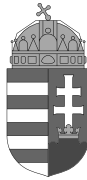# *"Near and Far"*
10/1

Edited by Petra Doma and Ferenc Takó

**Proceedings of the Annual Conference of ELTE Eötvös Collegium
Oriental and East Asian Studies Workshop, 2020**

Reviewers

Dávid Cseh; Tamás Dezső; Petra Doma; Beatrix Mecsi; Melinda Pap; Krisztina Rosner; Gergely Salát; Miklós Sárközy; Balázs Szabó; Márton Vér; Lilla Zámbó; Judit Zentai

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Editors' Preface

It is our great pleasure to offer to the attention of students and researchers of Asia the first of two volumes of papers presented at the 10th anniversary event of the "Near and Far" ("Közel, s Távol") conference series organised by the Workshop for Oriental and East Asian Studies of Eötvös József Special College, Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), Budapest, in March 2020. This was the first conference that we organised as an international event, where almost half of the nearly 60 presentations were held in English. The present volume contains the papers written in English, while its counterpart will contain the ones in Hungarian. The collection covers a colourful variety of topics, well reflecting the diversity of subjects represented at the event. We are very glad that some of the authors in the volume have worked with us several times in the past decade, while some of them are publishing in our volume for the first time.

The "Near and Far" Conference for Oriental and East Asian Studies was brought into being in 2009 by the students of the Workshop for Oriental and East Asian Studies of Eötvös József Special College with the purpose of providing a space for encounters and discussions between different fields of Oriental and East Asian Studies. The Conference was open first to the students of Eötvös Loránd University (ELTE), then to all institutions in Hungary, until it became internationally accessible with the 10th event. In the past 10 years, hundreds of papers have been read at our conferences and nearly 160 of them have been published in our peer-reviewed volumes. We are proud to say that the Conference has become a unique opportunity for many young researchers to present their findings, to receive feedback from fellow students and experienced professors, and to establish relationships with scholars they might never meet without the forum provided by this occasion.

When we prepared the 10th anniversary conference, we could not know that this would be one of the last physical programs held at our Institution for several months due to a pandemic that has changed all our lives, and has also had a serious effect on scholarly work in all our countries. This situation significantly delayed the publication of these volumes as well. However, neither our authors and reviewers, nor we editors have ceased working on the papers which thus became part of the things that helped us through the difficulties

of the pandemic years, proving that while certain occurrences may slow down scholarly work, nothing can put an end to it.

We hereby wish to express our gratitude to our reviewers, to all members of the academic and support staff of ELTE, and to the leadership of Eötvös József College, as well as to all the students who have worked with us in the past years for their continuous support, which has made the "Near and Far" conferences and their volumes a reality.

Budapest, 13th December 2021

Petra Doma, Ferenc Takó
organisers, editors

"Near"

Rashad Khattab

Representations of the Griffin from the Earliest Times until the First Half of the first Millennium B.C. in the Ancient Near East

Reliefs from North Syria

Introduction

Griffin (Greek *gryphon*) is the name used in art studies during medieval Europe and in modern times to refer to a fabulous hybrid animal, typically having the winged body, tail of a lion (the tail usually ends with a bird-shaped or snake-shaped head, or rounded end), and the head of a bird (eagle or vulture).[1]

Representing both wisdom and power, Griffins were generally associated with strength in war. Similar to the majority of monsters, the Griffin is greatly connected to ancient mythologies. In particular, the Griffin is believed to be stronger than a bull or a horse and could fly. In this sense, it bears characteristics that set it apart from the rest of the creatures. However, it is hard to find legends and myths about specific Griffins. This means that Griffins are basically known as mythical creatures but, at the same time, it appears that they do not have one or two prominent characters in mythology. Although they were believed to be able to speak, there are no named Griffins of significance. Furthermore, being so prevalent in legends is a bit surprising. The Griffin may also be considered a symbolic creature rather than a legendary or folkloristic one. Bearing this in mind, it seems more appropriate to say that this mythical beast retains a degree of anonymity, respect, and mystery.

However, it is interesting to observe that the Griffin survived the early battles of gods and appears extensively in a partially domesticated role in the art of the Near East, especially in the early 1st millennium BCE. The Griffin, thus,

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[1] J. Black – A. Green – T. Rickards, *Gods, Demons And Symbols Of Ancient Mesopotamia*, The British Museum Press, London, 1992, p. 99.

retained some of its original characteristics which were, despite its unknown profile, at least transferred and integrated into the iconographic mythology of Mesopotamia and other Near Eastern regions. Moreover, it seems that the Griffin originated in the early Mesopotamian/Elamite tradition and spread from this mythological source to other regions of the Near East to become part of their mythologies as well in an unaltered form.

The popularity of the representation of the Griffin reached its peak during the Neo-Assyrian period (911–612 BCE) when the creature appeared on various art objects. Moreover, the griffin got an important iconographic role in the art of Neo-Assyrian period. For example, the drawings on the robe of the Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BCE)[2] indicate that the Griffin (along with the three other mythical creatures, the winged horse, the winged bull and the sphinx) personified a world entrusted to the Assyrian king over which he ruled or at least exercised a symbolic dominion (*see* below).[3] Accordingly, Assyrian kings were somehow connected to this mythological world and this connection – personified by the Griffin among others – was strong enough to be represented in such a prominent object as the ceremonial robe of kings. Later, it is quite obvious that the Griffin was given some role in the iconographic depiction of an unknown mythological tradition.

The role of the Griffin cannot be determined as a simple or exclusively apotropaic since the contexts in which it was depicted are much more diverse (*see* below). Nevertheless, these contexts will be grouped and categorized to show that there has been a tradition of a specific role of the Griffin at least in the iconographic realm of the mythological tradition. Hence, it can be further assumed that a meaning or probably some stories of the horizon of a mythological tradition associated with the Griffin were known to civilizations in the Near East at least in the early 1st century BCE.

However, the Griffin has a rich representational repertoire with a limited but well-defined range of contexts that may vary from region to region and with the representational tradition spanning a history of more than three thousand years.

Surprisingly, despite the vast and extended iconographic tradition, the iconography of the Griffin itself is highly stereotypical, fixed, unchanging, and uniform. Only minor variations (geographical and/or chronological) in some details of its

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[2]   A. H. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, London, 1853, pls. 43, 46.

[3]   On the different types of garments of the Assyrian king see H. Born – U. Seidl, *Schutzwaffen aus Assyrien und Urartu*, (Sammlung Axel Guttmann, 4), Berlin, 1995.

depiction can be detected in the three thousand years of the Griffin's representational history. This is certainly true even when speaking of the representational history of the Griffin in the geometric, oriental, archaic, Classical Greek and Anatolian Greek worlds where the Griffin has retained all of its iconographic features that date back to the Mesopotamian archetypes of previous millennia. Yet, it is quite surprising to see such a stereotypical iconographic tradition that reflects thousands of years and different cultural regions stretching from Mesopotamia and Elam to Syria, Phoenicia, Egypt, the Greek world and even further.

Griffins have been represented since ancient times in the civilizations of ancient Near East. The earliest known representation is taken from a cylinder seal impression from Susa in Elam. Moreover, this representation dates back to the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods and it shows an archetypal version from the time of the emergence of the later known iconographic tradition. In addition, this representation of Griffin is the only one known to have the mane of a lion and a bird's head with wings and claws on its forelegs. And, like other Elamite monsters of this period, it disappears without leaving a trace.[4] Then, the Griffin appeared on cylinder seals that go back to Ur III dynasty in Mesopotamia, precisely from Tell Asmar.[5] Later, at least during the early 1st millennium BCE, the representation of the Griffin spread to neighbouring regions such as Syria, Palestine, and Cyprus. Its iconographic details – within a limited range – could differ from one region to another. Each region has its merits and characteristics that distinguish it from other regions. Moreover, several artistic traditions such as the Syrian Northern style, the Assyrian style, the Phoenician style, and perhaps the South Syrian style have emerged to depict it.

The Griffin belongs to the family of mixed creatures *(Mischwesen)* that originated in little-known mythology of 4th millennium BCE Mesopotamia and neighbouring regions. This family of mixed creatures is composed of several "subfamilies" or subgroups. One of these subgroups includes demons and genie that have wings. However, the winged creatures form a single-family based on a descriptive approach only. Although the theological/mythological background would be diverse, all members of this family would arise from the same idea, that is, the same horizon of early Mesopotamian mythology whose elements are mostly ambiguous, unfortunately.

The other problem is that we can hardly reconstruct the world of thought,

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[4]   H. Frankfort, "Notes on the Cretan Griffin", *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, Vol. 37 (1936/1937), p. 106.

[5]   E. Porada, *Corpus Of Ancient Near Estern Seals, Bollingen Foundation*, Washington, D.C.,Vol. 1, 1948, p. 34, fig. 269.

the comprehensive mythological background, and the worldview of those Mesopotamian people who shaped these mixed creatures. However, some scholars have tried to find the original theoretical background of the phenomenon.[6]

Actually, the canonized forms of these mythological creatures are the result of hundreds of years of stylistic and probably mythological evolution – a process that is hardly known or even completely unknown to us.

The eagles were religious icons since many inscriptions which have been found indicate that they were placed in the temple of Assur. Nevertheless, these inscriptions did not indicate what type of bird formed the head of the Griffin and Apkallus[7], that is the reason why many scholars have suggested that the head of the Griffin is an eagle.

Yet, if we compare the beak of the eagle and the vulture, we find that they are so similar that we can hardly find any difference between them. It is hooked, strong and designed to tear prey meat. Thus, it is necessary to find other characteristics to find out what the original bird might have been.

While eagles are distinguished by the presence of feathers on the face, this feature is not found on the heads of Griffins and Apkallus. However, in most reliefs we see feathers on the top of the head, resembling a culmen.

Furthermore, Huxley suggests that the head of both the Griffin and the Apkallus is the head of the Black European vulture (Aegypius monarchus) that lived in southern Europe and Central Asia. This vulture has similar characteristics to the head of the Griffin and the Apkallus. These features include Culmen consisting of feathers on the head and there is a group of feathers extending from the back of the head (over the shoulders) to the chest. Another

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[6] See for example in J.V.K. Wilson, *The Rebel Lands, An Investigation Into The Origins of Early Mesopotamian Mythology*, Cambridge University Press, 1979.

[7] Three types of Apkallus (human-headed, bird-headed, and fish-like) are depicted on several reliefs and are known as Apkallus (Apkallu is "sage" in Akkadian; they are known as Abgal in Sumerian). M. Lurker, The Routledge Dictionary of Gods and Goddesses, Devils and Demons, Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data, London, 1984, p. 1. The most popular was the Griffin-demon, which has got a human body with a bird's head and the wings (probably an eagle or a vulture). The origin of the Griffin-demon is unknown. J.G. Westenholz, *Dragons, Monsters And Fablous Beasts, Bible Lands*, Museam Jerusalem, Israel, 2004, p. 34. But when, after the middle of the second millennium BCE. Assyria emerged as a political and cultural center independent of the south, our Griffin and its humanized counterpart became the most conspicuous features of the new artistic repertoire. They appear on the seals of king Aššur-uballiṭ I (1405–1385 BCE) and in the wall-paintings of Kār-Tukulti-Ninurta (about 1280 BCE). H. Frankfort, *The Art And Architecture of The Ancient Orient, Published By Penuin Books*, London, 1977, p. 108.

anatomical feature that distinguishes this vulture, similar to the plates of the Griffin and the Apkallus, is the rectangular opening of the nose that we see in many representations.[8]

Furthermore, vultures are carrion-scrapping birds and this suggests that the vulture was the guardian of the sun. This conclusion helps us to know the role of the Griffin in our subsequent study.

It is worth mentioning that the development of the Griffin and its roles in Egypt varies. Going back to earlier periods such as the Old Kingdom (2649–2130 BCE), more bird-like figures related in form and meaning to the falcon god Horus, winged or unwinged, are found. They embody destructive powers that is used to defeat all enemies and protect the land, royal power and ideology.[9] However, this Griffin is not the one discussed in the present paper.

The Griffin Reliefs of North Syria and Southeastern Anatolia (cat. nos. 1–10).

There are ten plates which depict Griffins were found in Zinçirli, Carchemish, Til Barsib, and Tell Halaf and Ankara in North Syria and Southeastern Anatolia. These plates are dated to the 9th and 8th centuries BCE (Iron Age II).

The first slab of Zinçirli/ Sham'al (see cat. 1) was found in the southern gate of the city.[10] The other slabs, dated to the 9th and 8th centuries BCE, depict gods, heroes, soldiers, hunters, and animals such as lions and bulls in adition to composite creatures.[11] Besides the Griffin, the following creatures appear in the reliefs.

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[8] M. Huxley, "The Gates and Guardians in Sennacherib's Addition to the Temple of Assur", *Iraq*, Vol. 62 (2000), pp. 109–137, pp. 130–131.

[9] M.A. Bissi, *IL Grifone, Storia Di Un Motivo Iconografico Nell'Antico Oriente Mediterraneo*, Centro Di Studi Semitici, Instituto Di Studi Del Vicino Oriente – Universita, Roma, 1965, pp. 21–23 and V. Dubcová, "Mastering a griffin. The agency and perception of Near Eastern images by the Aegean Bronze Age elite", *Anodos, Studies of the Ancient World*, 13 (2013), pp. 163–178, p. 166.

[10] W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen Zur Spathethitischen Kunst, Rudolf Habelt Verlag*, Bonn, 1971, pp. 332–334–537, cat. No. Zinçirli A/5 and pl. 55: c.

[11] For more information on the decorative elements on the southern city gate of Zinçirli, see: M. Pucci, "Founding And Planning A New Town: The Southern Town Gate At Zincirli", *From The Treasures Of Syria, Essays On Art And Archaeology In Honour of Stefania Mazzoni*, Paola Ciafardoni – Deborah Giannessi (eds.), Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, Leiden, 2015, pp. 35–74.

The Griffin is depicted together with a Sphinx in the same relief.[12] The Griffin is located above the Sphinx. Moreover, both figures are facing to the right and are depicted in a striding position. Indeed, the artist was creative in depicting the Griffin's movement of lifting its left front paw. The Griffin consists of a bird's head (probably that of an eagle) with a beak that curves downward. Also, this beak shape – a characteristic of birds of prey – is attested in relief depictions of the Griffin in North Syrian style where the figure has ears and a long neck. Furthermore, the short carved wing without feathers is small compared to the body and consists of four parts divided by longitudinal lines interrupted in the middle. The reason behind this iconographic conventions is that only one wing of this figure was depicted in the profile. Besides, the Griffin has a lion's body whose details are not formed. Its tail is raised and ends in the head of a bird or a snake.

On the other hand, the other slab from Zinçirli (see cat. 2) is located in the outer gate of the palace (exactly in the southern part of the castle's gate wall) with numerous orthostat reliefs depicting gods and mythical beings. This Griffin is characterized with a chain that extends from behind the ear going down to the neck – possibly indicationg a captured Griffin. The neck is long, the wing consists of four oblique lines, and the lion's body of the Griffin is more powerful than the body of the Griffin (cat. 1). However, the Griffin is depicted in a striding position and the tail extends to the ground at the end of the body. The end of the tail is not visibly clear due to the superficial erosion of the slab which caused some details to be lost.

Along with that, orthostate slabs were located on the walls of important gates in the city. These quarters were intended for religious events such as rituals, offerings to the gods, kings inauguration ceremonies.

Iconographic themes of the reliefs on the eastern side of the southern gate of the city in Zinçirli reflect the following: a. Defeat of a wild animal; b. Dynastic power/ political stability; c. Master of fantastic beasts; and d. Enemy defeat/ military parade. Thus, the artists depicted Griffins, mythical creatures, gods, kings, warriors, and vehicles on the walls of the city gates to follow a particular narrative style (the panels form a theme-integrated decoration). Clearly, this shows that the artists wanted to use these scenes to convey the history of the wars that were taking place inside the city at that time. Hence, it is inferred

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[12] I.J. Winter, "Carved Ivory Furniture Panels from Nimrud: A Coherent Subgroup of the North Syrian Style", *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol. 11 (1976), pp. 25–54, p. 41, fig. 25. and Winter, *On Art In The Ancient Near East of the First Millennium B.C.E.*, Vol.1, Leiden, Boston, 2010, p. 272.

that the role of the Griffin is not merely decorative. It is evident that the artists purpose was to convey a message to the viewer which says that the Griffin was led by a warrior in wars and that they were defeated by man and were domesticated. This is shown by a depiction of warriors, chariots, and kings near the Griffins. In addition, the evidence of this is observed in the second panel that reflects the chains extending from the Griffin's neck and a panel that depicts a warrior beside it (implying that it was a prisoner of war).[13]

What can be concluded from these two Griffin plates is that the Griffin, in the first plate, is represented with the Sphinx since the Sphinx is made of a human head indicating a symbol of power and control over mythical beings. This means that the Sphinx is lead by his man's head in contrary to the (domesticated) Griffin. In the second plate, the man imprisons the Griffin until it is domesticated.

The reliefs discovered at Carchemish decorated the walls inside the city. A large number of orthostats were found. Nevertheless, this site differs from the other North Syrian sites in the variety of materials used for the sculptures: limestone slabs were found together with basalt representing lions, mythological creatures, and gods.[14]

Moreover, the reliefs depicting mythical creatures – particularly Griffins or Sphinxes – were discovered in the southern part of the Storm Gods temple. The first relief that depicted a Griffin with an upper part of the relief which includes the head has been broken (see cat. 3).[15] Furthermore, on the rest of the plate, the lion's body is identified along with strong ribs in motion (the front and back feet stride towards each other). Nevertheless, the figure is turned to the right, a ruff extends from the neck, and the wing extends along the body and ends at the top from the back foot. The tail rises above the body.

On the other slab found on the wall of the water gate in the city an animal is depicted though the surface of the slab is eroded, some details are lost, and there is a break in the upper part. This scene resembles the previous scene but the animal here turns to the right and the body of the lion is smaller than what is seen before (see cat. 7).[16] Actually, we do not know exactly what these two panels represent: a griffin, a lion, or some other mythical creature. But when

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[13] Pucci 2015, p. 46, fig. 5.

[14] For more information about Carchemish, see: L. Woolley, *Carchemish, printed by order of the trustees*, Vol. 2, London, 1952.

[15] Orthmann 1971, pp. 332–503, cat. No. Karkemis D / 2 Plate 25, c.

[16] Orthmann 1971, pp. 332–498. Cat. No. Karkemis Ab / 1 Plate 20, f, and Woolley 1952, fig. B28.

comparing them with the Zinçirli plates we notice a style similar to the Griffin sculpture in Zinçirli plates which means that the artist have the same ideas in sculpture (Syro-Hittite style/ North-Syrian Art).

Meanwhile, the third relief of two Griffins (see cat. no. 4) was also found on the wall of the King's Gate inside the city. The two Griffins are identical in description, showing the head of a bird that is decorated with a crown this time. The Griffins are shown facing each other sideways and standing on their hind feet with one of their front feet raised while the tail is raised behind the body.[17]

It is possible that some details/elements between the Griffins are missing in this plate because mythical creatures are usually depicted in the opposite position, adjacent to the middle of the Tree of Life. For example, the depiction that appears on a plate from Til-Barsip (see cat. no. 6) shows that the Griffin also raises its front foot holding the tree of life. Another explanation is that the artist, perhaps, wanted here to put the Griffin in this position in order to welcome visitors to the city bearing in mind that this avenue is the wall of the royal gate. The crown is most likely placed on the Griffin's head for the same reason. Thus, this means that the purpose of the Griffin is to decorate the gate for welcoming visitors and to indicate the strength and greatness of the city, with the lion's body representing power and authority.

Certainly, one of the most important sites in northern Syria is Tell-Halaf (ancient Guzana) where the temple was built by the ruler (Kapara) in the 10th century BCE. A large number of sculptures ranging from a lion, kings, gods and mythical beings were placed on its entrances and walls.[18] The Griffin plate (see cat. 5) was found on the front wall of the temple palace in large numbers in addition to the western veiled Sphinx and the Griffin bearing the following features:[19] the Griffin consists of an eagle's head with a sharp and large beak and oval-shaped eyes. On the head there are comb-like feathers extending from the top of the head to the wings. Its wings are stretched out on both sides of the body and the body of a lion stands on its hind legs and raises one of the front legs forward. The tail rises upwards.

It is possibile that the artist intended to depict the Griffin in this position to complete a certain narrative as in the plates of Zinçirli, meaning that the

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[17] Orthmann 1971, pp. 332–511, cat. No. Karkemis H / 8 Plate 33, f.

[18] W. Orthmann, *Die Aramäisch-Assyrische Stadt Guzana Ein Rückblick Auf Die Ausgrabungen Max Von Oppenheims In Tell Halaf*, Saarbrücker Druckerei Und Verlag, Saarbrücken, 2002, p. 83.

[19] Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf, Une Civilisation Retrouvée En Mésopotamie*, Printed In Great Britain By Robert Maclehose An Co. Ltd., Paris, 1939, pl. 31 a.

Griffin wants to fight or pray with one of the animals next to it. Or, it wants to fight with the Sphinx next to it.

Furthermore, another plate on the orthostat (see cat. no. 10), which decorated the front wall of the temple, contains a Griffin similar to the previous one but with only one wing on the side of the body instead of two and there is a bull's ear on the head.[20]

Also, in the temple of Tell Halaf, at the entrance of the second hall, a Griffin statue made of basalt stone was found (see cat. no. 8).[21] Several slabs, particularly 200, were carved on the walls of the hall depicting various scenes of gods, men, battles, hunting, religious rituals, warriors, hunters, horsemen, mythical creatures, and animals.

The statue of the Griffin is also distinguished by the combination of the three-dimensional sculpture of the front of the body and the distinctive sculpture of the back of the body. This Griffin consists of an eagle's head with a sharp beak, large eyes, and feathers running from the head to the back. It also has a lion's body and the wings are not outstretched and the chest is curved outwards. Besides, this Griffin stands above a huge stone pedestal.

In fact, statues of the Sphinx and a statue of the Scorpion Man were found next to the Griffin statue as it was placed at the entrances to the important halls within the temple. This shows that it is used for magical purposes: to guard and protect the temple from enemies and to strike fear into the souls of enemies entering the temple. The lion body represents power and authority.

With regard to Til Barsib, the Assyrian site is located on the left bank of the Euphrates River to the south of Carchemish (now Tell Ahmar). The excavations have not discovered the whole city which was taken by Shalmaneser III in 856 BCE (a palace was built).[22] However, a slab was found by the river situated southwest of the city. It was a basalt slab that depicts two Griffins facing each other and framing a tree between them, probably the Tree of Life (see Cat. 6).[23] According to this slab, the Griffin consists of a bird's head with large beak (curved downwards), round and large eyes, tufts of hair upwards on its head, and a lion's body. It stands on its hind legs, and its front legs hold the Tree of Life. The wings are not clear.

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[20] Orthmann 2002, p. 83, Abb. 67.

[21] Oppenheim 1939, pl. 15 and Orthmann 2002, p. 68, Abb. 43.

[22] Bunnens, "Assyrian Empire Building and Aramization Of Culture as Seen From Tell Ahmer/ Till Barsib", *Syria*, T.86 (2009), pp. 67–82, p. 67.

[23] Orthmann 1971, pp. 332, 535. And Hogarth 1909, pl. 40.3. And and Dangin, *Til Barsip*, Paris, 1936, pl. 11.8.

The last site to be included in this study is Ankara (Anatolia) which is one of the main sites for the study of art in northern Syria. An orthostat was found there with Griffins aside his face to the left (see Cat. 9). It consists of a bird's head with a large and open beak in addition to rounded eyes protruding toward his bull ears and a braid hanging from the head with a rounded end. Behind the head, there is a crest that ends at the back. Its neck is short. The lion's chest is arched and projects forward. The wing extends straight from the mane to the end of the body and is divided into four sections. The feathers are represented by straight lines and the tail rises at the end of the body with a rounded end.[24]

With no doubts, the Griffin was represented in all the plates with only one wing and it is believed that the artist wished to represent through having one wing that the Griffin was standing in the lateral position. Nevertheless, a plate from the temple of Tell Halaf (see cat. no. 5) shows the Griffin with two wings. Perhaps the artist wanted here to convey to the beholder of the plate the idea that the Griffin is preparing to fly.

Indeed, we can see that what distinguishes North Syrian art is the crest on the Griffin's head, and most of the plates here depict a crest on the Griffin's head (see cat. nos. 5, 8, 9, 10). However, we also have some Griffins depicted with a bull's ear on their head (see cat. 1, 2, 4). In some plates, we see the representation of the crest with a bull's ear on the head together (see cat. 9 and 10).

Conclusion

Through studying the reliefs of North-Syria we found that the artist depicted the Griffin or other mythical creatures alone on the plate while we did not see the depiction of humans (kings, warriors, gods) with the Griffin on the same plate. We have only one plate depicting a Griffin with Sphinx in the same scene (see cat. no. 1).

Consequently, we observe the rarity of Griffin tiles found in the regions of Northern Syria which are limited to Zinçirli, Carchemish, Tell Halaf, Til-Barsip, and Ankara. Artists paid attention to the depiction of many mythical creatures, gods, and animals in addition to the Griffin in these areas. They also emphasized the depiction on the walls of important buildings within the city to represent the battles and vital activities that took place in the city. However, everything happened on the walls of the buildings was documented to indicate the importance of the rituals that took place and the importance of the places

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[24] Bittel, *Les Hittites*, Vol. 6, Gallimard, 1976, p. 294, fig. 337.

which produced these tablets that contained legendary beings with magical powers to protect the city from external dangers.

Nevertheless, in North-Syria and Anatolia we do not find a single example of a Griffin depicted on materials other than stone such as ivory, seals, pots, etc. Barnett suggested that the absence of North-Syrian ivory after the 8th century BCE may be attributed to the extinction of the Syrian elephant. This animal is known to have lived in the Khabur (Orontes) region on the upper Euphrates River during this period and was, probably, an important source of raw material for Syrian carvers.

In general, we see a similar style of sculpture in all the sites of North-Syria. The reasons why these reliefs were placed on the walls of the buildings vary. One of the most important purposes, and probably the main purpose, is to spread terror in the hearts of enemies who invade or aim to conquer the city. Another purpose stems from the belief in their magical power that expels evil spirits from the city and from its inhabitants. A third purpose is to document what happened in religious rituals, festivals and battles in the city since the panels combined represent an integrated story. Last but not least, the panels were also designed to decorate the walls.

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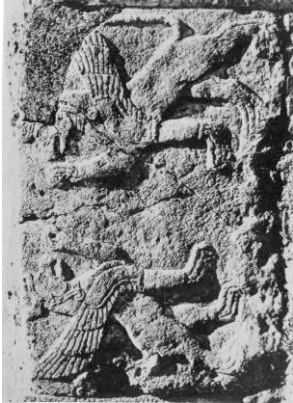
The Catalogue

Cat. no. 1	
Provenance	Zinçirli (Iron age II, Southern gate of the city wall /near the inner gate)
Present location:	Istanbul, Oriental Museum (Inv 7711)
Dimensions	Height: 134 cm Width: 95 cm
Material	Basalt
Object type	Orthostat slab
Period	Ninth century BCE
Category A1	Reliefs stone (Orthostat slab)
Type 1Ab	Northern Syrian style (walking)
Scene	Above: griffin Below: sphinx

Description: In the upper half of plate, Griffin striding to right, lion's body, tail rising at the end of body and ending in a bird's head, wings, bird's head with strongly curved, closed beak.

The lower part of the plate (sphinx) is similar to the Griffin at the top of the picture, except that here the human head has a conical hat.
Condition: the surface of the plate is eroded, some details are lost.

References:
Orthmann 1971, pp. 332, 334, 537, cat. no. Zinçirli A/5 and pl. 55: c.
Winter 1976, p. 41, fig. 25.
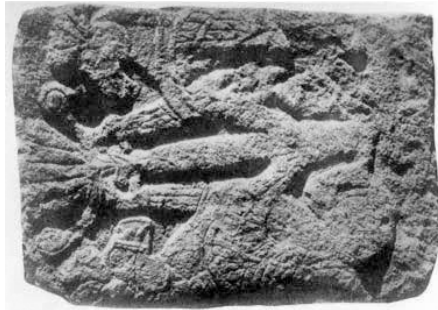
Cat. no. 2	
Provenance	Zinçirli (Iron age II, The outer gate of the castle (the southern part of the castle wall)
Present location	Berlin, Vorderas. Department (Inv. VA 2710)
Dimensions	Height: 100 cm Width: 100 cm
Material	Basalt
Object type	Orthostat slab
Period	730 BCE
Category A1	Reliefs stone (Orthostat slab)
Type 1Ab	Northern Syrian style (walking)
Scene	Probably Griffin
Description: The slab represents the orthostat of the basalt stone material of the mythical creatures (probably Griffin), the head of the bird has a beak, the ears of the bull, oval eyes, a long neck. Body: lion representing the Griffin walking to the right, the body is thin, the tail extends down the end of the body (the end of the tail is not clear). The Griffin has a wing that extends to the tip, with vertical lines. Condition: good, not broken.	
Reference Orthmann 1971, pp. 542, 332, cat. no. Zinçirli B / 21 Plate 59, d	
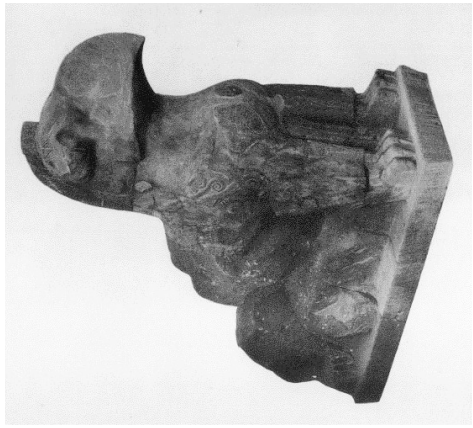
Cat. no. 3	
Provenance	Karkemis (Iron age II, Temple of the Storm God (in the southern part of the temple courtyard)
Present location	Ankara, Museum at the Gateway Arch (Inv. 98)
Dimensions	Height: 81 cm Width: 142 cm
Material	Basalt
Object type	Orthostat slab
Period	850–750 BCE
Category A1	Reliefs stone (Orthostat slab)
Type 1Ab	Northern Syrian style (walking)
Scene	Probably Griffin
Description: A hybrid creature with lion's body, head not preserved, tail pointing upwards, the back of its wings resting on its thighs. It strides to the right on a stone pedestal at the bottom of the slab. Condition: the upper part is broken, some details are lost.	
Reference Orthmann 1971, pp. 332, 503, cat. no. Karkemis D / 2 Plate 25, c.	

Cat. no. 4

Provenance	Karkemis (Iron age II, the orthostats that adorned the King's Gate)
Present location	Ankara, Museum at the Gateway Arch (Inv. 9653)
Dimensions	Height about 100 cm
Material	Limestone
Object type	Orthostat slab
Period	850–750 BCE
Category A1	Reliefs stone (Orthostat slab)
Type 1B	Northern Syrian style (Double griffins)
Scene	Double Griffins

Description: Two griffins in antithetic arrangement (identical in description), bird's head with open beak straight in lower part, bull's ear, the neck is long and high above.
The body of a thin lion with wings and tail rising at the end of the body (its end is not clear), standing Griffin on its hind legs, front legs: lifting one.
Condition: the surface of the plate is eroded, some details are lost, there is a break in the upper part.

Reference
Orthmann 1971, pp. 332, 511, cat. no. Karkemis H / 8 Plate 33, f.

Rashad Khattab

Cat. no. 5	
Provenance	Tell Halaf (Iron age I, on the front wall of the temple palace in Tell Halaf, next to the Western veiled Sphinx)
Present location	In site (the temple)
Dimensions	Undefined
Material	Basalt
Object type	Orthostat slab
Period	1000–900 BCE
Category A1	Reliefs stone (Orthostat slab)
Type 1Aa	Northern Syrian style (standing)
Scene	Griffin

Description: The head of the Griffin is like that of an eagle, the mouth being closed, but in addition provided with a neck-comb and long neck-flaps.
The body is shaped like a lion, with wings (the wings are shown here in the picture) and tail rising at the end of the body (its end is not clear), the griffin stands on its hind legs, front legs: raising one.
Condition: good, not broken.

References
Orthmann, W., *Die Aramäisch-Assyrische Stadt Guzana*, Saarbrücker Druckerei Und Verlag, Saarbrücken, p. 83.
Oppenheim 1931, pl. 31 a.

Cat. no. 6	
Provenance	Til Barsib (Iron age III, River side southwest of the village)
Present location	Aleppo, Museum (Inv 6)
Dimensions	Height 113 cm. Width 79 cm.
Material	Basalt
Object type	Orthostat slab
Period	700 BCE
Category A1	Reliefs stone (Orthostat slab)
Type 1B	Northern Syrian style (Double Griffins)
Scene	Double Griffins

Description: Double Griffin in antithetic arrangement (identical in description), the head of the griffin corresponding to that of an eagle, neck crest, bull's ears, the mouth closed, holding the tree of life in the middle.
The body is perhaps a lion with wings, neck crest, bull ears, standing griffin on hind leg, the tail is unclear.
Condition: The surface of the plate is eroded, some details are lost, there is a break in the upper part.

References
Orthmann 1971, pp. 332, 535.
Hogarth 1909, pl. 40.3.
Dangin 1929, pl. 35.4.
Dangin 1936, Til Barsib, pl. 11.8.

Cat. no. 7	
Provenance	Karkemis (Iron age II, Water Gate)
Present location	Ankara, Museum at the Gateway Arch (Inv. 9660)
Dimensions	Height 110 cm. Width 150 cm. Length 150 cm.
Material	Limestone
Object type	Orthostat slab
Period	850–750 BCE
Category A1	Reliefs stone (Orthostat slab)
Type 1Ab	Northern Syrian style (walking)
Scene	Griffin?

Description: Only in the lower part did the lion receive bodies with wings.
He is walking to the left on a stone pedestal at the bottom of the picture.
Condition: The surface of the plate is eroded, some details are lost, there is a break in the upper part.

References
Orthmann 1971, pp. 332, 498. cat. no. Karkemis Ab / 1 Plate 20, f.
Woolley 1952, fig. B28.

Cat. no. 8	
Provenance	Tell Halaf (Iron age I, in the east of the main inner hall of the temple palace)
Present location	In site (the temple)
Dimensions	Height 240 cm.
Material	Basalt
Object type	Statues Carved
Period	1000–900 BCE
Category A1	Reliefs
Type 1Aa	Northern Syrian style (standing)
Scene	Griffin

Description: The statue represents the Griffin with a bird's head, very large beak, closed mouth, the neck is short (not distinct), the eyes are round and large. The body is a lion. The statue stands on a flat stone base on the ground. Condition: good, the back of the statue is broken.

References
Oppenheim 1939, pl. 15.
Orthmann, *Die Aramäisch-Assyrische Stadt Guzana*, Saarbrücker Druckerei Und Verlag, Saarbrücken, p. 68, Abb. 43.

Cat. no. 9	
Provenance	Ankara (Iron age III)
Present location	??
Dimensions	Undefined
Material	Basalt
Object type	Orthostat slab
Period	700 BCE
Category A1	Reliefs stone (Orthostat slab)
Type 1Ab	Northern Syrian style (walking)
Scene	Griffin
Description: The Griffin has the head of a bird with its mouth open. The eyes are round and large, a strand of hair is wrapped with a coiled end. The wing consists of straight lines divided into four sections by curved lines. The body is thin, the Griffin going to the left. The tail projects above the body from the back to the middle of the back and has a rounded end.	
Reference Bittel 1976, p. 294, fig. 337.	

Cat. no. 10	
Provenance	Tell Halaf (Iron age I, on the front wall of the temple palace in Tell Halaf)
Present location	in site (the temple)
Dimensions	Undefined
Material	Basalt
Object type	Orthostat slab
Period	1000–900 BCE
Category A1	Reliefs stone (Orthostat slab)
Type 1Aa	Northern Syrian style (standing)
Scene	Griffin

Description: The head of the Griffin is like that of an eagle with ears. The mouth is closed, but is additionally provided with a nuchal crest and long neck flaps.
The body is shaped like a lion, with wings (the wings are shown here in the picture) and tail rising at the end of the body (its end is not clear), the Griffin stands on its hind legs, front legs: raising one.
Condition: good, not broken.

Reference
Orthmann 2002, *Die Aramäisch-Assyrische Stadt Guzana*, Saarbrücker Druckerei Und Verlag, Saarbrücken, p. 83, Abb. 67.

Dániel Pásztor

Ideological Changes in Royal Titulary of The Early Neo-Assyrian Period (934–883 BCE)

The history of research

The topic of the royal titulary of the Neo-Assyrian Empire is extremely important, given that it constitutes one of the most significant sources of how a specific king perceived his "mission" on earth during his reign. Following the common practice throughout Assyrian history, the royal court ordered the production of a huge number of royal inscriptions written in the name of the king. Although the structures of these inscriptions were flexible, the introductory lines containing the royal (and sometimes also the divine) titles and epithets – apart from a few exceptions – can be regarded as obligatory sections.

During the three main periods in Assyrian history (Old-, Middle- and Neo-Assyrian), a considerable increase in quantity and a great progress in quality can be detected in the titulary. On the other hand, periods of political crises can lead the observer to a crisis in the field of research as well, mostly due to the scarcity of sources and their poor state of preservation. The shift inside the wide spectrum of self-expression may occur at each historical turning-point or simply at the change of the king's person, but according to the general consensus in this field of study, royal self-introduction can vary even during a ruler's lifetime.[1]

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[1] The first study in this particular field was published by Mario Liverani (1980) who analysed the special case of the king Sennacherib (705–681 BCE). The study laid thus the foundations of a new approach of analysis. As a result, the variations that are dependent on time, i.e., the different phases of the king's reign and on geographical situation of the inscriptions could finally disclose the ideological shifts and changes of motivations behind them as well. See Mario Liverani, "Critique of Variants and the Titulary of Sennacherib". F.-M. Fales (ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons in Literary, Ideological, and Historical Analysis*, Orientalis Antiqui Collecto, Vol. 7, Istituto per l'Oriente, Roma, 1981, pp. 225–257.

The most important question in my view is how to evaluate those titularies.[2] First of all, we need to set up different categories and, accordingly, distinguish between the different approaches, so that we may shed some light on the ideological background behind them. The first significant author dealing with royal titulary was William W. Hallo (1957). The time-span of his study was limited to the basic titles and covered the reign of the early Mesopotamian rulers from the third to the early second millennium BCE.[3] Marie-Joseph Seux (1967), compiled in one book all the Akkadian and Sumerian titles and epithets ever invented in Mesopotamian history.[4] The categories and subcategories that I set up were mainly inspired by those of Barbara Cifola (1994), who created the first comprehensive study of the Assyrian titulary, covering a time-span from the beginning of the Old Assyrian era (20th century BCE) to the beginning of the Late Neo-Assyrian period (the second half of the eighth century BCE).[5]

[2] This word is rather a generic term for a self-description of a king that can imply titles and/ or epithets alike. The problem arises when it comes to distinguish between them. In order to make the distinction easier, I will follow Barbara Cifola's view, that titles always come before epithets, and in shorter texts epithets are the first to be omitted although he adds that sometimes the same expression must belong to both categories, see Barbara Cifola, *Analysis of Variants in the Assyrian Royal Titulary from the Origins to Tiglath-Pileser III*, Instituto Universitario Orientale, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici, Series Minor, Instituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli, 1995, section 0.3 of the Introduction, pp. 3–5.

[3] The origin of the basic titles applied also by later kings was revealed in each of the four periods under discussion: the Early Dynastic, Sargonid, Ur III and the Old Babylonian periods. See William W. Hallo, *Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles: A Philologic and Historical Analysis*. American Oriental Series, Vol. 43, American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1957.

