mean to comprehend difficult passages of the Sanskrit original; Johnston (1932: xiii) explicitly criticized the attitude of the translator and the translation itself. In fact, Chinese scholars as Hu Shi (1927: 124) and Liang Qichao (2009: 161) demonstrated a different attitude in analyzing the text: if considered as a work of literature—and not merely as a translation—the *Fo suoxing zan* clearly represents the first attempt to create a long epic in verses in the history of Chinese literature. It is well known that the translation of Buddhist *sūtra* caused the introduction of long *prosimetra* as a new literary pattern in Chinese literature. The *Fo suoxing zan* constituted an even more revolutionary attempt to introduce a new pattern, and it was so in order to retain a sort of adherence with the original text: a poem of more than thirty thousand verses had

little possibility of passing unnoticed—especially if we consider that the longest classical poems of Chinese literature are of about one hundred verses in length (Coyaud 2009: xi).

The difficulty of conveying the rhythm of the Sanskrit verse into Chinese constituted a very important problem for Buddhist translator. As Victor Mair and Zulin Mei had pointed out (1991: 375–470) various attempts had been made to create new forms of poetics implicitly derived from the model of the Sanskrit meters. As far as we know from tables of rhymes and historical records, the aesthetics of Chinese poetry was mold by its deep relationship with traditional musical patterns; poems were meant to be sung according to modes (Bertuccioli 1968: 146–147). We can wonder about what kind of use the *Fo suoxing zan* might have had. In fact, it could hardly be sung or learnt by heart. As far as what we can get from its content, the translation was meant for an audience of monks or lay people well versed in Buddhist mythology and philosophy; the fact that the translator did not choose to paraphrase the text may be considered as an effort to preserve the peculiarity of the original—there are only a few examples of Buddhist epic poems in Sanskrit, and the two surviving works of Aśvaghoṣa are perhaps the best examples of this kind—the translator might have been aware of the originality of the text he was dealing with, but in any case this supposed awareness did not prevent him to manipulate the contents.

A second aspect to be analyzed comprehends all the features that the translator(s) adopted to adapt the text to the target reader. The analysis is focused on four different aspects.

a. The translation/transcription of proper names

The translator (or the translation team) was no doubt well versed in the field of Sanskrit mythology, since almost all the patronymics or secondary names of divinities and heroes had been substituted with basic forms. We can notice examples of transcription of proper names as well as translations according to the meaning and hybrid forms. A few examples from the list of about eighty proper names:

a) The family name of the Buddha, that indicates the royal family descending from the sun, *Ikṣvāku*, is translated as 甘蔗 *gānzhe* 'sugarcane' (*BC* 1.1), according to an analogy with the Sanskrit word *ikṣvāri* that defines the wild sugarcane. This translation was misunderstood in a later Chinese commentary, which states that the family of Siddhārtha Gautama was one of sugarcane farmers (cfr. *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 [T 2122]).

b) The name of the legendary *cakravāka* birds, which are described as living in inseparable couples, is translated as 雙輸鳥 *shuāngshūniǎo,* (8.60), a single word in which the first and the last character mean respectively 'pair' and 'bird' while the second character means 'to transport by wheel', apparently trying to convey the meaning of the word *cakra.*

c) The name of the great sage Vasiṣṭa (1.52), a well known mythological character mentioned various times in the text; in one case the translator chose to substitute a "matronymic" referring to the sage with his proper name. It looks like the translator knew the mythological history of Vasiṣṭa, but in any case the Chinese syllables and the corresponding characters used for the phonetic transcription change in various examples:
　　波尸吒 *bōshīzhā* → Vasiṣṭam,
　　婆私吒 *bōsīzhā* → Aurvaśeya, son of Urvaśī,
　　婆私晝 *bōsīzhou* → Vasiṣṭād,
　　婆私吒 *bōsīzhā*, Sanskrit text missing (T192 44b16).

The same thing can be noticed for other two proper names: Antideva and Janaka. In the case of Antideva, the variation of the characters does not correspond to a different syntactical role of the Sanskrit word.