[4] See Marie-Joseph Seux, *Épithètes royales akkadiennes et sumériennes*, Letouzey et Ané, Paris, 1967. It is a collection of elements of titulary aiming at reconstructing a general picture of how a Mesopotamian king saw himself regardless of exact historical period and region. The presentation of words or expressions is in alphabetical order, while inside a specific entry the chronological order of rulers is preferred. The volume's uselessness in establishing the development of titulary elements inside one reign and their connection within a sequence was already remarked by Liverani (1980), see fn. 12, pp. 231–232. Later in RlA 6 (1980–1983) the author himself acknowledged the lack of a universal ideology applicable regardless of time and space, see Marie-Joseph Seux, "Königtum". *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatisches Archeologie*, Vol. 6, de Gruyter, Berlin – New York, 1980–1983, pp. 140–173. p. 143.

[5] For the categories and subcategories in her summarizing list, see Cifola (1994), pp. 155–193. At the end of each chapter, a specific list is provided including all the titles and epithets of the king treated in the respective chapter. The listed elements in the summarizing list are in alphabetical order, while next to the phrases the Assyrian kings who used that phrase are listed in chronological order, indicated by their respective numbers in the volumes RIMA 1-3. For the texts cited in this paper, see especially Albert Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the First Millenium BC (To 1115 BC)*, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Periods, Vol. 1, University

One of the important approaches in this field of study was the expression of the relationships between the Assyrian king and foreign kings, rulers, or peoples. According to my knowledge, Matthias Karlsson (2017) was the first author who dedicated a whole volume to the question of how a title or epithet could reflect different sorts of perception of the "Other", "Different" or "Enemy" – often presented by the same Akkadian expression "*nakru*".[6] Beside this one, another possible approach is the research of relations between the king and the gods (or a specific god). Finally, a third distinguishable type may be the relation of the gods to the foreign lands.[7] These approaches, however, still cannot cover all the aspects of a king's activities. The changes or shifts of accent inside these approaches and categories can be examined as time-specific, location-specific, or even as material-specific questions.

The first one of my categories is the king as a ruler, exercising general authority over a group of people, kings, or territories. A number of the titles belonging to this category can be evaluated as a universal title expressing universal authority.

Another distinct category is the king in the role of a shepherd. It is a very common topos in ancient Mesopotamia and implies a metaphor of a good ruler

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of Toronto Press, Toronto–Buffalo–London, 1987 and Grayson, Albert Kirk: *Assyrian Rulers of the First Millenium BC (1114–859 BC)*, The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Assyrian Periods, Vol. 2, University of Toronto Press, Toronto–Buffalo–London, 1991.

[6]   The historical timespan taken into consideration is longer than that in the book of Cifola (1994), because it embraces the Late Neo-Assyrian Period as well. The expression of the "Other" can cover a foreign person or group of individuals (e. g. foreign rulers, tributers, prisoners, deportees), a royal predecessor or successor, a toponym (e. g. city or temple, natural landscape) outside Assyrian heartland. See Matthias Karlsson, *Alterity in Ancient Assyrian Propaganda*, State Archives of Assyria Studies, Vol. 26, The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Helsinki, 2017. The author clarifies that the "Otherness" is a flexible notion and can hardly be defined on the basis of ethnicity. The author uses different kinds of classification in his analysis. The most significant analytical viewpoint is based upon the predicative element of each phrase. Another type of classification is offered according to the nominal (nouns, adjectives) elements. In the summarizing list of titular elements, we can see each title and epithet related to the "Otherness". The list of the Akkadian phrases is in alphabetical order. Beside the phrases the quantity of occurrence is indicated, and then the exact place of the phrase in question within each royal inscription, see pp. 11–51.

[7]   The same author in his PhD-thesis (2013) presented the ideological background and changes applying the three above-mentioned aspects of analysis to the reign of the two most significant Early Neo-Assyrian rulers, Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, see Karlsson, Matthias: *Early Neo-Assyrian State Ideology. Relations of Power in the Inscriptions and Iconography of Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 BC) and Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC)*. PhD-thesis, Uppsala University Uppsala, 2013. The conception is maintained and briefly extended to all the other Early Neo-Assyrian rulers as well in his next contribution, see Matthias Karlsson, *Relations of Power in Early Neo-Assyrian State Ideology*, De Gruyter, Boston – Berlin, 2016.

taking care of his people: leading them to well-being, but also catching and punishing them if they roam in the wrong direction. In my view, this is the most flexible category ever set up because these duties of a ruler cannot be exclusively expressed with the often used words "shepherd" *(rē'û)* or "herdsman" *(utullu),* but with other neutral words, such as "leader" or "governor"[8], as well.

The next category concerns the king's special relationship with the gods. It may contain, as a subcategory, all the titles expressing the king's reverence toward the gods, and – in exchange – the gods' support of the king. Archaic ranks are sometimes obtained by the king, which are mostly *"iššiaku"* of Ashur, the supreme deity of Assyria, and *"šaknu"* of Enlil, another main deity of South Mesopotamia who is often syncretized with the northern god Ashur. The two titles listed here can be rendered as "vice-regent" and "governor", respectively. These basic sacral-administrative titles are the most archaic ones in Assyria, and both have southern origins from the third millennium BCE.[9] The king can take up even more sacral functions, such as high-priest *(šangû[10])* of the main god, purifying priest *(išippu*[11]*),* or temple-administrator *(šatammu[12]).* A ruler can gain the support of a specific god by renovating or widening his temple or city-wall.

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8   This can imply, in my view, all the aspects of an emperor who organizes his colonies or provinces, pacifies a rebellious territory, etc. Cifola (1994), on the contrary, only includes the positive aspects of the role of shepherd, see pp. 189–190. A pastoral ruler here suggests a king who e.g. makes his land abundant, protects his people and/or brings forth social welfare.

9   The first one has a Sumerian origin in the expression "ensí", referring originally to a local ruler with religious/political character. In the 21st century BCE it represented a governor of the empire of Ur (Ur III-period). This might have been the period when in the north, the rulers of the city-state of Assur used this title for the first time which has been preserved for centuries instead of the word *"šarru"*. The Old-Assyrian Šamši-Adad I (1808–1776 BCE) was the first ruler who assumed it together with the above-mentioned two titles. This practice was followed from the beginning of the Middle-Assyrian Period onwards (second half of the13th century BCE), see Seux (1980–1983), pp. 142–143, 167–168. For *"iššiaku",* see also the same author (1967), pp. 110–111, and for a more detailed analysis in Seux, "Remarques sur le titre royal assyrienne iššiaki Aššur". *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, Vol. 59, 1965, pp. 101–109. For both titles' classification as religious/political, see Cifola (1994), p. 155.

10 The first one is attested first as a title only in the Middle-Assyrian Period until almost the end of the empire, see Seux (1967), pp. 287–288. In Babylon, on the contrary, it was never used as a royal title. It refers to the Assyrian ruler as the highest authority over all the temples, see Seux (1980–1983), pp. 169–170. It has been intertwined even with the notion of royalty, and the ancient title *"iššiaku"* given that it was written with the same sumerogram. For a recent discussion of its ideological meaning, see Pongratz-Leisten (2015), pp. 202–205.

11 As a royal title it might have had the same implications as the previous one. It was applied by Old Babylonian rulers as well, see Seux (1980–1983), p. 170., also Seux (1967), 109–110.

12 See Seux (1967), p. 121.

As the most significant category, the military achievements have first-ranked positions in the titulary. A ruler can be generally capable or fearsome in battles and can subjugate his enemies in various ways. He might be somebody who – with the support of the gods – has gained authority over people or even seas and mountains, or protects them like the sun does with its rays. But a so-called "general geographical description" is also about a king's military activities, with the only difference that in this case the enemies being subjugated are natural creatures, such as mountains that are impossible to pass through by an ordinary human-being. A king can also describe his military activity by using special geographical data. The self-description of the king having a terrifying radiance that likens him to the sun can be paired with the sun-like protective aspect categorized earlier as belonging to the function of a shepherd.[13]

The phenomenon that I would like to examine is related to a significant turning-point in Assyrian history, namely the beginning of the Neo-Assyrian period.[14] This is the era of the "resurrection" of the empire in the second half of the 10th century BCE, when precedingly owned and lost territories and cities were reconquered from Aramaic tribes.[15] My examples to be presented here come from the lifetime of the first three kings of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.

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[13] Shepherdship was associated with rendering justice already in the third millennium BCE, an activity that belonged later mostly to the domain of the sun-god Šamaš. See the examples in Pongratz-Leisten, *Religion and Ideology in Assyria*, Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records, Vol. 6, de Gruyter, Boston – Berlin, 2015, pp. 211–215, 227; see also Seux (1980–1983), pp. 162–163. It gained universal connotation combined with the notion of "the four quarters" *(kibrāt erbetti)* only in Assyria in the 13th century BCE, see Pongratz-Leisten (2015), especially pp. 145–146; see also p. 145 in Eckhart Frahm, "The Neo-Assyrian Period (ca. 1000–609 BCE)". E. Frahm (ed.): *A Companion to Assyria*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, Hoboken, Wiley Blackwell, 2017, pp. 161–209.

[14] For an overview of the Middle-Assyrian titulary and its implications for the changed position of the royal power compared to the Old-Assyrian era, see Ursula Magen, *Assyrische Königsdarstellungen – Aspekte der Herrschaft. Eine Typologie*. Baghdader Forschungen, Vol. 9, Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein, 1986, pp. 13–19.

[15] It was a period of new offensive campaigns after more than a century decline, see Albert Kirk Grayson, "Assyria: Ashur-dan II to Ashur-nerari V (934–745 B. C.)". J. Boardman – J.E.S. Edwards – N.G.L. Hammond – E. Sollberger (eds.): *The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean world, tenth to eighth centuries B. C.*, Chapter 6, Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. 3/1, 2nd edition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York – Melbourne – Madrid – Cape Town, 1982, pp. 237–281. See especially the campaigns of the first three kings, pp. 247–253. For the period of decline and the changing international political situation, see most recently Frahm (2017), pp. 165–167. The period of "reconquista" includes the reign of the next two more significant rulers, see *ibid,* 167–173.

The early development of the Neo-Assyrian royal titulary

Aššur-dān II

The first king, Aššur-dān II (934–912 BCE) did not leave many written records,[16] but some categories can still be set up. The first crucial problem we face here – apart from the scarce number of the texts – is that there are no datable inscriptions left from this ruler. Consequently, a chronological line of "evolution" of his titulary is impossible to be drawn. However, we can differentiate it according to the types and proveniences of the objects holding the texts under discussion.

Following the first division, we can separate the clay tablets from the clay cones or bricks buried at the behest of the king during a construction work. I need to add that the four different inscriptions known to come from the king's reign were all found in the capital city Aššur, and only one clay cone comes from Kilizu.[17] Regarding the range of titulary, the one presented on the clay tablet[18] is much wider because of the length of the inscription.[19] Beside the three basic titles, "strong king",[20] "king of the universe *(kiššāti)*", and "king of Assyria",[21] epithets that express the divine background of the kingdom also appear in the introduction. The king, accordingly, was called or "designated" *(nabû)* by the main deity, Ashur, who established (*kânu* D) his sovereignty and provided him with the crown *(agû)* of rulership.[22] Other regalia are not mentioned here. These epithets of divine favour are the first ones since the

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[16] Despite the scarcity of sources, however, it is during his reign that the royal inscriptions gain back the annalistic format, see Cifola (1994), p. 80.

[17] RIMA 2 A.0.98.6

[18] RIMA 2, A.0.98.1 and probably 2 which is most likely a parallel text where the lines in question are unfortunately broken.

[19] Longer inscriptions on clay tablets were produced already from the beginning of the Old-Assyrian Period, see for instance RIMA 1, A.0.33.1 and A.0.1004.

[20] Cifola (1994) highlights the significance of the reappearance of the title "strong king" (*šarru dannu*) and its military connotation (it had been used before most recently by Šamši-Adad IV in the 11th century BCE) that might stress the new military successes, noting also its first position in sequence of titles (A.0.98.1; 3; 5), see p. 80. The king also uses this title to praise his three forefathers who, on the other hand, had never used it, see *ibid*, p. 81.

[21] These were also used in Assyria for the first time by Šamši-Adad I (1808–1776 BCE) and then from the Middle-Assyrian era onwards. For this two basic titles as signs of the claim of imperial control, see Magen (1986), especially pp. 15–16.

[22] See RIMA 2, A.0.98.1: 1–4.

end of the Middle Assyrian era[23], and thereby they might be considered to indicate the beginning of a new era. The archaic epithet "vice-regent *(iššiaku)* of Ashur", however, appears in the building-account at the end of the inscription, after the campaign-account. On the other hand, clay cones and bricks might theoretically bear only god-related archaic ranks beside the basic titles. In this case, these are the basic ranks "vice-regent *(iššiaku)* of Ashur" and "governor *(šaknu)* of Enlil", inherited from a much older time of Assyrian history in the second millennium BCE.

Another possible division can also be made. Exemplars from the same inscription recorded on clay tablet were found in the temple archive (ex. 1), the area of the "New Palace"[24] (ex. 2) (whose renovation constitutes the subject of the building-account), and a slope close to the great ziqqurat (ex. 3). This text-type that figures on clay tablets and is copied and distributed inside the capital-city, returns to the traditional arrangement of inscription and may include any of the above-mentioned types of title or epithet. However, among the inscriptions on cones and bricks, those found in a city-gate contain only the basic titles, while those cones found in the courtyard of the main temple include the archaic ranks. This slight difference, in my view, might be ascribed to the difference in sacrality between these two places; that is, as we are getting further from the temple, the protection of the god is gradually decreasing. The use of archaic titles, furthermore, has a stronger link to the temple, inherited from much before the imperial period. This is also suggested by the fact that that the title "king" *(šarru),* written with the sumerogram "lugal", is the title reserved exclusively for Ashur in the Assyrian tradition.[25] This theory

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[23] For the divine call or "designation" associated with the god Anu see for the first time the reign Aššur-rēša-išî I, especially RIMA 1, A.0.86.5:2, 6:2; and associated with the triad Anu, Enlil, Ea: *ibid*:1:2–3; 2:1–2. See after him also Tukulti-Ninurta I, RIMA 1, A.0.87.21:3'; 23:9 and associated with the goddess Ištar of Niniveh: see *ibid*: 1: vi 11–12; 5:120–121. For the divine establishment of the king's sovereignty expressed in passive voice, see Adad-nērārī I, RIMA 1, A.0.76.1: 28–29. Associated with the "great gods" and their act of crowning the king: RIMA 1, A.0.87.1: I 21–22; 2:9.

[24] The first archeologically attested building-phase of that palace might be attributed to the Middle-Assyrian Adad-nērārī I (1295–1264 BCE), but the first brick-inscriptions found there were created by his predecessor Aššur-nādin-aḫḫē (1390–1381 BCE). The building is called "New Palace" for the first time by Aššur-uballiṭ I (1353–1318 BCE). For the archaeological background of the palace, see Ernst Heinrich, *Die Paläste im alten Mesopotamien*, Denkmäler Antiker Architektur, Vol. 15, Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co, Berlin, 1984. pp. 91–94. For a brief summary, see Magen (1986), p. 13.

[25] See the famous description of the Middle-Assyrian Royal Coronation Ritual in Karl Fr. Müller, *Das assyrische Ritual. I: Texte zum assyrischen Königsritual*, Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-

might find confirmation in the fact that the short text of the only clay cone found outside the capital, in Kilizu, does not include any self-descriptions beside the basic titles either, also indicating that in this phase of the empire, the importance of the capital might overshadow that of other cities. However, on this very clay-cone, the first basic title is "great king" *(šarru rabû),* a fact that might be connected to the international context of the inscription.[26]

These text-types thus stand in total opposition to that of the clay tablets originating from two sites closely related to the chief deity and a third site close to them, which must have been at that time the old-new residence of the Assyrian emperor. Even these locations of distribution might indicate a strong tie between the political and the sacral spheres, which is now renewed by the official inscription that ascribes royal power and military support to the chief deity, while giving an archaic religious rank to the king who renovates his palace.

The significance of the temple comes from an old tradition, while the practice of producing new inscriptions on tablet and copying them indicates the imperial revival. This significance of Aššur-dān is probably reinforced by his additional epithet given by his great-grandson, Ashurnasirpal II. He describes Aššur-dān in his genealogy as founder of new cult-centres. The question arises whether it has any historical basis or it is an invention of Ashurnasirpal projecting back his own merits of rebuilding temples in the new imperial capital, Kalhu. In the first case, why is it that the king made no mention about it? Maybe new documents concerning reconstruction works are still waiting to be unearthed. The heroic epithet about slaying (*nêru*) the enemies given by his grandson, Tukulti-Ninurta II, is also absent from the king's own repertoire.[27]

Adad-nērārī II

In the case of the next king, Adad-nērārī II (911–891 BCE) we can distinguish nine different texts, and the time-factor can much better be taken into consideration. One may reckon with at least three different datable inscriptions out of the total nine. All the three datable texts are written on clay tablets. The first is dated to the beginning of the king's rule (2nd year),[28] and the second – which has

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aegyptischen Gesellschäft, J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, Leipzig, 1937. especially: i 29', pp. 8–9. For a recent discussion see Pongratz-Leisten (2015), pp. 435–441.

[26] Cifola (1994), p. 81. For this title as indicator of international prestige, see also Marie-Joseph Seux (1965), p. 141.

[27] The lack of military epithets might be ascribed to the insufficient results of the king's military activity, see Cifola (1994), p. 81.

[28] RIMA A.0.99.1

three exemplars – to the end of it (18th year).[29] The third – which has also two exemplars – has been preserved in a very damaged state (the date at the end is included), but the legible part of the titulary and its sequence of elements similar to that of the previous text (and other similarities in the campaign-account) can lead us to the conclusion that at one point it probably had an introductory section identical with that of the previous text.[30] This conclusion might be complemented with the assumption that it was also written in a time closer to the end of the king's rule. These tablets all come from the capital, Aššur, with the exception of the second exemplar of the broken tablet found in Niniveh, another significant Assyrian centre, in an even more damaged state than its parallel text from Aššur.[31] Taking these data in consideration, we can sketch a chronological change. While the basic titles concerning rulership can be detected in both parts of the king's reign, there is an appropriately great number of new titles and epithets to speak about a kind of "evolution". In the field of the king's relation to the gods, the divine support is already attested at the beginning. He is favoured *(bibil libbi)* by Ashur (obv. 2) and acting with the support *(ina tukulti* DNs *alāku)* of Ashur and Ninurta (obv. 3), a statement also interpretable as one relating to his military achievements, because we also get to know that his victories are a consequence of their support (obv. 4). Between them, there is a royal title "attentive prince" *(rubû nā'du)* expressing humility towards the gods.[32] Beside these pieces of information, however, there is no statement about his military capability.

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[29] There is one master-text (ex. 1) and two more damaged parallel texts (ex. 2 and 3) of RIMA 2, A.0.99.2, while although RIMA A.0.99.3 might be slightly different (the building section at the end), the first fifteen lines (invocation of different gods and three sections of titulary) are identical with those of the previous text.

[30] The longest passage on RIMA 2, A.0.99.4 that remained intact or could be reconstructed by parallel text is obv. 1'–17a', identical with lines 15–25 on A.0.99.2, therefore it is highly probable that the broken part at the beginning is parallel to the first fourteen lines on A.0.99.2. It means that from the thirty-one lines (5–35) of the titulary of the text A.0.99.2, twenty-one lines (5–25) must be parallel. Other parallel lines might be 26 with obv. 21' and 26–27 with obv. 26'–27'.

[31] A.0.99.5 is probably a duplicate of A.0.99.4, only the building passage – considering its provenance divergent from that of A.0.99.4 – must have been different.

[32] The term "prince" referring to foreign rulers might indicate a lower status but referring to the Assyrian king and pairing it with "attentiveness" it is rather an expression of humbleness. It had most recently been used in the Middle-Assyrian Period. For attestations of "prince" as epithet bridging a heroic epithet and another of military-divine legitimation, see the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I A.0.78.6: 11–13; 18: 15–18, but instead of "attentive" there is "legitimate" *(kīnu)* perhaps considered by the scribes more fitting to its context. Note also at Tiglath-pileser I A.0.87.3:2–4; A.0.87.10:3–5 with almost the same sequence except for that there is a heroic title instead of the religious "attentive prince", that figures, in turn, after the military-divine epithet. See also Cifola (1994), p. 82.

However, about one and a half decades later, the number of titles increases.[33] We can see an increase even in the amount of basic titles. Beside this increase, some of them disappear as well. The divine favour and support in this direct form is changed for the perfect physical and mental features of the king, created by the great gods. If taken as a lineal story, he then gets the sceptre *(ḫaṭṭu)* for shepherding the people and the crown with awe-inspiring splendour *(melammu)*. We are informed about his general capability in battle, but the entry of new literary forms of self-expression is the most remarkable change. In the first new literary form, the king compares himself to natural forces, sometimes destructive, such as wind *(šāru),* storm *(anḫullu),*[34] *flood (abūbu),*[35] *the fire-god Girru,*[36] *but also to man-made hunting-tools, like (ḫuḫāru)* or dagger *(patru),* and even to a battle-net *(šuškallu)* owned by the warrior god Ninurta.[37] These similes that connect the institution of kingship with the four natural elements (air, water, fire, sun/sky[38]) are constructed partly by the so-called *"kīma"* formula and their associative metaphoric variants (fourteen altogether).[39] Another new and significant literary form is the frequently used "I am"-formula, expressed by the Akkadian 1sg stative form with the ending *"-āku",* and each representing

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[33] The later intact version of the Annals shows, moreover, a clear continuity in structure with the Annals of Tiglath-pileser I, see *ibid*.

[34] A.0.99.2:19=A.0.99.4:7' and A.0.99.2:20= A.0.99.4:8' respectively. For other similes referring to storm but putting the enemies in focus see A.0.99.2:20= A.0.99.4:8'–9'.

[35] A.0.99.2:18=A.0.99.4:5', with the verb "flatten" *(sapānu)* only, see A.0.99.2:16= A.0.99.4:5'. For earlier use of the simile of "flood", see e.g. A.0.87.1:i 50 and A.0.87.2:32.

[36] A.0.99.2:18=A.0.99.4:5' and other two phrases using the verb "to burn" *(ḫamāṭu),* see A.0.99.2:17=A.0.99.4:3' and A.0.99.2:17= A.0.99.4:4'–5'. For earlier use of the metaphor of fire-god, see A.0.87.6:6.

[37] A.0.99.2:21=A.0.99.4:9'–10'; A.0.99.2:19=A.0.99.4:6'–7'; and A.0.99.2:21=A.0.99.4:9', respectively.

[38] That implies a royal metaphor of the Sun written with a divine determinative, see A.0.99.2:10. Its place among the first sequence of basic titles and its genitive case before *"kiššāt nīšē",* might imply the replacement of the lacking title *"šar kiššāti",* thus reaching back to Tukulti-Ninurta I, see Cifola (1994), p. 83.

[39] Also note the place of the two passages of self-praise between basic titles and epithets of military kind. The sequence of "I am"-formulas (14–15) comes after a sequence of basic titles (10) and epithets of military-divine legitimation (13). After the metaphoric sequence there is a new sequence of three basic titles again, but the last Sun-metaphor is replaced by five military-heroic epithets (16–17), and only then comes the sequence of mythological-heroic similes (17b–22).

a one-word metaphor in itself (seventeen altogether).[40] The general[41] and special geographical data[42] are also visible here. The use of these data gains its significance by returning to a tradition of the Middle Assyrian period and implies a sort of list or summary of the king's achievements before starting a chronological narrative of his campaigns. The broken texts include these descriptions in the same order, but are also slightly different. In the broken part, there is a reference to offerings made by the king[43] and another to a campaign and a victory[44] that are not present in the other texts. In spite of the variances, the beginning section of the text – which is in the broken part – must have included the "I am" formulas above the legible part of the text, and at the very beginning there must have been a description of his features and of the receiving of the royal regalia. Two of the "I am" formulas are fortunately clearly legible: the "I am a hero" *(qarradāku)* and "I am lion" *(labbāku),* confirming that it might have been a close variant of the other text of high date. A metaphor of the king – likening him to the sun-god – is also likely to appear.

We can see here a clear preference of the clay tablets when it comes to a detailed self-description of the king. Beside the clay cones or bricks, a stone stele and a stone slab and a stone vessel could bear some titles as well, but only a maximum of four basic ones.[45] The literary development is therefore only visible on clay tablets. This implies a change from an emphasized divine support to a more detailed, self-centred autobiography connected with the divine world, the occurrence of new formulas, general and specific geographical summaries of the conquests referring to all the directions where campaigns were conducted. The development in literacy during more than one and a half decades might have followed the growing number of military successes, and,

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[40] There is also one pertaining to both categories, see A.0.99.2:19=A.0.99.4:6'.

[41] They describe the king as an opponent to geological formations such as mountains without specifying their exact location. The Others, in this case, are "cities" and "mountains". They figure in similes, see A.0.99.2:17= A.0.99.4:3' and A.0.99.2:18= A.0.99.4:3', respectively. Following Karlsson's (2017) terminology, they are inanimate in contrast to the animate enemies (in eight phrases altogether).

[42] These are self-descriptions of the king as a conqueror of a special territory, see A.0.99.2:23–35 and A.0.99.4:13'–22' (27'?).

[43] A.0.99.4:18'–19'.

[44] A.0.99.4:17'–18' and 19'–20'.

[45] Also note the clay cone of Šibaniba (Tell Billa) containing the title "great king" that might be in connection to its international context, see Cifola (1994), p. 84. Among the Annals, on the other hand, it figures solely on the earliest one.

in parallel with that, the gradual building of the empire.[46] No wonder that his grandson, also Ashurnasirpal II, described him not only as a victorious warrior, but also as a founder of cities, and that even his great-great-great-grandson, Adad-nerari III, traced his genealogy back to him, also stating that he had had the support of Ashur, Šamaš, Adad and Marduk (the latter god might have received more significance in his policy of pacifying Babylonia).

Tukulti-Ninurta II

From the time of his son, Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–883 BCE), the examination includes twelve distinct texts. Of these, three clay tablets, one brick, two exemplars of a text written on glazed clay brick, and perhaps a glazed clay plate were found in Aššur. The rest – among them the clay cones and stone slabs – mostly comes from Niniveh,[47] and a stone slab comes from a provincial city, Tell Barri.[48]

The longest and most detailed texts are – as a custom of this period – recorded on clay tablets from Aššur. The irony of the situation is that only one of these can be dated precisely to the first regnal year,[49] and this tablet – together with a second one[50] – has been preserved in quite a poor state, while the third and the fourth tablets are broken precisely at the place where the date should appear.[51] From the titulary preserved on the datable tablet, we can read that the king is beloved and favoured by Ashur,[52] all the rest should be inferred

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[46] The lack of the two archaic titles points to a "secular trend" according to Cifola (1994), indicating "political renaissance" with the focus being on the king, see p. 83. Moreover, as remarked by the author, contrasted to the practice of the previous ruler and that of the same ruler in the beginning of his reign, the opening passage contains invocations using divine epithets followed by passages of divine legitimation, and only thereafter comes the first sequence of basic titles. This is, in my view, surely an indication of divine background behind the military successes.

[47] Apart from the stone agate pendant: A.0.100.7 and a stone duck weight of unknown origin: A.0.100.10.

[48] A.0.100.9

[49] A.0.100.2

[50] A.0.100.4

[51] The obverse is given under A.0.100.1 and the reverse with the building section is under A.0.100.3 (given as ex. 2). If taken as a probable parallel to that of A.0.100.5, the building account of the royal palace with curses at the end (A.0.100.3: rev. 7'–17') does not have any eponym-date at all. Given that A.0.100.1 was excavated at the city-wall, it may have been the parallel text of A.0.100.2 which has a building-account of the city-wall from the first regnal year, at the same time text 3 probably written later, but still in the beginning of his reign. The obverse of A.0.100.4 might have also been parallel to 1 and 3, although the reverse is almost totally broken.

[52] A.0.100.2: obv. 16–19.

from the other tablets. All things considered, we may establish that the tab-
lets of this ruler have eleven basic titles, referring to authority in a general
way, and eight out of them are universal. He is also a shepherd, embodying
a righteous ruler. He is still beloved and favoured here but takes up the same
epithets as his father regarding his perfectly created features. Moreover, he is
chosen as a ruler already in his mother's womb. As a mediator between gods
and humans, he takes up priestly functions in the introduction. The military
aspect is manifested by emphasizing that it was Ashur who sharpened the king's
weapons.[53] Beside this statement, the only reference to his might and power is
formed through the reappearing "I am" formulas (now only seven) invented
by the scribes of his father. However, there are no details about his military
capability, and the most eye-striking change is the absence of any geological
data concerning his campaigns. The third tablet, which is undatable and also
quite damaged, contains most of the epithets about his perfect features, but
the rest of the introduction is completely lost. Despite the damaged state of
the tablets, the same order in the titulary points to the similarity of the three
introductions. If we take the length of his rule into consideration – much
shorter than his father's – the absence of detailed military summaries does not
even seem to be a radical change compared to his father's tradition.[54] Even in
his seventh regnal year, the king might have thought to be in the middle of his
reign, and – following his father's example – estimated it too early to create
a detailed summary of his conquests. On the other hand, it was not too early to
create an autobiography even more detailed than his father's and to take up the
title of the *"šatammu"* and *"išippu"*.[55] These titles related to the temple-sphere[56]
cannot be excluded to have figured already on the early tablets, and this is
also true of the epithets that emphasize the strong divine support. Therefore,
instead of sketching a line of internal "evolution" of titulary in the lifetime of

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[53] See this passage of A.0.100.1:14–25 and A.0.100.3: obv. 6–13, where the sequence might almost
be complemented, based on Tiglath-Pileser I's Annals, see RIMA 2, p. 165.

[54] Or his military activities did not yet exceed those of his father, as remarked by Cifola (1995),
p. 85.

[55] Both attributive compounds *"šatammu ṣīru"* and *"išippu nāʾdu"* have again their direct
precedents in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser I, see A.0.87.1:i 36; 2:13 and A.0.87.1:i 31 2:12,
respectively.

[56] The archaic title *"iššiak Aššur"* might also have figured in the building-section, following his
grandfather's practice. See A.0.100.3: rev. 9' restored according to A.0.100.5:138. The reading
"iššiak erṣēt nīšē" for "ŠID KI UN.MES" is not sure, see RIMA 2, p. 165. See also the reference
to the title *"šangû"* of the king, probably in the same phrase as the one in the longer Annals of
his father: A.0.100.3: rev. 5'.

this king, we should content ourselves by remarking that a certain internal development can surely be detected, and the lower number of categories might only be ascribed to the shorter life of the ruler. It is noteworthy in this regard that the only intact version of Annals does not seem to include any introduction.[57] He made, however, one detailed and universal geographical summary on a stone slab[58] found in Niniveh, but which was probably intended for a palace in a new provincial city – of which the exact location is unknown – named after the king "Nēmed-Tukulti-Ninurta". The presentation of geographical data must have suggested that he had already compassed the borders of the world that were established by his Middle Assyrian forefathers. This increase in significance of stone slabs displayed in palaces away from the capital city is certainly a new development and will remarkably continue during the reign of his son, Ashurnasirpal II. In parallel with this process, on the other hand, we can still notice the "conservative" insistence on clay tablets, and on the way of the literary development related to inscriptions on clay tablets during a ruler's lifetime. Seeing the smaller number of regnal years, one should notice an even tighter tempo of internal development on clay tablets confirmed by the geographical summary on the previously mentioned stone slab, which is probably due to the even more active rule compared to that of his father.

The next stage of development

The radical changes in the policy of his son, Ashurnasirpal II, of course, had a much greater impact on the use of titulary. The king left in his new imperial centre, Kalḫu, a huge number of stone stelae, stone slabs, stone reliefs, stone lions and bull colossi, and even royal statues. The significance of clay tablets in the production of inscriptions at that time comes to an end, giving its primary position to the much more precious material of stone. His father's aforementioned stone slab in his own royal city is likely to be interpreted as a bridge between the tradition of his forefathers and that of his son. The new dynamic of his son's rule is certainly reflected in the production of three stone stelae in three different cities: Kalḫu at temple of Ninurta, Kurkh (near Diyarbakir), and Babil.[59] All of them include all the categories mentioned before and are datable to the fifth regnal year of the king, but the second one – set up in

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[57] Or must have had the introduction and narrative of earlier events on a distinct tablet, now lost, see RIMA 2, p. 169.

[58] A.0.100.6

[59] A.0.101.17; A.0.101.19 and A.0.101.20, respectively.

a city more distant from the capital – even represents a distinct textual tradition of titulary. The latter is the one that includes the geographical data, thus following the custom of his father. Considering the wide variety of places, the categories of titulary – including those used also by his father and grandfather –, the richness of self-expression representing a literacy that is superior to that of his predecessors, and the small number of years that had passed since his ascension to the throne we can see a clear sign of the opening of a new era. This will be the era of readapting the character of the king to the new and changing times. However, that is a different topic for another paper.

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Orsolya Sarac

The Legend of a Qalandar Chagatay poet: Babaraḥīm Mashrab's Manāqib-nāme

The Central Asian Chagatay poet, Babaraḥīm Mashrab (ca. 1640–1711) writes about himself as a Qalandar[1] in his poems included in his hagiographic work called *Manāqib-nāme*.[2] This literary work commemorates not only his poetry, but also the principles and credo of the antinomian dervish community to which he belonged. The Qalandarīyya movement emerged side by side with Islamic doctrinal orthodoxy and the Islamic mystics (Sufis). Members of this movement rebelled against rules and conventions of Islam that were part of their spiritual quest.[3] Qalandars[4] firmly believed that in this world they had to be in the state of "death" otherwise they would not have been able to experience Divine Grace as an individual.

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[1] My research is based on the Török O. 384 *Dīvāne Meṣreb* preserved in the Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The text is written in Chagatay (Eastern Turkish). For the transcription of the text I used János Eckmann's transcription system. See János Eckmann, *Chagatay Manuel*, Indiana University, Bloomington, 1966.

An example of a poet referring to himself as a Qalandar: *Dīvāne Meṣreb*, f. 96a

Egemdin kelse šol fermān, laḥddïn baš kötergin deb / Kefenni boynuma čulġab ṭalebde bir qalender men Gider Mešreb bu 'ālemdin kefen ālūde ḫūn birlen / Boyab qanïmġa Belḫ šehri ṭalebde bir qalender men

"If my Lord commands me to lift my head from the grave, / I wrap the burial shroud around my neck, I'm a Qalandar on a quest.

Mashrab leaves this world with his shroud soaked in blood / I paint the city of Balkh with blood, I'm a Qalandar on a quest."

[2] *Manāqib-nāme*s are collections of hagiographical stories and legends about a person considered holy by a given community. In general, stories of the lives and miraculous deeds of religious leaders and saints were recorded in them. See Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Kültür Tarihî Kaynağı Olarak Menâkıbnâmeler (Metodolojik Bir Yaklaşım),* Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1992, pp. 36–40.

[3] J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders of Islam,* Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1971, p. 267.

[4] The term Qalandar can be found in other senses of the word, for example, referring to the tribe of the Persian-speaking Ḥazāras in Afghanistan with smaller numbers in neighbouring Iran and Pakistan. For more details, see Elizabeth E. Bacon, "The Inquiry into the History of the Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 7. No. 3 (Autumn, 1951), pp. 230–247.

In this paper, after a short description of Sufism in Central Asia, I would like to give a brief overview of the order of the Qalandarīyya, then one of its representatives in Central Asia, Babaraḥīm Mashrab, using an unpublished manuscript from the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Using Mashrab's *Manāqib-nāme* as a starting point, I will primarily discover how the principles of the order appear in a Central Asian representative almost 500 years after the formation of the Qalandarīyya order.

Sufism in Central Asia

In the Islamic community, as a consequence of the actions of the Umayyad dynasty (661), a political and social rearrangement ensued, which led to the appearance of the first Sufis a few generations later. In fact, the dynasties who considered themselves the heirs of the prophetic tradition began to distinguish believers on the basis of origin. Besides, Muslims with non-Arabic roots were expelled from their community and made their way to Iran, Mesopotamia, and North Africa.[5] In this way, they moved further and further away from Muslim communities, not only geographically but also spiritually. In addition to the teachings of Prophet Muhammad, asceticism *(zühd)* and God-fearing behaviour *(taḳvā)* were spreading among them. These new ideas strengthened their opposition to Orthodox Islam even more. By the 9th century, they were considered to be Sufi communities stranded outside of religion and were called atheists *(zındıḳ)* or unbelievers *(mülhid)*.[6] The first great Sufi representatives, who were declared non-Islamic by their era and surroundings, such as Bāyazīd al-Bisṭāmī (d. 874), Junayd al-Baghdādī (d. 910) and Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (d. 922), were the ones to declare divine love *(ilāhī ʿaşḳ)* and ecstasy *(ceẕbe)*. These new doctrines reached various Sufi centers in Iran, Transoxania and Horasan.[7]

With the spread of Islam in Central Asia, from the 8th century Sufis and Ascetics have started to be seen in the region. Previously, there had been small Sufi groups in the area, but after the 12th century the radical sects were emerged. The most effective and long-lasting ones were the Yasavīyya, the Qubravīyya and the Naqshbandīyah orders.[8]

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[5]   For more details, see Peter Holt – Ann K.S. Lambton – Bernard Lewis, *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1970, Vol. 1, pp. 67–72.

[6]   See detailed desciption, Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1963, pp. 10–27.

[7]   Ocak 1992, p. 4.

[8]   For more information about these orders, see Necdet Tosun, "Orta Asya'da Tasavvuf". Muhammet

The framework of this study now only allows me to give a very brief description of these three important orders. The Yasavīyya spread through Ḥoja Aḥmad Yasavī followers from the north of Transoxiana. Region implemented teaching methods was adopted by Ḥoja Yasavī included the loud õ*ikr*, *ḥalvet* (seclusion, forty days of worship alone) and the *riyāżet* (abstemiousness).[9] The Qubravīyya started in Transoxiana, and then spread to various parts of southern Iran and India. This order was present in Bukhara and Samarkand for a period of time, but with time it weakened and disappeared from Central Asia. Especially in the early stages of dervish, the Qubravīs chose the appropriate to loud *zikr*, *ḥalvet*, the *samā'* (musical ceremony is practiced as a spiritual journey), and to wear cloaks in different colours according to the degree of spiritual disciple.[10] The most effective school of Sufism in Central Asia is undoubtedly the Naqshbandīyah. The lineage known as Hājagān sect founded by Abdul-Ḫāliq Ghijduvānī in the 14th century became known as the Naqshbandīyah after Bahā᾽ al-Dīn Naqshband. Naqshbandīyah has principles such as the silent õ*ikr*, expense avoidance, music abstinence, *ḥalvet*, to accept aspects of Abu Bakr and due to these properties it differs from the other sects.[11]

Apart from Yasavīyya, Naqshbandīyah and Qubravīyya orders, members of other dervish communities such as Ishqīyya, Qādirīyya and Qalandarīyya were also observed in Central Asia.[12]

An Antinomian Dervish Community: the Qalandarīyya

Besides the first Sufi movements, Qalandarīyya probably already had representatives in the early era. Since it is certain that in the 9th and 10th centuries there were no Sufi organizations in any part of the Islamic world that assumed

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Savaş Kafkasyalı (ed.): *Orta Asya'da İslam: Temsilden Fobiye*, Ahmet Yesevi Üniversitesi, Ankara, 2012, Vol. 1, pp. 491–544.

[9]   For a detailed study on the Yasavīyya, see M. Fuad Köprülü, *Türk Edebiyatında İlk Mutasavvıflar*, Alfa Yayıncılık, Istanbul, 2014.; D. DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition*, University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, Pennsylvania, 1994, pp. 567–573.

[10] For in-depth studies of the Qubravīyya, see Devin DeWeese, "The Eclipse of the Kubravîyah in Central Asia", *Iranian Studies*, XXI/1–2 (1988), pp. 45–83.; Süleyman Gökbulut, *Necmeddin Kübrâ*, İnsan Yayınları, Istanbul, 2010.

[11] For detailed descriptions of the Naqshbandīyah, see Jürgen Paul, *Doctrine and Organization: The Khwâjagân Naqshbandiyya in the First Generation After Bahâ'uddîn*, Das Arabische Buch, Berlin, 1998.; Necdet Tosun, *Bahâeddin Nakşbend: Hayatı Görüşleri Tarikatı*, İnsan Yayınları, Istanbul, 2002.

[12] For more information about these orders, see Necdet Tosun 2012, pp. 491–544.

an organized order, these Qalandar Sufis lived independently, surrounded by their own followers until the 13th century.[13]

According to contemporary sources on the Qalandarī movement – *Manāqib-i Jamāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī, Fusṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla, Riḥla-i Ibn Baṭṭuṭa*[14] – the first representative of the order was a Sufi named Qalandar Yūsuf al-Andalūsī, who lived in Egypt and after whom the community received its name. However, the Qalandarīyya Order is inextricably linked with the most important representative of the order, Jamāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī (d. ca. 630/1232), who led the community to the *tariqat* (dervish order) form.[15] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak emphasizes in his work that the researchers also believe that it was probably Sāvī himself who invented this figure that was modelled on himself, thus we can only rely on the history of origin told in the legends of the order.[16]

According to the *Manāqib-i Jamāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī*,[17] Sāvī was born in the city of Sāve, located between Qazvin and Tehran. He was able to trace his family tree all the way back to Prophet Muhammad. He became a well-respected Sufi thinker in Sāve, and gained many followers. Because of his studies, he first went to Iraq, from where he made his way to Khorasan. Being dissatisfied with his life, he left everything behind and went to Damascus alone. According to the *Fusṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla*, he became a disciple of a well-respected Sufi master, ʿOṣmān-ı Rūmī in Damascus.[18] However, he could not identify himself with the doctrines that were taught there, especially regarding renunciation and asceticism, and therefore he broke ties with the community.

According to legends, he met a strange-looking, hairless and naked person called Jalāl-i Darguzīnī or Shirāz-i Garūbad[19] in the cemetery of the city – at the tomb of the fifth Shia Imam Zayn al-Ābidin's daughter, or according to

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[13] Ahmet Yaşar Ocak, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Marjinal Sūfilik: Kalenderîler (XIV-XVII. Yüzyıllar)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara, 1999, p. 17.

[14] For more detailed information about the Qalandarī sources, see Ocak 1999, pp. XXV–XXXIX.

[15] M. Fuad Köprülüzâde, "Anadolu'da İslâmiyet", *Dârü'l-fünūn Edebiyat Fakültesi Mecmuâsı*, Vol. 2. No. 4 (1338), pp. 281–311, p. 298.

[16] Ocak 1992, p. 16.

[17] Based on *Manāqib-i Jamāl al-Dīn-Sāvī*, written by Hātīb-i Fārsī in 1347. See Hatîb-i Fârisî, *Menâkıb-ı Cemâleddin Sâvî*, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 1972.

[18] Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *Tanrının Kuraltanımaz Kulları*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, Istanbul, 2008, p. 52.

[19] In Hātīb-i Fārsī's work he's called Jalāl-i Darguzīnī, in the *Fusṭāṭ al-ʿAdāla* Shiraz-i Garūbad. See Muhammed b. el-Hatîb, *Fustâtu'l-Adâle fî Kavâidi's-Saltana*, Fuad Köprülü Armağanı, İstanbul, 1953, pp. 553–564.

other sources, at the tomb of Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ.[20] Sāvī joined this man, who folded himself into silence and lived like a dead man, and after a while he took over his eccentric habits: he shaved his hair and his facial hair, lived completely naked and consumed cannabis juice *(beng)*. His former follow-ers from Khorasan went looking for him, and when they finally found him, some of the disciples became horrified by their master's new way of life, while others followed him.

As time passed several new disciples joined their community. The sources mention a few of them by name: Muḥammad-i Balkhī was a rich man who left everything in Balkh to join Sāvī. Another famous Sufi called Abū Bakr-i Isfahānī also came from Isfahan, and besides them there were Muḥammad-i Kurd, Shams-i Kurd and Abū Bakr-i Nīksārī, all of whom became hairless and lived uncovered like their master. After learning the doctrines, Sāvī sent his disciples on their way to establish their own Sufi lodges or hospices *(tekke, dargah)*. In the meantime, Sāvī's other disciples had passed away; therefore, only Abū Bakr-i Nīksārī could fulfil his master's will. He settled in Konya, where he gathered disciples around him.[21] Sāvī went to Damietta, Egypt, and passed away (ca. 630/1232–33) there after spending six years of well-being without accepting any disciples.[22]

Al-Maqrīzī's (1364–1442) information on the Qalandars' appearance in Damascus in 1213 seems to verify these legends. Ibn Isrāʾīl al-Dimashqī (603–677/1206–1278) claimed that the order was formally established in 1219 by a refugee from Sāva, Muḥammad ibn Yūnus al-Sāvajī.[23]

After the era of Jamāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī, the community was divided into small groups and fanned out from the Arab Middle East to Anatolia in the west and to Iran, Central Asia and India in the east.[24] Although they had different characteristics, they can all be called Qalandars as none of these communities cared about the rules of Islam and professed only the *ilāhī ʿishq* instead.

Researchers agree that the tenets of Qalandarīyya worldview were greatly influenced by Indian and Iranian mysticism. Buddhist, Zoroastrian and Manicheist motives were also present in Qalandarī doctrines in communities

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[20] The first muezzin of Islam. See Mustafa Fayda, "Bilāl-i Habeşī". *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, TDV İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi, İstanbul, 1992, vol. 6, pp. 152–153.

[21] Karamustafa 2008, p. 77.

[22] *Ibid.,* p. 54.

[23] Trimingham 1971, p. 267.

[24] Ocak 1999, p. 30.

from Anatolia to Central Asia.[25] The first followers of the Qalandarī order may have contacts with Buddhist and Manichean monks around Iran and India. Jamāl al-Dīn-i Sāvī also considered Indian monks to be his role models, thus he tried to resemble them in appearance and behaviour. This initiated the habit of roaming cities in groups of a few people and begging for their daily bread. They resembled followers of the *śramaṇa* lifestyle, which rebelled against Brahmanism. Its followers walked half-naked, slept in the streets and opened wounds on their bodies. They refused to work, only to cover their needs by begging. However, money, gold or silver were not accepted, only food or utility items to satisfy their needs. Geo Widengren pointed out that the *faqr* and *tajarrud* principles might have developed due to the influence of beggar and mendicant Zoroastrians.[26] Others stress the role of Manichaean monks, with whom Qalandars might have met.[27]

Characteristics of the Qalandarīyya Order

The relationship of the Qalandarīyya antinomian dervish community to death was very strong. This appeared both in their internal belief system and in their appearance. Even the founder of the movement, Sāvī, had already shown the most characteristic external mark related to the Qalandars: hairlessness. These dervishes applied the fourfold shave called "four blows" (*chahār-żarb):* shaving off the hair, beard, moustache and eyebrows.[28] In later days, however, only the moustache was let grow long;[29] and subsequently, it became customary to remove only one of the four facial hairs.[30] By doing so, they not only violated the prophetic tradition (to grow a beard and shorten the moustache is a direct command from Prophet Muhammad),[31] but also rebelled against social norms.

They lived completely or semi-naked, which was meant to embody the principles of poverty *(faqr)* and detachment *(tajarrud)*. They were believed to be following the path of Adam, who was completely naked at the expulsion

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[25] For more details see *ibid.,* pp. 135–142.

[26] Geo Widengren, *Les religions de l'Iran*, Payot, Paris, 1968, p. 84.

[27] Ocak 1999, pp. 7–10.

[28] See Ocak 1999, pp. 161–162.

[29] Trimingham, p. 268.

[30] Ocak 1999, p. 162.

[31] Muhammed el-Buhârî, *Sahîh*, Dâr el-ʿArabiye, Beyrut, 1405/1985, Vol. 7, p. 514.

from the Garden of Eden.[32] Sāvī himself had a time in his life when he walked around naked, covering only his private parts with leaves. Nevertheless, later he wore a vest made of wool or felt called *chavlak* or *aba* and a mantle made of the fur of a wild animal, a custom which later spread among his followers.[33]

Some Qalandars wore a conical hat made of human hair as headgear.[34] They bore iron rings on their faces, ears, necks, wrists and genitals as a symbol of penance. Their nudity shocked people, and their hairlessness provoked disgust.[35]

They also carried a few distinctive objects with them. One of these was a long, twisted-tipped staff called *chomak,* which they could lean on and use as a weapon in case of danger during their journey.[36] They also had a small hatchet called *teber,* which was used to shred the wood to set the fire, as well as for self-defense. This hatchet was adopted by the Rifāī and later by the Bektashī orders and it became a symbol of the latter order. [37] They sent each other messages with a horn made of ox or buffalo horn, called *boynuz* or *nefīr*.[38] They also carried a dervish bowl, as well as drums, bells or tambourines to perform their poems.[39]

Deviant Behaviors of the Qalandars

The Qalandars drew the attention of the people on themselves not only with their external features but also with their deviant behaviour. Every Qalandar blamed this world for the eternity of being and wanted to show on their own body how empty earthly existence was. They sank deeper and deeper into sin and shame, also with the practice of shaving their hair and living at the expense of others. As their place of residence, they often chose a cemetery, expressing their lack of connection to the physical existence on earth. Without eating, drinking, talking or moving they went into a state of delirium.[40]

Qalandars often surrounded themselves with dogs that – according to the Prophet – are impure animals. In addition, the members of the order had

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[32] Karamustafa 2008, p. 88.

[33] Ocak 1999*,* p. 159.

[34] Karamustafa 2008*,* p. 82.

[35] *Ibid.,* p. 85.

[36] Ocak 1999, p. 160.

[37] *Ibid.,* p. 161.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] Karamustafa 2008, p. 11.

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

a disregard for daily prayers and fasting, and presumably they also neglected the religious duties of legal charity and pilgrimage.[41]

They did not work, they did not earn any income, which expressed their disregard for this-worldly existence. Their daily bread was acquired by begging. However, they accepted only food and necessities and never took money, gold, or silver. Sometimes they wandered in groups from city to city, town to town, even village to village, and collected items or food given to them by handing them a container called *keshkul* made of coconut shell.[42]

They did not marry, lived in a hermitage, and were content only with God. While some of the members of the movement believed in celibacy, others, though not married, may have had relations outside of marriage. A few sources mention that homosexuality *(livata illeti)* was very common in the order. In addition, they also had relationships with young boys *(jamālperestlik)*.[43]

Description of the Manuscript "Török O. 384 Dīvāne Meşreb"

A Central Asian Chagatay poet, Babaraḥīm Mashrab's biographical writing, the *Manāqib-nāme,*[44] is one of our most important sources in exploring both his poetry and his life path, since it contains his poems and authentic anecdotes compiled by himself or his immediate environment: his contemporaries and followers. The title of *Manāqib-nāme* was used for a collection of stories and legends about a person respected and admired by the community.[45] In general, stories of the lives and miraculous deeds of religious leaders and saints were recorded in it. In the case of Sufi works, all that can be said in general is that *manāqib-nāme*s were prepared to introduce the principles and creed of the order, through which the public was informed about faith, worship and moral standards.[46] This statement is also true of Mashrab's *Manāqib-nāme*, besides the fact that this work can also be considered the legacy of the Chagatay poet.

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[41] Ocak 1999, pp. 61–62.

[42] Karamustafa 2008, pp. 34–35.

[43] For more information, see Ocak 1999, pp. 155–158.

[44] *Menḳābe*s or *menḳıbe*s are narratives of miraculous events related to holy people well known among peoples. For more information see Salih Gülerer, "Türk Kültüründe Menâkıbnâmeler ve Menâkıbnâme Yazıcılığı", *Tarih Okulu Dergisi*, 6/XVI (Aralık 2013), pp. 233–262, p. 233.

[45] Şemseddin Sami, *Temel Türkçe Sözlük Sadeleştirilmiş ve Genişletilmiş Kâmûs-ı Türkî*, Tercüman Yayınları, Istanbul, 1985, Vol. 3, pp. 853–855.

[46] Osman Turan*, Selçuklular Tarihî ve Türk-İslâm Medeniyeti*, Ötüken Neşriyat A. Ş., Istanbul, 2009, p. 108.

The Oriental Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences keeps two copies of Mashrab's legend. My research is based on the *Dīvāne Meşreb* manuscript, shelfmarked TÖRÖK O. 384, which consists of a total of 216 folios. This work written in nasta'līq script is unstructured. The paper size of the manuscript is 255x150 mm, the size of the written part is 180x95 mm. On the folios the number of lines per page is 13, with a single column. The volume has leather binding, the rosette on it is recessed, its physical condition is good. The paper is watermarked.[47]

The other manuscript is titled *Ḥażret-i Şāh-meşreb*, shelfmarked TÖRÖK O. 244. It consists of a total of 118 folios. This work written in nasta'līq script is also unstructured. The paper size of the manuscript is 255x150 mm, the size of the written part is 210x100 mm. On the folios the number of lines per page is 13-15, with a single column. The volume has ornate leather binding, its physical condition is good. The paper is watermarked.[48]

We do not have any information as to when the works were originally written, except that the estimated time of origin is probably sometime between the death of Mashrab (1711) and Vámbéry's journey to Central Asia (1862–1864).

The manuscripts in Budapest are unpublished, the critical edition of the manuscript TÖRÖK O. 384 and its translation into Turkish will be the subject of my doctoral dissertation.

In addition to these manuscripts, there are several copies of Mashrab's *Manāqib-nāme*s all over the world, of which I have used the following in my research:

a)   The only published *manāqib-nāme* is the merit of Mahmut Fidancı,[49] who used a lithograph made in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. According to the last page of his copy, it was made by someone named Ahmed in 1353/1934–1935.

b)   There is a manuscript in the Parliamentary Library of Iran (Majlis-i Shurā-yi Islāmī Library, Tehran, Iran), under the mark of 17453 and the title of *Manaqib-i Mashrab*.

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47   İsmail Parlatır – György Hazai, *Macar Bilimler Akademisi Kütüphanesi'ndeki Türkçe El Yazmaları Kataloğu*, Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, Ankara, 2007, p. 177.

48   *Ibid.*

49   Mahmut Fidancı, *Şâh Meşreb Menâkıb-nâmesi*, İnceleme-Metin-Sözlük, Doktora Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi, Istanbul, 1994.

c) Another manuscript is available in the Gallica, The Digital Library of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF), under the mark of Supplément turc 1416 and the title of *Menakib-i Shah Mashrab*.

d) There is another manuscript in The Jarring Collection of the Lund University Library, under the mark of Jarring Prov. 272. What we know about this copy is that it is incomplete and it was bought in 1929 in Kashghar by Gunnar Jarring.

These manuscripts show similarities in their content, but they do not resemble the manuscripts in Budapest, meaning that they may have been copied elsewhere.

Babaraḥīm Mashrab's Life Path

Babaraḥīm Mashrab, a Central Asian poet who professed to be a member of the Qalandarīyya, lived hundreds of years after the establishment of the movement. To explore his life path and his ars poetica, I use his *Manāqib-nāme*, which presumably contains anecdotes written by his contemporaries.

Babaraḥīm Mashrab was born in 1640 as the son of Molla Velī, a merchant from the city of Namangan. He had already testified in his mother's belly that he was a beloved servant of God. He was just a six-months old fetus when he first made his voice heard as he expressed his disapproval of his mother's eating a piece of grape that rolled away from a vendor's stall in the bazaar:

> My mother, are you not fearing God, are you not ashamed of yourself in front of the creatures? You acted unjustly. If you don't act properly in the case of those two pieces of grapes, I'll disappear from your belly.[50]

At the age of seven, his parents sent him to study with an *imam* in Namangan. Mashrab showed interest in religion from an early age and asked adults around him various questions about God, the creation and the world. Not only did he have questions, but he also had definite ideas about these concepts. So much so that when his father took him to school at the age of seven, instead of simply obeying the teacher, he dared to pose questions and express his own opinion.

> The teacher said, "My son, in the name of Allah, The Most Beneficent, The Most Merciful, say *elif*." Shah Mashrab, his Holiness, repeated that elif.

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[50] Dīvāne Meṣreb, f. 2b–3a. *Ey ana, Ḫudā-yï te'ālādïn qorqmay maḫlūqdin uyātmay? Kišiniñ ḥaqqïnï nā-ḫaq qïldïñ. Ägär sen üzüm ikkesini rïżā qïlmasañ qarnïñdïn qačarmän ğāyib bolurmän.*

> When they came to the letter *be*, Shah Mashrab, his Holiness said, "My teach-
> er, what does that mean?" he asked. "Who are you to ask your teacher about
> the meaning of this?" he asked. Shah Mashrab, his Holiness, said, "Elif means
> one. My God is one. It would be a mistake to continue after that."[51]

The Qalandarī principle of nudity appeared in his life as a child when he
walked naked among the people:

> "O my merciful mother, did I not come into the world wrapped in your
> arms? Wasn't I born naked?" he asked. His mother said, "O my child, you
> were born naked." Shah Mashrab, his Holiness said to his mother, "O my
> merciful mother, I'll go naked from this world" he said.[52]

The people of Namangan despised his family because of the eccentric behaviour
of Mashrab, that is why at the age of 15 he was sent to one of the well-known Sufi
thinkers of the age, Āḫund Molla Bāzār (d. 1668), who lived in Namangan. In ad-
dition to learning the basics of Sufism, he learned Arabic and Persian, and began
to write poetry. He read the poems of Ḥāfiẓ and Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī, and was able to
recite the poems of the former. After a while, however, the disciple had overgrown
his master, so as "Two blades don't fit into the same scabbard"[53] he left the convent
(tekke), and went to Hidāyetullah Ishān Āfāq Ḫoja, who lived in Kashgar.

The lineage of Ishān Āfāq Ḫoja was Qubravīyya, Jahrīyya and Ishqīyya.
"But after the conversation, they would interpret *Mathnawī*."[54] In the seven
years he spent there, he had acquired bothgnostic knowledge and wisdom.[55]
At the age of 22, he fell in love with a girl who worked at Ishān Āfāq Ḫoja's
tekke so he was banished from there. After that Mashrab travelled the world
as a Qalandar dervish.

He roamed through Central Asia. After Yārkand and Khotan, he traveled to
Ila (near Oirat) where he stayed for three years to win a girl's heart. She was the

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[51] *Ibid.,* f. 5a. *Ustāẓï aydïlar aytïñ "Ey oġlum, bismi'llāhi'r-rahmāni'r-rahīm, alif deñ" dedilär.
Ḥażret-i Šāh Mešreb alif dedilär. Bege kelgände Ḥażret-i Šāh Mešreb aydïlar "Ey ustāẓïm muniñ
ma'nāsï nedür" deb sordïlar. "Ustāẓlarïn ačïğï kelib sen kim ma'nā sormaq kimdür" dedilär.
Ḥażret-i Šāh Mešreb aydïlar "Elif birdür. Ḫudā-yïm birdür. Mundïn ötkänim ḫaṭādur."*

[52] *Ibid.,* f. 6a–6b. *"Ey mihr-i bānïm anam, men sizdin ḫiẓān kiyib keldim mü yā yalangač keldim
mü?" dedilär. Analarï aydïlar kim "Ey balam, mendin yalangač keldiñiz" dedilär. Ḥażret-i Šāh
Mešreb analarïğa aydïlar kim "Ey mihr-i bānïm anam, men taqi dunyādïn yalangač kitgüm"
dedilär.*

[53] *Ibid.,* f. 20b.

[54] *Ibid.,* f. 21a

[55] Fidancı 1994, p. 23.

daughter of the local Kalmyk ruler called Qontachi, as stated in the *Manāqib-nāme*. Mashrab taught the practice of the Islamic religion, prayer and traditions with great care towards his beloved, the *tersā-bechche*.[56] In the end, Qontachi wanted his daughter to gift the holy man with a child hoping that this way he would be absolved of his previous sins.

> "Mashrab is a beloved servant of Almighty Allah. If a child was born from his waist, a miserable servant like me shall receive mercy at the last judgment" he said and he locked Mashrab with the girl in a house for three days.[57]

In the total of 18 years of his wanderings, Mashrab often got into arguments with religious scholars and rulers because of his strange, often scandalous behaviour. He has repeatedly been accused of blasphemy for his outrageous actions: he was surrounded by dogs, he took his donkey into a mosque and he soiled the mattresses prepared in his honour.

In spite of all that, he was venerated by the people wherever he went. He recited his poems to them with a three-stringed instrument called *sitār*. In these communities he sought to give guidance on the knowledge of God, to guide the audience on the right path, and had lengthy discussions with various religious scholars from the poorest to the richest. He was also highly respected among mystical thinkers, and met with well-known Sufis of the age – Ṣūfī Allāhyār and Āḫund Mavlānā Sharif – with whom he had a good relationship for the rest of his life. Fate also crossed his paths with rulers, including the Ḫān of Khiva, Ābū al-Ġāzi Bahādur Ḫān and the aforementioned Kalmyk ruler, Qontachi.

However, he did not forget his beloved teacher, Āfāq Ḫoja, hence he returned to Kashgar, his old master's tekke. His youthful mistake was forgiven by Āfāq but the poet did not stay long, as he was informed that the governor Balkh, Maḥmūd Qataghan had issued an order to execute him for his blasphemy.[58] At the suggestion of his master, Mashrab left the city, and went straight through Musi to Namangan to his mother whom he had not seen for years. Soon after the arrival of her son, she passed away.

After that, he began to wander again, first he travelled to Tashkend and after that, to Khujand. Then Mashrab and his disciples went on a pilgrimage to

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[56] Dīvāne Meṣreb, f. 54a, 55a, 62a, 63a, 64b.

[57] *Ibid.,* f. 77b *"Bu Ḫudā-yï teʿālāʾniñ ʿāšïq bendesi tïrur. Qïyāmet küni raḥm qïla turġan ʿāšïq tïrur. Muniñ püšt-i kemeridin bir ferzend bolsa meniñ dek bed-baḫtnï Ḫudā-yï teʿālā meniñ qïyāmet küni raḥm qïlur mu kin?ʾ" deb Mešrebni qïz bile üč kün bir öyge qošub qoydï.*

[58] *Ibid.,* f. 87a. *Belḫ Pādšāhï Maḥmūd šehid qïladur. Anañnï ḫiẕmetiġe barġïl.* "Balh's ruler, Maḥmūd wants to make you a martyr. Go to your mother."

Mecca, but they turned back and headed for India. After his visits to Bukhara and Qabodiyon, in the end he arrived in Balkh where he was executed by the governor of the city, Maḥmūd Qataghan. Mashrab was laid to rest in a place called Ishkamish.[59]

Babaraḥīm Mashrab as a Qalandar

The credo and the attitudes of the Qalandarīyya order appeared on several levels in both the life of Babaraḥīm Mashrab, and in his poems.

The *Manāqib-nāme* clearly shows that his environment regards and calls Mashrab a Qalandar. That is how they address and refer to him: "We have never seen a Qalandar who left this world like this before."[60] In addition, he also calls himself a Qalandar in several of his poems. "Become a Qalandar, so be it until the end of time, / Be a Qalandar like Shah Mashrab, be a Qalandar."[61]

The self-indemnification, the struggle of the self *(nafs),* the understanding of the person defeating his own ego, which is among the basic features of Qalandarīyya, is clearly seen in Mashrab's poems. However, Mashrab commemorates Sufies who are representatives of very different Sufism understandings with great care. The spirit of divine love is always victorious in his soul. Mashrab perceived Sufism primarily as deep love and sincerity: "I am a martyr of love, wrap my body in a burial shroud."[62]

Mashrab's conception of Sufism is based on the concepts of poverty, intimacy, love and pure devotion. Pride, arrogance, vanity, generosity, devotion to the world, hypocrisy, love of authority and the pursuit of property are unforgivable sins in his understanding.

> "Friends do know that I came from the grace's monastery saying Allah,
>
> I came through the goods and property, and again I came with a hundred cries for help."[63]

As far as nudity is concerned, one of the hallmarks of the Qalandarīyya communities, the *Manāqib-nāme* mentions Mashrab's childhood nudity. Later,

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[59] Ishkamish is a district of Takhar Province, Afghanistan.

[60] *Ibid.,* f. 42a.

[61] *Ibid.,* f. 196a. *Qalender bol ki qandaġ bol ki miål-i āḥirin dek bol / Ki Mešreb Šāh dek bolġïl qalender bol qalender bol.*

[62] *Ibid.,* f. 34b. *Men šehīd-i ʿišq-ï men, kefenge bürkeb eylet meni.*

[63] *Ibid.,* f. 22b. *Kerem dergāhïdïn dostlar biliñ Allāh deb keldim, / Gečib bu māl u mülkümdin yene ṣad dād deb keldim.*

there is only an indication that he was walking barefoot and his head was uncovered.[64] From the detailed descriptions of his appearance, it appears he did not apply the "four blows" *(chahār-żarb)* either, which means that he did not shave his facial hairs: "He [Mashrab] was a Qalandar with an extremely distorted body, red cheeks, adjacent eyebrows, and his matted hair reaching down to his waist."[65]

The *Manāqib-nāme* does not provide much information on garments and tools characteristic of members of the Qalandarī movement. It is mentioned only that he carried a dervish bag and his only clothing was a fur pelt: "He [Mashrab] wore a pelt for seven years. When summer came, he wore it inside out, in the winter he wore its woollen side."[66]

In this hagiographical work there is only one example of Mashrab using psychedelics *(beng)* to open his mind and heart to the spiritual world;[67] nevertheless, he was often called a drug addict *(beng-i dīvāne, beng-i qalandar)*.[68]

Unlike Qalandars who deliberately violated Islamic rules, Mashrab performed daily prayers, but he did not go on a pilgrimage to Mecca because he did not think it was necessary.[69] However, his creed was manifested through deviance, of which we find many examples in the work. During his wanderings, when he arrived at another city, another community, he usually shocked the locals by urinating on the pillow he was offered. An example of such a case is when Mashrab, who arrived in Bukhara, was hosted by the khan of the city, Abdullah Khan. The poet immediately urinated on the pillow prepared for him. When Khan asked why he had urinated on the pillow prepared in his honour, Mashrab replied: "It is necessary to urinate on such honour!"[70] The same case happened in the city of Yarkend as well, where Mashrab also

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[64] *Ibid.,* f. 37a.

[65] *Ibid.,* f. 22a, 173a, 193b. *Bir qalenderi qabḥ heykel serv rūy peyveste ebrū šehlā češm sačlarï fetile fetile gerd-kemerige tüšgen.*

[66] *Ibid.,* f. 27b. *Bir pōstïnnï yetti yïl giydilär. Yaz bolsa tersini giyer erdilär. Qïš bolsa yüngini giyer erdilär.*

[67] *Ibid.,* f. 40b–41a.

[68] For more detailed information about the cannabis subculture in Central Asia see Benedek Péri, "It is the Weed of Lovers. The Use of Cannabis Among Turkic Peoples up to the 15th Century", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. 69. No. 2 (2016), pp. 139–155.

[69] *Ibid.,* f. 145b. *"Baliklärim ikki qulum arasïğa baqïñ" dedilär. Balikläri qollarïnïñ arasïdïn baqsalar Ḥażret-i Mekke-i Muʿazzama ikki qollarïnïñ arasïda cilve berib turubdur.* "My disciples, look between my two hands" he said. When they looked through their hands, he showed them Mecca the Noble and Honorable Kaʾbah between his two hands."

[70] *Ibid.,* f. 184b. *Mundaġ ʿizzetge siymäk gerek.*

added the following in his reply: "O Ruler, from what was your essence created? […] The Ruler said 'Excuse me, my Lord, from the soil.' 'So would you urinate on your own body?'"[71] According to the Manāqib-nāme, the Qalander poet, with this behaviour, only offended the leaders and other order members, and immediately won the admiration of the people.

Conclusion

During the research of antinomian dervish communities such as Qalandarīyya, there are many obstacles. We have few resources to explore the inner workings of the closed order and to analyse their beliefs. However, among the Qalandars, Babaraḥīm Mashrab stands out with his hagiographic work the Manāqib-nāme which gives us insight into the Qalandarī doctrine. This paper has attempted to give a comprehensive view of the Qalandarīyya Order placed in the field of Central Asian Sufism and the life path of Mashrab based on the manāqib-nāme manuscripts available to me. The goal of my subsequent research in this field is to expand on the last part of this paper. Throughout his life, Mashrab traveled through Central Asia, performing many miracles to prove that he was a beloved servant of God, and people were scandalized by his eccentric behaviour. In my doctoral dissertation, in addition to processing and translating the full text of Mashrab's *Manāqib-nāme*, I would like to analyse the Qalandarī symbols in Mashrab poetry by which I intend to give a comprehensive picture of the creed of a Central Asian Qalandar. As part of my research I will also include components that reflect the life of Central Asian society of that age.

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[71] *Ibid.,* f. 40b. '*Ey ḥākim özüng̃ nemadin?' (…) ḥākim aydï 'Taqṣir pādšāhïm, tofraġdïn.' 'Andaġ bolsa öz vucūdungga özüng siyer mü sen?'*

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Appendix
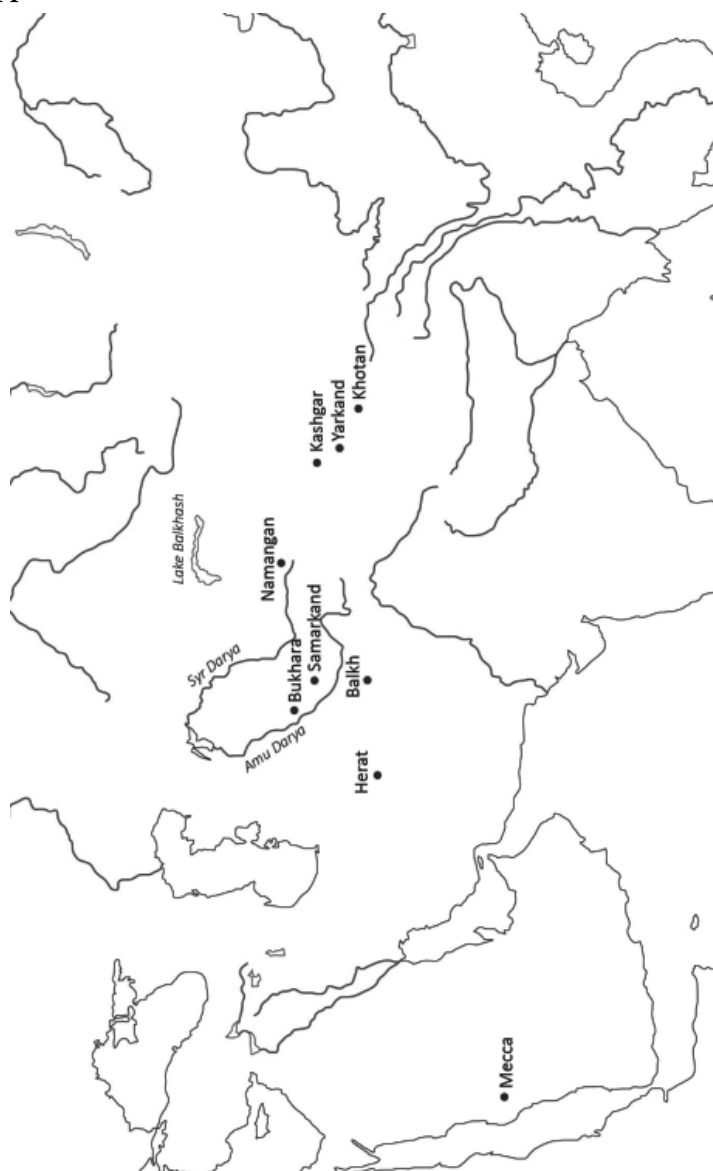
1. appendix: Cities visited by Babaraḥīm Mashrab mentioned in the Manāqib-nāme

"Far"

Gediminas Giedraitis

Categorization of Eighteen Kinds of Emptiness within Four Kinds of Emptiness in Jingying Huiyuan's 淨影慧遠 *Essay on the System of Mahāyāna (Dasheng Yi Zhang* 大乘義章*)*

Introduction

While emptiness in English language is commonly expressed in the singular, yet the *Greater Prajñāpāramitāsūtra[1]* (from here on *Sūtra*) enumerates emptiness in two lists, one of eighteen kinds, and one of four kinds. An analysis and comparison of these lists provides the reader with a better understanding of this complex subject.

Chinese commentators often regarded *Dazhidulun* 大智度論 *(*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)* as the most important commentary in China regarding the *Sūtra,* and subsequently, the lists of kinds of emptiness.[2] Although its authorship is being disputed, nevertheless was traditionally thought to be authored by Nāgārjuna (Longshu 龍樹 from here on *Author*). *Commentary* provides an explanation of the kinds of emptiness in the list of eighteen, and the list of the four, however, the exact relationship between the two lists remains yet to be unraveled.

Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠 (523–592) took up the task in his colossal work *Essay on the System of Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng yi zhang* 大乘義章),[3] where in a chapter entitled "Meaning of the Four Kinds of Emptiness Analyzed from Two

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[1] *Mohe banruo bolomiduo jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經. T08, no. 223.

[2] *Dazhidulun* 大智度論. T25, no. 1509.

[3] *Dasheng yi zhang* 大乘義章. T44, no. 1851.

Approaches" (*Sikong yi liang men fenbie* 四空義兩門分別)[4] he aims to explain the relation between the two lists, provided in the *Sūtra*. To my knowledge, this kind of exegesis was not done before Huiyuan.[5] As dealing with lists implies categorization, and categorization requires clear definition of concepts, Huiyuan's exegesis has the benefit of providing a clear picture of his understanding of the idea of emptiness.

Huiyuan, while being famous and influential among his contemporaries, was overshadowed by some of his more renowned contemporaries in later history,[6] and therefore is rather understudied. Yet he is attributed with a number of important doctrinal developments, especially related with *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna* ideas.[7]

In this paper I will discuss another pioneering exegesis of Huiyuan, the categorization of the eighteen kinds of emptiness within the four kinds of emptiness. To achieve this goal, I will first introduce the concept of emptiness, and its lists appearing in the *Dazhidulun,* then introduce Huiyuan's idea of emptiness, and the list of four kinds of emptiness, and finally move to examine Huiyuan's categorization of the eighteen kinds of emptiness within the four kinds of emptiness.

Translation of the second part of the chapter "Meaning of the Four Kinds of Emptiness Analyzed from Two Approaches", which deals with categorization of the eighteen kinds of emptiness within the four kinds of emptiness, will be provided in the appendix.

Emptiness in Mahayana Exegesis, Prajñā Literature and Dazhidulun

Emptiness in its weight of doctrinal importance could be taken as one of the main points of divide between different Mahayana traditions. Emptiness was seen and understood as metaphysical category of the *middle* between the

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[4] *Sikong yi liangmen fenbie* 四空義兩門分別. T44, no. 1851, p. 506, c1–p. 507, b13.

[5] While there is a possibility of later commentators covering the topic, it is not under the scope of this paper. As for the previous commentaries, the only treatise related with lists of emptiness I managed to find The *Commentary on Eighteen Kinds of Emptiness* (*Shiba kong lun* 十八空論. T31, no. 1616) translated by Paramārtha, and attributed to Nāgārjuna does not discuss the four kinds of emptiness.

[6] This is often attributed to the fact that Huiyuan's works failed to reach canonical status. His works were wide ranging in terms of his interest and in turn, later more narrowly focused traditions (such as Tiantai and Huayan) incorporated and built upon his exegetical work. See: Kenneth K. Tanaka, *The Dawn of Chinese Pure Land Buddhist Doctrine*, New York, State University of New York Press, 1990, p. 22.

[7] Tanaka 1990, pp. 35–36.

extremes existence (eternalism) and non-existence (nihilism) with regards to the being of *dharmas* or phenomena.[8]

Emptiness in Madhyamaka and Yogācāra traditions

Exegesis of what it means for phenomena to be empty, and how this state of emptiness should be understood could easily lead to reification or denial of one of the two extremes, exactly what each school blamed each other for, accusing of straying from the doctrinally sought middle-way.

While there are views that Madhyamaka and Yogācāra share an identical view regarding emptiness, many scholars agree[9] that there are crucial differences between the two.

For Yogācāra, emptiness is equated with reality, which is the object of cognition of the transcendent mind, and consciousness in its nondual and non-conceptual natural state.[10] Vasubandhu, one of the founders of Yogācāra thought, and author of *Dilun* takes phenomena as empty of self-nature *(svabhāva)* which is imagined and expressible, but it is not empty of ineffable self-nature. Yogācāra view thus claims existence to be ineffable, and in such way, emptiness appears to exist.[11] In other words, Yogācāra reduces all existents to be mental, but their truly existing referent is the momentary flow of consciousness.

The Madhyamaka view is that the even the flow of mind lacks fundamental status,[12] and the only 'existence' is conventional designations. In other words, any point of reference such as existence or non-existence are merely imagined and not applicable when reality is discussed.[13]

In China, Indian Madhyamaka arrived with Kumārajīva (344–413) at the dawn of the fourth century, and quickly gained ground. Yogācāra ideas were introduced later in the fifth century, but they arrived with another branch of

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[8] Sonam Thakchöe. "Reification and Nihilism: The Three-Nature Theory and Its Implications". Jay L. Garfield, Jan Westerhoff (eds.): *Madhyamaka and Yogācāra: Allies or Rivals?* New York, Oxford University Press, 2015, (pp. 72–110), pp. 72–73.

[9] See more in Nagao 1991; Garfield and Westerhoff 2015; Salvini 2015; Thakchöe 2015.

[10] Thakchöe 2015, p. 83.

[11] Mattia Salvini, "Language and Existence in Madhyamaka and Yogācāra. Preliminary Reflections". Jay L. Garfield, Jan Westerhoff (eds.): *Madhyamaka and Yogācāra: Allies or Rivals?* New York, Oxford University Press, 2015, (pp. 29–70), pp. 60–62.

[12] Jay Garfield – Jan Westerhoff, "Introduction: Madhyamaka and Yogācāra: Allies or Rivals?". Jay L. Garfield, Jan Westerhoff (eds.): *Madhyamaka and Yogācāra: Allies or Rivals?* New York, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 6–7.

[13] Salvini 2015, pp. 60–62.

scriptures from *tathāgatagarbha* (the womb of Thus Come Ones, *rulai zang* 如來藏) family. This further complicates the picture, as now three diverging branches of Mahayana ideas had to be incorporated into a coherent whole.

Necessity of Contemplation on Emptiness According to the Dazhidulun

In order to start a discussion of emptiness from Huiyuan's perspective, I first have to briefly cover the idea of emptiness in the *Sūtra* itself, and in the *Dazhidulun*. *Dazhidulun* was introduced in China between 402–406,[14] and during the following centuries achieved great readership among scholarly monks. Huiyuan's exegesis on emptiness is primarily based on *Dazhidulun,*[15] and is largely aiming to clarify the points already covered there.