安低牒 *āndīdié* → Antidevaḥ (1.52)

安低疊 *āndīdié* → Antidevaḥ (9.70)
安提 *āntí* or *āndī* → Antidevam (9.20)

Another example is the name of Janaka:
闍那駒 *shénàjū* → Janako (1.45)
闍那伽 *shénàjiā* → Janako (12.67)
闍那 *shénà* → Janakaṃ (9.20)

This variety of transcriptions corresponds to different rolls (卷 *juan* 'volumes'), so that to rise the doubt that there were problems of proof-reading in the translation team. It cannot be considered impossible that the translator was trying to convey the changing of the case endings, but we have to keep in mind that we do not know the proper pronunciation of any of these character: in fact we can only notice the use of different characters, but we do not know if these characters had the same pronunciation or not.

a) *Soma* (2.37) 月光 *yuèguāng*, is a potion used during rituals of sacrifice; the king Śuddhodana is described as using it according to the precepts of the Veda. The Chinese translation sounds like "mooonlight", probably because one of the names of the moon in Sanskrit is *suma*. Shortly after in the text (4.5) the name of the personified moon (*candramā*) is simply translated as 月 *yuè* or as 月天子 *yuètiānzi* 'emperor of the moon'; this name recurs also in the cases in which the moon as different names, such as in 9.11 in which *indu* 'moon' is translated with the same *yuè*.

b) *Chandaka* 車匿 *chēnì*, Buddha's stableman. The first character (word) means 'chariot'; at least for this first syllable, it looks like the translator made an effort to convey both the phonetic and the semantic of the Sanskrit name.

c) *Śuddhodana*, 淨飯 *jìngfàn*. It is the proper name of the kind, Buddha's father. The Chinese translation sounds like 'purified rice'. In this case the translator deliberate-

ly chose to translate each part of the name (*Śuddho* and *dana*) according to the meaning. In the *Hou Han shu* 後漢書, the dynasty chronicles of the Eastern Han (25–220 AD) written in the fifth century, the same name is translated as 屑頭邪 *xiètóuyé*, of which Pulleyblank proposed an hypotetical pronunciation as *sɛt dow jiaᵣ.

b. The translation of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit terms.

Hakeda (1962: 150–163) drew a list of all the hybrid Sanskrit terms in Aśvaghoṣa's poems. Almost all the technical terms related to Buddhism in the *Buddhacarita* were translated according to the meaning with a few exceptions regarding famous terms such as *parinirvāṇa,* transcribed as 涅槃 *nièpán.* This is an important observation since, according to some records (Ch'en 1960: 185–188), different schools of translation adopted different methods of conveying technical terms.

> *ājavaṃjavatā* (12.41, 41cd) 'the state of coming and going', or the rebirths cycle; in Chinese is translated as 生老死 *shēng lǎo sǐ* (27c08) 'be born, growing old, die';

> *upapatti*, (9.56, 14.4, 14.9) 'birth, rebirth'; in a first occurrence (9.56), the minister of the king tries to persuade the Buddha to leave the forest and go back to the royal palace, using the argumentation that it is impossible to know if there is the possibility of being born again after death. Olivelle translates as "If there is continued existence beyond this, we will rejoyce there in accordance with our birth"; in the Chinese version we have 所得 *suǒdé* 'what we will obtain', probably suggesting a different interpretation of the text by the translator, who thought that the meaning of *upapatti* is 'product, result'. In other two cases the Chinese version has 生死 *shēngsǐ* 'birth and death'.