It could be argued that the main topic of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* is *prajñā* ('wisdom, gnosis'), a certain higher wisdom, which is used to reach the other shore, or in other words, to attain Buddhahood. What place does emptiness have in relation to this? The Author in the *Dazhidulun* claims that, in order to attain this greater wisdom *(prajñā),* it is necessary to practice, learn, recite, retain, study and apply the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, and the eighteen kinds of emptiness.[16]

Author provides two reasons for teaching emptiness. First, it is taught for people who after hearing Buddha's teaching on impermanence, suffering, emptiness, and absence of self, continue to speculate about the nature of phenomena.[17] Second, teaching of emptiness is for removal of attachment to false views of existence, non-existence, the eternal, impermanence and others. According to *Author*, this attachment brings clinging to one's system of ideas, and through this clinging makes one commit evil actions. Ultimately, no system is possible because *all dharmas* are empty. Clinging to any system produces fetters, and fetters are causes and conditions for ignorance.[18]

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[14] Matthew B. Orsborn, *Chiasmus in the Early Prajñāpāramitā. Literary Parallelism Connecting Criticism & Hermeneutics in an Early Mahāyāna Sūtra*. Doctoral Thesis, The University of Hong Kong, 2012, p. 42.

[15] In *Dasheng yi zhang* "Meaning of the four kinds of emptiness comes from the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*." (四空之義出大品經) CBETA T44, no. 1851, p. 506, c2.

[16] Éttiene Lamotte (trans.), *The Treatise on The Great Virtue of Wisdom of Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra)*, Institut Orientaliste, Louvain-la-Neuve Vol. 4, 2001, pp. 1682–1683.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 1756.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 1757.

Enumeration of Kinds of Emptiness

Among the text of *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* in 18.000 *Aṣṭadaśa,* 25.000 *Pañcaviṃśati* and 100.000 *Śatasāhasrikā* verses include lists of kinds of emptiness. These texts present lists of two, seven, fourteen, sixteen, eighteen and twenty kinds of emptiness. The 25.000 version, on which the *Commentary* is based, expands on two lists: one developed list of eighteen kinds of emptiness and one condensed list of four.[19]

To the question of the interlocutor (If *dharmas* are innumerable, and therefore the kinds of emptiness are innumerable, why does the *Sūtra* provide only eighteen kinds?) the *Author* answers:

> If one speaks in summary, the subject is not fully treated; if one speaks at length, it becomes overloaded. Thus, when one takes a medicine, if one takes too little, the sickness is not removed; if one takes too much, the symptoms are aggravated. It is by measuring out the medicine according to the sickness and by not taking too much or too little that the sickness can be cured. It is the same with emptiness. If the Buddha were to speak of only one single emptiness, the many wrong views and passions could not be destroyed; if he assumed one emptiness in regard to each wrong view, the emptinesses would be too numerous.[20]

Thus, the *Commentary* claims that for the seriousness of this "sickness" of clinging to, and desire of phenomena, the list of eighteen is necessary.

Another reason for having a list of eighteen provided in *Dazhidulun,* is that the Buddha commonly taught the *Dharma* in definite numbers, i.e., four foundations of mindfulness, thirty-seven factors of awakening, five aggregates, etc., establishing a precedent for teaching in an such organized fashion.[21]

Interestingly, the list is not fixed, and as Lamotte puts it: "there are as many emptinesses as there are *dharmas* to be destroyed",[22] once again highlighting the close relationship between phenomena and emptiness – constituents of reality and the order by which it functions. That being said, various lists of emptiness are meant to teach practitioners of different vocation. An illustrative example of such exegesis is provided with a scheme of emptiness consisting of two entries, Emptiness of Beings taught to *Śrāvakas* and Emptiness of *Dharmas* (phenomena) taught to followers of the Bodhisattva vehicle. As such, division

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 1670.

[20] Lamotte (trans.) 2001, p. 1682.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 1669.

of emptiness into various lists serves as an illustration of the flexible character of this philosophical concept.

The List of Eighteen Kinds of Emptiness

The list of eighteen kinds of emptiness provided in the *Sūtra* and reiterated in *Dazhidulun:*

1. Emptiness of Internal *[Dharmas]* (*nei kong* 內空)
2. Emptiness of External *[Dharmas]* (*wai kong* 外空)
3. Emptiness of Internal and External *[Dharmas]* (*neiwai kong* 內外空)
4. Emptiness of Emptiness (*kong kong* 空空)
5. Great Emptiness (*da kong* 大空)
6. Ultimate Emptiness (*di-yi yi kong* 第一義空)
7. Emptiness of Conditioned *[Dharmas]* (*youwei kong* 有爲空)
8. Emptiness of Unconditioned *[Dharmas]* (*wuwei kong* 無爲空)
9. Absolute Emptiness (*bijing kong* 畢竟空)
10. Emptiness of Beginningless *[Dharmas]* (*wushi kong* 無始空)
11. Emptiness of Dispersed *[Dharmas]* (*san kong* 散空)
12. Emptiness of Essence (*xing kong* 性空)
13. Emptiness of Specific Characteristics (*zixiang kong* 自相空)
14. Emptiness of all *Dharmas* (*zhufa kong* 諸法空)
15. Emptiness of Non-Perception (*bukede kong* 不可得空)
16. Emptiness of Non-Existence (*wufa kong* 無法空)
17. Emptiness of Existence (*youfa kong* 有法空)
18. Emptiness of Existence and Non-Existence (*wufa youfa kong* 無法有法空)

While *Dazhidulun* provides its own descriptions of the eighteen kinds of emptiness, in this paper I will look at it through a more general light, that is, by looking at Huiyuan's categorization within the framework of four kinds of emptiness.

Huiyuan's Exegesis on Emptiness

Huiyuan's Interpretation of Emptiness

Huiyuan starts the chapter on Four Kinds of Emptiness by introducing and (re) clarifying the notion of emptiness. He equates emptiness with the term taken from traditional Chinese philosophy, *li* 理,[23] commonly translated as principal, denoting the underlying structure of the universe. The things (*shi* 事), or in this text phenomena (*fa* 法) abide by this underlying principle.[24]

By introducing a relatively new concept in this way, Huiyuan brings it closer to the existing terminology, and pulls the existing terminology closer to Buddhism as well. This distinction between principle and phenomena will be of key importance in Huiyuan's exegesis on emptiness, as it will serve as a method by which Huiyuan differentiates between the eighteen kinds of emptiness.

Huiyuan explains that the function of the principle is to cut off all characteristics of phenomena, in turn de-essentializing perceptions of reality.[25] This describes emptiness as what could be called a tool for removal of views one has towards phenomena, this in turn accords to the position undertaken by other famous commentators on the *Sūtra*.[26]

Huiyuan's Explanation of The Four Kinds of Emptiness

Huiyuan in his commentary aims to discuss the four kinds of emptiness from two kinds of approaches. He first provides an exegesis on the meaning of four kinds of emptiness, and then contextualizes them in terms of the eighteen kinds of emptiness. Questions by an interlocutor are used to clarify ambiguities, and to answer rather naturally arising questions.

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[23] In *Dasheng yi zhang* "When we talk about emptiness, the other name [for it] is principle." (所言空者，理之別目) CBETA, T44, no. 1851, p. 506, c2.

[24] More on the term li 理 and can be found in Charles A. Muller, "Essence-Function (t'i-yung). Early Chinese Origins and Manifestations", *Bulletin of Toyo Gakuen University*, Vol. 7 (1999), pp. 93–106; and in Charles A. Muller, "The Emergence of Essence-Function (ti-yong) 體用 Hermeneutics in the Sinification of Indic Buddhism. An Overview", *Critical Review of Buddhist Studies*, Vol. 19 (2016), pp. 111–152.

[25] In *Dasheng yi zhang* "When we talk about emptiness, the other name [for it] is principle." (理絕眾相故名爲空) CBETA, T44, no. 1851, p. 506, c3.

[26] As Nāgārjuna gracefully states in his last stanza of the Verses on Middle Way:
"I prostrate to Gautama, Who through compassion, Taught the true doctrine, Which leads to the relinquishing of all views." In: Jay Garfield (trans.), *The Fundamental Wisdom of the Middle Way Nagarjuna's Mulamadhyamakakarika*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 83.

In this paper I will focus only on the latter, by looking at the categorization in more general terms, with the aim to determine the criteria by which Huiyuan separates the eighteen kinds of emptiness. Besides the time constraints, the reason for this reverse reading of the text, is that the minute differences discussed in the first approach come to light clearly, only after reading the second approach.

The four kinds of emptiness are: first, Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena[27] (*faxiang kong* 法相空); second, Emptiness of [Characteristics] of Non-Existing Phenomena[28] (*wufa kong* 無法空); third, Emptiness of Self Phenomena (*zifa kong* 自法空); fourth, Emptiness of Other Phenomena (*tafa kong* 他法空).

In the following chapter I shall examine how, according to Huiyuan, the eighteen kinds of emptiness discussed previously, fit in the scheme of the four kinds of emptiness. We shall mainly focus on the first two kinds of emptiness, as it enables us to talk about this extensive list in more general terms.

Huiyuan's Categorization of the Eighteen Kinds of Emptiness within the Four Kinds of Emptiness

The second part of the chapter on the four kinds of emptiness focuses on Huiyuan's unique exegesis, the categorization of eighteen kinds of emptiness within the four kinds of emptiness. Huiyuan himself notes that this categorization was not provided in the *Sūtra,* and it was not done in the *Dazhidulun.*[29] Huiyuan lists four kinds of emptiness one by one, and explains

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[27] Lamotte's translation of *faxiang kong* 法相空 is Emptiness of Existence. His way of translating by omitting word *Dharma* (*fa* 法), but keeping faith with Sanskrit and Tibetan versions poses a dilemma. Chinese reading of phenomena (*fa* 法) suggests particulars, and Lamotte's translation suggests abstracts. Since in Buddhist terms abstracts are constituted by particulars, we see no significant difference between the two ways of translating. Yet to keep in line with Huiyuan's commentary, I chose to render it as the Chinese wording suggests. The main reasoning is that it is more likely that Huiyuan himself thought in terms of particulars, as indicated by the language. See: Lamotte (trans.) 2001, pp. 1676–1677.

[28] It is still possible that the reading here should be Emptiness of [Characteristics] of Non-Existing Phenomena (*wufa xiang kong* 無法相空), however, as noted in the previous footnote, the difference is not essential, and I am inclined to follow literal reading, in this case denoting the abstract rather than particular.

[29] In *Dasheng yi zhang* "How can we categorize those eighteen kinds of emptiness in these four kinds of emptiness? It is not discussed in the *Sūtra* or the *Commentary*." (彼十八空此四空中何相所攝經論無文) CBETA, T44, no. 1851, p. 507, a7–8. It is not entirely clear if '*sūtra*' and 'commentary' are meant in a singular, or in plural sense. If it is meant in singular, then these two

which of the eighteen fit within each of the four, and why. He starts with Emptiness of the Characteristics of Phenomena.

Emptiness of the Characteristics of Phenomena

> Eleven kinds of emptiness are included among the Emptiness of the Characteristics of Phenomena. Those are: (1) Emptiness of Internal [Phenomena], (2) Emptiness of External [Phenomena], (3) Emptiness of Internal and External [Phenomena], (5) Great Emptiness, (7) Emptiness of Conditioned [Phenomena], (8) Emptiness of Unconditioned [Phenomena], (9) Absolute Emptiness, (10) Emptiness of Beginningless [Phenomena], (11) Emptiness of Dispersed [Phenomena], (14) Emptiness of all Phenomena, (17) Emptiness of Existing Phenomena. Accordingly, these eleven are the same as emptiness of worldly phenomena, [and] for this reason categorized under the Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena.

> 法相空中，攝十一空。所謂：內空、外空、內外空、大空、有爲空、無爲空、畢竟空、無始空、散空、諸法空、有法空。以此十一齊空世法。是故攝入法相空中。

According to Huiyuan, the category of Emptiness of the Characteristics of Phenomena includes all the kinds of emptiness concerned with, as the variety of names indicate, all kinds of phenomena. This categorization is meant for the physical and psychological world, the so called conditioned, worldly or conventional phenomena (*youwei* 有爲, *shi* 世, *jia* 假).

The second category includes the rest of phenomenal world, or rather the rules by which the phenomenal world functions – the principle of emptiness.

> Question: Regarding the sixth Emptiness of Unconditioned, it should be [categorized within] the second kind of emptiness, Emptiness of Characteristics of Non-Existing Phenomena. Why [then] is it included among the Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena?

> 問曰：「第六無爲空者，應是第二無法相空。何故攝入法相空中？」

> [Huiyuan's] explanation: This emptiness is only emptiness. In conventional truth, unconditioned phenomena are not equal to non-existence of principle. For this reason, it is included among the Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena.

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words indicate *Sūtra* and *Dazhidulun*, which is what I am inclined to think. However, there is a possibility that it is a general statement indicating that this was previously not discussed.

釋言：此空但空，世諦無爲之法不是理無，是故攝入 法相空 中。

The interlocutor raises a question, why the sixth. Emptiness of Unconditioned, is included in the first category and not in the second. Huiyuan answers that this emptiness does not denote the principle, but rather is concerned with worldly phenomena. Huiyuan's answer indicates that this pairing of principle and phenomena is the basis of the categorization of emptiness.

Emptiness of [Characteristics] of Non-Existing Phenomena

> Emptiness of Characteristics of Non-Existing Phenomena includes three other kinds of emptiness, namely Emptiness of Emptiness, Ultimate Emptiness, and Emptiness of Non-Existing Phenomena. Therefore, these three kinds of emptiness are the same as emptiness of principle of non-existence. For this reason [it is] included among emptiness of non-existing phenomena.

> 　無法相空　，別攝三空。所謂 空空 ， 第一義空 ，及 無法空 。
> 以此三種齊空理無，是故攝入 無法空 中。

The core of Huiyuan's categorization of emptiness is a separation between emptiness of phenomena, and emptiness of principle, the diad[30] of *li* 理 and *fa* 法, a somewhat synonymous usage of terms of essence (*ti* 體) and function (*yong* 用). As was mentioned before, Huiyuan equated principle with emptiness, and by declaring that emptiness is empty, I would argue, faithfully follows the explanation of the *Dazhidulun*, i.e., the *Madhyamaka* strain of explaining emptiness.

According to Sengzhao 僧肇 (384–417, a disciple of Kumārajīva), the three kinds of emptiness discussed above are the level where Chinese exegetes preceding Kumārajīva would have stopped.[31] At some point, a substantial basis which would be found, a basis to build upon, a place to ground the otherwise illusory, empty existence. Emptiness itself then *becomes*, *turns* into *something*. The *Dazhidulun* clearly states that emptiness is but a remedy, and having been used, it also has to be discarded.[32] After the practitioner used seventeen kinds

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[30] Charles Muller rightly warns against framing ti and yong as dichotomy, as they are not in opposition, but rather in a relationship of interpenetration with one another. See Muller 2016, pp. 125–126.

[31] Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China. The Spread and Adaption of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, Third Edition, Leiden, Brill, 2007, pp. 123–124.

[32] Lamotte (trans.) 2001, p. 1699.

of emptiness to destroy all false views, Emptiness of Emptiness is used to destroy the view of emptiness itself.[33] Emptiness being provisional (*jia* 假) is an important position held by early *Madhyamaka* school, and arguably one of the main point of difference between its position and that of the early Yogācāra, which holds emptiness as existing ephemerally.[34]

Emptiness of Self Phenomena

> Within the [category] of Emptiness of Self-Phenomena, only Emptiness of Nature is included. This Emptiness of Nature explains that the essential nature of phenomena[35] is empty by itself. Since there is no need for the power of meditative insight [to cause it], it is called Emptiness of Nature. The meaning of this is the same as that of Emptiness of Self-Phenomena. That is why [it is] included among Emptiness of Self-Phenomena.

> 自法空中，唯攝性空。彼性空者，明其諸法體性自空。不由觀力，故名 性空 。此義與彼 自法空 同，是故攝入 自法空 中。

Huiyuan declares that the Emptiness of Self-Phenomena is synonymous with the Emptiness of Nature. Both kinds of emptiness then could be seen as abbreviated, and the full name would be Emptiness of Self-Nature of Phenomena. The word "self" here directs towards the natural state of phenomena, separated from perceptions of the subject. This then is a reiteration of the empty nature of reality and is intended to make an ontological statement regarding the mode of existence of phenomena.

Emptiness of Other Phenomena

> If it is said that existing phenomena have self-characteristics, then it cannot be categorized within the first Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena. If suchness, nature of phenomena, and so forth, are explained in terms of mistaken views of non-Buddhists, by establishing the nature of the world [as made from] microscopic particles, [then] all [these views] cannot be categorized within the fourth [kind of emptiness], Emptiness of Other Phenomena.

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[33] *Ibid.*

[34] Salvini 2015, pp. 60–62.

[35] This term likely refers to *dharmatā*, and is widely used by other texts, such as "Awakening of *Mahāyāna* Faith."

若說有法自相，叵得判屬第一 法相空 中。若說真如、法性等外邪見，所立微塵世性，皆不可得攝入第四 他法空 中。

Lastly, regarding the fourth Emptiness of Other Phemonena, Huiyuan explains that the category of Other Phenomena does not mean that the non-Buddhist views are not categorized under this emptiness, but actually is covering a different field of connotations which could be mistaken for the word *other*. Huiyuan assumes that the reader is familiar with the description provided in the *Dazhidulun,* where it is explained that Emptiness of Other Phenomena means that phenomenon is empty not only of itself, meaning empty of its own nature, but also of other, meaning empty of other possible natures as well, i.e., table is empty of the nature of table, but also is empty of the nature of chair.[36] In his exegesis Huiyuan merely supplements the explanation already provided in the *Dazhidulun*.

Conclusions

The *Dazhidulun* emphasizes contemplation of the eighteen kinds of emptiness as a necessary step in attaining liberating wisdom (*prajñā*). According to the text, emptiness serves mainly as a tool to remove various false views. *Dazhidulun* is forewarning not to grasp to emptiness itself, as it is merely a remedy which is to eventually also be discarded.

According to the author of *Dazhidulun* the list of the eighteen kinds of emptiness is provided as an adequate remedy to the eighteen particular kinds of sickness (or eighteen different symptoms of a single sickness). The four kinds of emptiness are perceived as a summary of the eighteen, and is conveniently used for memorization.

Jingying Huiyuan, often viewed as one of the key proponents of early Chinese Yogācāra tradition, in his attempt to explain the relationship between the two lists of emptiness uses the diad of phenomena of principle *li* 裡 and *fa* 法, a close resemblance to the more often occurring formula of *ti* 體 and *yong* 用. By using this hermeneutic scheme, the list of eighteen kinds of emptiness is grouped within emptiness of phenomena, and within emptiness of emptiness, which is equated with the principle. This act of conflating the native Chinese philosophical concept of *li* with that of emptiness is of particular interest and importance, as it indicates a process of not only Sinification of Indian philosophy, but a strong move to Indianize Chinese philosophy as well.

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[36] Lamotte (trans.) 2001, p. 1678.

Huiyuan was previously known for his doctrinal contributions the development of ideas of *tathāgatagarbha,* and *ālayavijñāna* in China. However, in this chapter he demonstrates that he is capable of not only remaining consistent with the explanations provided in the *Dazhidulun*, the *Madhyamaka* strand of thought, but also to contribute to the development of these ideas.

Appendix:
Partial Translation of the Chapter "Meaning of the Four Kinds of Emptiness Analyzed from Two Approaches"[37]

Introduction

Next [we will] discern the characteristics [of the eighteen kinds of emptiness] and categorize [them according to these] characteristics. How can we categorize those eighteen kinds of emptiness in these four kinds of emptiness? It is not discussed in the *Sūtra* or in the *Commentary*. [We shall] categorize them according to the meaning, although rough, but nevertheless possible to understand. In what way [is it discerned and categorized]?

次辨攝相，彼十八空。此四空中，何相所攝？經論無文。准義相攝，麁亦可知。相狀如何？

Emptiness of the Characteristics of Phenomena

Eleven kinds of emptiness are included among the Emptiness of the Characteristics of Phenomena. Those are: Emptiness of Internal [Phenomena] (1) Emptiness of External [Phenomena] (2), Emptiness of Internal and External [Phenomena] (3), Great Emptiness (5), Emptiness of Conditioned [Phenomena] (7), Emptiness of Unconditioned [Phenomena] (8), Absolute Emptiness (9), Emptiness of Beginningless [Phenomena] (10), Emptiness of Dispersed [Phenomena] (11), Emptiness of all Phenomena (14), Emptiness of Existing Phenomena (17). Accordingly, these eleven are the same as emptiness of worldly phenomena, [and] for this reason categorized under the Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena.

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[37] *Sikong yi liangmen fenbie.* T44, no. 1851, p. 507, a7–b13.

法相空中，攝十一空。所謂：內空、外空、內外空、大空、有爲空、
無爲空、畢竟空、無始空、散空、諸法空、有法空。以此十一齊空世
法。是故攝入法相空中。

Question: Regarding the sixth, the Emptiness of Unconditioned, it should
be [categorized within] the second kind of emptiness, the Emptiness of
Characteristics of Non-Existing Phenomena. Why [then] is it included among
the Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena?

問曰：「第六無爲空者，應是第二無法相空。何故攝入法相空中?」

[Huiyuan's] explanation: This emptiness is only emptiness.[38] In conventional
truth, unconditioned phenomena are not equal to non-existence of princi-
ple. For this reason, it is included among the Emptiness of Characteristics of
Phenomena.

釋言：此空但空，世諦無爲之法不是理無。是故攝入 法相空 中。

Emptiness of Non-Existing Phenomena

Emptiness of Characteristics of Non-Existing Phenomena includes three other
kinds of emptiness, namely Emptiness of Emptiness, Ultimate Emptiness,
and Emptiness of Non-Existing Phenomena. Therefore, these three kinds of
emptiness are the same as the emptiness of principle of non-existence. For this
reason [it is] included among emptiness of non-existing phenomena.

  無法相空 ，別攝三空，所謂 空空 ， 第一義空 ，及 無法空 。
以此三種齊空理無，是故攝入 無法空 中。

Emptiness of Self Phenomena

Within the Emptiness of Self-Phenomena, only Emptiness of Nature is included.
This Emptiness of Nature explains that the essential nature of phenomena[39]
is empty by itself. Since there is no need for the power of meditative insight
[to cause it], it is called Emptiness of Nature. The meaning of this is the same

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[38] The opposite of 不但空 "not-only-empty". The way *Mahāyāna* sees the incomplete explanation
    of emptiness. An attachment to "emptiness only", wherein emptiness is understood, but the
    principle of "not empty" is not understood. So, the reading would be "this emptiness is merely
    emptiness of the worldly phenomena."

[39] This term likely refers to *dharmatā*, and is widely used by other texts, such as "Awakening of
    Mahāyāna Faith".

as that of Emptiness of Self-Phenomena. That is why [it is] included among Emptiness of Self-Phenomena. The first fifteen [kinds of emptiness] were [thus] categorized [by] distinguishing characteristics.

自法空中，唯攝性空。彼性空者，明其諸法體性自空。不由觀力，故名 性空 。此義與彼 自法空 同，是故攝入 自法空 中。此前十五，分相別攝。

The Remaining Three Kinds of Emptiness

The remaining three[40] are all included [within the category] the Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena. Emptiness of Characteristics of Non-Existing Phenomena include two kinds of emptiness, namely Emptiness of Characteristics, and Emptiness of Existing Phenomena, and Non-Existing Phenomena. Emptiness of Characteristics of [Phenomena] explain Self-Characteristics, and Emptiness of Shared-Characteristics.

餘三共攝彼 法相空 。 無法相空 共攝二空，所謂 相空 無法有法空 。 相空 之中明其自相及同相空。

As for Emptiness of Self-Characteristics, it explains emptiness of form, and so forth,[41] and so it is categorized within the first [kind of emptiness], the Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena. Within Emptiness of Shared-Characteristics, there are two kinds [of emptiness]. The first [one] explains [that] the worldly truths of suffering, impermanence, and so forth, have complete emptiness as common characteristics. Therefore, it is included among Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena. The second one explains that the ultimate truth shares characteristics with the principle of emptiness. This emptiness is categorized within Emptiness of Characteristics of Non-Existing Phenomena, and accordingly within Emptiness of Existing Phenomena, and Non-Existing Phenomena.

自相空 者，明色等空，判屬第一 法相空 中。 同相空 中，有其二種。一明世諦，苦、無常等同相空寂，是空攝入 法相空 中。二明真諦同相理空。是空攝入 無法相空 ，就彼 無法有法空 中。

As for the Emptiness of Existing Phenomena, it is Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena. The Emptiness of Non-Existing Phenomena is categorized

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40 Emptiness of Non-Existence (*wufa kong* 無法空), Emptiness of Existence (*youfa kong* 有法空), and Emptiness of Existence and Non-Existence (*wufa youfa kong* 無法有法空).

41 Five aggregates. Aggregates fall under the category of worldly phenomena.

within the second kind, Emptiness of Characteristics of Non-Existing Phenomena. That kind of Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena and Emptiness of Other Phenomena together are categorized as the Emptiness of Non-Perception.

有法空 者，是 法相空 。 無法空 者，攝入第二， 無法相空 。彼
法相空 及 他法空 共攝一種 不可得空 。

Emptiness of Other Phenomena

If it is said that existing phenomena has self-characteristics, then it cannot be categorized within the first Emptiness of Characteristics of Phenomena. If such-ness, nature of phenomena, and so forth, are explained in terms of mistaken views of non-Buddhists, by establishing nature of the world [as made from] microscopic particles, [then] all [these views] cannot be categorized within the fourth [kind of emptiness], the Emptiness of Other Phenomena.

若說有法自相，叵得判屬第一 法相空 中。若說真如、法性等外邪見，
所立微塵世性，皆不可得攝入第四 他法空 中。

In such way characteristics [of all kinds of emptiness] are categorized.

攝相如是。

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A Brief Introduction to the Development of Karate-terminology

When *karate* 空手 was recognized as an event at the proposed Summer Olympics in Tōkyō, a long-cherished dream had come true, that of being the second Japanese martial art to become part of the Olympic games after *jūdō* 柔道. However, the promotion to the Olympics is only the first of the many obstacles and challenges, the "art of the empty hand" has yet to face: even though the World Karate Federation allied the four major schools of karate[1] and created a standardised ruleset, the names of forms and techniques still vary and may be confusing.

In this paper, I give a short historical insight into how *karate-jutsu* 唐手術 (Chinese-hand techniques) became *karate-dō* 空手道 (the way of the Empty-hand) throughout the earliest available written sources, showing how modern *karate*'s terminology has been developed.

About karate

The art of *karate* originally is from Okinawa 沖縄, the main island of the Ryūkyū-archipelago 琉球列島 which – since it was located between the Japanese mainland and China – had an extensive trading connection with China, especially with the Southern province of Fujian 福建. Therefore, a lot of Chinese merchants travelled regularly to, or settled down in Okinawa, and likewise many Okinawans visited China as well. This resulted in the rich and unique culture of Okinawa, which greatly differs from mainland Japanese, and which also has a remarkable influence on its martial traditions.[2]

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[1] This is called as *dai yon ryūha* 大四流派 in Japanese, which consists the four most popular schools of *karate*, including: Shōtōkan 松濤館, Gōjū-ryū 剛柔流, Shitō-ryū 糸東流 and Wadō-ryū 和道流 (Uozumi Takashi, *Budō no rekishi to sono seishin*, Kokusai Budō Daigaku, Budō-sport kagaku kenkyūsho, Katsuura, 2013, p. 184).

[2] Mark Bishop, *Okinawan karate. Teachers styles and secret techniques*, Tuttle Publishing, Rutland, 1999, pp. 9–10.

Okinawan *karate* is not a Japanese martial art, but rather an amalgamation of various Chinese *gong fu* 功夫 styles[3] and native Okinawan fighting methods – likely influenced by traditional Japanese *bujutsu* as well at one point or another.[4] It is also important to address the myth, that *karate* was used by the suppressed, Okinawan peasants to defend themselves against the *samurai* from the Satsuma-domain 薩摩藩 invading the island in 1609. In fact, most (if not all) of the prominent figures of Okinawan *karate* were noblemen, members of the *shizoku* 士族 class, or even above.[5]

It is true however, that the transmission of the art happened with great secrecy, which have two consequences: firstly, in this environment the exact systemization of the teaching – with easily understandable, standardized terminology – was never concerned, and secondly, because the art was passed down mainly in oral-transmission (known as *kuden* 口伝 in Japanese), very few or almost no written sources were left about *karate*.[6] Actually, the oldest document preserved in Okinawa was not especially about *karate*, and was not written in Japanese either.

The earliest source of karate: The *Bubishi*

Probably the oldest written manual preserved about martial arts in Okinawa (thus one can consider it as the earliest) was a Chinese *gong fu* book called *Wubeizhi* 武備志. The name "Bubishi" is actually the Japanese (*on'yomi* 音読み) reading of the same Chinese characters – known as *kanji* 漢字 in Japanese. Some sinologists, who are researching military history of China may be familiar

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[3]   The term *gōng fu* 功夫 meaning "skill gained through hard work" that is commonly used to describe Chinese martial arts in general, was popularized as "kung fu" in the Western world, however in this paper I chose to use the proper *pinyin* 拼音 romanization of the word instead.

[4]   It is suggested both in the memoirs of Funakoshi Gichin, and the book of Mark Bishop (which accumulates the various oral history passed down about *karate* and its masters in Okinawa) that notable figures of *karate* such as Matumura Sōkon 松村宗棍 and Asato Ankō 安里安恒 have trained in Jigen-ryū *kenjutsu*, a fencing school practiced in the Satsuma-domain. (Bishop, p. 53; Stephen Turnbull, *Katana: The samurai sword*, Osprey Publishing Ltd., Oxford, 2010, pp. 51–57; Gichin Funakoshi, *Karate-do My Way of Life*, Kodansha International, Tokyo – New York, 1975, p. 14).

[5]   Furthermore, Okinawan peasants suppressed by the Satsuma *samurai* would certainly have not granted the privilege to learn *samurai* swordsmanship especially not the domain's most well-known style, the Jigen-ryū – see the previous note (Bishop, pp. 10–11).

[6]   In his biography, when writing about the origins of *karate* in the chapter titled "Unwritten history", Funakoshi Gichin also expressed the same concern, only able to record whatever he remembered from the various "legends that have been handed down by word of mouth" (Funakoshi 1975, pp. 29–30).

with the title *Wubeizhi* and this is where one have to be careful when speaking about *Bubishi:* in fact, there are at least two independent books on Chinese martial arts, both use the same title *Wubeizhi*.[7]

The older (and admittedly more famous) one is the military book from the Ming-dynasty 明朝 (1368–1644), written by Mao Yuanyi 茅元儀 in 1621 – also called as "Mao Wubeizhi" 茅武備志. In this work Mao Yuanyi attempted to collect all military knowledge available in China in his time, and compile it into one comprehensive encyclopaedia,[8] which may be in the centre of interest of many sinologists researching Chinese military history.[9]

The main interest of the current research however, this other *Wubeizhi* is a significantly shorter, and also much later work about Chinese martial art traditions of the Fujian-province, often referred to as *Bubishi*[10] or more specifically "Ryūkyū Bubishi" 琉球武備志 (*Liuqiu Wubeizhi* in Chinese) after its close relationship with the Ryūkyū-archipelago.[11]

The *Bubishi* is a compilation of various articles about the Fujian White Crane-fist (Fujian Baihe-*quan* 福建白鶴拳) and the Monk Fist (Luohan-*quan* 羅漢拳) schools of Southern style *gong fu* which was written during the Qing-dynasty 清朝 (1644–1912).[12] Unlike Mao Yuanyi's *Wubeizhi*, not the exact time, neither the original author is known of the *Bubishi*, yet it was treasured and widely cited among all of the pioneers of modern *karate* including Funakoshi Gichin 富名腰義珍, Miyagi Chōjun 宮城長順 and Mabuni Kenwa 摩文仁賢和.[13] The influence of *Bubishi* is surprisingly evident in their schools and publications:

[7] Patrick McCarthy, *Bubishi. The Classic Manual of Combat*, Tuttle Publishing, Hong Kong, 2016.

[8] Áron Somogyi, "An Introduction to and Translation of a Ming Dynasty Fencing Manual: New Perspectives in the Research of Chinese Military History", *Távol-Keleti Tanulmányok*, 2017/2, pp. 69–90, pp. 69–70.

[9] Regarding Hungary, we shall highlight the previously cited Mr. Áron Somogyi pioneering in this field, as well as a former teacher of mine Dr. Ákos B. Apatóczky, who may have been the first in Hungary, who mentioned *Wubeizhi* in his research. (Ákos Bertalan Apatóczky, "Consequences of the Investigation of a Late Ming Glossary", *Távol-Keleti Tanulmányok*, 2016/1, pp. 1–14, p. 6).

[10] In this paper, I will consequently use the term *Bubishi* for the name of this version, to differentiate it from Mao Yuanyi's *Wubeizhi*.

[11] Probably the most well-known Western translation of the *Bubishi* is published by Patrick McCarthy which offers the most comprehensive English translation of the text, as well as various essays included from other researchers, contributors. In this current research, I will also use the McCarthy-translation, as the foundation of my citations. As far as I know, there is no Hungarian translation of the "Ryūkyū Bubishi" published yet.

[12] McCarthy, pp. 124–126.

[13] In this paper, for the Japanese names, I will consequently use the Japanese name order with the surname first, followed by the given name (McCarthy, p. 115).

In the first book of Shōtōkan 松濤館 founder Funakoshi Gichin titled *Ryūkyū Kenpō Karate* 琉球拳法唐手 certain chapters were originated from the *Bubishi*, namely "The eight precepts of Quanfa"[14] (*Quan zhi daiyao bagou* 拳之大要八句),[15] "The Principles of Ancient Law"[16] (*Gufa dagang lunzhang* 古法大剛論章),[17] "Maxims of Sun Zi"[18] (*Sun Wuzi yun* 孫武子云),[19] and "Grappling and Escapes"[20] (*Jieshuo fa* 解說法).[21]

These chapters in Funakoshi's book – as opposed to the rest – were not written in Japanese, but in Classical Chinese language (known as *kanbun* 漢文 in Japanese) which were even provided with *kunten* 訓点 marks (picture no. 1).[22] The unique Classical Chinese text, and the fact, that the content of these same paragraphs can be found in McCarthy's translation, leads to the conclusion that these parts (even if not explicitly addressed by Funakoshi himself) were apparently copied word by word from the *Bubishi*. In Funakoshi's second book *Rentan Goshin Karate-jutsu* 錬膽護身唐手術 the same text can be found.[23]

His third (and probably the most famous) book titled *Karate-dō kyōhan* 空手道教範, also contains these chapters from the *Bubishi* with some minor changes and expansion.[24] Also *Karate-dō Kyōhan* contains an entirely new, additional chapter about "pressure points" known as *kyūsho* 急所,[25] which likely was also borrowed from the Bubishi,[26] since it has articles in the same topic – this however just a speculation, the question requires further research in the future.

As I mentioned earlier, pioneers of early-modern *karate* received a great inspiration from the *Bubishi*. I would like to draw attention again on one of

[14] McCarthy, p. 261.

[15] Funakoshi Gichin, *Ryūkyū Kenpō Karate*, Bukyōsha, Tōkyō, 1922, p. 274.

[16] McCarthy, p. 260.

[17] Funakoshi 1922, p. 275.

[18] McCarthy, p. 262.

[19] Funakoshi 1922, p. 276.

[20] Here the sequence of paragraphs translated by McCarthy are not the same as in Funakoshi's listing but comparing the English translation with the original Chinese text, I am confident to state that the content of the two quotation is the same. McCarthy, pp. 262–264.

[21] Funakoshi 1922, p. 276.

[22] *Kunten* 訓点 is an umbrella term of "guiding marks for rendering classical Chinese into Japanese" – Jisho, "kunten", *jisho.org*.

[23] Funakoshi Gichin, *Rentan Goshin Karate-jutsu*, Kōbundō, Tōkyō, 1925, pp. 296–298.

[24] Funakoshi Gichin, *Karate-dō kyōhan*, Kōbundō, Ōkuma, 1935, pp. 300–302.

[25] Funakoshi 1935, pp. 263–277.

[26] McCarthy, pp. 212–247.

the articles of *Bubishi* quoted by Funakoshi, namely the *Quan zhi dayao bagou* 拳之大要八句. In this chapter, among the eight precepts there is one of particular interest: this reads as *Fa gangrou tuntu* 法剛柔吞吐 which is the third of the eight,[27] and means that: "The way of inhaling and exhaling is hardness and softness".[28]

If one read the same quotation with Japanese *on'yomi* reading, it will be *Hō gōjū donto*. The middle part, written as *gōjū* 剛柔 (which means "hardness and softness") is the name of one of the most popular *karate*-style known as Gōjū-ryū 剛柔流. It is not coincidence of course: the founder of the school, Miyagi Chōjun named his own style after this paragraph,[29] which allegedly was his favourite one.[30]

The *Bubishi* also had a great impact on Mabuni Kenwa, the founder of the Shitō-ryū 糸東流 style, who was both a student of Itosu Ankō 糸洲安恒 (master of Funakoshi) and Higaonna Kanryō 東恩納寛量 (master of Miyagi).[31] Mabuni in his 1934 book titled *Kōbō Jizai Karate Kenpō: Seipai no Kenkyū* 攻防自在空手拳法：十八の研究 (contrary to Funakoshi) actually mentions the *Bubishi*: "My venerable instructor Itosu Sensei copied a book about Kenpo, which is referred to in China as Bubishi."[32] (*Ware onshi Itosu sensei ga Shina no Bubishi to iu kenpō no shoseki yori utsusareta* […] 我恩師糸洲先生が支那の武備志と云ふ拳法の書籍より寫された […]).[33]

In this work rich illustrations can be found from the *Bubishi* as well, not just texts (picture no. 2). Mabuni shows drawings about the "Six Ji Hands"[34] (*Liuqishou* 六氣手 or *Rokkishu* in Japanese),[35] the same "Grappling and Escapes" (*Jieshuo fa* 解說法)[36] chapter, and a full "frame by frame" drawing of a training sequence called "Shaolin Hand and Foot, Muscle and Bone Training Postures"[37]

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27 Funakoshi 1922, p. 274.

28 Morio Higaonna, *Traditional Karate-do – Okinawan Goju Ryu. Vol. 1. Fundamental Techniques*, Sugawara Martial Arts Institute, Tōkyō, 1985, p. 29.

29 Higaonna, pp. 28–29; Uozumi, p. 186.

30 Bishop, p. 28.

31 Uozumi, pp. 186–187.

32 Translated by Andreas Quast, "Creation and Creator". Patrick McCarthy, *Bubishi. The Classic Manual of Combat*, Tuttle Publishing, Hong Kong, 2016, pp. 67–111, p. 87.

33 Mabuni Kenwa, *Kōbō Jizai Karate Kenpō. Seipai no Kenkyū*, Yōju shorin, Tōkyō, 1934, p. 84.

34 McCarthy, pp. 264–265.

35 Mabuni, pp. 85–91.

36 Mabuni, p. 92.

37 McCarthy, pp. 294–297.

(*Quanzu jingu liyang* 拳足筋骨立様).[38] It contains also the same "The Principles of Ancient Law" (*Gufa dagang lunzhang* 古法大剛論章) chapter,[39] and texts and illustrations about *kyūsho*[40] directly taken from the *Bubishi* including the "Seven Restricted Locations"[41] (*Qibuda* 七不打).[42] The last chapter of the book is "Maxims of Sun Zi" (*Sun Wuzi yun* 孫武子云)[43] again, in the same form as it can be found in Funakoshi's books.[44]

However, the last part of the *Bubishi* shown in Mabuni's book is indeed the most interesting of all: these are actual excerpts (with names and illustrations) of "The Forty-Eight Self-Defense Diagrams".[45] In his book Mabuni includes a total 28 of them under the name *Kumite-hen* 組手編 (appendix no 1).[46] In this chapter, each page illustrates a fighting scenario between two adversaries. In every case there is a so-called "winning technique" (*shousheng* 手勝) which dominates the "losing technique" (*shoubai* 手敗).

What is more important in this research, is the fact that each technique has its unique name: in this sense it could be seen as a "pre-modern" or "proto-terminology" of *karate* techniques. Hereby I would like to show a few examples (picture no. 3) of these techniques,[47] from Mabuni's[48] work:

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[38] Mabuni, pp. 93–127.

[39] Mabuni, p. 128.

[40] Mabuni, pp. 129–146.

[41] McCarthy, pp. 238–239.

[42] Mabuni, p. 143.

[43] Mabuni, p. 176.

[44] This of course leads to the apparent conclusion that both Funakoshi's and Mabuni's copy of the *Bubishi* were transmitted from the same master of theirs: Itosu Ankō.

[45] McCarthy, pp. 268–292.

[46] In this case I have used the Japanese reading of the word, because it is not the same as it can be found in McCarthy's *Bubishi* (which was supposedly translated from Chinese) and also hence the term *kumite* 組手 is typical to Japanese martial arts, not Chinese (Mabuni, pp. 148–175).

[47] Translation by Patrick McCarthy. The listing of the pages here is in the same order as given in the examples (McCarthy, pp. 280, 284, 272, 283).

[48] Mabuni, pp. 156–157, 164–165.

Winning techniques		Losing Techniques	
Using cymbals	*Qinbajian shousheng* 禽拔剪手勝	Short piercing attack	*Chuanxinduan shoubai* 穿心短手敗
Phoenix spreads its wings	*Fengzhanchi shousheng* 鳳展翅手勝	Dragon spits pearls	*Longtuzhu shoubai* 龍吐珠手敗
Small demon trying to remove the door bar	*Xiaogui bachuang shousheng* 小鬼拔閘手勝	Arhat opening the door	*Luohan kaimen shoubai* 羅漢開門手敗
Going to fight with one knife	*Dandao fuhui shousheng* 单刀赴会手勝	Fighting alone at the gate of an official residence	*Duzhan yuanmen shoubai* 獨戰轅門手敗

As it can be seen, few of these names make any "actual sense". This type of "terminology" perfectly embodies the secretive nature of old martial arts: the names are just mere labels, without any concrete clues which could describe the execution. For the initiated these obscure names are great reminders, while for the uninitiated all techniques of the school remain a mystery.

However, it is very clear that this kind of cryptic terminology is not suitable to popularize an art and teach it to the wide public. Consequently, the pioneers of modern *karate* like Funakoshi Gichin or Mabuni Kenwa had to create a new, easily understandable terminology, which actually helps spreading the art.

The first steps in the creation of karate-terminology

In fact, the urge to create a system and terminology for the various techniques of *karate* became important at the beginning of the 20th century, when the (until that point, only secretly taught)[49] *karate* was introduced first to the Okinawan schools' physical education,[50] then later on brought to mainland Japan by its pioneers, most notably Funakoshi Gichin[51] and Mabuni Kenwa.[52] Before its

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[49] Funakoshi 1975, pp. 43–45.

[50] The aforementioned master Itosu Ankō had a prominent role in this: he was the one, who initially introduced *karate* to the Okinawan education system and also created the Pin'an 平安, a set of forms especially designed to be taught to children in school (Bishop, pp. 88–89; Uozumi, pp. 175–176).

[51] Funakoshi 1975, pp. 69–74.

[52] Bishop, pp. 105–106.

modernization, apart from the *Bubishi, karate* did not have any written manual, not an organized system of teaching (which needs a terminology) either.

In the early books of the two, one can see the first steps (or so-called pro-totypes) of creating these systems and terminology, which is essential in con-temporary *karate*-schools. Looking again to Funakoshi's 1922 *Ryūkyū Kenpō Karate*, the first attempts to create some sort of systemized techniques and names (appendix no 2) can be seen. First of all, Funakoshi introduces how to make a fist (*te no nigirikata* 手の握り方) and a "spear hand" (*nukite* 貫き手),[53] then – maybe the first time in the history of *karate* – the early iterations of the stances (*ashi no tachikata* 足の立方). In this chapter the prototypes of today's well-known stances and their names can be found, such as *zenkutsu shisei* 前屈姿勢, *kōkutsu shisei* 後屈姿勢, *hachiji tachi* 八字立 etc. with drawn illustra-tion and short description (picture no. 4) included.[54]

The next section is about the "hand techniques" (*te waza* 手技), in which Funakoshi enumerates all types of punches and blocking techniques – only short explanations are given without pictures. Some of these may be similar to the terminology used today, such as *tsuki te* 突手, *kake te* 掛手, *hiki te* 引手, *enpi* 猿臂 while others are still rudimentary, shares only brief resemblance (or none at all) with contemporary techniques. This includes names like *uke te* 受手, *harai te* 拂手, *ura te* 裏手 but also *sukui te* 掬手, *hen te* 變手 etc.[55]

The same can be found in the next chapter, the "leg techniques" (*ashi waza* 足技) where Funakoshi lists all sorts of leg techniques, including footwork like *yori ashi* 寄足, *tobi komi* 飛込, *neko ashi* 猫足, *nami gaeshi* 波返 as well as kicking techniques such as *keage* 蹴上, *tobi keri* 飛蹴, *mikazuki* 三日月, *hiza zuchi* 膝鎚 etc. Some of these are recognizable even for today's practitioners, while others may have disappeared by now.[56]

From a technical aspect, the rest of the book primary[57] deals with the explanation and illustration of the different *kata,* most likely introduced the first time in mainland Japan. There is not much to say about Funakoshi's second book, *Rentan Goshin Karate-jutsu* from 1925, since most of the text is an exact copy of what

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[53] Funakoshi 1922, pp. 23–29.

[54] Funakoshi 1922, pp. 30–34.

[55] Funakoshi 1922, pp. 41–45.

[56] Funakoshi 1922, pp. 45–49.

[57] In fact, there is an additional chapter dealing with "throwing techniques" (*nage waza* 投技) but I chose to exclude this for now, since it is not present hence being irrelevant in today's striking-focused *karate*-terminology. For the sake of complexity, I have included them in the appendix no. 2 (Funakoshi 1922, pp. 51–60).

can be found in *Ryūkyū Kenpō Karate* – the main difference however, that in the second book all the drawings were replaced by photographs.

For actual advancement, one must go ten years forward in time: Funakoshi's third book, the 1935 *Karate-dō Kyōhan* was a milestone in many ways. Here a much more refined version of his technical system and terminology (appendix no. 3) can be found. In the chapter "how to make a fist" (*kobushi no nigirikata* 拳の握り方) new methods appeared, which are present even today, such as *ippon ken* 一本拳, *hira ken* 平拳 etc.[58] The stances (*tachikata* 立と方) here are already identical to the terminology known today, including *heisoku dachi* 閉足立, *hachiji dachi* 八字立, *zenkutsu* 前屈, *kōkutsu* 後屈, *neko ashi* 猫足 and *kiba dachi* 騎馬立 etc.[59]

The "hand-techniques" (*te waza* 手技) and "leg-techniques" (*ashi waza* 足技) are almost identical to the two earlier books, with some minor additions like *ura ken* 裏拳, *ippon ken* 一本拳 and *shutō* 手刀 or *yoko geri* 横蹴 and *ushiro geri* 後蹴 for the kicks – these newly added techniques are unchanged since.[60] One last thing worth to mention about the terminology, however, is a completely new chapter in the book titled "sparring" (*kumite* 組手)[61] which contains new techniques and their names, most of them really close – if not the same – to the ones known today.[62] This includes *jōdan uke* 上段受, *chūdan uke* 中段受, *gedan barai* 下段拂, *mae geri* 前蹴 etc. In a sense, this can be called as the true cornerstone of modern *karate* terminology.

Funakoshi was not the only one, however, who was working on a systematized teaching and terminology for *karate*. As mentioned earlier, the founder of Shitō-ryū style, Mabuni Kenwa also published his book *Kōbō Jizai Karate Kenpō: Seipai no Kenkyū* 攻防自在空手拳法：十八の研究 in 1934. In the second chapter called "Names of blocking methods in *karate*" (*Karate ukekata meishō* 空手受け方名稱) he also presents some techniques with their names (appendix no 4).[63] Some of these names are the same (or at least very similar to) the ones can be found in *Karate-dō Kyōhan*, such as *jōdan uke* 上段受け, *shutō uke* 手刀受け, *ura uke* 裏受け, *harai uke* 拂ひ受け etc. while others, like *kuri uke* 繰り受け, *uchi otoshi* 打ち落し, *ko uke* 孤受け, *tsuri te* 釣手, *uke nagashi* 受け流し

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[58] Funakoshi 1935, pp. 19–23.

[59] Funakoshi 1935, pp. 24–26.

[60] Funakoshi 1935, pp. 26–31.

[61] Despite the same title, this chapter has nothing to do with *Bubishi*, as it does in Mabuni's book mentioned previously.

[62] Funakoshi 1935, pp. 177–212.

[63] Mabuni, pp. 22–25.

are completely different. There are some techniques however, what can be also found in Funakoshi's book, like *chūdan uke* 中段受, which is called as *soto yoko uke* 外横受け in Mabuni's work: same technique, different name (picture no. 5). This sheds the light on one of the biggest problems of modern *karate*: since its birth, *karate* (being either Classic Okinawan or Modern Japanese) was never unified, thus the terminology was not either. Different styles have different executions and names of the same techniques.[64] By presenting both Funakoshi's and Mabuni's approach,[65] I merely wanted to give an outlook about *karate*-terminology, and how it was developed parallel according to its representative masters and school.

From "Chinese hand" to "Empty hand"

Apart from the *Bubishi*, the most apparent evidence to Chinese roots of *karate* is the name of the art itself: the name *karate* 空手 was originally written with the 唐手 *kanji*. The word *kara* 唐 means "Chinese" since it refers to the Tang-dynasty 唐朝 (619–907) – in the same sense how *kan* 漢 also means "Chinese", referring to the Han-dynasty 漢朝 (206 BC–220 AD).

In the first half of the 20th century, despite the art of *karate* was originated from Chinese *kenpō* 拳法 to the extent it was called as "Chinese hand",[66] in the historical and political situation of the time, where the more militaristic and ultra-nationalistic Japan lead an expansion in China (especially in eastern regions such as Manchuria) just between the first (1894–1895) and second (1937–1945) Sino-Japanese war, trying to spread anything in mainland Japan under the name "Chinese" was rather unfortunate.[67] Therefore, the name had to be changed.

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[64] The aforementioned *chūdan/yoko uke* which was presented as an example, is today called as *uchi uke* 内受 in Funakoshi's Shōtōkan, and *soto uke* 外受 in Mabuni's Shitō-ryū school – both names are justifiable by their respective principles.

[65] Mabuni Kenwa also had a later work with Nakasone Genwa called *Kōbō Jizai Goshin Kenpō. Karate-dō Nyūmon* where they further expand Mabuni's terminology. That book provides an enormous amount of precious information about various topics of *karate,* which in itself could fill many separate publications. For this reason, and because of the limitations of this paper, in order to maintain the "brief" nature of introducing *karate*-history, I chose to superficially mention, but not actually include this work into the current research: Mabuni Kenwa – Nakasone Genwa, *Kōbō Jizai Goshin Kenpō. Karate-dō Nyūmon*, Kyōbunsha, Tōkyō, 1938.

[66] The term *kenpō* 拳法 or *quanfa* in Chinese literally means "method of the fist" which is an umbrella term of Chinese fist-fighting arts (the same way as *gong fu*, sometimes even using the two terms interchangeably).

[67] One of the peak points of this was the 1928 "Manchuria train incident" (Manshū-jihen 満州事変) where the Japanese military forces blew up a train in Manchuria, killing the local warlord Zhang Zuolin 張作霖 (Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan. The Story of a Nation*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York,

It was decided upon the character 空 which also can be read as *kara*, but it means "empty" or "void" instead of "Chinese". The use of 空 emphasized the art's unarmed nature as well as the zen Buddhist principle of "emptiness".[68] At the same time, the term *karate-jutsu* 唐手術 where *jutsu* 術 emphasizes "technique", was also changed to *karate-dō* 空手道 with the *dō* 道 meaning "way", thus express the practicing of *karate* as a spiritual journey as well, instead of mere techniques.[69]

Despite the popular belief that Funakoshi Gichin was the first, who used the 空手 *kanji* for *karate,* thus ending a long-running debate and revolutionizing the art in his third book published by the title *Karate-dō Kyōhan* 空手道教範 in 1935, this is actually not true. Looking again at Mabuni Kenwa's book *Kōbō Jizai Karate Kenpō: Seipai no Kenkyū* 攻防自在空手拳法：十八の研究 the word *karate* is also written as 空手. It is worth to note that this work was published in 1934, one-year prior to *Karate-dō Kyōhan*. That means in terms of official publications Mabuni used the term earlier than Funakoshi. However, actually none of them was the first, who used the *kanji* 空 instead of 唐 in *karate*.

In fact, there are remains of a short, handwritten manual from Okinawan master Hanashiro Chōmo 花城長茂 under the title *Karate kumite* 空手組手 where the name *karate* is clearly written with the *kanji* 空手. The date written on the sheet is "the 38th year of Meiji" 明治卅八年 which equals to 1905 (picture no. 6).[70] According to this, Hanashiro Chōmo was actually the first one, who used the term *karate* 空手 written as "empty hand" – preceding Funakoshi by exactly thirty years.

The kata-name reform of Funakoshi

Changing the meaning of the name from 'Chinese' 唐 to 'empty' 空 was only the first step however in the process of making *karate* a true Japanese martial art. In his 1935 book *Karate-dō Kyōhan* Funakoshi Gichin attempted an even more drastic change in the history of the art: he aimed to modernize the names of *karate* forms (known as *kata* 型 in Japanese).

Up until that point, the techniques and names of *kata* were primary inherited from the Chinese language, and only a few of them had still the original *kanji*

1970, pp. 188–189).

[68] Funakoshi 1975, pp. 33–36.

[69] Funakoshi 1935, pp. 1–8.

[70] Tōru Kadekaru, *Creating and Developing Okinawan Karate. The significance of transitions in the term "karate",* PhD dissertation, Waseda University (Sport Faculty), 2017, pp. 106–107.

associated to its meaning,[71] most of the time only the pronunciation left, like Jion ジオン, Jitte ジッテ, Sēshan セーシャン etc. which was written in *katakana* 片仮名 syllabic writing accordingly. However, in the chapter "Name of the kata" (*Kata no meishō* 型の名稱) Funakoshi presents new names, with Japanese *kanji* and meanings, instead of the outdated Chinese-originated *kata*-names, make them more suitable to be part of the martial arts of mainland Japan (appendix no. 5).[72] As Funakoshi himself wrote:

> These were, in fact, the names that I had learned long ago from my own masters. No one, by now had any idea how they had come into being, and people found them difficult to learn. Accordingly, after having transformed "Chinese hands" into "empty hands", I began to give the kata names that were easier for the Japanese people to use and that have now become familiar all over the world [...].[73]

One can see two methods in this name-reforming process.[74] The first is giving a Japanese *kanji* to an existing *kata*-name with the Chinese pronunciation left, this way it will resemble to an already existing Japanese word with an actual meaning, just how it happened in the case of Jitte 十手 (ジッテ), Jion 慈恩 (ジオン) and Bassai 抜塞 (バッサイ) – which is actually a borderline case, since it was also written as Passai パッサイ in earlier works.[75]

The other method is to change the name of the *kata* entirely, by giving it a brand-new *kanji* with its new Japanese reading as well. This happened to most of the *kata,* including Kankū 觀空 (Kūshankū/Kōsōkun クーシャンクー/公相君), Enpi 燕飛 (Wanshū ワンシュウ/汪輯), Gankaku 岩鶴 (Chintō チントウ), Hangetsu 半月 (Sēshan セーシャン) and Kiba dachi 騎馬立 (Naihanchi/Naifanchi ナイハンチ/ナイファンチ)[76] – this last one was changed to Tekki 鉄騎 in Funakoshi's later works.[77]

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[71] I would list here the *kata* Kūshankū 公相君, Sanchin 三戦, Seipai 十八, Wanhsū 汪輯 etc. I could also mention here Pin'an 平安 however, despite being a perfect example of Chinese names in Okinawa, it was named by Itosu Ankō purposely and not handed down from China.

[72] Funakoshi 1935, pp. 33–35.

[73] Funakoshi 1975, p. 36.

[74] In the following listing I will write the new name, as well as include the old one in brackets. The same way as Funakoshi did in his book (Funakoshi 1935, pp. 33–35).

[75] Funakoshi 1922, p. 6.

[76] The reading "Nafanchi" can be found in one of Mabuni Kenwa's later works, who also provides a *kanji* for the name as 内歩進. Mabuni – Nakasone, p. 26.

[77] Gichin Funakoshi, *Karate-dō Kyōhan. The Master Text*, Kodansha International, Tokyo – New York, 1973, p. 36.

The name Pin'an 平安 is an individual issue however: this was not handed down from generation to generation, but was created and named by Itosu Ankō, Funakoshi's master. The *kata* was designed to be suited for school education, as a way to teach the basics of *karate* to children. The name also reflects this, since it comes from the Chinese word *ping'an* 平安 which is often used as an expression meaning: "have a safe journey".[78] It can be theorized that Itosu gave this name with the purpose to wish a "safe journey" to all his students (graduating from schools) in their long journey in life.

Funakoshi did not change the *kanji* or gave it a new name, he just started to use the Japanese *on'yomi* reading *heian* 平安 instead. This one, while surely is pleasant for a mainland Japanese – since Heian is both the old name of Kyōto 京都 and therefore the name of one of the most prominent eras in Japanese history –, but at the same time it also deprives of the essence (or message) of the original name.

An even bigger problem was, however, that despite Funakoshi's efforts, other contemporary masters, like Mabuni Kenwa or Ōtsuka Hironori 大塚博紀[79] did not care about the name reforms: they kept using the old names, and followers of their styles keep using them even today.[80] The fact that Funakoshi's Shōtōkan school is using the reformed *kata*-names ever since, while all the other styles, Shitō-ryū, Wadō-ryū and Gōjū-ryū are still using the old, classical ones, results in a great confusion within the modern *karate*-community, especially at the World Karate Federation, where the same *kata* has different names: Pin'an and Heian, Naihanchi and Tekki, Kūshankū and Kankū etc. are all used simultaneously in competitions (picture no. 7).[81] This issue is still waiting for solution.

Conclusion

In this paper I strived to give a brief outlook on the early development of *karate*-terminology, to have an insight how and when these terms (which the *karate*-practitioners are familiar with) were born. In the old days, *karate*

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[78] While working at the ELTE Confucius Institute, I have personally encountered the expression many times, primary as *yilu ping'an* 一路平安 in Chinese, whenever a colleague travelled back to China.

[79] Founder of Wadō-ryū 和道流 school, former student of Funakoshi and other Okinawan masters before creating his own *karate* style mixed with Shindō Yōshin-ryū *jūjutsu* 神道楊心流柔術 (Uozumi, pp. 185–186).

[80] Mabuni – Nakasone, pp. 33–35.

[81] World Karate Federation, "Karate Competition Rules", wkf.net, 01.01.2020.

written as "Chinese hand" 唐手 was practiced secretly in Okinawa, thus few written documentations remained, one of the most important of them is the *Bubishi,* which is actually a collection of articles from China about Southern style Chinese *gong fu* – also written in Chinese.

The public teaching of *karate* started in the early 20th century, and this is the time, when systemized teaching methods and overall terminology became necessary. The early pioneers are the first masters who introduced *karate* to mainland Japan, most importantly Funakoshi Gichin and Mabuni Kenwa, both of them published various books about the teachings of their respective styles. In the modernization process, the writing of *karate* was changed to "Empty hand" 空手 and despite this was already done in 1905 by Hanashiro Chōmo, the term got widely popularized only later, in the 1930's by Mabuni and Funakoshi.

The development of terminology however happened separately which led to the current *status quo* where there is still not a unified terminology or style of *karate* exist even this day. Funakoshi also attempted a *kata*-name reform, which in the end remained unique to his school, since Mabuni and other masters kept using the traditional names in their styles. Therefore, not only the terminology, but also the *kata* names are greatly divert, causing confusion about *karate* for the uninitiated.

The perfect solution would be a "standardized *karate*" (*seitei karate* 制定空手) which has one unified terminology and *kata*-list, while individual schools can keep their unique techniques and names (just how it happened in the case of modern *kendō* and *jūdō*), but this still has not happened until these days for various reasons.

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Andrea Szilágyi

In Search of a Representative Cultural Element – The Question of Noguchi's Recognition and Knowledge of Traditional Nō Theatre until 1907

The poet and writer Yone Noguchi 野口米次郎 (born as Noguchi Yonejirō, 1875–1947) was an influential figure who mediated mutual understanding and information flow between Japan and the West. In his writings he mainly focused on presenting Japanese cultural elements that would fulfil the contemporary Western concept of a civilised and equal nation. As a part of this, by 1907 he chooses *nō* as the proper theatrical cultural element to represent a developed Japanese nation. *Nō* 能 as a theatre genre based on music, chanting and dance, dates back to the Kamakura (1185–1333) and Muromachi (1336–1573) periods, but its preservation became threatened during the Meiji era (1868–1912). Noguchi took part in the *nō*'s popularization by promoting it mainly in English to a foreign literary and theatrical readership.

The article "With a Foreign Critic at a No performance"[1] written in 1907 is Noguchi's first known work focused on *nō*. In this article he attempts to raise awareness of traditional *nō* theatre's value as a new, modern theatre form in the contemporary Western theatre world, and urges for its preservation. Shōtarō Oshima (1965) concluded that Noguchi pointed out that *nō* plays resemble the modern Irish plays of the Irish poet and dramatist, William Butler Yeats (1865–1939).[2] In addition, Edward Marx (2005) found that Noguchi's first writings on the genre reflected the knowledge of a novice *nō* scholar.[3] Both Oshima

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[1] Yone Noguchi, "With a Foreign Critic at a Noh performance", *The Japan Times*, 27.10.1907.

[2] Shōtarō Oshima, *W.B. Yeats and Japan*, Hokuseido Press, Tokyo, 1965, pp. 112–109, p.109.

[3] Marx Edward, "Yone Noguchi in W.B. Yeats's Japan (1) The No", *Ehime Daigaku Hōbungakubu Ronshū Jinbungakubuhen*, Vol. 18 (2005), pp. 109–134, p. 127.

and Marx regarded this article from 1907 as a turning point for Noguchi's perception of the *nō*. However, Hori Madoka (2012) argued to take 1904, the publishing year of Noguchi's translated *kyōgen* 狂言 play "Melon Thief",[4] as the first of his writings on *nō*.[5] The comical *kyōgen* is a theatre genre also developed in the Kamakura era, and was performed as an individual play on the *nō* stage or as an interval during a *nō* play. Based on this historical connection Hori groups Noguchi's *kyōgen* and *nō* writings together, suggesting Noguchi had adequate knowledge of both theatres in 1904, which he could share with his foreign acquintences.

This essay focuses on Noguchi's search for a theatrical cultural element worthy of Western attention by analyzing his early works between 1893 and 1907. This new method attempts to confirm the previous research done into Noguchi's work, and will examine whether he recognised the value of *nō* and possessed an adequate knowledge of it during this interval. My thesis concludes that he re-evaluates *nō* between 25th August and 27th October 1907, and prior to that he had not yet possessed the required knowledge to comprehend *nō* and, thus, recognise it's value. This thesis will complement the existing research of Noguchi and the history of the international cultural exchange of information about Japanese theatre genres.

Nō and kabuki in the Meiji period

Noguchi first came in contact with Japan's theatres between 1890–1893, when the two most representative genres, *nō* and *kabuki* 歌舞伎, were on different paths. After 1868 Japan took a course of drastic modernization that also greatly affected the Japanese theatre world. The abolition of the noble samurai class in 1871 cut off financial support for *nō* and *kyōgen* actors, who thus often turned toward new professions. Both theatre forms were in danger of fading into obscurity at the first decades of the Meiji era. Their fate changed in 1873 when Tomomi Iwakura 岩倉具視 (1825–1883) returned from Europe, where he saw the cultural value of opera, and perceived *nō* as its Japanese counterpart. From 1876, Iwakura made attempts to present *nō* to high society and to gain the support of the noble class for its revitalization. As a result, the *Nōgakusha*

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[4] Yone Noguchi, "The Melon Thief", *Eibun Shinshi*, Vol.1, No. 14 (1904), pp. 396–397; Vol. 1, No. 15 (1904), pp. 422–423. Reprinted in *Poet Lore,* Vol. 15, No.1 (1904), pp. 40–42. Hori refers to the Poet Lore article.

[5] Madoka Hori, *Nijūkokuseki Shijin Noguchi Yonejirō*, Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai, Nagoya, 2012, pp. 162–177, p. 163.

能楽社 (Nō Association) was established in 1881 to preserve the arts and cultivate its new generation of performers and audience. The Shiba *nō* stage (*Shiba nōgakudō* 芝能楽堂) was built for perfomances in Tōkyō's Shiba Park in 1881, and was relocated to Yasukuni shrine in 1902, and renamed to *Yasukuni jinja nōgakudō* 靖国神社能楽堂. Amateur groups were formed for people who wanted to learn *nō* chanting, the research of *nō* plays and the theatre itself gained popularity among intellectuals and actors, and by the late Meiji period the *nō* audience had shifted from the upper to the middle class.

Contrary to the *nō,* the *kabuki* theatre did not face financial problems. *Kabuki* drama developed in the 17th century for the middle class, which remained its main audience even during the Meiji period. In 1872 the government tasked it a new role: to educate its audience and to attract the attention of Japanese nobles and foreigners. Its new repertoire presented plays about contemporary subjects, in a more dramatical tone. In 1889 Tōkyō's newly built, three-storey Western looking *Kabukiza* 歌舞伎座 overcame other kabuki theatres both in size and popularity, with its Japanese style auditorium able to accomodate 3500 visitors.

To summarize, the popular *kabuki* theatre representing modernization was part of the Japanese consciousness in the capital. In comparison, for *nō*'s revival, the knowledge of classical poetical language and art needed to be taught to the middle class in order to create a knowledgeable audience whose financial support became essential. This process was in itself time-consuming, therefore between 1890–1893 *nō* could not have been widely recognised yet.

Noguchi's first experience with nō theatre

Between February 1890 and November 1893 Noguchi lived in Tōkyō where he studied English at Seiritsu Gakusha preparatory school, and later enrolled at Keiō Gijuku University to study English literature. During those three years he experienced various traditional Japanese performing arts, though his grasp of each genre was varied.

Noguchi's first experiences with Japanese theatre forms are summarized by his 63 year old self in 1938 in his article titled "Utosōsō–Higashi-Nagano Zakki".[6] Here he draws a timeline between 1889 and 1893, while presenting the first motivations of his early interest in the English language, literature and theatre. His intention was probably to introduce the basis of his established

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6   Yone Noguchi, "Utosōsō–Higashi-Nagano Zakki", *Nihon Hyōron*, Vol. 13, No. 10 (1938), pp. 344–356.

career relating to these fields, and among others, to project an image of himself as a youth with an appreciation for theatre.

According to Noguchi as a student he experienced and was able to appreciate the performing arts of *kabuki, nō, jōruri* 浄瑠璃 and *rakugo* 落語[7] in Tōkyō. However, *kabuki* clearly had the greatest effect on him. Nakao (2018) pointed out that Noguchi thought of himself as an unusual *kabuki* theatregoer for his age. He was introduced to *kabuki* by members of his newly acquired social network, who also presented him with the opportunity to watch plays at the Kabukiza theatre for free. Nakao argues that Noguchi's recollections are half accurate, but concludes that the young Noguchi must have started visiting the *kabuki* theatre shortly after moving to Tōkyō,[8] because the earliest play he recalled seeing was the *Taikōki jūdanme* 太閤記十段目 (Tenth Act of the Chronicle of the Taikō), performed at the Kabukiza in 25th May 1890.[9]

In contrast it can be assumed that Noguchi's experience with the *nō* theatre was rather brief, because he could only recall a single *nō* play, also the first one he saw: *Kantan* 邯鄲. Nakao placed the event between 1892 and 1893,[10] pointing out that during this interval it was performed more than 19 times.[11] The play tells the story of Rosei's enlightenment, of how he slept on the famous pillow of the village of *Kantan* until his portion of boiled rice with millet was prepared, and dreamed about 50 years of reign. When he woke up, he realised that life is but a dream. Noguchi described his impression of the play as follows:

> It was the first time I saw a nō performance, which is why I didn't under-
> stand what was what at all. And things such as the words of the nō chanting
> just echoed loudly inside me. I really felt impressed by its beauty around
> that part, when the dance starts with Rosei leaving the long passageway,
> and then singing together with the chorus: "I thought I heard the voices of
> consorts and concubines, but it was only the sound of the wind blowing
> through the pines."[12]

Noguchi quotes the ending scene that expresses Rosei's state after suddenly waking up from the dream – it is the most dramatic moment of the play.

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7   *Jōruri* is a puppet theatre and *rakugo* is a storytelling performing art.

8   Kaoru Nakao, "Noguchi Yonejirō ga saikenshita Nō – Sono deai to keitō no jiki wo megutte", *Koten Engeki Kenkyū no taishō to shiten* (2018), pp. 81–98, pp. 83–85.

9   Nakao 2018, p. 96.

10 *Ibid.,* p. 88.

11 *Ibid.,* p. 97.

12 Noguchi 1938, p. 354.

With this quote he portrays himself as a young theatre viewer, who despite not being able to understand the content or the classical language of the play had the ability to appreciate the highlight of this performance. This is in alignment with his portrayal of himself as a theatre viewer in this recollection. Furthermore, by 1938 Noguchi already depicted himself in his works as a Japanese intellectual with the knowledge to understand and appreciate *nō* theatre. Therefore, on the one hand, this recollection on the *nō* suggests his intention to supplement the theatregoer image he had introduced earlier in connection to the *kabuki* theatre, but it also suggests that he was an appreciator of *nō* theatre from a young age. However, without the quote, this recollection of his first *nō* experience depicts a rather realistic image of a contemporary youth lacking the knowledge needed to understand a *nō* play. In addition, it is possible Noguchi experienced a *kyōgen* performance together with the play *Kantan,* but even if he did, the fact he did not refer to any *kyōgen* play in the article indicates that it did not leave him with any lasting impression.

Although in 1892 and 1893 Shiba Park's *nō* stage operated with a full house,[13] it is possible that due to financial reasons Noguchi could not frequent the *nō* theatre as a student. It is also possible that it was the rise of popularity of the *nō* at the time that led him to the decision to watch a performance and experience the genre. Nevertheless, Noguchi's recollection shows that it was difficult for his young self to grasp traditional *nō* theatre, while he was captivated by the Kabukiza theatre and its more comprehensible plays that represented modern Japan. In other words, young Noguchi's interest seems to parallel the contemporary situation of the *nō* in need of an audience with classical knowledge, in contrast to the popular *kabuki*. In conclusion, this article suggests that he departed to the United States while possessing a basic knowledge of the *kabuki* theatre, but none of the *nō*.

Noguchi's search for a theatrical cultural element

From November 1893 until August 1904, Noguchi lived in the United States, where he started his literary career. Until his first article on *nō* in October 1907, these fourteen years are characterized by his writings on different cultural topics to correct or supplement Japan's image abroad and to find those cultural elements that could portray Japan as a developed country. The idea that culture represents a country's value on the international stage could have been

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[13] Nakao 2018, p. 87.

an influence of Yukichi Fukuzawa 福澤諭吉 (1835–1901).[14] The renowned and mostly retired intellectuel, founder of Keiō Gijuku University, lived across the street from the young Noguchi's lodgings in Tōkyō, [15] and greatly influenced his decisions. Noguchi attended his university, but later discontinued his studies in order to move to San Fransisco, a place Fukuzawa also visited in 1860.[16] Between 1893 and 1907, possibly applying Fukuzawa's idea, Noguchi's urge to present a Japanese theatre that could capture foreign attention was a dominant element in his writings on the theatre.

In the United States Noguchi encountered two forms of theatre performance that represented Japanese culture. One was the *shinpa* 新派 theatre invented by Otojirō Kawakami 川上音二郎 (1864–1911) and his geisha wife Sadayakko Kawakami 川上貞奴 (1871–1946), who had two well-received theatre tours between 1899 and 1902, visiting the U.S. and many European countries. They performed short plays in Japanese, newly written or famous *kabuki* scenes, with eye-catching acting and set design. *Shinpa* selected its theatrical elements based on the taste of its Western audience, which could have thus presented Noguchi with an example of what kind of elements Westerners could appreciate in Japanese theatre.

The other type of performance was the orientalistic play on Western stage that depicted Japan through Westerners' eyes, with a lack of cultural accuracy. Noguchi was aware of the genre and also criticized famous representatives like the musical comedy *The Geisha – A Story of a Tea House* (1896).[17] Hori (2013) pointed out that these plays made Noguchi realise that the essence of the Japanese theatre needs to be presented to Westerners.[18]

Noguchi made his first reference to Japanese theatre in *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl* (1902).[19] This fictional diary novel is based on his eight years

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[14] Yukari Yoshihara, "Japan as 'Half-Civilized': An Early Japanese Adaptation of Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice and Japan's Construction of Its National Image in the Late Nineteenth Century." Minami Ryūta (ed.): *Performing Shakespeare in Japan,* Cambridge UP, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 21–32.

[15] Noguchi 1938, p. 351.

[16] In 1860 Fukuzawa voluntarily took part as an assistant in the first Japanese diplomatic visit to the United States, which made him one of the first Japanese to ever travel to the country.

[17] Yone Noguchi, "What Americans Really Know About Bewitching Geishas", *San Fransisco Call,* Vol. 88, No. 31, (1900), p. 18.

[18] Madoka Hori, "Noguchi Yonejirō no Nō no Shōkai to Gordon Craig no Zasshi 'Mask' ", *Kokubun Mejiro*, Vol. 52 (2013), pp. 62–73, p. 63.

[19] Yone Noguchi, *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl,* Frederick A. Stokes, New York, 1902, pp. 134–135.

experience in America, and was an attempt to attract readers' interest in Japan by introducing cultural differences from a Japanese viewpoint. Therefore it needed to be literary, exotic and enjoyable instead of educational and informative. As a result, Japanese cultural elements served to portray the image of the protagonist, while their explanations were incomplete. As a theatregoer Noguchi described the Japanese theatre from the viewpoint of the audience and pointed out two peculiar stage types of the *kabuki* – the *hanamichi* 花道 runway stage and the revolving stage (*mawaributai* 回り舞台). Although the theatrical terminology and the genre of the theatre is not clarified, Noguchi clearly chose the era's popular theatre, the *kabuki* as the generalized representation of the 'Japan theatre' or the 'Japanese stage'.

Although Noguchi attempted to pursue foreign attention with the *kabuki* theatre, as Marx (2019) pointed out, "Japan's Greatest Actor is Gone"[20] shows that he met with mixed reception during his short visit to London (November 1902–May 1903). This is his first article focusing on the Japanese theatre, honoring the memory of Danjūrō Ichikawa IX 九代目市川團十郎 (1838–1903), who died on the 13th September. Noguchi saw him on stage multiple times in the Kabukiza theatre as one of the leading actors.[21] Here he pays tribute to the late Danjūrō by presenting the Japan Society of London's founder, Arthur Diósy's (1856–1923) curiosity in the actor, thus confirming Western interest towards Japanese theatre. However, another opinion given by Osman Edward (1864–1936) points out the importance of teaching Westerners how to appreciate the art of *kabuki*.

Following these reactions, in January 1904 Noguchi suddenly published his first writing on *kyōgen*. It consisted of the translation of the play *Uri nusubito* 瓜盗人 titled "The Melon Thief", with a brief introduction of the genre.[22] Nakao (2018) pointed out that Noguchi might have translated the play from Yaichi Haga's 芳賀矢一校 book *Kyōgen Nijūban* 狂言二十番 (Twenty Kyōgen Play) published in July 1903.[23] There are several reasons to consider that could have convinced Noguchi to turn from *kabuki* toward the comedic *kyōgen*. Marx (2019) refers to this sudden decision as Noguchi taking a challenge that was presented to him by the mixed responses to *kabuki* in London,[24] or

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[20] Yone Noguchi, "Japan's Greatest Actor is Gone", *Morning Telegraph,* 1.11.1903. In Edward Marx, *Yone Noguchi – The Stream of Fate,* Botchan Books, 2019, p. 343.

[21] Nakao 2018, p. 84–85.

[22] Yone Noguchi 1904a, pp. 396–397.

[23] Nakao 2018, p. 93.

[24] Marx 2019, p. 343.

by the *Eibun Shinshi* 英文新誌 magazine that published Umeko Tsuda's 津田梅子 *kyōgen* translation "Spring Water" (*Shimizu* 清水) in October 1903.[25] Hori (2013) concluded that Noguchi learned the importance of the element of humour in modern art from San Fransisco's bohemian circle, pointing out the fact that *kyōgen* plays' main characters are common folk, with its topics being taken from folklore. The latter indicates that Noguchi was also affected by W. B. Yeats, whom he first met in London and later in New York in 1903.[26] I would like to add that *shinpa* and orientalistic plays applying humour on stage could have also suggested to him that humour was enjoyable for foreign audience. However, Noguchi clarifies his simple motivation himself in his first *kyōgen* article's introduction.

> Our literature (how little it is known to the world!) would be a grey waste as far as comedy is concerned, if the 'kiogen' (farce, the word meaning 'crazy language') did not rescue us. It developed fully in the Middle Age simultaneously with the growth of 'No' (operatic performance) which was based invariably on Tragedy.[27]

Noguchi clearly wished to prove that Japanese theatre too had developed its own comical works as a counterpart to tragedy, proclaiming that "[t]he Kiogen may be regarded as a comical outburst of the national temperament".[28] It is also the first time he mentions *nō* in his writings, and it might reflect the boundaries of his grasp of the *nō* by simplifying it to tragedy. This article suggests that Noguchi aimed to fill a gap in the Japanese cultural image with *kyōgen,* and use it to gain foreign recognition, just as he had first done with *kabuki.*

Nevertheless, half a year later in "Japanese Humour and Caricature"[29] he defines *kyōgen* again as an 'oasis' in the 'country of tragedy',[30] and defends its type of humour being solely pun based by attributing it to the Japanese public's disinterest in humour itself. Noguchi's defensive standpoint could indicate

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[25] This issue also published Noguchi's article "Tokyo by Night", therefore Noguchi could have read it. *Ibid.,* p. 329.

[26] Hori 2013, p. 64. Marx points out that "Eibungaku no Shinchōryū" (Eibun Shinshi, 1904) was written with borrowed texts, which is why Noguchi could have invented the story of their dinner in New York. Marx 2019, p. 338.

[27] Noguchi 1904a, p. 396.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Yone Noguchi, "Japanese Humour and Caricature", *The Bookman*, Vol. 19 (1904), pp. 472–475.

[30] *Ibid.,* p. 473.

that his first *kyōgen* article received some form of criticism or his attention was drawn to American humour, which forced him to admit that "[y]ou could never measure them [punsters] with the scale which you use for Artemus Ward or Mark Twain".[31] This attempt to fix Japan's image also suggests Noguchi's realisation that *kyōgen* could not fulfil the role of a theatrical cultural element that might prove Japan was an equal to the West.

After his disillusionment with *kyōgen* Noguchi attempted to turn back to the introduction of *kabuki* as an adequate theatre form to gain foreign appreciation, but by 1904 *kabuki* faced a difficult situation. Losing its top actors,[32] *kabuki* struggled with an inexperienced generation of younger actors who had to compete with Kawakami's *shinpa* troupe.[33] Before its successful foreign tour, *shinpa* was rejected by the Japanese audience, but moving back to Japan in 1902, their movements to bring in plays and ideas from Western – mainly European – theatre received mixed, but more positive reviews between 1903 and 1904. Meanwhile, America also showed interest in Kawakami's troupe, "who had been 'discovered' in America, and were now revolutionizing Japanese theatre".[34] The reception from both sides could have make it appear to Noguchi that *shinpa*'s introduction had become inevitable.