> *Śuddhādhivāsa* (1.20, 3.26, 3.56, 13.31), gods living in the pure sky. It is the proper name of a class of divinities; the

translator chose a literal translation: 淨居天 *jìngjūtiān,* in which 天 *tiān,* is used to convey the meaning of god.

c. Use of technical Buddhist terms that are not present in the original

Various terms such as *bodhisattva* (菩薩 *púsà*) and *cakravartin* (轉輪王 *zhuǎnlúnwáng*), are not present in the original text. This choice is due to a sharp change of the target audience; from a brahmanical perspective (Aśvaghoṣa apparently wrote his work for an audience of learned brahmans) we switch to an audience which is well acquainted with *mahāyāna* theories but had little knowledge of other brahmanical precepts. This is the reason why the *Buddhacarita* describes the perfect king according to a traditional brahmanical perspective, while the *Fo suoxing zan* refers to the Buddhist concept of *cakravartin.*

In the translation, the proper name of Buddha's horse, Kanthaka, is simply translated as 白馬 *bàimǎ* 'white horse'. This choice is probably in analogy with the white horse that appeared in a dream to the emperor Ming of the Eastern Han. After this dream he chose to become Buddhist and started the building of the first Buddhist temple in China (白马寺 *Báimǎ sì,* the white horse temple, close to the capital Luoyang 洛陽). Palumbo (2003) demonstrated that the temple was built much later.

d. The adding of external elements, not present in the original text

This alteration is maybe the most remarkable one, and consists in the use of specifically Chinese elements where the original text presented scenes and situation that the translator felt as needing to be culturally mediated. A first striking example could be the introduction of the birth date of the Buddha (8th day of April) which was a very debated question in China (Wang-Toutain 1996: 91).

In this list has to be quoted the frequent mention of *wǔyù* 五欲 'five desires', the five causes that start the chain of cause and effect. According to the definition in the Soothill-Hodous dictionary, the five desires are related to the five senses. This Chinese expression is used five times in the second *juan,* but it is not present in the original.

In the translation there is the frequent mention of the 四大 *sìdà* 'four elements' (T192 6b02), for the Sanskrit *mahābhūta*. But in the *sāṃkhya* theory according to Aśvaghoṣa's perspective, the elements are in fact five (Kent 1982: 60).

At the end of the eight chapter of the *Buddhacarita*, the king had just sent his men in the forest to look for the prince, and is well disposed to accomplish his sacrificial duties. The Chinese translation substitutes this reference to the sacrificial scene with the preparation of a rich banquet (Willemen 2009: 59).

The third and most important aspect of this comparison showed that many parts of the original work were censured in the translation. The missing parts deal mainly with the description of joyful or sorrowful women, that Aśvaghoṣa provided us with a vivid and licentious richness of details. Most of the metaphors in which was held a comparison among humans and animals were blamed as well.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSLATION OF METAPHORS IN SHAKESPEARE'S TRANSLATED SONNETS

Samira Nekooeeyan

OVERVIEW

This is a descriptive and corpus based research. It analyses strategies for translation of metaphors in two different translations of Shakespeare's sonnets in Persian. To start this analysis the researcher has provided 56 metaphors from twenty different original sonnets that have been chosen randomly, and has investigated their Persian translations done by Taghi Tafazzoli (2005) and Behnam Moghadam (2009) in order to find their most and least used strategies for translation of metaphor. The framework of this study is: *Principles for translation of metaphor* proposed by Newmark (1988). Both of the translations were studied comparatively and strategies used were extracted. At the end, the most used strategies were individuated for each author.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research has very important and noticeable relevancies. Firstly, it is an attempt to help the translators to find better and precise equivalents for source text metaphor and give them efficient insights to produce more accurate translations of Shakespeare's sonnets. Second, it is hoped that the study on the translation of the metaphors in Shakespeare's poems will further address the problems in translating literary texts and propose other research questions and topics for researchers. Third, it deals with the existing problems and challenges in the trans-

lation of metaphor. Fourth, it sheds light on the applicability of Newmark's theory on the translation of metaphor from English to Persian.