Noguchi's internal conflict to yield to the new passion of contemporary audiences, and to accept *shinpa* as a befitting cultural element to focus on instead of *kabuki,* could be interpreted from his article "Theatres and Theatre-Going in Japan".[35] Published in July, the same month he defended *kyōgen* by explaining the Japanese audience's disinterest in humour, here he emphasized its interest in *kabuki*'s "sanguinary, interminable dramas". Possibly for this reason this article gives a detailed explanation of *kabuki,* with a description of a theatregoer's day, which clearly shows Noguchi's experience-based knowledge. However, it concluded with an introduction of Kawakami's *shinpa*, while acknowledging *kabuki*'s decline as inevitable part of Japan's 'progressive movement' into a developed nation.[36]

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[31] *Ibid.,* p. 474.

[32] Kikugorō Onoe V 五代目 尾上菊五郎 (1844–1903), Sadanji Ichikawa I 初代目市川左團次 (1842–1904), along with the aforementioned Danjūrō IX.

[33] Jonah Salz, "Intercultural Pioneers: Otojiro Kawakami and Sada Yakko", *The Journal of Intercultural Studies*, No. 20 (1993), pp. 25–74, p. 69.

[34] Unidentified Photograph Caption, Theatre Collection, Lincoln Centre. *Ibid.,* p. 68.

[35] Yone Noguchi, "Theatres and Theatre-Going in Japan", *The Theatre Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 41 (1904), pp. 167–170.

[36] "In 1890 the realistic acting of Oto Kawakami and Sada Yacco appeared as a protest against the old school. They were encouraged by the intelligent public, and they put on the stage

In August Noguchi moved back to Japan, and his confirmation of *shinpa*'s success is reflected in his article "The Evolution of the Japanese Stage" published in October.[37] It begins with an explanation of *kabuki*'s evolution,[38] but concludes in criticising it for being too conservative. In contrast, Noguchi reflects on Japan's (and his own) past criticism of the *shinpa,* presenting it as a 'revolution' in the theatre world. He also reports on *shinpa*'s Japanese adaptation of Shakespeare's "Othello" as a victory in its competitive battle with *kabuki*.[39] Therefore this article clearly shows his new commitment to the rising popularity of *shinpa*, after which he generally focused on it in his writings on theatre.[40]

However in November 1906 Noguchi realized *shinpa*'s inevitable decline when Kawakami retired from the stage, and seized the opportunity to introduce the British painter, Mortimer Menpes' (1855–1938) positive reception of the *kabuki*. It was the first article in the new literary column written by him in *The Japan Times*.[41] It was based on "Art and the Drama", the first chapter of Menpes' book titled *Japan – A record in colour* (1901)[42] which introduces *kabuki* as being 'far ahead' of the realistic Western theatre and recommends its adoption. Noguchi applied Menpes's idea to suggest a criticism of *shinpa* which was modelled on the European realistic theatre. Finally, after Kawakami's troupe left Japan to research

an adaptation of 'Sechu Bai', a political novel. This was the first time that a novel had been dramatized in Japan. With the death of its two greatest actors, Danjuro and Kikugoro, the old school of Japanese drama is declining. The past régime is slowly but surely merging into the new, only following in this, the irresistible progressive movement to which modern Japan owes her present important place among the nations." *Ibid.,* p. 70.

[37] Yone Noguchi, "The Evolution of the Japanese Stage", *New England Magazine*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (1904), pp. 144–147.

[38] It's the first time Noguchi names the *jōruri* theatre in his known early works.

[39] Noguchi's recognition of *shinpa* could be related to his perception at the time of a modern Japan influenced by the West: "There's nothing better than the clever combination of occidental and oriental – it would be superior to either of them. And it would not be impossible of accomplishment, since East is West and West is nothing but East." Yone Noguchi, "Japan's Modern Novelist", *National magazine,* Vol. 24, No. 5 (1906), pp. 505–510, p. 510.

[40] Yone Noguchi, "Shakespeare in Japan", *The Critic,* Vol. 46, No. 3 (1904), pp. 230–237; "Sada Yacco", *Dramatic Mirror* (1906), p. 11.

[41] Yone Noguchi, "Literary Criticism – Through a Japanese Scene", *The Japan Times,* 10.11.1906.

[42] Mortimer Menpes, *Japan – A record in color,* Adam & Charles Black, London, 1901, pp. 1–28. Reprinted in 1905. Based on his Japan voyage in 1887. Noguchi could have borrowed Menpes' words "Danjuro, the greatest actor in Japan" for his article "Japan's greatest actor is Gone".

the European theatre in July 1907,[43] he introduced Menpes again to advocate for *kabuki,* and rejected *shinpa* by stating: "If you believe as Mr. Menpes does, there is no need of reform for the Japanese stage at all".[44]

To summarize, it can be suggested that Noguchi's writings on Japanese theatre genres aimed at a Western readership were mainly influenced by contemporary criticism and popularity. As his first choice of theatre as a cultural element to present, he wrote about *kabuki* between 1902 and January 1904 using the generalising term 'Japanese theatre', which reflected his view of its position as Tokyo's popular theatre. After receiving mixed reactions to *kabuki* and realising the lack of humour in Japan's cultural image, he turned toward *kyōgen* between January and July 1904, but once again faced critical reception. Therefore from July he attempted to refocus on *kabuki*, but at the time it was losing its position as the main popular theatre of Japan due to the loss of its leading actors. In the competition for *kabuki*'s position, *shinpa*'s rising popularity in Japan obliged Noguchi to recognise and write on *shinpa* between October 1904 and November 1906. However, following the process of *shinpa*'s decline in Japan, Noguchi once again started to advocate for *kabuki* from November 1906, which resulted in him renouncing *shinpa* entirely in the favor of *kabuki* in August 1907.

In addition to this new timeline, even after losing its value as a cultural element, Noguchi continued to translate and publish *kyōgen* plays in order to fill the gap in Japan's theatrical and cultural image, which resulted in a compilation of his translations in May 1907.[45] However, he never wrote from the audience's viewpoint or gave detailed explanations of the *kyōgen* theatre, as he had done with *kabuki.* This suggests that Noguchi focused on translating *kyōgen* play texts, because he lacked the experience and critical grasp of the genre, and thus could not have shared information about it with his foreign acquintances.

The new timeline also shows that until the 25th of August 1907, Noguchi only mentions *nō* as a counterpart for *kyōgen*, showing no interest in it. This supports the idea that he left Japan in 1893 as a *kabuki* enthusiast, but had no grasp of *nō* theatre, probably lacking classical knowledge and viewer experience about it to understand it. Even after returning to Japan in 1904 he focused his writings on *shinpa* and *kabuki* for three years, which suggests that he did not recognise *nō*'s value as his sought cultural element.

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[43] Jonah Salz 1993, p. 69.

[44] Yone Noguchi, "The Japanese Theatre", *The Japan Times,* 25.08.1907.

[45] Yone Noguchi, "Demon's Shell", *Poet Lore*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (1906), pp. 44–49; *Ten Kiogen in English,* Tozaisha, Tokyo, 1907.

Noguchi's second nō experience

Three years after his return to Japan and two months after he renounced *shinpa* on the 25[46] of August, Noguchi published his first article on *nō,* "With a Foreign Critic at a No Performance" on 27th October in *The Japan Times*.

He reflected on ideas from Menpes' book again,[47] but this time he used it in support of the traditional *nō* as an ideal form of theatre for Westerners, while implicitly denouncing the audience of the 'popular theatrical house' – the latter could imply him denouncing *shinpa,* or even *kabuki*. Realising that *nō* embodied the form of Western theatre envisioned by contemporary theatre figures such as Yeats[48] he called out to Japanese readers to support the genre.

According to Noguchi *nō*'s unknown value was pointed out by a foreign critic. But the critic's identity (or whether he is a fictional character) is unclear. It might be Yeats, or even Menpes, as Noguchi had borrowed ideas from the latter's book. Menpes himself advocated for kabuki, which might have been a reason for Noguchi not to name the foreign critic.[49] It is also important to note that *The Japan Times* published articles on the *nō* in June,[50] which could have generated interest in its foreign readers or even Noguchi himself. In

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[46] Noguchi 1907a. Noguchi's definition of the *nō* theatre and the inner transformation of his perception of *nō* will be subject to further research.

[47] "The true artistic spirit is wanting in the West. […] Our great and all-prevailing idea is to cram as much of what we call realism and detail into a scene as possible; […]" Menpes 1901, p. 6; also in Noguchi 1906a; Noguchi 1907a. "Everything connected with the stage in Japan is reduced to a fine art: the actor's walk—the dignity of it!—you would never see a man walk in the street as he would on the stage." *Ibid.,* p. 12.

   "Our ordinary Western plays, doubtless, have a certain beauty of confusion, but we are tired of it. Here we have the No whose monotone makes us perfectly wearied at first, but will be the source of no small delight for many cultured minds. And you have to see the pictural side of those magnificent dresses of stiff brocade which the actors wear dragging them along slowly to the cadence of the music; what epical dignity of the actors, and what a simple grandieur! [...] And again I thought that you would have no right to talk of art if you must find variety and themes in art." Noguchi 1907b.

[48] Madoka 2012, pp. 162–177.

[49] Marx argued that Noguchi used ideas from La Farge's *An Artist's Letters from Japan* (1886) to create the image of the critic in his article. In Marx 2005, p. 113. Although it remains a possibility, I would argue that Noguchi was clearly influenced by Menpes, whom he introduced in his article.

[50] One is a report on Arthur Lloyd's (1852–1911) lecture, "Notes on the Japanese Drama" given for the The Asiatic Society of Japan's meeting on May 22nd. It introduced the *nō* and *kyōgen* in detail. In "The Asiatic Society of Japan", *The Japan Times*, 13.06.1907. The other is a brief report on the imperial visit of Yasukuni shrine's *nō* performance on the 13th of June. In " 'No' Permormance – Imperial visit", *The Japan Times,* 14.06.1907.

addition the monthly *nō* magazine *Nōgaku* made a remark about seventeen foreigners joining the audience of the event of *Nōgaku Kurabu* 能楽倶楽部 (Nō Club) in September 27,[51] which makes it possible that an acquintance of Noguchi attended it and reconsidered the value of *nō*. Furthermore, the *nō* event described in Noguchi's article might have been the club's next event on October 16, as part of a series of events called *Nōgaku Kurabu Ennōkai* 能楽倶楽部演能会 (Joint Performances of the Nō Club).[52] In case we take the publishing month of October as the time for this event,[53] this would make the only possible choice as Noguchi described the event as the Hōshō school's 宝生流 performance.

It can be assumed that this was Noguchi's second *nō* experience. This time, with a new understanding of the theatre, he saw it in a new light and shared his insights in his article. However he does not describe the play or write about the genre itself. This again supports the idea that Noguchi had no grasp of the world of *nō* at the time he realised its value as the theatrical cultural element for foreign recognition, and could only write about the idea of it as a theatre form.

Conclusion

This essay aims to take a new look at Yone Noguchi who started a project of writing about select Japanese cultural elements with a foreign readership in mind, focusing on the then little-known Japanese theatre genres. Based on Noguchi's writings on theatre in English between 1893 and 1907 it can be seen that he was searching for a theatre genre with which he could support Japan's image as a culture worthy of foreign (specifically Western) appreciation. By October 1907 he had written introductions to *kabuki, kyōgen* and *shinpa* based on contemporary criticism and popularity, while personally favoring *kabuki*.

This new timeline of Noguchi's early writings on Japanese theatre genres leads to the conclusion that even if Noguchi had experienced *kyōgen* or *nō* in

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[51] "Nōgaku Kurabu Kiji", *Nōgaku*, Vol. 5, No. 10 (1907), p. 63; "Nōgaku Kurabu Kiji", *Nōgaku*, Vol. 5, No. 11 (1907), pp. 68–69, p. 68.

[52] *Ibid.,* p. 69. The Nō Club was established in 1902 and performed eight times per a year at Yasukuni shrine's *nō* stage, each time with the lead of one of the five *nō* schools. October's event led by Hōshō, performed the *nō* plays *Hanagatami* 花筐 (Flower basket) and *Kumasaka* 熊坂.

[53] Noguchi's article published in October suggests that he saw an October event. Although he defined the day as Sunday, which makes September 29th *Hōshōkai* 宝生会 (Hōshō club) event also possible, the place or month of the performance does not match his later recollections of this event, which makes Wednesday of October 16 more probable.

his student years before leaving Japan in 1893, he had not deemed either form valuable or interesting enough to try and understand them better, as he had done in the case of *kabuki*. Young Noguchi's knowledge and appreciation of Japanese theatre forms therefore reflected their contemporary situation and popularity. Noguchi's disinterest in *nō* continued even after returning to Japan in 1904, when he spent his first years focusing on *shinpa* and *kabuki*.

   Nō finally caught Noguchi's attention between August 25 and October 27 of 1907, when upon seeing a performance he realised that it embodied a new ideal form of theatre for Westerners. Turning away from *kabuki*, his search for a cultural theatrical element worthy of Western appreciation reached its end, and he thus began to accumulate knowledge about this classical form to write on *nō*.

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Éva Dóra Druhalóczki

Respect for Nature in Japan
The philosophical and religious background of Hanami

Introduction

In the 21st century life is fast-paced. New buildings appear faster than trees, and people, living isolated from nature are stressed, while more and more new mental health problems appear. Of course, it is not a problem only in Europe; nothing is either black or white. This paper concentrates on one of the ancient traditions of Japan, a way to have respect for nature that has survived through centuries of history to the present day, and draws attention to the impact and consequences for them for their mental health. Thus, the aim of this paper is to discuss cultural differences, especially philosophical and religious distinctions between ''the East'' and ''the West'' and differences between Japanese and European standards through the examination of Hanami.

This writing aims to present several meanings of Hanami, clearly in the Chinese and Japanese way of thinking, and to recognise the 'Western' approach to thinking about nature and compare it with that of the 'East'. This comparison is essential to understanding the extent of their difference. First, I will discuss the popular Western theories about the role of religion, which also will be the centre of my conclusion. In the second part I will write about Shintō, the ancient folk belief of Japan, in order to explain Japanese mythology, culture and thinking and emphasise their relationship with nature. It is essential because in this way, it is easier to discover the cultural differences and understand the Japanese mentality. In the third chapter, I will provide an overview of Hanami, its – the background, the practice itself, its meaning, and the practice in modern Japan. At the end, I will write about the practice of Hanami outside Japan.

Western religions and animism

Since humanity exists, people question everything around them. The role of religions is essential in providing certain answers to the questions of people. Because of that, researchers usually examine the impacts of religions on society, people's mental health, politics and so on. Beliefs and religions became a part of human life, and by examining them, we can learn more about society and culture.

It is a common view amongst researchers of the field that ancient religions and tribes might believed in magic and spirits in order to understand the way of their lives and achieve things (e.g. luck, rain, and so on).[1] Moreover, in these beliefs, nature is united with the supernatural. By supernatural I mean the things which are above human beings and the normal functioning of nature.[2] Spirits are entities without (or sometimes with) a body that can occupy subjects, human beings, and animals in order to reveal their will.[3] Spirits are usually imagined as living in a hierarchical society, and they can be happy, angry, revengeful, etc. – so they can have personality traits that a human being can have. This nature of them can make them able to understand human beings and, of course, make human beings understand them.[4]

Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917) said that 'animism'[5] is the basis of the first manifestation of religion.[6] The origin of this notion, according to Max Weber (1864–1920), is that people in ancient times believed that something leaves the body during dreaming and death; therefore, there is something in the human body that provides living – and this 'something' must be present in animals, plants, and objects as well.[7] This thought has led to the belief that 'everything has a soul'. This belief is important for us because of its importance in Shintō. We can usually hear that animistic beliefs are equal to the saying 'everything has a soul'; therefore, everything is *alive*. To be more accurate, these cultures believe that a ghost or divinity lives *inside* the objects and not only but especially in natural phenomena. According to some hypotheses (like Malinowski's

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[1]   Malcolm B. Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion,* Routledge, London—New York, 2001, p. 39.

[2]   Lajos Boglár, *Szimbiózis. Vallás és antropológia* [*Symbiosis. Religion and Anthropology*], ELTE BTK Kulturális Antropológia Szakcsoport, Budapest, 1995, p. 9.

[3]   Max Weber, *The sociology of Religion*, Methuen & Co Ltd, London, 1965, p. 4.

[4]   *Ibid.,* p. 25–26.

[5]   The word stems in Latin animus; soul.

[6]   Boglár 1995, p. 13.

[7]   Weber 2005, pp. 12–13.

discussions about magic) with these beliefs, people might have tried to dissolve their exposure to, for example (sometimes extreme) weather conditions and tried to understand (or sometimes rule; this is what *magic* is for) nature, fate, and those things that are scientifically explained nowadays.[8]

For divinities, we can see a great example in ancient Greek belief and we can clearly see the difference between divinities and for example, the one Christian God. Divinities, as I mentioned already, are close to human beings – they have colourful and well-known relationships with each other. They often speak to humans, and they need rituals to keep them calm, express respect towards them, and worship them.

In animistic cultures, we usually find totemism.[9] Totemism is about worshipping a plant, an animal, or an object, which often becomes the ancestor of a tribe. Not only them but each person can also have their own ancestors – if they worship them, then we speak about the respect for the ancestors, which often contains rituals.

The sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917) said religion affects the community. This means that a community is held together by, among other things, religion, common faith, common rituals.[10] Bronisław Malinowski (1884–1942), anthropologist and sociologist said the role of religion is psychological. According to Malinowski's hypothesis, the role of religion is to eliminate fear and stress.[11] This is because people want to find an explanation with the help of religion for death and the causes of suffering and other things that are bad or hard during their lives. These two hypotheses will be the centre of this paper because I aim to find the real impacts of Hanami. For that, and as a Japanese tradition, it is inseparable from folk beliefs and philosophical views.

Shintō

Shintō 神道 is the internally generated folk beliefs of Japan. It differs from many religious traditions in the sense that it has no founder and revelation.[12] The centre of Shintō is the Japanese mythology which can be read in *Kojiki* 古事記 *(Records of Ancient Matters),* the oldest chronicle that contains information

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[8]   Hamilton 2001, p. 39.

[9]   Vilmos Diószegi, *Samanizmus* [*Samanism*], Terebess, Budapest, 1998, p. 9.

[10]   *Ibid.,* p. 19.

[11]   *Ibid.,* p. 18.

[12]   Sokyo Ono, *Shinto. The Kami Way*, Charles E. Tuttle Co, Rutland–Vermont–Tokyo, 1992, p.11.

about Japanese mythology,[13] and *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 *(Chronicles of Japan)* written a few years after *Kojiki*. It is necessary to mention that these two chronicles were written in the 8th century – Kojiki during 711 and 712 and Nihon Shoki in 720 – which means they are strongly affected by Chinese culture and Buddhism. Nevertheless, they have a wealth of information about Japanese mythology and poetry.[14] Shintō has animistic aspects. Central figures of it are the *kami*s 神.[15]

The term 'Kami' can be translated as a ghost, a god, a spirit or a divinity. However, none of these translations are accurate, since kamis are more than ghosts (especially in the Western sense). However, they are not similar, for example, to the Christian god.[16] They are mostly similar to the ancient Greek gods.[17,18] This can be seen in that like Greek gods, the kamis can be capricious too, they are interested in people's lives, and we can say that their life and relationships are similar to the life of human beings. This worldview and the fact that deities have personalities similar to humans, as I mentioned, are usually inherited in ancient cultures.[19] I already mentioned animism, which is strongly related to kamis as Japanese beliefs hold that they lie behind all natural phenomena.[20]

There are several types of kamis. While some of them do not have physical appearance, some kamis have anthropomorphic features. Some kamis are behind natural formations or objects. For example, someone who is familiar with the Japanese martial arts practised with swords knows that the swords must be treated with respect; it has a ritual of cleaning, using, and storing. This is because for a long time, it was believed that there was a kami living in the sword to help the warrior in the fights.

There are so-called *ujigami*s 氏神 who were initially and primarily defenders of clans. Clans built shrines and worshipped these kamis.[21] The reason for this

[13] Robert Borgen– Marian Ury, 'Readable Japanese Mythology. Selections from Nihon shoki and Kojiki', *The Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese*, XXIV/1 (1990), pp. 61–66, p. 61.

[14] Borgen–Ury 1990, p. 61.

[15] William K. Bunce, *Religions in Japan*, Charles E. Tuttle Company, Rutland–Tokyo, 1976, p. 99.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 100.

[17] Murray J. Leaf, *The anthropology of Eastern Religions. Ideas, Organizations, and Constituencies*, Lexington Books, Lanham–Boulder–New York–London, 2014, p. 152.

[18] Genchi Kato, *A Study of Shinto. The Religion of the Japanese Nation*, Routledge, London–New York, 2011, p. 33.

[19] Boglár 1995, p. 13.

[20] Bunce, 1976, p. 101.

[21] *Ibid.,* p. 102.

is that these kamis were not only the defenders of them but more importantly, they were the ancestors of the clans as well. This also means that respect for the ancestors can be found in Japanese culture. Nowadays, mainly because of the migration, *ujigami*s have a new role – they are the defenders of the places where they are, as most (or every) member of the old families has moved, extinct and other. Nevertheless, the most well-known family that is derived from a kami is the Imperial Family, who are derived from none other than Amaterasu-ōmikami 天照大神, the kami of the sun.[22]

As we can see, kamis are diverse and colourful, more importantly, they have a greatly essential role in Japanese culture and mythology, which will be important information in the following sections of this paper.

About Hanami

Hanami 花見 is the practice of viewing the blooming of cherry trees (more precisely the *somei yoshino* 染井吉野,[23] which is an ornamental cherry tree). Most people would think it is a program for only families and friends in Japan, but it is not.[24] Hanami is several hundreds of years old tradition, and with gathering information about the history of it and the beliefs behind it, we can learn more about Japanese culture and Japanese Shintoism and Buddhism. As Hanami is interpretable in different ways, this chapter is meant to show variations to the reader.

Hanami probably arrived in Japan in the Nara period (710–784) from China.[25] This means its roots are not from the Shintō traditions,[26] and because of that, it is an example of how easily Shintō merges with the customs and traditions of other religions or cultures. One can hardly recognise Chinese elements in it while one meets with the mentality of the Japanese culture and the Japanese Zen Buddhism, which derived from the Chinese chan Buddhism. Nowadays, Hanami means the watching of the blooming of the cherry blossom (*sakura* 桜). However, in the beginning, it was the feast of *ume* 梅, the Japanese plum.[27,28]

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[22] Kato 2011, p. 27.

[23] Lat. Prunus × yedoensis.

[24] Mizue Sawano, *The Art of the Cherry Tree*, Brooklyn Botanic Garden, Brooklyn–New York, 2006, p. 12.

[25] Kirsty Kawano, "The History Of Hanami: Cherry Blossom Viewing Over The Ages", *savvytokyo.com*.

[26] Sawano 2006, p. 12.

[27] Lat. Prunus mume.

[28] Sawano 2006, p. 12.

It is disputed why the flower has changed during the times. Some say it is because the Japanese plum is blooming during winter or early spring when the weather is cooler than in late spring when the sakura is blooming. According to other opinions, sakura always took an important role in the Japanese culture (as reflected by the beliefs related to Konohanasakuya-hime 木花咲耶姫),[29] therefore it is understandable that it soon replaced *ume*. We can assume that in the old times' Japanese people worshipped cherry trees because they believed a kami lived inside of them.[30] It can also be related to the already mentioned Konohanasakuya-hime. Later this tradition became more philosophical, containing the elements of Japanese and Zen philosophy and mentality.

Even though during the Heian period (794–1185) the famous authoress, *Murasaki Shikibu* 紫式部 who lived on the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries coined the term *'mono no aware'* 物の哀れ in her work *Genji Monogatari* 源氏物語 or The Tale of Genji,[31] the term came to centre only later, in the Edo period (1603–1868) by Motoori Norinaga 本居宣長 (1730–1801), central figure of *kokugaku* 国学.[32,33] Mono no aware means 'the ephemeral nature of beauty', and it focuses on the transience behind things. The stress of this interpretation might be among the reasons why *sakura* has become the symbol of life by now. By watching the blooming of the cherry, we can see the fate of human beings – their birth, their life, and their death. According to this mentality, human life is like the flower of the cherry tree; beautiful but short and fragile.

Mono no aware can be applied to all natural phenomena. We can see it when we think of the seasons. Spring is like the birth of a human being; summer is like human life itself; fall is the old age, and winter is transience. We can apply it for the life of leaves, the cyclic motion of the moon, and other phenomenas. The same thing that happens to nature, happens to humans as well. After winter, there is a spring over and over again; there are also cherry blossoms every year; and even if the moon disappears sometimes, there surely will be a full moon again. Therefore, *mono no aware* is not representing something 'sad'.[34] It is neither positive nor negative. This is the truth about the world and the truth

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[29] Konohanasakuya-hime is the kami of blossoms, volcanoes and Fuji-san. She is the symbol of the short and fragile human life, which is similar to the cherry blossom – it opens (birth), lives and soon disappears (death).

[30] Kawano 2020.

[31] Paul Varley, *Japanese Culture,* University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 2000, p. 68.

[32] *Ibid.,* p. 60.

[33] *Ibid.,* p. 216.

[34] *Ibid.,* p. 61.

about fate. To realise it is the goal of the practice of *mono no aware. Mono no aware* is not for finding the beauty of things around us. The real meaning of it is that things are not ugly or beautiful; they just evoke these feelings in us.[35] We can feel these things by our *kokoro* 心, by our heart, mind', and spirit' at once. Inasmuch our kokoro works well, and we will be able to realise beauty and understand nature and the world around us.

But *mono no aware* is not the only way to explain the philosophical background of the practice of Hanami. Besides Chinese culture in general, Zen Buddhism, also having its origin in the Chinese tradition, had a profound effect on Japanese culture as well. Even though the length of this paper does not let me introduce Japanese Zen Buddhism in detail, there are some elements in it that cannot be ignored. After the Chinese *chán* 禅[36] Buddhism arrived in Japan, it gradually gained crucial importance in Japanese culture. The centre of Zen Buddhism is *satori* 悟り, which means reaching a certain kind of 'understanding' or 'comprehension. Some can reach *satori* when they are doing an activity in depth. Satori can be achieved through many different practices, e.g., certain kinds of arts. In some ways, it is similar to *mono no aware* because the goal of *satori* is also a certain kinf of understanding the world around us. *Satori* is a state where one's mind is empty – during this condition, we forget about our problems, business and we concentrate only on that activity we are practicing. This is the reason why *satori* lasts only the time of action and disappears as we finish that activity.

In early times, Hanami was the privilege of nobles, and it only began to spread as a group activity among the common people from the end of the Edo period. That time, families used this tradition to spend time together in nature, and soon it started to be a large, nation-wide event in Japan. Today there is a so-called cherry blossom front (*sakura zensen* 桜前線) that is intended to let people know about the blooming around the country, so they can plan their trips to different areas. Hanami slowly started to be a festival, and it is today too. As a usual *matsuri* 祭, it attracts a lot of people of all ages. It is popular not only among locals but also among foreigners – this is the reason why a lot of tourists travel to Japan during spring. Because of the popularity of Hanami, an old trend of it has come to life again: *umemi* 梅見. This is how they call the activity of people looking at the blooming of *ume.* The main reason for this, as I already mentioned, is the popularity of Hanami. People practising *umemi*

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[35] *Ibid.*

[36] Chinese *chan* means 'meditation'; the japanese version of it called zen.

would like to feel and experience *mono no aware* or *satori;* or they just want to enjoy the beautiful nature peacefully, without the noise of the crowd. This is probably one reason why *yozakura* 夜桜 appeared, where people enjoy Hanami during evenings or nights.[37]

In terms of the effect of Hanami, we can confidently say that there are many people around the world who know this practice, even if they do not know the name of it. Nowadays, the most well-known symbol of Japan is the cherry tree or the *sakura*. Naturally, it has affected the Japanese culture as well. For example, before the Nara period, if someone read the word *hana* 花 'flower' in a *haiku,* they thought of *ume*. After the Nara period and until today, hana and sakura became almost identical.

Hanami outside Japan

As the Japanese culture became favoured in the West, more and more habits and traditions started to be popular outside Japan. Hanami became popular in many countries around the world. While there are people who think they should experience the magic of Hanami in Japan, those who are interested in it but cannot afford to travel to Japan can also find good opportunities to enjoy it. Because of the popularity of Hanami in Japan, more and more countries planted *somei yoshino* and other trees, so the practice of Hamani is available outside Japan. We can meet Hanami in China, Korea, the USA, and Hungary as well. People often like to wear traditional Japanese clothes to feel closer to the original tradition at these events.

The most famous and greatest of Hanami events outside Japan might be the *National Cherry Blossom Festival* which takes part in Washington D.C., USA. Back in 1912, Mayor Yukio Ozaki gifted 3000 cherry trees to Washington D.C. as a symbol of the friendship of Japan and the United States.[38] This shows several important things: how much Western people liked this tradition even in 1912, how this became popular in the USA, as well as how Japan used it in its international cultural politics. In this case, the value of Hanami was shown, and at the same time, it got well-known in the United States, which led Hanami to be known worldwide.

Besides this, even though we have sources about Hanami in China during the 7th century, this tradition disappeared for a while. Nowadays, however, it came to life again, due to the Japanese version of it. During the past decades,

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[37] Marky Star, *"The history of hanami (cherry blossom viewing)"*, *gengo.com*.

[38] Mimi Le Bourgeois, *"Blooms tell curious tale of two cities"*, *japantimes.co.jp*.

Chinese people started to plant cherry trees to enjoy the beauty of the blooming of cherry trees.[39]

Last but not least, even Hungary has special events for the lovers of Hanami and Japanese culture. While in Japan, practising Hanami is, – if not a meditative, peaceful event, –kind of a festival, in Hungary, it is a nice program for everyone who is interested in Japanese culture. It takes place in the Botanical Garden of Eötvös Loránd University, and besides the wonderful view, there are many kinds of programmes for the visitors. In 2017, at the so-called Sakura Feast, visitors could try *iaido*, calligraphy, *reiki* and even *manga* drawing. Thus, the Hungarian program concentrated on strengthening the relationship between the two cultures.

Conclusion

After discussing basic Western views on religion and animisms, I presented Shintō, then turned my attention to the history, practice, mentality and popularity of Hanami, finally, I presented the popularity of Hanami outside Japan.

When it comes to explaining a belief or a religion, it is always difficult to grasp certain elements of it that could be considered firm enough to represent it in themselves. Hanami has more variations as well. Therefore, it is impossible to explain it by one specific theory of any religious belief. But that is not our goal either. My aim in the present paper was rather, to discover and understand the impacts of Hanami. We can see that Hanami is practised in two ways; some can calm their minds and avoid fear while others can experience the feeling belonging to others. Some practitioners take part in it in order to spend time with their loved ones. Some want to deepen into the beauty of nature alone. Others want to meditate and understand themselves and the world. Hanami can be a nice trip, a festival, a philosophical discussion with ourselves, a zen practice or a religious experience for someone following the tradition based on the belief of kamis. Outside Japan, it can be an event where people can meet others with the same interests. Therefore, no matter how one practices it, in certain ways it will be an experience that will change something inside those who do so. One way or another, the effect is certain. This is also proved by the fact that Hanami is still popular among not only the elderly, but young people as well, and this is the reason why it has become popular outside Japan.

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[39] Yu Nakamura, *"*Cherry-blossom viewing catches on in China*"*, *asia.nikkei.com*.

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András Edl

Space Program and Propaganda in the People's Republic of China

Introduction

What is propaganda? To no surprise, scholars offer various definitions, each highlighting a different aspect of propaganda. According to Jacques Ellul's functional definition, propaganda is a psychological operation aimed at groups and the individuals in them. It tries to change opinions, attitudes and actions. Brainwashing, re-education and even public relation techniques belong to propaganda.[1] Jowett and O'Donnell approach this from a different angle. For them, propaganda is a deliberate, systematic attempt to shape perceptions, cognitions and direct behaviour in order to aid the goals of the propagandist.[2] For Marlin, propaganda is an organised attempt through communication to influence belief, action, or attitudes in a larger group. In addition, it needs to be done in a way which circumvents, or suppresses, the group members' rational, well-informed, and reflective judgement.[3]

In the Western realm of thought, propaganda has a negative connotation; but this was not true for the Soviet propagandists' self-image. They regarded themselves as the distributors of truth, technicians who serve the masses and re-educate them, thus destroying the old oppressing narratives of the former ruling elite.[4] Their Chinese counterparts are very similar in this regard.

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[1] Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda. The Formation of Men's Attitudes,* Vintage Books, New York, 1973, p. XIII.

[2] Garth S. Jowett – Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion,* Sage Publications, Inc., London, 2015, p. 7.

[3] Randal Marlin, *Propaganda and the Ethics of Persuasion,* Broadview Press, Peterborough, 2013, p. 12.

[4] Peter Kenez, *The Birth of the Propaganda State. Soviet Methods of Mass Mobilization, 1917–1929,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 251–253.

Maoist propaganda

In China, with the rise of the communists and Mao Zedong 毛泽东,[5] propaganda reached a new level. At first, due to the lack of a literate populace and mass media products, his two main tools were organisation and education. The later was often done through teaching the masses to read, to a certain extent, but the texts used were communist literature.[6] In 1957, after the successful Sputnik flight, China too celebrated and praised the Soviet Union. Posters were published in great number to hail the communist block's great victory, and occasionally mock the United States for lagging behind in rocket technology.[7] At the same time, Mao thought China would also benefit from its own space program and from sending a satellite to orbit. After years of dedicated work, on the 24th of April, 1970, Dongfanghong-1 东方红一号 the first satellite was sent to space.[8] The design of the whole satellite reflects its purpose, which was simple propaganda. Even the name of the satellite means 'The East is red'. And the name of the rocket family is named Changzheng 长征, meaning 'Long March', serving as a reminder of one of the great events in the CCP's history. Mao wanted something to demonstrate his and China's greatness aimed both for the Chinese people and the outside world. Therefore, Dongfanghong-1 was made to be visible with the naked eye. Also, the orbit was chosen to make sure it flies over Western population centres as well; and it had a small broadcasting machine with a safety switch. The latter was meant to only allow the satellite to broadcast when the launch was a clear success.[9]

Contemporary Chinese propaganda

After 1976, when Mao died, propaganda did not disappear from China; in fact, it has just got more sophisticated, and still plays a significant role. Chinese propaganda, and therefore space propaganda has many reasons behind it. Strengthening the national pride, sense of unity, and the legitimacy of the party

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[5]   Well-known names and geographical places will be first mentioned in pinyin after that I will use the English word. For unfamiliar words I will use pinyin only.

[6]   Ellul 1973, pp. 301–313.

[7]   Xishan Song, "Dongfeng yijing yadao xifeng, dongfeng jixu yadao xifeng", (poster) (1958) *chinesposters.net*

[8]   A new holiday China Space Day is also held on this day.

[9]   Liu Lin – Zeng Guang, "The Influence of Political Propaganda on Space Activites: a case study of Dongfanghong-I", Conference paper: Joint International Social Science, Education, Language, Management and Business Conference (JISEM 2015).

are important. Among the reasons, there is also the pursuit of prestige. A high prestige is advantageous for the Chinese Communist Party domestically. Also, it signals to the world that China is a country to be taken seriously, and is one of the major players in the 21st century. The underlying argument is that China is not in competition with anyone, it is rather developing its space program according to its own needs. In the scholarly discourse, a group of researchers claim that China is completing tasks and reaching barriers which clearly signal the country's arrival in the great power's league. These tasks include the manned space program, the aircraft carrier program, hosting the Olympics, etc. This is not as a challenge but just a sign of maturing power. Others state that China's actions are clearly an open challenge to U.S. dominance. Sheehan argues that both of these interpretations might hold some value, but the main target for space propaganda is China's own population. It needs to be shown that China has recovered from historical disasters, its economy and national pride have been restored and the country took its rightful place in the world as a great power.[10] Nevertheless, clearly demonstrating capabilities via ASAT tests, jamming systems, lasers and alike not only serves as a fact base for propaganda, but it also sends a signal for other global actors about the readiness and strength of the PRC's armed forces. High ranking party officials keep repeating that they will defend Chinese sovereignty and interests. Public statements like these enhance the credibility component of deterrence. U.S. strategists also know that the CCP can't afford to lose too much face in front of the general population, as this would greatly endanger the position of the party.

On the institutional level, there are multiple organisations working together to maintain and increase the CCP's hold over the political discourse. The CCP's Central Committee has a Propaganda Department, also referred to as the Publicity Department.[11] This department is responsible for propaganda work, information policy and media regulations. Directives issued by this organ are binding for the state media and publishing houses. Managers in the broader media sector also fall under its jurisdiction. Apart from the central body, there are many other sub-groups on different hierarchical and territorial levels. There are also other organisations, like the Central Leading Small Group for Propaganda and Ideology,[12] comprised of key members from the propaganda and media sectors.

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[10] Michael Sheehan, "Did you see that grandpa Mao? The prestige and propaganda rationales of the Chinese space program", *Space Policy,* Vol. 29. No. 2 (2013), pp. 107–112.

[11] *Zhonggong zhongyang xuanchuan bu* 中共中央宣传部, or for short: *Zhong xuan bu* 中宣部.

[12] *Zhongyang xuanchuan sixiang gongzuo lingdao xiaozu* 中央宣传思想工作领导小组.

Monitoring digital media falls under the jurisdiction of the Central Leading Small Group for Cyber Security and Informatization.[13],[14] The Central Leading Small Groups are crucial for consultations and decision-making, especially in overlapping areas such as propaganda. At least one member of the Standing Committee of the Politburo is present in them. Since 2013 Xi Jinping 习近平 remodelled them and assumed authority over decision-making.[15]

Chinese activity regarding propaganda and disinformation had most of the time been overt, shown for example in normal news content, comments of diplomats and official communiqués. But in recent years several analysts have found that the method has changed. China has recently been using more and more covert tactics like the ones developed, and applied, by Russia. The problems presented by the emergence of the novel coronavirus, and how the Chinese government handled the case, are significant. In addition, the U.S. capitalises on these alleged or real mistakes, and China felt the need to counter these accusations with advanced propaganda techniques. One good example of this new method is a Twitter campaign in Serbia. The Digital Forensic Centre detected at least 30 000 twitter feeds, 71,9% generated by bots, aimed not only at praising China's aid to Serbia, but also blaming the EU for not offering any assistance. This was simply not true.[16] Another example was an operation uncovered by the New York Times, aimed at the U.S. population. News spread quickly that the U.S. government will lock down the country as soon as they have troops deployed to prevent looting and riots. The goal was to weaken trust in the administration, so as to decrease the effectiveness of any measures applied by it. Apart from Twitter and Facebook, there were also simple text messages with the same content.[17]

However, these methods, as noted by Sarah Cook, could be harmful to the PRC. One of the country's main messages is that China's rise is peaceful, and they don't mean to generate conflict. The methods uncovered prove the opposite.[18] It is also possible that in the eyes of the agents who use these methods

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[13] *Zhongyang wangluo anquan he xinxi hua lingdaao xiaozu* 中央网络安全和信息化领导小组.

[14] Sebastian Heilmann (ed.), *China's Political System*, London, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2017, p. 70.

[15] *Ibid.,* p. 169.

[16] DFC Research, "A bot network arrived in Serbia along with Coronavirus", *dfcme.me* 13.04.2020.