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

This research looks at Shakespeare's poems and discusses the intricacies of translating them. The main problems faced by the translators in translating metaphors will be discussed. It should be noted that the main concern in translating Shakespeare's poems, in general, and metaphors in particular, is how to best convey the messages and beauties Shakespeare has used in his poems. In this study, it is intended to investigate the messages and beauties of metaphors in the translation of Shakespeare's poems carried out by two translators. There are two main problems the translators faced in translating metaphors in Shakespeare's lyrics:

1. There are complexities in understanding, interpreting, and recreating his sonnets. One should take into consideration the fact that the poetic form of sonnet, on its own, is full of insight, and wisdom, all of which are perceptions that require an extensive study of literature and especially working on metaphorical aspects of poetry. This is the case with Shakespeare.
2. There are different types of metaphors such as dead, alive, cliché, etc. found in Shakespeare's works. They have distinct denotative and connotative meanings and references. The translator should try to bring his translation close to the connotative meaning. It is rather difficult to find an equivalent which totally and equally matches the original concept if the translator sticks to the mere denotative equivalents of the metaphorical words. To clarify the point, it should be added that the images should be selected according to their underlying meaning and mystical significance. The translator should compre-

hend the differences between various cultural and so-
cial structures in which the poem has been shaped. In
fact, there should be a reasonable relation between the
translator's selected images of metaphors and the orig-
inal one.

The Translator should be aware that using different methods
causes different effects on the translation, and that keeping the
figurative language of the sonnet is the most important thing in
translating sonnets. If the translator is trying to keep the rhyme
of the sonnet, he would lose some of its figurative language.

KEY TERMS

Sonnet

The sonnet is one of several forms of poetry originating in Europe,
mainly Great Britain and Italy, and commonly has 14 lines. The
term *sonnet* derives from the Occitan word *sonet* and the Italian
word *sonetto*, both meaning "little song" and "little sound"
(Redmond 2011: 3). By the thirteenth century, it had come to sig-
nify a poem of 14 lines that follows a strict rhyme scheme and
specific structure. The conventions associated with the *sonnet*
have evolved over its history. The writers of sonnets are some-
times referred to as "sonneteers", although the term can be
used derisively. One of the best-known sonnet writers is William
Shakespeare, who wrote 154 of them. A Shakespearean, or English,
sonnet consists of 14 lines, each line containing ten syllables and
written in iambic pentameter, in which a pattern of an unstressed
syllable followed by a stressed syllable is repeated five times. The
rhyme scheme in a Shakespearean sonnet is *a-b-a-b*, *c-d-c-d*, *e-f-e-f*,
g-g; the last two lines are a rhyming couplet.

Metaphor

A metaphor is a literary figure of speech that uses an image, sto-
ry or tangible thing to represent a less tangible thing or some

intangible quality or idea; "Her eyes were glistening jewels". Metaphor may also be used for any rhetorical figures of speech that achieve their effects via association, comparison or resemblance. In this broader sense, antithesis, hyperbole, metonymy and simile would all be considered types of metaphor. Aristotle used both this sense and the regular sense above. With metaphor, unlike analogy, specific interpretations are not given explicitly (Adams 2011).

Image

An image is considered to be a picture created in the mind by words. Generally images are divided as visual images and abstract images. Thus we can say that an image besides being visual can be olfactory (smell), gustatory (taste), tactile (touch) or auditory (related to ear). It is not necessary that an image should be concrete like a still photograph, it can also be kinesthetic or abstract. Basically an image can be literal, perceptual or conceptual. For example "while some one else is eating or opening a window or just walking dully alone" are literal images. The image of the torture's horse scratching "It's innocent behind on a tree" is a perceptual image because of the figurative use of the word "innocent" (Adams 2011).

PETER NEWMARK'S SEVEN METHODS FOR METAPHORS TRANSLATION

Newmark (1988) proposes the following seven strategies for translating metaphors:

1. Reproducing the same image in the TL.
2. Replacing the image in the SL with a standard TL image which does not clash with the TL culture.
3. Translation of metaphor by simile, retaining the image.
4. Translation of metaphor (or simile) by simile plus sense, or occasionally metaphor plus sense.