[17] Edward Wong et al., "Chinese Agents Helped Spread Messages That Sowed Virus Panic in U.S., Officials Say", *nytimes.com,* 23.04.2020.

[18] Sarah Cook, "Welcome to the New Era of Chinese Government Disinformation", *thediplomat.com,* 11.05.2020.

getting caught is no longer a sufficiently strong deterrent. The long-standing principle of trying to avoid lying faded away in the recent years, in particular in the case of Russian propaganda, which serves as an inspiration for many others who aim to propagandize a certain group of people.[19]

Apart from the PRC's more aggressive and covert operations abroad there was also an increase in the capabilities of influencing their own population. According to Freedom House's research, Internet freedom is on the decline globally, but China was one of the main contributors to this downward trajectory. A complex system of overlapping techniques is already in place and the methods are evolving. In the 2000s the government didn't try to regulate and monitor every single individual user. Instead, they rather targeted websites and service providers, making them responsible for their content. It was effective, but not even close to the possibilities offered by recent technological developments, combined with new rules and regulations.[20] There seem to have been numerous examples of individuals' WeChat accounts being shut down, and limited, inside China. This online tool became almost essential as it is used for banking, transportation and other online transactions. Internet surveillance and data analysis are also on the rise. The Chinese company Semptian claims to monitor 200 million users, but they are not the only company who develops such capabilities, and they also don't shy away from cooperating with the government.[21] WeChat also has a sizable group of foreigners using their service. On accounts which were registered in China, censorship is clearly visible. Between accounts which were registered outside of China, no direct censorship can be detected, but surveillance and data gathering are still present.[22]

Space in Chinese Propaganda

After Mao's death, the space program was rearranged to aim for more practical goals. Development and gathering of expertise with growing funds for operation eventually produced some more results incorporated into the state propaganda. Posters made after the Mao Era give an impression that the space

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[19] Christopher Paul – Miriam Matthews, "The Russian 'Firehose of Falsehood' Propaganda Model", *rand.org*, 2016.

[20] Edney Kingsley, *The Globalization of Chinese Propaganda. International Power and Domestic Cohesion*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2014, pp. 59–63.

[21] Adrian Shahbaz – Allie Funk, "Freedom on the net 2019. The Crisis of Social Media", *freedomonthenet.org,* 2019.

[22] Jeffrey Knockel et al., "We Chat, They Watch. How International users Unwittingly Build up WeChat's Chinese Censorship Apparatus", *citizenlab.ca,* 07.05.2020.

program is a clear sign and result of scientific progress, naturally, with the wise leadership of the party in the background. Space as a symbol of progress was also used in propaganda campaigns against the Falun gong 法轮功.[23] At other times it was implemented to strengthen national pride and the sense of unity in the population.[24] To serve this aim, well-known Chinese astronauts, like Yang Liwei 杨利伟, who was the first PRC citizen in space, travel around the country and attend events. [25]

The PRC's space program remained an important tool for propaganda. Apart from the undeniable results produced by the program, reporting about them is done in a specific way. The 21st century was very eventful in terms of space events for the PRC. Multiple important goals were accomplished and propaganda tried to capitalize on them. But propaganda, or rather poorly executed propaganda, can backfire as it did in 2008. The Shenzhou-7 神舟七号 mission was about to carry three astronauts to space, so they could cross another great milestone, the first ever PRC spacewalk. However, the news agency Xinhua 新华 posted an article containing a conversation between the control centre and the spacecraft after the launch. The problem was that the article appeared two hours before the actual launch. The article was quickly removed, but the Daily Mail saved the text and published it on its own website.[26]

There are also examples of professional campaigns. One of the most popular of those was connected to the Chang'e-3 嫦娥三号 mission. Aiming for the Moon, the rocket launched on the 1st of December, 2013. The mission also carried a rover, the Yutu 玉兔, meaning the 'Jade Rabbit'. Despite the initial malfunctions experienced by the control team, the rover could carry out the tasks it was assigned.[27] The Rabbit's adventures were drawn and published on various platforms, winning the hearts of hundreds of thousands of fans.[28] Some of them even mourned when the rover stopped working. In 2019, the next

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[23] Guoying Cheng, "Chongshang kexue, pochu mixin", (poster) (1999) *chinesposters.net*

[24] Gongqingtuan zhongyang xuanchuan bu, "Women zhengzai chuangzao" (poster) (1994) *chinesposters.net*

[25] Xianggang tebie xingzhengqu zhengfuu xinwen ju, "Relie huanying guojia shouwei taikong ren yangliwei zai ren hangtian daibiao tuan fang gang", (poster) (2003) *chinesposters.net*

[26] Daily Mail Reporter, "China boasted of space walk mission hours before astronauts had left the launch pad", *dailymail.co.uk,* 26.09.2008.

[27] Christina Garafola, "Lunar Rover Marks Another Advance in China's Space Programs", *China Brief*, Vol. 14. No. 2 (2014), pp. 6–9.

[28] Michael Greshko, "China's Jade Rabbit Moon Rover Declared Dead", *nationalgeographic.com,* 04.08.2016.

mission, Chang'e-4 嫦娥四号 made a soft landing on the far side of the Moon. Some attempts were also made to revive the rabbit character for the Yutu-2 rover.[29] There are other advantages if we examine the popularity of the Chinese missions to the Moon. The near vicinity of our celestial companion makes it easier to feel the value of the mission and it adds some sense of relatedness to operations carried out on the Moon. Also, there is a propaganda advantage for a new entry player in the space domain. Therefore, China's landing on the dark side of the Moon received more praise than the U.S. when they sent the New Horizon probe just passing by the object Ultima Thule at a distance of 6 billion kilometres in the Kuiper-belt.[30]

Apart from posters and cartoons we can't disregard movies and series. A 2019 sci-fi movie made in China, entitled Wandering Earth (Liulang diqiu 流浪地球), received a lot of attention recently. The sci-fi genre is important because now it is one of the most popular forms of Chinese cultural production enjoyed by foreigners. This makes it valuable for the government and fits well into their plans of building Chinese soft power abroad. The movie was received favourably from two observable, yet unorganised, groups in China. One is a rather elitist, middle-aged, technocrat group often called the Industrial Party (Gongye dang 工业党). They see technology as the means of solving the biggest problems of mankind. For them, the movie demonstrates Chinese technological capabilities. The other group consists of young, militaristic hard-liners, actively defending China against all kind of criticism. They are often referred to as the Little Pinks (Xiao fenhong 小粉红). Both groups supported the movie, driven by nationalism and exceptionalism. In the online sphere, they jointly tried to label any criticism of the movie as anti-patriotic.[31] The artistic value of the movie is not in scope of examination now. But reactions to the movie reveal that in the online discourse, the ideas of development, technological progress and Chinese national pride resonates well with a significant, active part of the general population. In some people, these ideas are embedded so deep that any form of criticism directed towards a movie (and the imaginary Chinese achievements in it) will trigger their nationalistic sentiments.

A new American show, *Space Force* also found some fans in the PRC. Some viewers found the show amusing, but they also noticed how China is painted

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[29] Jun Xu– Lijing Meng, "China declares Chang'e-4 mission complete success", *xinhuanet.com,* 11.01.2019.

[30] Dwayne A. Day, "Racing to where/what/when/why?" *thespacereview.com,* 02.03.2020.

[31] Chuang, "The Wandering Earth: A Reflection of the Chinese New Right", *chuangcn.org,* 30.08.2019.

as a rather mischievous rival of the United States in space, making the first hostile move in the story, despite being in the lead of the "space race". Other viewers took a more serious approach. For them, the show is just a form of American propaganda to promote the "China threat" narrative in a form easily digestible for Western viewers. Some fans connected this kind of sensitivity to the Little Pinks.[32]

Although this sense of competition is emphasized by multiple media prod-ucts, and even scholars, others think it is rather misleading. Talking about a space race is more of a propaganda and PR term than an actual process. During the Cold War the task of landing man on the Moon, combined with the important operational and technical milestones leading to this goal, was more of a race than today's increasing space activity. Back then completing some-thing first was a major victory, especially in the field of propaganda. But the medal for being first might trick the observer when it is about real capabilities. The Soviet spacewalk in 1965 was the first ever. However, after that, the Soviets stopped manned spaceflights for years, while the U.S. carried out multiple manned missions, gathering expertise. The same is true for the current goals of space programs. Being first on Mars might be a propaganda victory, but to make the invested material and knowledge really serve as a foundation for robust space development is a different issue. Also, it is hard to define a race when there is no clear definition of the finish line.[33]

Three articles

To give an impression of the subtle methods used by online content produc-ers, let us examine three randomly selected space news articles posted in the summer of 2020, on different websites. The first article gives a description of space launches performed by the U.S., Russia, and the PRC. The title already claims that China took a clear lead. The analysis puts Russia in the first place in terms of successful launches in the last 10 years. But the number of Russian launches decreases, while China's increases. In 2019 China carried out 38 of them, while the U.S. only carried out 21. The article also predicts the further decrease in Russia's space operations and states that China and the U.S. have similar plans. However, when the time comes to retire the ISS, China will be

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[32] Xinmei Shen, "Panned by critics, Netflix's Space Force finds a happy audience in China", *scmp.com,* 09.06.2020.

[33] *"*Day 2020*"*, *thespacereview.com*

the only nation to have an operational space station.[34] This writing uses data which are factually true, but the number of launches alone does not determine the first place in the space environment. 2024 might be the year for retiring the ISS, but there is no mention of the possible 2028 extension date with the aid of private corporations. Nor is there mention of plans for the Gateway space station intended to be deployed close to the Moon, or the rapid advancements in space station design. The later allows private corporations to plan their own stations, like Bigelow, or Axiom Space, an American company which just signed a contract with Thales Alenia Space. This European company will build a new module for ISS, and the module will detach as soon as ISS is decommissioned, to serve as a core of a new separate station.[35]

The second article, with 52.32 million views in its first week, praises a new breakthrough which brought China to second place in the world. The author places the start of the Chinese rejuvenation in the Mao Era, when they launched their first satellite on April 24th, 1970. The article also highlights that Russian rocket engines are in par with American engines, but more cost-effective. After mentioning the already significant achievements of the Chinese space program, like Beidou 北斗 satellites, Chang'e lunar missions and the space stations, a new breakthrough was heralded thanks to the diligence of Chinese researchers. A new type of rocket engine technology, the so called "pump back swing" engine was tested successfully. This is supposed to be beyond the reach of the United States, and many European countries. Due to this achievement, the author of the article places China in second place, just behind Russia in the global ranking of rocket engines.[36] The successful tests, carried out by Landscape (Lanjian Kongjian Keji 蓝箭空间科技**)** between May 9th and 13th, 2020, were confirmed by other sources as well.[37] The article does not mention that the U.S. have sophisticated rockets, including the reusable and, therefore, most cost effective rockets of SpaceX and Blue Origin. So the conclusion, however impressive the initial technological breakthrough might be, is doubtful at best.

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[34] "Eluosi, meiguo he zhongguo hangtian fashe shuju de bijiao: Zhongguo ren qudele mingxian de lingxian", *cfcnews.com*, 27.06.2020.

[35] Meghan Bartels, "Axiom Space picks Thales Alenia to build commercial space station modules", s*pace.com,* 24.06.2020.

[36] San fen liangjian, "Suizhe yisheng ju xiang, zhongguo hangtian fadongji you you xin tupo! Chenggong jishen shijie di er", *sohu.com,* 23.07.2020.

[37] Kevin James, "Testing the new Zhuque 2 Suzaku 2 carrierrocket", *kevinjamesng.com,* 22.07.2020.

The third article celebrates the launch of the nation's Mars mission, on the 23rd of July, 2020. The great opportunity to launch any kind of missions comes once every 26 months when the two planets are aligned in a favourable position. Apart from NASA's (Mars 2020) and the United Arab Emirates' (Al-Amal, meaning Hope) mission, China sends its own Tianwen-1 天问一号, meaning 'Heavenly Question-1', to Mars as well. The joint EU-Russian ExoMars mission had to be postponed until 2022 due to technical problems.[38] If China's mission is successful, it would mean a huge boost to the international reputation of the country. Additionally, the gained scientific data and technical expertise would also aid the development of other space capabilities. Also, the successful completion of this task will enhance the Communist Party's legitimacy at home and reassure international partners that the proposed Space Information Corridor could be offered to the members of the Belt and Road Initiative. These results combined will help the PRC to offer a viable alternative space infrastructure to other countries in the world.[39] The article notes that this great feat, or simply put, a breakthrough for China's space program, was accomplished during difficult times, when they also had to struggle with the epidemic. The author praises the research team, highlights the development of Chinese capabilities, and also emphasizes that hundreds of millions of people had high hopes and expectations for the mission. This shows to the reader that China is advancing rapidly, the space program and this mission is proof of it, and the population supports it. The average reader can be influenced by this "bandwagoning" technique, urging him or her to join the supporting fold. The last paragraphs explain how difficult the task is, but if the mission succeeds it will demonstrate that China is at the forefront of space exploration. The author also refers to China as Woguo 我国, meaning 'my country' / 'our nation', adding a more patriotic tone to the text.[40]

The three articles in general, emphasize the great strides the PRC's space program is undeniably making and praise the effort of the scientists. On the other hand, they omit other facts, while presenting the results in a more favourable light. Methods like these are fairly common in any PRC news release regarding space or any other important subject.

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[38] Mike Wall, "It's the month of Mars! 3 Red Planet Missions set to launch in July", *space.com,* 07.07.2020.

[39] Namrata Goswami, "Why Is China Going to Mars?", *thediplomat.com,* 14.07.2020.

[40] Qingdong Liu, "Lan xing jiutian yong tansuo zhongguo hangtian zai chufa", *chinanews.com*, 25.07.2020.

Conclusion

As we have seen, space was always an integral part of the PRC's propaganda activity. The achievements of the state-sponsored space program, and increasingly that of the private sector, are suitable for demonstrating the growing economical, scientific and military power of the PRC. The government further develops its domestic propaganda and censorship capabilities with new online tools and methods. At the same time, communication directed to the outside world changes, and becomes more aggressive and covert. If these trends continue, and there is no indication for any change soon, propaganda will remain prominent in Chinese politics and space will be an integral element of it. Space propaganda can generate positive feedback from the general population. Separating how much of this enthusiasm is due to the actual results, and how much of it is the effect of propaganda, is always difficult. However, the magnitude of invested resources shows the government finds it worthwhile to carry on with space propaganda activities.

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"Encounters"

Ákos Ájbek Péri

The Persian Order of the Lion and Sun in Hungary

Decorations in Hungary nowadays have less of an impact on everyday life compared to the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Back then most of the daily newspapers had a column or even a page especially kept for news about promotions and more interestingly about decorations given to Hungarian citizens. This was mostly because of the operative rules that governed the wearing of foreign decorations given to the citizens of Austria-Hungary. When an Austro-Hungarian citizen received any kind of foreign order, decoration, or award he was obliged to apply for a permit to accept and wear it in public. The permit was only valid from the date of being published in an official newspaper and that's why most of the papers had a section devoted to awards and decorations. In most cases, the name of the permitted award or decoration was added to the name of the recipient in the Name and Address Registers of Budapest.[1]

Looking at these Registers and the contemporary newspapers one finds that apart from the obvious Austrian orders like the Order of Franz Joseph and the most received foreign orders like the Serbian Order of the Cross of Takovo or the Romanian Order of the Crown, a certain order stands out. According to the sources already mentioned quite a few Hungarian citizens received the Persian Order of the Lion and Sun in the given period.

The order has a quite adventurous story of origin, as it was created by the conversion of an already existing decoration, the Order of the Sun. Both the Order of the Sun and the Order of the Lion and Sun were primarily used as diplomatic gifts by the founder, Fath Ali shah (1797–1834[2]).[3] In the first half

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[1] *Budapesti Czím- és Lakásjegyzék 1901–1902,* p. 278.

[2] Biographical data about the persons mentioned in this paper is provided only if it was available.

[3] For a more detailed account on the early years of the order see: Ákos Ájbek Péri and Benedek Péri: "A Copy of an Award Document of the Order of the Lion and Sun in the Oriental Collection of

of the 19th century, the order underwent many reforms but its primary use in diplomatic protocol was not changed. There is no information about any Hungarian recipients from this period. The earliest data that links the order to Austria-Hungary is dated 1832. It is the award document of the 2nd class of the order given to the well-known Austrian orientalist, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856).[4]

It was customary that time to give a gift in the form of a decoration to diplomats or high-ranking army officers when two countries started developing diplomatic relations so the presence of the Order of the Lion and Sun in the Hungarian papers could be well explained. The interesting thing is the unusually high number of recipients and their social diversity. Apart from the obvious army officers and diplomats, a huge number of state officials, policemen, ordinary soldiers and even quite a few commoners like musicians, shop owners, hotel and restaurant workers received the order in some form. This clearly indicates that in this case something more happened, not only the exchange of envoys between Iran and Austria-Hungary.

The dates of the permit for the Order of the Lion and Sun limits the period when the events of high importance must have taken place. Most of the permits were issued between 1870 and 1915. In this period the number of awards received peeks three times, once in 1873, then in 1889 and finally in 1900. These dates are exactly the ones when a Persian shah visited Austria-Hungary. In 1873 Naser al-Din (1848–1896) visited Vienna as a part of his European diplomatic tour.[5] Though he didn't visit Hungary, many Hungarian citizens working at the royal court in Vienna received the order. Most of them were soldiers of the royal guards. In 1889 Naser al-Din decided to go on another diplomatic tour in Europe and this time he intended to visit Budapest.

The shah travelled on from Vienna to Budapest by ship and arrived in the Hungarian capital on 26 August. He was greeted by Archduke Joseph Karl (1833–1905) who accompanied and guided the shah during his stay. Naser al-Din noted down most of the important events of each day during his tour as well as his personal impressions and feelings about almost everything he saw

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the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences", *Zeitschrift der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Ordenskunde* 117 (February 2020), pp. 21–27.

4   Benedek Péri – Mojdeh Mohammadi – Miklós Sárközy, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences,* Leiden, 2018, pp. 121–123.

5   Miklós Sárközy: "Nászer al-Dín perzsa sah útinaplója Magyarországról" [The Traveling Diary of the Persian Shah Naser al-Din from Hungary]. Miklós Sárközy (ed.): *Vámbéry (tanulmánykötet),* Dunaszerdahely, 2015, p. 394.

and most of the people he met in his personal journal.[6] These entries sometimes are very freely worded and thus reading it could be an intellectual treat. His entry regarding his arrival in Budapest also contains his opinion about the archduke and could be translated like this: "He [the archduke] looked like a very filthy, dumb and dirty prince".[7] He also adds:

> He looked like an alcoholic, cannabis addict, hashish addict, opium addict from Tehran. He was like a drug addict thug, an old gambler, a shifty troublemaker, whose teeth had already fallen out because of all the liquor and drugs, whose eyes rolled back in his head because of the constant drunkenness, has syphilis and a thousand other diseases and totally incapable of decent speech. This prince looks like a toilet cleaner and quite like the evil Haji Hassan Beg.[8]

While the appearance of the archduke did not have a positive impact on the shah, to be frank, the city of Budapest and its people made a good impression on him. The tall buildings of Pest were to his liking and he found the people nice and polite but sometimes a little dirty. He was also content with his accommodation in the "Angol Királynő" hotel.

On the 27th the shah spent the morning hours in his suit, and it was after lunch when he left the hotel and went to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. There, to his great surprise he was greeted by the well-known traveller and scholar Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913), who delivered his speech "in correct Persian language with the most perfect eloquence and rhetoric knowledge like no one in Tehran could have".[9] After the speech the shah was shown a few pieces of art and some Persian manuscripts from the collection of the Academy and then he went to the National Museum where he quickly inspected the exhibition. After his visit at the museum, he returned to his suit for a brief rest and then, accompanied by the archduke he went to the Margaret Island and inspected the bath and the spring supplying the bath with water. In the evening the shah, accompanied by the archduke visited the Opera and saw a performance, that delighted him.

Naser al-Din spent the next day mostly with sightseeing, but he also visited a hussars' garrison and went to see the Circus too. In the evening hours he went to the railway station and boarded his train bound for Volochisk. On the 29th

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[6] Sárközy 2015, pp. 389–427.

[7] Sárközy 2015, pp. 407–408.

[8] Sárközy 2015, p. 408.

[9] Sárközy 2015, p. 411.

while his train was still in Hungary, he was mostly occupied with the journey and did not participate in any major events.

In 1900 another shah, Naser al-Din's son and successor, Mozaffar al-Din (r. 1896–1907) planned on visiting the Hungarian capital as a part of his tour in Europe. The news about the shah's imminent arrival quickly spread across the Hungarian press, making the people of Budapest excited about the upcoming royal visit. Even the well-known Hungarian journalist and poet Endre Ady (1877–1919) published a few articles about Mozaffar al-Din and his tour of Europe. In one of these articles, he claimed that the shah had ordered an "immense amount of decorations"[10] to be made in Istanbul which he had planned to distribute among the citizens of the countries he intended to visit. Ady in one of his later articles wrote on the matter:

> Some time ago a fiercely worded little report appeared on these pages about the Persian Shah's preparations for his tour in Europe and it stated that his Majesty, with his imminent trip in view, had ordered an immense amount of decorations to be made. The report also said that a badge of an order can make us delighted the same way the wild people of Congo[11] can be pleased with a handful of glass beads.
>   They say the Shah, while taking his leave wrote a long list of names onto his cuffs with a pencil. These people would also get a badge.
> If that is true: From that moment on, dirty cuffs would have honour in Hungary.[12]

Mozaffar al-Din visited Hungary twice in 1900. The first visit was between the 22nd and 29th of September and it was his official visit as a part of his diplomatic tour. The second visit that happened with more of an ad-hoc nature took place between the 7th and 12th of October. During his visits he, just like his father was accompanied by a Habsburg archduke, but this time it was Joseph August (1872–1962) who did everything in his power to make the shah's stay in Budapest pleasant. The shah bestowed the first class of the Order of the Lion and Sun with diamonds on Joseph August and he also distributed quite

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[10] Endre Ady: "Különféle kaláriskoról" [On Various Decorations], *Szabadság, 6th May* 1900 (available online: https://www.arcanum.hu/hu/online-kiadvanyok/AdyProza-ady-prozaja-1/1-kotet-4/ujsagcikkek-1897-szeptember-261901-majus-8-5/226-kulonfele-kalarisokrol-FA0/).

[11] In this period most people in Hungary did not have much knowledge about the peoples outside of Europe, hence the stereotype about the "wild people of Congo".

[12] Endre Ady: "Hétről hétre" [Week by Week], *Szabadság,* 30th September 1900 (available online: https://mek.oszk.hu/00500/00583/html/ady08.htm).

a few badges of the first class among those people of high rank who were part of the delegation welcoming him to Budapest or saw him leave the city at the end of his stay. During both visits Mozaffar al-Din participated in several events, visited most places which his father did and just like Naser al-Din, he distributed decorations. Most of the decorations were given out as polite official gestures during his first visit.

The research of the documents led to the conclusion that Mozaffar al-Din placed a certain number of decorations and their blank award documents at the disposal of the Hungarian Government to be distributed among those whom they judged worthy of such an honour. This is a known phenomenon in phaleristics, however, a bit unusual in these circumstances as this custom is mostly observed after the conclusions of significant armed conflicts. The fact that a large number of recipients received the permit to accept and wear their badge of the order long after the shah's visit and a significant percentage of the recipients was a government official who had nothing to do with diplomacy or Mozaffar al-Din's visit seems to support this theory as well. However, the rock-solid proof of such conduct revealed itself during the research of a scandalous event regarding the order.

It is to be mentioned here that the diplomatic protocol depending on a person's social standing determines which class of a decoration he should receive. Heads of state and army generals for example are always to receive the 1st class of the given order while the second class is generally handed to other high-ranking military officers or representatives of the official administration. Commoners such as cooks, confectioners or waiters were not deprived of the possibility of receiving the honour of an order, however, they were usually given the 4th or 5th class of the decoration. Sometimes mistakes were made, and the recipient did not receive the class that his standing should have deserved. In these cases, the recipient could simply refuse the award or lodge a complaint asking for a degree matching his rank or social standing. This is exactly what happened in the case of János Halmos, the mayor of Budapest.

Halmos received the 3rd class of the Order of the Lion and Sun but, based on his standing, he should have been awarded the 2nd class of the order. He immediately refused the 3rd class badge which he felt below his rank and did everything in his power to have the situation amended. The matter was brought up even at the special session of the General Assembly of Budapest where he was interviewed if he planned to take official steps to amend the situation. He, of course, wanted to do so, and filed a complaint to the Hungarian Embassy of

Iran, demanding a higher-class badge and his valiant efforts finally came to fruition as his 3rd class decoration was replaced by one of the 2nd class. The mistake was corrected, but all the fuss Halmos made about his decoration made him a subject of public ridicule, and contemporary humorous papers such as *Kakas Márton*[13] and *Borsszem Jankó*[14] kept mocking him for weeks, making numerous jokes about him and the 3rd class badge he was so upset about.

The incident and its echo in the contemporary press is not only entertaining and humorous but also contains crucial information regarding the distribution of the "immense amount of decorations" Mozaffar al-Din brought with himself. In the minutes of the special session of the General Assembly of Budapest held on 27th September, congressman Géza Polónyi (1848–1920) said the following in his speech:

> It is publicly known that the decorations given by foreign monarchs are distributed solely based on the information given by the Hungarian Government, so the decorations awarded by the shah were also distributed by the Government and its offices.[15]

This not only makes clear that Mozaffar al-Din did in fact give the Hungarian Government a significant amount of decorations to be distributed, but it also proves that the Government was the one making a mistake during the distribution process which led to the scandal surrounding János Halmos.

Another interesting piece of information on the bureaucratic processes regarding foreign decorations can be found in a letter written by a certain Jenő Freystädtler to the home secretary, Károly Khuen-Héderváry (1849–1918).[16] Freystädtler was a well-known eccentric millionaire in his time. His tremendous wealth mostly came from his late father who had a considerable amount of land all around Hungary and was also involved in the railroad building business. Jenő Freystädtler, however, did not lead the life of a successful businessman nor of a landlord. He spent most of his time and money on horses, coaches, and women. He never married and he didn't have a child of his own. Despite his eccentric nature he became involved in diplomacy and had good relations with the Ottoman Empire and Iran. He was even given the title of pasha by the Ottoman Sultan, Abdul-Hamid II (1876–1909). His good relations

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[13] *Kakas Márton*, 21th October 1900, p. 6.

[14] *Borsszem Jankó*, 23rd December 1900, p. 6.

[15] *Budapesti Hírlap*, 28th September 1900, p. 8.

[16] Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára [General Archives of the National Archives of Hungary], K148 1911/4705.

with these eastern states explain how he received high decorations, the 1st class of the Ottoman order of Medjidie and the 1st class of the Order of the Lion and Sun. In his aforementioned letter he complains about the Ministry of Foreign Affairs not letting him apply for a permit regarding his latest (unspecified) decoration. Freystädtler states that the Ministry put a hold on his case because he did not submit a document termed a "preliminary agreement". It is interesting to note here that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was not the office responsible for such cases. All the cases of decorations were handled by the Home Office. Freystädtler also says that he checked if this agreement was required by any law or decree and found nothing, so he claims that the Ministry's demand of such agreement lacks any kind of legal background. If this is true, then two conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, it was a custom at that time that before a foreign country gave an award of another state's citizen, the two countries concluded an agreement about this intent. And secondly this was only a custom without any kind of legal background, but it was binding enough for a Ministry which is not even authorized to handle such cases, to interfere in another Government Office's work. If a single piece of a foreign decoration could cause bureaucratic issues, one can imagine that the distribution of a large number of foreign decorations, like in the case of the two Persian rulers proved to be quite a challenge for the State Administration. The fact that most of the recipients received their permits one, two or even more years after the visit of Naser al-Din or Mozaffar al-Din confirms this claim.

Mozaffar al-Din's programme in Budapest was quite like his late father's. He visited most places Nasser al-Din did and met the same people, like Vámbéry with whom Mozaffar al-Din could speak in Persian.[17] The shah, just like his father was a great admirer of European opera performances and as such he ended his daily programme by visiting the Royal Hungarian Opera almost each day of his visit. Mozaffar al-Din however visited some places which his father did not. Firstly, unlike his father, he was accommodated in Hotel Hungária and this explains why numerous employees of the hotel received the shah's token of appreciation in the form of the Order of the Lion and Sun. In one of the contemporary newspapers an article was published about a banquet held at the great hall of the hotel. The report even lists those who were present. According to this source the music at the event was provided by a certain Béla Radics, who was a famous Hungarian Roma musician at

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[17] Miklós Sárközy: "Mozaffar al-Dín iráni sah Magyarországi utazása és naplója 1900-ban" [The Hungarian Tour and Diary of Iranian ShahMozaffar al-Din in 1900]. Miklós Sárközy (ed.): *Vámbéry (tanulmánykötet),* Dunaszerdahely, 2015, 471.

that time.[18] Mozaffar al-Din appreciated the performance and the musician received the gold medal (a degree below the 5th class) of the order.[19] The shah also visited the Park Klub where he was greeted by the director of the establishment count Pál Szapáry (1873–1917) and the secretary of the club, Lajos Nyirák (1845–1912), both of them received a badge of the order.[20] In his journal Mozaffar al-Din also mentions his visit to an unspecified arms factory where he inspected the rifles and swords that were produced by this company. He was very interested in a particular sword designed by the local swordsmith, so he ordered a few of those. He writes a second time about the factory in the chapters about his second trip to Budapest, when he visited the factory again. This account is much more detailed than the previous one. He describes the process of weapons manufacturing from the casting of certain pieces and the assembling of the weapon to the final steps such as the test firing and packaging. He even notes that the factory was powered by a five hundred horsepower steam generator, and a spare one that can be also put to work if needed. Again, Mozaffar al-Din did not specify the name of the factory but following the trail of the orders distributed, a guess can be made. Among the recipients there is a certain Oszkár Epperlein, who was the director of the Fegyver- és Gépgyár Rt. (Weapon and Machine Factory Co.), so it is possible that the shah visited the factory of this company which was located in the district 9 of Budapest. It can be assumed that Mozaffar al-Din may have visited this factory since József Szterényi (1861–1941), minister counsellor, gifted him a Mannlicher rifle manufactured there. According to a contemporary newspaper *Alkotmány,* when the shah received the rifle, he immediately wanted to try it out. He went to the window, leaned out, aimed and pulled the trigger, but to his greatest surprise (and relief of the citizens of Budapest) the weapon was not loaded.[21] As the ones present with the shah later explained to him, that the ammunition was separately packaged, that's why the rifle was not ready to be fired.

During his visit, Mozaffar al-Din purchased an incredible amount of goods from local merchants. According to a newspaper report his luggage contained nearly fifteen hundred crates filled with various items he purchased during his tour mostly in Budapest.[22] The articles of the contemporary newspapers

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[18] *Budapesti Hírlap*, 26th September 1900, p. 4.

[19] *Budapesti Hírlap*, 27th September 1900, p. 5.

[20] *Budapesti Hírlap*, 27th September 1900, p. 4.

[21] *Alkotmány,* 27th September 1900, p. 4.

[22] *Pesti Hírlap,* 14th October 1900, p. 10.

truly demonstrate the volume of the shah's spending. Mozaffar al-Din purchased a hundred and six bicycles one day before the end of his second visit to Budapest. The paper does not say what the shah intended to do with these, but he most likely wanted to give them as gifts in Tehran. He also bought a considerable amount of fabric from a certain Ödön Brammer, who was a well know trader in women's clothes. The Persian ruler must have been very satisfied with the merchandise of Brammer as he bestowed the 4th class of the Order of the Lion and Sun on the merchant.[23] Brammer was not the only one who received the order as a trader. The shah also conferred the order upon a certain Emil Fischer, who owned a porcelain factory, for his merchandise of outstanding quality.[24] The shah also ordered a seed drill from the factory of Ede Kühne and planned to use the machine as the first drill in Iran.[25] Another article about the purchases made by the shah can be found in the newspaper, *Hazánk*.[26] This report is about the shah buying a considerable number of musical instruments from "*Sternberg Ármin és Testvére*" (Ármin Sternberg & Co.), a firm famous for its quality instruments. In order to express his gratitude, the shah appointed the firm his royal supplier and he also awarded the representative, a certain Dezső Sternberg, the Order of the Lion and Sun.

Another story about a merchant and the order is of Mór Tiller, who was the owner of a well-known company producing uniforms for the Austro-Hungarian, Serbian, and Persian army. Research of contemporary papers led to the conclusion that his firm became an official supplier of uniforms to the Persian army during Naser al-Din's visit to Budapest in 1889. As a much later account worded it, when the rain of badges was falling during the visit of the shah, Tiller also got his share and received the 3rd class of the order.[27] The badge was later sent to him from Tehran. Tiller as an extremely wealthy individual was utterly disappointed when he saw that his decoration was made of some cheap metal. To obtain a badge matching his wealth he went to a jeweller and had a badge made of gold and studded with gems. When Mozaffar al-Din came to Budapest in 1900, Tiller met the Persian delegation at an official event. The Persian grand vizier noticed Tiller's golden badge, he approached the trader and said: "I see that you have a third-class badge of

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[23] *Pesti Hírlap,* 14th October 1900, p. 9.

[24] *Budapesti Közlöny,* 27th March 1901, p. 1.

[25] *Pesti Hírlap,* 13th October 1900, p. 10.

[26] *Hazánk,* 14th October 1900, p. 8.

[27] *Ellenzék,* 26th April 1928, p. 5.

the Order of the Lion and Sun. It must be a mistake; such a refined and remarkable gentleman deserves more. Let me amend the situation immediately." Then the vizier took Tiller's golden badge of the 3rd class and replaced it with his own badge of the 1st class made of cheap alloy.

    As a conclusion it can be said that the visits of the two Persian monarchs and their practice of distributing an enormous number of decorations in such a short time is quite unique in the history of diplomatic relations of Austria-Hungary. Between 1870 and 1918 more than eight hundred people were decorated with the order or one of the medals of merit closely related to the order. These people were from every walk of life starting from ministers and generals, through state officials and merchants to commoners like cooks, hotel workers, gardeners and hunters. It seems that though the Persian court adopted a typically European custom by distributing decorations during official visits, they were using awards as cheap and affordable substitutes to valuable gifts. The number of decorations they distributed was meant to reflect their power and wealth.

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Sárközy Miklós: "Nászer al-Dín perzsa sah útinaplója Magyarországról" [The Traveling Diary of the Persian Shah Naser al-Din from Hungary]. Miklós Sárközy (ed.): *Vámbéry (tanulmánykötet),* Dunaszerdahely, 2015, pp. 389–436.

Krisztina Nguyen

Analysis and Evaluation of Beginner Korean Language Textbooks from a Cultural Perspective

Introduction

One cannot master a foreign language and partake in successful intercultural communication without an understanding of the given cultural context. Learning about culture is thus an indispensable aspect of foreign language classrooms. Aside from foreign language educators, who are primarily responsible for their students' culturally conscious development, cultural content can be conveyed through language textbooks. Textbooks are still considered to occupy a central role in most foreign language classes as they provide guidance to reach classroom objectives and also determine classroom work.[1] Due to their crucial position in the classroom, textbooks are often subject to analysis based on their cultural content.[2] As many studies indicate, the cultural content carried by different textbooks is largely varied. Recognizing that textbooks form an integral part of foreign language education, while also recognizing their potential to carry cultural content, this study focuses on the cultural content and representation of culture in beginner Korean language textbooks.

In recent years, due to the increasing global awareness of Korean, particularly cultural, products, the interest in Korean language and culture has increased

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[1] Leah Davcheva – Lies Sercu, "Culture in foreign language teaching materials". Lies Sercu et al. (eds.): *Foreign language teachers and intercultural* competence, Multilingual Matters, Clevedon, 2005, pp. 90–109.

[2] E.g. Maria del Carmen Mendez Garcia, "International and intercultural issues in English teaching textbooks: The case of Spain", *Intercultural Education,* Vol. 16, No. 1 (2005), pp. 57–68; Ka-Ming Yuen, "The representation of foreign cultures in English textbooks", *ELT Journal*, Vol. 65 (2011), pp. 458–466; Paweł Sobkowiak, "Developing students' intercultural competence in foreign language textbooks", *US-China Education Review B,* Vol. 5. No. 12 (2015), pp. 794–805.

exponentially in Hungary as well. More and more students seek to acquire the language through self-study or formal education with the primary goal of understanding Korean culture better.[3] University courses, the Korean state-run King Sejong Institute of Korean Language and private language schools offer classroom language lessons. Eötvös Loránd University is the sole institution offering accredited programs in Korean Studies. At the Department of Korean Studies, language courses are taught by native and non-native teachers, who primarily adopt a communicative approach to language teaching. Similarly, the communicative approach is favoured in the global context.

Korean language textbooks are mainly designed for the global market, and they also correspond to the generally adopted approach of language teaching. Both in self-study and formal education, textbooks form an essential part of language learning, thus a further investigation of the cultural content in textbooks is essential in relation to teaching Korean as a foreign language. The present, mostly unexplored, situation of Korean language teaching in Hungary has prompted this research.

This study aims to analyse beginner textbooks used in university first-year BA-level Korean language courses on the basis of their cultural content. The following research questions are sought to be answered:

1. How do the selected beginner language textbooks of Korean represent cultural content?

2. What are the differences in terms of the cultural contents presented and the presentation of content in the selected beginner language textbooks of Korean?

Theoretical background

In the following section, key concepts and previous studies are discussed in relevance to two important topics: the representation of culture and the analysis and evaluation of culture in language textbooks.

Representation of culture in textbooks

In some way or form, culture is included in language textbooks. However, the approach for representing culture and the extent of including cultural contents may differ greatly.

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[3] Renáta Hanó – Nikoletta Németh – Krisztina Nguyen, "The change in the image of Korea in Hungary in recent years". *Che 21 hwe hangugŏmunhak gukchehaksulhweŭi. Dongyurŏbesŏŭi hangugŏmunhak yŏnguwa kyoyuk*, Korea University, Seoul, 2016, pp. 127–139.

By revising the cultural content of an English course in Morocco, Adaskou, Britten and Fahsi observe that students feel more motivated if the presented context relates to their own life, rather than a foreign one – in this case, the English culture.[4] Furthermore, the teachers interviewed also believe comparisons with the foreign culture may lead to potential discontent on the students' side. On the other hand, McKay, in her study about the inclusion of culture in teaching English as an international language, argues that cultural content can be motivating, and she further adds that it would be highly productive if students considered their own cultures by reflecting on them in relation to others.[5]

Regarding the types or sources of cultural information presented in English textbooks, Cortazzi and Jin distinguish between textbooks or materials that (1) mirror the source culture, (2) are based on the target culture and (3) draw on international target cultures.[6]

Aside from selecting what type of cultural information to include, the more abstract questions concerning the conceptualisation of foreign cultures are also the subject of discussions. As people acquire their mother tongue, they make sense of the world around them by creating and categorizing concepts; similarly, learning a foreign language entails the acquisition of new concepts. Kramsch explores the potential development of such foreign concepts through textbooks.[7] By analysing college first-year German language textbooks, Kramsch concludes that learners are made to uncritically repeat statements without an understanding of their own culture and without an appreciation of differences between the source culture (C1) and the target culture (C2). She also notes that the distinct goal of linguistic exercises is to reduce the threat of the unknown by equalling C1 and C2.

An approach to the conceptualization of culture is based on the 'PPP model': the presentation of perspectives, practices and products.[8] As Canale compares

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4   Kheira Adaskou – Donard Britten – Badia Fahsi, "Design decisions on the cultural content of a secondary English course for Morocco", *ELT Journal,* Vol. 44. (1990), pp. 3–10.