5. Conversion of metaphor to sense.
6. Deletion. If the metaphor is redundant or serves no practical purpose, there is a case for its deletion, together with its sense component.
7. Translation of metaphor by the same metaphor combined with sense. The addition of a gloss or an explanation by the translator is to ensure that the metaphor will be understood.

METHODOLOGY

Corpus

Several Iranian translators have translated Shakespeare's sonnets. Behnam Moghadam and Taghi Tafazolli have translated all the sonnets, and Saeed Saeed Pour and Elahi Ghomshei have translated some of them. Comparing the translations, the researcher chose twenty of them randomly.

Design

This study is descriptive. The researcher compared English metaphors of original sonnets and two different translations of them in Persian in order to find the most and the least used strategy of translating metaphor by translators.

Procedure

In this descriptive study firstly, the concept of metaphor, its definition and types are explained. Then different models of translation of metaphors are listed and introduced. After that the researcher has randomly chosen some of Shakespeare's sonnets that are translated by two Iranian translators. The original sonnet is read carefully and metaphorical aspects of the sonnets are outlined. The researcher used Newmark's model of metaphor translation, to study and analyze whether the translations presented are adequate. Subsequently, the translations of the sonnets are studied and compared with the original one to understand

which Newmark's strategies of translating metaphor are adopted by each translator. Then the researcher extracted the Newmark strategies to find the most and least used strategy of each translator. Finally, she has drawn the percentage chart of used strategy for each of the translations. It was also important to determine which of the translators had managed to retain the figurative language of the source text during translation.

CONCLUSIONS

The results of comparison of strategies used in translating metaphor in the two translations show that among seven strategies for translation of metaphor proposed by Newmark, in Taghi Tafazzoli's translation, "reproducing the same image in the TL" has been mostly used. This usage has made the literary language of his translation to be similar to the original sonnet. The second most common techniques are "Translation of metaphor by simile, retaining the image", used twice, and "Replacing the image in the SL with a standard TL image", used once. He has not used other strategies at all. With this use of strategies, he has kept the figurative language of the source text in his translation.

In Behnam Moghadam's translation of metaphor, "Reproducing the same image in TL" is the mostly used strategy but its percentage is half of Tafazoli's. The second strategy he has used most is "Deletion". He has used "Replacing the same image in the SL with a standard TL image", "Translation of metaphor by simile, retaining the image", "conversion of metaphor to sense" and "Translation of metaphor by the same metaphor plus sense" at the same level. He has not used "Translation of metaphor by simile plus sense" at all. The result is that Behanam Moghadam has not kept the figurative language of the source text. Rhyme is more important for him than figurative language. For keeping the rhyme he has deleted the figurative language.

The figurative language of sonnet is very important to be kept during the process of translation. Taghi Tafazoli has done his best

to do preserve this language but Behnam Moghadam does not reveal such a thing in his translation.

IMPLICATIONS

In the translation circles there used to be two contending regimes, namely those holding that translation is scientific and the other believing that it is artistic. Jacobson (1966: 238, quoted in Wills 2001) concludes that poetry by definition is untranslatable and only creative transposition is possible. A highly reputed translator of poetry, he sums up his principles saying that translation of poetry is a kind of creative reproduction and the translator must make various sorts of adaptations such as adding necessary information or deleting redundant information to convey and relay the beauty of the source poetry. Translation of metaphor has been treated as part of the more general problem of "untranslatability". This trend builds on the fact that metaphors in general are associated with "indirectness", which in turn contributes to the difficulty of translation. Different theories and approaches have been proposed with regard to metaphor translation, each of which has tackled this problem from a different point of view. In teaching literary translation, a balance between theory and practice should be kept although it can lean a little bit on practice, because it is practice that actually produces a good translator. It is suggested that teachers of literary translation provide a situation in which students could become familiar with different strategies of translation of metaphor and other devices of literature and on the other hand could practice translating literary texts to face with practical difficulties. Besides, they could be asked to come up with these difficulties using different methods and strategies. They could be asked to work on the great literary works to find devices and to find out which strategy is more useful in a particular situation and what the effect of using a particular strategy is.

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