5   Sandra Lee McKay, "Culture in teaching English as an international language". Sandra Lee McKay: *Teaching English as an international language*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, pp. 81–101.

6   Martin Cortazzi – Lixian Jin, "Cultural mirrors: Materials and methods in the EFL classroom". Eli Hinkel (ed.): *Culture in second language teaching and learning*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England, 1999, pp. 196–219.

7   Claire Kramsch, "Foreign language textbooks' construction of foreign reality", *Canadian Modern Language Review,* Vol. 44, No. 1 (1987), pp. 95–119.

8   National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project, *Standards for foreign language learning in the 21st century (SFLL)*, Allen Press, Lawrence, KS, 1999.

various textbook analyses, he finds that the conceptualisation of culture mainly correlates with the 'PPP model'.[9] Textbooks centrally draw on comparisons between stereotyped practices, products and persons, which, as Canale argues, renders culture as a homogenous entity.

In addition to the type of cultural content, the possible measurement of cultural content is a frequently researched topic. Based on the amount of cultural content included in a textbook, Damen proposes a taxonomy of textbooks.[10] She differentiates between three types of textbooks: traditional, communicative and cultural/linguistic. Traditional textbooks focus on the development of linguistic skills, lacking explicit cultural content. The second type of textbooks more actively present cultural content, mainly cultural communicative information. Cultural/linguistic textbooks are considered the most complex, incorporating language and culture learning.

As the above studies indicate, the representation of culture in textbooks is approached from various viewpoints. Since the usage of textbooks in foreign language education is still significant, teachers who are able to choose the textbooks for their own courses bear the responsibility to take such aspects as the representation of culture into account. In a large-scale study about foreign language teachers' view on culture in teaching materials, Davcheva and Sercu found that some teachers are critical about the cultural content of textbooks.[11] The study also presents a conflict between teachers' negative orientation and the methods they claim to apply in order to counterbalance the sometimes narrow and inadequate representation. In reality, their actual teaching practice does not compensate for these weaknesses.

Analysis and evaluation of culture in foreign language textbooks

The selection of textbooks necessitates the analysis and evaluation of textbooks based on internal and external factors. One important aspect to be considered during selection is the cultural content.

Several approaches, mainly of quantitative nature, have been proposed to measure the cultural content. Most studies adopt frequency analysis, counting certain types of cultural content, which are identified on the basis of a selected

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[9]   Germán Canale, "(Re)Searching culture in foreign language textbooks, or the politics of hide and seek", *Language, Culture and Curriculum,* Vol. 29, No. 2 (2016), pp. 225–243.

[10] Louise Damen, "Textbook selection and evaluation". Damen, Louise: *Culture learning: The fifth dimension in the language classroom*, Addison–Wesley Publishing Company, Reading, MA, 1987, pp. 253–277, p. 264.

[11] Davcheva – Sercu 2005, pp. 101–109.

taxonomy of cultural elements.[12] The results of the frequency analysis determine whether the textbook is high or low on cultural content. To establish what constitutes as culture, various typologies of cultural elements have been suggested,[13] especially regarding language and culture teaching.[14]

However, as Weninger and Kiss also caution, the quantitative approach is insufficient for determining the significance of cultural content in the meaning-making process.[15] They propose a semiotic analytic approach for analysis, where the unit of examination is the text, images and tasks. Their tool does highlight the complexity of meaning-making, but cultural content is not always presented or supplemented by images. In this sense, cultural content appearing elsewhere might be overlooked.

For evaluating teaching materials, evaluation guides were also proposed. Liddicoat and Scarino's set of criteria consists of active construction, making connections, social interaction, reflection and responsibility.[16] Despite its cohesiveness, Liddicoat and Scarino point out the idealized nature of this set, as materials are unlikely to satisfy all criteria.

Damen proposes the measurement of different weights to achieve a balance between the cultural load and linguistic instruction.[17] On one hand, language elements, and on the other, cultural elements that include content, perspectives and methods are measured. By weighing these elements together, a pedagogical balance is expected to be achieved in the process of textbook selection. Damen also provides a comprehensive evaluation guide to aid this process.

Analysing and evaluating the cultural content is a topic many foreign language education researchers continue to focus on, as the interrelated nature of language

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[12] E.g. Yuen 2011; Zia Tajeddin – Shohreh Teimournezhad, "Exploring the hidden agenda in the representation of culture in international and localised ELT textbooks", *The Language Learning Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (2015), pp. 180–193.

[13] E.g. Edward T. Hall, *The silent language*, Doubleday & Company, Garden City, NY, 1959.

[14] E.g. Adaskou – Britten – Fahsi 1990; Michael Byram – Carol Morgan et al., "Methodology and methods". Michael Byram – Carol Morgan et al. (eds.): *Teaching-and-learning language-and-culture*, Multilingual Matters, 1994, pp. 41–66; Patrick R. Moran, "Language-and-culture". Patrick R. Moran: *Teaching culture: Perspectives in practice*, Heinle & Heinle, Boston, MA, 2001, pp. 34–47; Dorottya Holló, *Kultúra és interkulturalitás a nyelvórán*, Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem – L'Harmattan, Budapest, 2019.

[15] Csilla Weninger – Tamas Kiss, "Culture in English as a Foreign Language (EFL) textbooks: A semiotic approach", *TESOL Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 4 (2013), pp. 694–716.

[16] Anthony Liddicoat – Angela Scarino, *Intercultural language teaching and learning*, Wiley–Blackwell, Hoboken, NJ, 2013, p. 101.

[17] Damen 1987, p. 258.

and culture teaching is continuously reinforced. Studies show that various approaches are adopted in order to analyse and evaluate culture content. However, due to the high complexity of the meaning-making process, qualitative approaches are usually preferred. The current study also adopts a qualitative approach.

Methods of analysing Korean language textbooks

This study focuses on the cultural content of beginner Korean language textbooks in BA-level courses at a Hungarian university. The study seeks insight into the presentation of cultural content and also seeks to explore possible differences in the modes of representation and the extent of inclusion between different textbooks.

The context in which the beginner Korean language textbooks are used

For the purposes of the current study, beginner-level Korean language textbooks used in the first-year BA language courses at Eötvös Loránd University were selected. For students of Korean Studies at the BA-level, one introductory language course is offered. It consists of a homogenous Hungarian student population and a native or non-native teacher. The objective of this course is to aid students in developing language skills that are appropriate at the beginner level, while also nurturing their understanding of Korean culture.

Description of the textbooks

All textbooks were written by native Korean authors for non-native speakers of Korean. The main textbook, *You, me and the Korean language – 1*[18], used during the beginner course is a set of two textbooks. The textbooks were primarily selected for use based on the textbook authors' recommendation. You, me and the Korean language – 1 adopts a communicative syllabus, with the objective of developing skills to engage in successful beginner-level conversations. Each textbook consists of eight chapters with a structure of an introductory dialogue, new vocabulary, new grammars and grammatical practice, speaking, listening, reading and writing tasks. The seven characters in the textbooks have diverse cultural backgrounds, including a student from the United States, Australia, China, Germany and Japan; no native Korean character is present.

Since these textbooks are used throughout a complete academic year, the amount of content was deemed insufficient. Therefore, *Korean in 100*

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[18] Yu So Yŏng – Han Chŏng Han, *Nŏrang narang han'gugŏ – 1-A*, NOSVOS, Yongin, 2014; Yu So Yŏng – Han Chŏng Han, *Nŏrang narang han'gugŏ – 1-B*, NOSVOS, Yongin, 2014.

hours – 1[19], a textbook used in the previous years in the same course, has been added as a supplementary material. In the foreword, the textbook is described as a material intended for short-term courses to learn Korean and understand Korean culture. English translation of words and introductory dialogues, as well as culture tips and grammar notes in English are offered. Comprising of 25 chapters, this textbook also adopts a communicative syllabus. Each chapter contains an introductory dialogue, a vocabulary section, pronunciation practice, grammar focus, followed by tasks and activities for learners to engage in various communication practices, then grammar notes with English explanations, and occasionally 'Culture tips' that are related to the chapter's theme. The characters are of different cultural backgrounds with one young student of Korean-American descent, another native Korean, one from the United States and a young British student.

The last set of textbooks, *Yonsei Korean – 1*[20], was only considered for selection as the main textbook but eventually was not selected. *Yonsei Korean – 1* is a textbook designed to attend to the diversified needs of beginner students of Korean: to develop required communicative skills and acquire knowledge about the Korean culture. The present study examined the English version of this textbook; hence English translations of words, introductory dialogues, grammar notes and cultural readings in English were offered. Each volume contains five larger chapters with five units. The units follow the structure of dialogue, vocabulary, grammar, tasks, grammar notes and dialogue translation. At the end of each chapter, cultural readings are presented usually supplemented by tasks of comparison. There are eight main characters: half of them are native Koreans, the other half are of different cultural backgrounds, including American, Japanese, Russian and Chinese.

Instrument

As discussed in the previous sections, Damen proposed a textbook evaluation guide to evaluate textbooks based on their cultural content.[21] This guide was adopted as a basis for this analysis, as it was deemed comprehensive, and sufficient information was available about its appropriate use. The integrated

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[19] Han Sang Mi – Pak Kyŏng Hi – Yun Ŭn Mi, *100 shigan han'gugŏ – 1*, Yonsei University Press, Seoul, 2009.

[20] Kim Mi Ok – Hwang In Gyo – Son Ŭn Gyŏng – I Su Min, *Yŏnse han'gugŏ – 1-1 (yŏngŏp'an)*, Yonsei University Press, Seoul, 2015; Kim Mi Ok – Hwang In Gyo – Son Ŭn Gyŏng – I Su Min, *Yŏnse han'gugŏ – 1-2 (yŏngŏp'an)*, Yonsei University Press, Seoul, 2015.

[21] Damen 1987, pp. 272–276.

guide comprises three main parts: (I) one focusing on general descriptive information, (II) the second on evaluating cultural content subjectively, and (III) a final one summarizing the evaluation by determining the client, context and communicator. To match the purposes of strictly focusing on cultural content, the guide was slightly modified, and some questions were omitted, as they focused on subjective evaluation of the textbooks. The detailed analysis was thus performed based on the following topics from (I): (a) rationale, (b) culture content, (c) presentation of culture content and (d) method.[22]

Although it is difficult to present a holistic perspective of cultural elements due to the multidimensional nature of culture, determining the elements of culture as comprehensively as possible is necessary for the purposes of language and culture teaching. In the present study, elements of culture were identified according to Holló's (2019) classification of the elements of culture: (a) civilization, (b) behaviour and speech patterns and (c) discourse structures and skills.[23] Holló's classification offers a more comprehensive approach, as it takes knowledge, responses and also manners of expression and understanding into consideration.

Procedures of data analysis

Content analysis was carried out in this study, after a careful examination of each textbook. Each page was scanned for cultural information based on the modified questions from the guide proposed by Damen. The findings are presented separately for each textbook. Then using comparison, the analysed data is compared in relation to each other to illustrate the similarities and differences between beginner Korean language textbooks regarding cultural content.

Findings

You, me and the Korean language – 1A, 1B

The first analysed set of textbooks was *You, me and the Korean language – 1*. The rationale of these textbooks is the development of communicative skills; cultural instruction as an objective is not mentioned. According to Damen's classification of textbooks,[24] these textbooks may be labelled as communicative; however, since cultural information is only occasionally presented, it might be

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[22] For a detailed list of questions refer to Appendix A.

[23] Holló 2019, p. 18. For a detailed list of elements refer to Appendix B.

[24] Damen 1987, p. 264.

more appropriate to choose the 'traditional' label, which implies that cultural instruction is left to the teacher.

The culture-specific content covered by the textbooks falls under the category of civilization and behaviour and speech patterns. Under civilization, mainly Korean geographical locations (e.g. Pusan, 1A/ p. 77), elements of Korean popular culture (e.g. TV programs, 1A/ p. 100) and the typical Korean cuisine are introduced. Albeit these elements of culture are presented without explicit explanations. Behaviour and speech patterns appear in the form of examples and exercises about the ways of greeting, leave taking and expressing gratitude or apology (e.g. *choesonghamnida/ mianhamnida* [I apologize/ I'm sorry] and the expected answer to the apology: *anieyo/ kwaench'anayo* [No (it's okay)/ It's alright]; 1A/ pp. 70–71), starting a conversation etc. In volume B, some elements of foreign cultures are briefly mentioned, but they are merely stated as cultural facts (e.g. a beer festival in Germany, 1B/ p. 146). Cultural groups are not introduced in the textbooks, and even the characters of diverse cultural backgrounds are rather distanced from their own cultures, seemingly forming a homogenous foreign entity.

Explanations or descriptions aiding the understanding of cultural contents are absent. Students are presented with certain elements of culture such as geographical locations in dialogues without understanding their importance.

The cultural content does not come from original sources but is specially made for the textbook (e.g. a TV program guide, 1A/ p. 100). A great number of illustrations are included, since the new vocabulary, containing cultural items, is primarily explained with the use of pictures. However, some illustrations containing cultural items without appropriate explanations were found. For example, in volume B on page 90, traditional wooden totem poles *(changsŭng)* are depicted above a dialogue about visiting Insadong, a district in Sŏul, famous for shops selling traditional goods, but no information is provided about their name, significance or relation to the traditional culture.

Based on Damen's description of methods of cultural elements,[25] the textbooks adopt the method of producing appropriate behaviour. Engaging in role plays about buying groceries (e.g. 1A/ p. 129) or producing dialogues to request help or refuse an offer (e.g. 1B/ p. 144) are examples of this method. Nevertheless, all cultural content is presented without a comparative frame of reference. The tasks do not encourage students to make meaningful comparisons between Korean culture and their own culture, nor do they promote

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[25] Damen 1987, p. 263.

development of reflexivity. There are only two exceptions: a task asking students to introduce a festival in their own country in the form of a short essay (1B/ p. 148) and another asking students to briefly compare Korea and their homeland after a listening task (1B/ p. 167).

Korean in 100 hours – 1

The next textbook analysed was *Korean in 100 hours – 1*. As explicitly stated in the foreword, the better understanding of Korean culture through communicative skills development is one of the main objectives of this textbook. Accordingly, this textbook may be categorized as communicative.

The textbook includes various elements of culture. Under the category of civilization, Korean geographical locations, cuisine, customs (e.g. a passage about folk remedies, p. 198) and traditional music can be found. Among behaviour and speech patterns, ways of greeting, starting a conversation, inviting opinions, requesting, refusing etc. can be discovered in dialogues, tasks and descriptions. Cultural groups are not introduced, and the characters do not represent very diverse cultural backgrounds either. Moreover, the characters do not engage in dialogues concerning their own cultures.

Presentation of the culture content is most evident in the special sections dedicated to culture. 'Culture tips' are descriptions written in English, and they are related to the thematic chapters they follow (e.g. a passage on Korean administrative districts after chapter 4 on locations and places, p. 35). In other cases, specific cultural elements are presented in dialogues, which are later explained in a glossary. The introductory dialogue to chapter 4 provides an example for this: it mentions the city of Kyŏngju, and it is later revealed that it is a city in Kyŏngsang Province (p. 28). However, further explanation about its historical and cultural importance is not included. Another case of missing explanation is apparent in chapter 15 on page 141, where the missing information hinders the successful solving of the task. The exercise calls for the enumeration of positive and negative points concerning certain topics. One such topic is 'Lotte World', which is one of the largest amusement parks in South Korea, but there are no explanations provided about its meaning.

The cultural contents and illustrations were prepared for the textbook. The illustrations do supplement the cultural content effectively in some places, especially on page 10, where the different forms of greetings such as bow, handshake and wave are also depicted. Still, there is an illustration that depicts famous tourist spots in South Korea (N Seoul Tower in Sŏul, royal tombs in

Kyŏngju and Haeundae Beach in Pusan on p. 27), but no description is provided concerning these sights, not even their names.

The textbook uses the method of stimulating the learners to adopt appropriate behaviour. Nearly each chapter contains role play activities, where certain speech patterns are encouraged to be used. All cultural content is presented without any relation to other cultures, and the students are not provided with opportunities to make comparisons with their own culture.

Yonsei Korean – 1-1, 1-2

Yonsei Korean – 1-1, 1-2 were the last textbooks examined. The textbooks' objective is summarized as learning the language while understanding Korean culture and the Korean way of thinking better. They may be classified as communicative.

The available cultural content is varied from elements of civilization to elements of behaviour and speech patterns. Some of the following topics are dealt with in the area of civilization: cultural connotations of vocabulary (e.g. expanding the use of kinship terminology to non-relatives, 1-1/ p. 102–103), customs (e.g. dining culture, 1-1/ p. 140) etc. Elements of behaviour and speech patterns such as greetings (also showing body language during greeting, 1-1/ p. 29), starting a conversation (1-1/ p. 2), asking for and expressing opinions (1-2/ p. 194) etc. were presented in dialogues, tasks and explanations. Certain cultural groups such as Japanese, Chinese and American are mentioned in reference to Korean culture, especially by one of the characters named James.

Through James' perspective, a combination of factual information and subjective opinion is presented in the form of short diary-like passages titled 'Korea as James sees it' after every bigger chapter. Usually questions of comparative nature follow these texts, where students are asked to elaborate on their own culture's customs or behaviour patterns. For example, in volume 1, chapter 5, one of the two passages discusses the way of counting numbers with fingers (1-1/ p. 181). Koreans unfold their hand and fold the fingers one by one, whereas people from the United States count exactly the opposite way, as James points out. The following exercise asks students how they count in their country. Shorter passages are also included within the chapters as well. In these readings, elements of civilization appear from time to time (e.g. Namdaemun market and things to do there, 1-2/ p. 210). Some dialogues also contain elements of speech patterns, as it has been listed in the previous paragraph. Since most of the cultural content is sufficiently explained, usually no further explanation is necessary.

The frequency of evaluative comments, both direct and implied, in the cultural readings is very high. For instance, James thinks certain elements of culture is 'amazing' (e.g. about Koreans using metal chopsticks to pick up small peas, 1-1/ p. 140) or 'awfully complicated' (e.g. about kinship terminology, 1-1/ p. 102). Moreover, after recalling cultural incidents or bumps, he sometimes degrades himself and underrates his abilities. James writes,

> […] I was once very embarrassed when I called Misun's [the roommate of James' classmate; native Korean] elder sister '언니' [ŏnni or term for 'elder sister' used by females younger than the addressee] as Misun does. When will I be good enough to use these forms of address properly? (1-1/ p. 102).

James meant to ask when his language proficiency combined with cultural understanding will be on par with advanced users of the language to avoid mistakes such as misaddressing someone.

The cultural contents presented were written for the textbooks. The illustrations properly supplement the cultural content, wherever applicable.

To present cultural information, the method of promoting the understanding of new cultural themes, patterns, behaviour and the method of producing appropriate behaviour are adopted simultaneously. While the textbooks are rich in role-plays eliciting the use of speech patterns, they also provide explanations for certain cultural elements, and they invite students to make objective comparisons in follow-up tasks. Korean culture is presented in relation to other cultures, primarily the American culture (e.g. the order of names, 1-1/ p. 28), but Chinese, Japanese and once Australian culture were also mentioned in reference.

Discussion

The analysis of the three beginner textbooks of Korean language indicates clear differences and similarities between the cultural content represented. For the sake of convenience, while comparing the results, *You, me and the Korean language – 1A, 1B* will be referred to as *Y&M*, *Korean in 100 hours – 1* as *Korean 100* and *Yonsei Korean – 1-1, 1-2* as *Yonsei Korean*.

All textbooks focus on the development of communicative skills; however, *Y&M* is not concerned with cultural instruction explicitly. The rationale for representing cultural content, i.e. to understand Korean culture and the Korean way of thinking better, is only explicitly stated in *Korean 100* and *Yonsei Korean*. Primarily, elements of civilization and behaviour and speech patterns make up the cultural content of the textbooks. In comparison to *Korean 100* and *Yonsei*

Korean, *Y&M* introduces less cultural content with regards to civilization, and it is often presented without proper explanations. The teacher is required to add further information for the learners to understand the content or illustrations, as beginner students of the language would face difficulties.

Dialogues containing behaviour and speech patterns and even eliciting the appropriate forms in certain situations are found in all textbooks, but *Korean 100* and *Yonsei Korean* offer a greater variety in this regard. With only one exception about the composition of letters, content about discourse structures are omitted. This might be due to the fact that discourse features and processes require a higher level of proficiency, where a greater understanding of the structure of language is attained. In the case of the Korean language, the complexity of the language system stems from the highly nuanced honorific language, the hundreds of particles and affixes and also the frequent omission of major sentence elements that are understood contextually or situationally, which also means that Korean is a highly discourse-oriented language, and it is largely dependent on the context.[26] These properties of the language would be very difficult to comprehend in its entirety at the beginning of the language learning process. Therefore, cultural elements that are easier to grasp are introduced predominantly at this beginner level.

Cultural groups other than Korean are not frequently introduced, but in the case of their appearance, it is usually limited to American, Japanese or Chinese culture. The reason behind this narrow representation might be connected to the target audience and target environment of these textbooks. All textbooks follow a thematic syllabus with the theme of discovering Korea and familiarizing oneself with the way of living while attending a language course at a Korean language institution. For the last decades, attending language courses at language institutions in Korea has been gaining immense popularity mainly among Japanese, Chinese and Korean-American students. As they tend to be the core participants of the language courses, course materials were developed with their needs in mind.

The cultural content of the textbooks is presented in dialogues, tasks for grammar practice and in *Korean 100* and *Yonsei Korean,* in cultural readings as well. However, cultural information must be explicitly explained in the case of *Y&M*. Since the majority of beginner students are mostly unfamiliar with cultural elements, the textbook would be very difficult to use without the help of an instructor. *Korean 100* sometimes omits explanations of cultural

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[26] Ho-min Sohn, *Korean*, Routledge, London–New York, NY, 1994, pp. 7–8.

elements in the tasks too, which renders the independent solving of the given task quite difficult.

Evaluative comments are added to specific cultural information presented only in the *Yonsei Korean* textbooks. By adding a non-average character who might experience culture bumps similarly to the targeted audience of the textbook, the textbook attempts to create a common point of reference with the Western students. However, the character is also seen deprecating himself for the cultural 'mistakes' he made and asking himself "when will I be good enough", which carries the implication that Korean culture is attainable only with great difficulty. Emphasizing the differences between the Korean culture and other cultures is exactly the opposite of what Kramsch has found in relation to German language textbooks.[27] The latter textbooks attempted to reduce the 'threat of the unknown', by equalling the source and the target cultures.

The problem with some illustrations in the textbooks is that they depict cultural items that are not further elaborated upon or mentioned elsewhere, thus their significance is left unexplored unless the teacher provides hints.

The adopted method for presenting cultural content was primarily the method of producing appropriate behaviour with frequent role-plays or producing dialogues that elicit certain speech patterns. In both *Y&M* and *Korean 100*, the students were not encouraged to make meaningful comparisons between the Korean culture and their own or other cultures, except for only one or two cases. Comparison is always emphasized as a key method to language and culture teaching[28]; however, only *Yonsei Korean* provides this opportunity repeatedly.

Conclusion

Considering that culture is in an essential part of language education, this study has sought to explore the presentation of cultural content in textbooks, the second most important 'culture bearers' in the classroom. The cultural content of three sets of beginner Korean language textbooks, which are used or were considered for use in a university language course, was analysed based on the evaluation guide proposed by Damen.[29] The objectives of the textbooks differ regarding cultural instruction. *Korean in 100 hours – 1* and *Yonsei Korean – 1-1, 1-2* that explicitly set the objective of fostering a better understanding of the Korean culture presented more cultural content with more explanations,

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[27] Kramsch 1983.

[28] Byram – Morgan et al. 1994, pp. 42–47.

[29] Damen 1987, p. 272–276.

while *You, me and the Korean language – 1A, 1B* was more limited in this sense, leaving students to decipher implications themselves or leaving the task to the teacher. Only one set of textbooks, *Yonsei Korean – 1-1, 1-2*, invites students frequently to make meaningful comparisons between their own culture and Korean culture. While all textbooks match the primary objectives of the beginner Korean language course, from the cultural perspective, *Korean in 100 hours – 1* and *Yonsei Korean – 1-1, 1-2* were found to be richer in cultural content with less supplementary information necessary.

At the beginner level, the absence of appropriate explanations renders a textbook difficult to use for language and culture teaching without the explicit instruction of a teacher. In other words, it essentially limits its usage to the classroom or requires extensive supplementary research from the student's side. Otherwise the potential cultural knowledge, other cultural implications and recognizing behaviour and speech patterns or discourse structures may be lost to those learners who are just becoming familiar with the Korean language. From the perspective of Korean language teachers, such textbooks also provide a very loose framework to culture teaching.

The on-going, salient theme of beginner language textbooks, i.e. the journey of a student attending a Korean language course in Korea, should be highlighted as a possible form of difficulty regarding the usage of these textbooks. The theme dictates very specific exercises, usually without a reference to the learners' own culture. This would mean that students outside of Korea are faced with the task of imagining a life there without drawing on real life experiences, which would aid their cultural understanding. By missing these additional experiences, students may require even more explicit cultural guidance.

The present study has attempted to shed some light on how culture is treated in Korean language education through textbooks at a beginner-level university course. As Korean culture gains more global popularity, the number of people who would like to understand the culture through language increases. Korean as a foreign language education in Hungary thus faces new challenges as well. Would it be enough to select textbooks intended for a global audience with no references to Hungarian culture or would culture teaching be more effective if a textbook was designed with Hungarian students in mind or would the option of having textbooks for the global market that still very consciously create opportunities to discuss students' culture be more effective for the purposes of language and culture teaching? To answer such questions, further research and dialogue are much needed.

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Appendices
Appendix A – Modified list of questions used for textbook analysis and evaluation; based on Damen 1987, pp. 272–276.

Rationale
1. What is the primary goal of the presentation of cultural information? Is this goal secondary to other goals? Is the goal of the cultural instruction explicitly stated?
2. What type of textbook does the book represent?

Culture content
3. Are specific cultural items covered? If so, which ones?
4. What cultural or social groups are represented? Are members of these groups presented as modal personalities (average) or as individuals?

Presentation of culture content
5. How is the cultural content presented?
6. Are specific cultural items 'explained'? Would additional information or explanation be necessary?
7. Is the cultural content presented with evaluative comment, either direct or implied?
8. Is the content reprinted from original sources without change, reprinted with adaptation, or written for this textbook?
9. Are there illustrations? Do these illustrations supplement the cultural content effectively?
10. Would students need additional hints from the teacher to understand the cultural implications of the illustration or content?

Method
11. What method is used to present the cultural information?
12. Is the information presented in relation to one culture, or is it presented in a comparative frame of reference?

Appendix B – Elements of culture; adapted from Holló 2019, p. 18.

    (a) civilization:

        (a1) topics of civilization: history, geography, icons, tourist attractions, traditions, holidays, customs, institutions, economy, scientific achievements, arts, literature, popular culture, values, culinary traditions, knowledge of daily life, administrative and other practicalities, taboo subjects, humour etc.;

        (a2) cultural connotations of vocabulary;

    (b) behaviour and speech patterns:

        (b1) functions of communication: greeting, starting a conversation, socializing, inviting and expressing opinions, agreeing, disagreeing, criticizing, leading a conversation, interrupting, requesting, refusing, requesting advice and giving advice, complaining, expressing gratitude, apologizing, complimenting, leave taking, telephoning, exchanging e-mails, etc.;

        (b2) pragmatic features;

        (b3) sociolinguistic features;

        (b4) non-verbal language;

        (b5) cultural dimensions;

    (c) discourse structures and skills:

        (c1) discourse features: purpose and audience, discourse structure, characteristics of genres, expressing and linking ideas, coherence, logic, cohesion, arguments and supporting arguments, rhetorical devices, public speech, mediation;

        (c2) discourse processes: researching a topic, highlighting essential information, drawing up drafts, developing and expressing ideas, structuring and re-structuring ideas, dictionary usage, avoiding plagiarism.

Forgó Teodóra Mária

Ferenc Molnár's Plays in the Performing Arts of Japan

Introduction

In the present article, I discuss the unique attributes of the Japanese stage adaptations of the plays by Ferenc Molnár (1878–1952). I aim to find significant trends which characterize the reception of the Hungarian writer's works in the performing arts in Japan.

Molnár was one of the first Hungarian modern writers to gain international recognition in the early 20th century, becoming popular not only in Western countries,[1] but also in Japan. The Japanese reception of Molnár's writings started in 1910s, just a few years after his international debut, and his popularity in Japan reached its first peak in the 1920s and 1930s.[2]

Molnár was first introduced in Japan by Ōgai Mori (1862–1922), an influential literary personality of the Meiji (1868–1912) and Taisho periods (1912–1926). Ōgai translated and published three short stories by the Hungarian writer in 1912 and 1913: *Gorotsuki no Shōten (Altató mese), Saishū no Gogo (Az utolsó délután)* and *Tsujibasha (A kocsi).* In the columns of *Mukudori Tsūshin,* he mentioned a few contemporary stage adaptations which had taken place in Germany as well as private matters from Molnár's life.

The early introduction of Molnár's works in Japan happened in a period when foreign works were often used as a channel to introduce Western cultural and literary trends with the means to contribute to the modernization process of the country. These years and the interwar period also saw a strengthening of the economic and cultural relations between Japan and Hungary.[3]

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[1]   György Nagy, *Molnár Ferenc a világsiker útján*, Budapest, Tinta, 2001.

[2]   Emiko Kume, "Magyar irodalom Japánban", *PRAE*, Vol. 39 (2009), pp. 33–45.

[3]   Umemura Yuko, *Japánok és magyarok egymásról*, Akadémia Kiadó, Budapest, 2017; Farkas Ildikó, *A Magyar–Nippon Társaság. Real.mtak.hu* (online), 87–88, 92–96, 105.

According to our present knowledge, at least one third of Molnár's plays[4] and four collections of his short stories were translated into Japanese before the Second World War. Even though the publication of Molnár's works did not stop after the Second World War, fewer new works were introduced in the post-war years, while the re-translation or re-publication of existing translations was more common.

In general, we can say that among the Japanese translations available, *Liliom*[5] and *Paarugai no Shōnentachi (A Pál utcai fiúk)*[6] are Molnár's most frequently translated and re-published works. Based on the number of translated works and publications in general, we can presume that Molnár's writings had a successful reception in Japanese literature.

In the following chapters, I aim to show that Molnár's plays were not only popular on paper, but also on the Japanese stage. For this purpose, I examine their reception from several points of view: the degree of continuity in the reception; which theatre companies included Molnár's plays into their repertoires; where the stage adaptations took place; which Japanese translations were most often used by the theatre companies; and which were Molnár's most frequently performed plays. Later, I also discuss three significant stage adaptations of *Liliom* to highlight the main characteristics that also made Molnár's internationally acclaimed plays popular in Japan.

Regarding the sources of the present article, I have relied on the Japanese translations of Molnár's plays, as well as theatre programmes, posters and stage photos, as well as other studies focusing on how Molnár was received in Hungary, Japan, and other countries.

Japanese stage adaptations of Molnár's plays

First, I give a general overview of the Japanese stage adaptations of Molnár's plays to find out whether interest in the Hungarian writer in Japan was sustained over the years. The available data shows that Molnár's plays were performed by Japanese theatre companies on more than 60 occasions up until

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4 Among others, we can mention the translation of *Liliom* and *Hakuchō (A hattyú)* by Z. Suzuki (1924), *Akuma (Az ördög)* by K. Osanai (1927), *Akai Funsaiki (A vörös malom)* by K. Kitamura (1927), *Olympia* (1932) and *Riviera* (1934) by Z. Suzuki.

5 At least four different translators worked on the introduction of the play to the Japanese readers. These translations were published or republished altogether seven times.

6 *The Paul Street Boys* was translated at least seven times; these works were published and republished more than fifteen times.

today.[7] Approximately one third of the stage adaptations took place during the pre-war period, but Molnár's works remained a popular choice for Japanese theatre troupes after the Second World War as well.

It is well known that Molnár and his writings were introduced to Japanese readers in the first half of the 1910s and the first known theatre performance by a Japanese theatre company followed shortly after: the Mumeikai[8] adapted one of Molnár's early hit plays, *Akuma (Az ördög)* as early as in 1915 in Tokyo. Contemporary trends in the Japanese theatre world – such as the appearance of the *shingeki* movement[9] – had a favorable impact on the Japanese reception of Molnár's works, as many theatre companies began performing Western works. One of the leading figures of the genre, Kaoru Osanai (1881–1928), translated and staged two[10] of the Hungarian writer's plays with his theatre company, Tsukiji Shōgekijō in 1927. These performances marked the start of the first bloom of Molnár's popularity in the performing arts of Japan, which reached its first peak in the early years of the 1930s, when about ten Japanese theatre troupes included Hungarian writer's plays into their repertoire.

The first stage adaptation after the end of the Second World War took place rather early, already in 1946[11] when Ken'ichi Enomoto (1904–1970) and his troupe staged *Liliom.* Only a few years later, the play was also performed by the highly popular all-female theatre troupe, the Takarazuka Revue, in 1950.[12] The company staged the Broadway musical adaptation of the story of the downtown rogue in 1969[13] when Western musicals started to gain popularity in Japan.[14] Following this stage adaptation, the musical performances became a significant aspect of how Molnár plays were performed in Japan. From the 1950s on, Molnár's works – mainly *Liliom* – also became the subject of

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[7] The number reflects our present knowledge. Information about other performances might emerge in the future.

[8] Mumeikai, *Akuma,* Yūrakuza, Tokyo, 1915 [Programme].

[9] *Shingeki* ("new drama") was a leading theatre form which appeared as a reaction against *kabuki* and *shinpa* theatre in the 20th century. First, it introduced Western works to the Japanese audience, but later also presented Japanese playwrights' writings.

[10] Tsukiji Shōgekijō, *Ririomu,* Tsukiji Shōgekijō, Tokyo, 1927 [Programme] and Tsukiji Shōgekijō, *Akuma,* Tsukiji Shōgekijō, Tokyo, 1927 [Programme].

[11] Enoken no Ichiza, *Enoken no Ririomu,* Yūrakuza, Tokyo, 1946 [Programme].

[12] Takarazuka Kagekidan, Hoshi-gumi, *Ririomu*, Takarazuka Grand Theatre, Takarazuka, 1950 [Programme].

[13] Takarazuka Kagekidan, Yuki-gumi; *Kaitenmokuba,* Tokyo Takarazuka Gekijō, 1969 [Programme].

[14] A smaller scale performance of the musical also took place in 1984.

the repertoires of the student theatre groups of prestigious institutions such as Waseda University (1951)[15] and Kyoto University (1952).[16]

In 1978, the Takarazuka Revue performed the musical version of *Harukanaru Donau (A hattyú),[17]* first in the Grand Theatre in Takarazuka and, one year later, in Tokyo and Nagoya as well. A few large-scale performances were held subsequently, such as TOHO's adaptation of *Carousel[18]* in 1995[19] and the *Grand Musical Kaitenmokuba[20]* performance in the Aubade Hall in Toyama. However, in recent years, there has been an increase in the number of performances by small amateur theatre troupes, such as the *Liliom* production of Aoyama Engeki Council (2012)[21] and the YUMACT produce (2017).[22] The most recent performance which took place in 2018 was also a stage adaptation of *Liliom* by an amateur theatre company based in Hyōgō Prefecture.[23]

The aforementioned data shows that the first theatre adaptations of Molnár's works appeared relatively early and Molnár's plays were often, at least on four occasions every decade, adapted to the stage by Japanese theatre troupes even after the Second World War, showing thus a continuity in the Hungarian playwright's presence in the Japanese theatre world.

Theatre troupes and venues

In the following section, I discuss significant performing troupes and venues of the Japanese Molnár performances to highlight trends which defined the early and later phases of Molnár's reception in Japan. I examine in detail those theatre companies which performed the Hungarian writer's plays on more than one occasion.

We know from the theatre programmes that before the Second World War, about fifteen different theatre companies included Molnár's works in their

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[15] Sobyō-za, *Ririomu*, Waseda University Ōkuma Memorial Hall, Tokyo, 1951 [Programme].

[16] Kyōto Daigaku Sōzoku-za, *Ririomu*, Kyūdai Nishibu Kōdō, Kyōto, 1952 [Programme].

[17] Takarazuka Kagekidan, *Harukanaru Donau*, Takarazuka Grand Theatre, Takarazuka, 1978 [Programme].

[18] *Carousel* is a musical by Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein II which was based on the story of *Liliom*. The film adaptation of the musical was released in 1956 in the US and Japan.

[19] *Kaitemokuba,* Teikokugekijō, Tokyo, 1995 [Programme].

[20] *Grand Musical Kaitenmokuba,* Aubade Hall, Toyama, 2011 [Programme].

[21] Aoyama Engeki Council, *Aoyama Engeki Council＃5〜true〜 Ririomu*, Aoyama Engekijou, Tokyo, 2012 [Programme].

[22] YUMACT produce, *Ririomu*, Ebisu Echo Theatre, Tokyo, 2017 [Programme].

[23] Gekidan Yaruki, *Kaitemokuba*, Sato no Ne, Sanda, 2018 [Programme].

repertoires, a number which rose to about thirty after the war. For most theatre companies, Molnár's plays were only a one-off venture, however a few significant theatre troupes returned to the Hungarian playwright's works several times. The early reception shows signs that Molnár's plays were used as an instrument to introduce Western works and theatre trends to contribute to the modernization process of performing arts in Japan. In the post-war period, theatre troupes often referred to the contemporary international and successful early Japanese reception as a reason for staging the Hungarian playwright's works.

First, Osanai's theatre company, Tsukiji Shōgekijō, shall be mentioned.[24] As the flagship of the *shingeki* movement, it initially focused on foreign plays and only later were original Japanese works seen on the stage of the Tsukiji Shōgekijō in Tokyo. Molnár's works *Liliom* and *Akuma* were introduced in 1927 as the 64th and 67th performances of the company. We know that a member of the troupe, Kihachi Kitamura (1898–1960), translated two other Molnár plays,[25] yet they were never performed on stage.

Next, the performance of Tsukiji-za shall be mentioned, as it gave a contrast to the earlier stage adaptations. After the sudden death of Osanai in 1928, the members of the Tsukiji Shōgekijō parted ways. In 1932, previous members of Osanai's company, such as Kyōsuke Tomoda (1899–1937)[26] and his wife, *shingeki* actress Akiko Tamura (1905–1983), formed the Tsukiji-za. Just as its predecessor, the troupe staged foreign and Japanese plays, including *Liliom* (1933) and five one-act plays by the Hungarian writer. According to the actors and the audience[27], this performance did not have the same power and impact as the Osanai adaptation.[28]

In the 1930s, the Theatre Comedy performed four Molnár plays (1932, 1933, 1935)[29] in Tokyo. The troupe was formed in 1931 with actor and director Junrō Kanasugi (1909–1937) and his wife Teruko Nagaoka (1908–2010), as well as with actor and director Teruko Nagaoka (1908–2010) in the centre. They staged

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[24] The theatre company was founded in 1924 by Osanai and Yoshi Hijikata.

[25] *Akai Funsaiki (A vörös malom)* and *Garasu no Uwagutsu (Az üvegcipő)* were both published in 1927 in *Sekaigikyoku Zenshuu Vol. 22* by Kodansha.

[26] Tomoda played the role of Liliom in the Tsukiji Shōgekijō's stage adaptation.

[27] Tokunaga mentions in *Budapesuto on Furuhon'ya* that he saw the Tsukiji-za's performance.

[28] Theatre Echo, Liliom programme, 1960.

[29] *Shibai wa atsuraemuki (Játék a kastélyban)* in 1932, *Gensui (Marsall)* in 1933, *Konoehei (A testőr)* in 1933, *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo (A jó tündér)* in 1935. Theatre Comedy, *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo*, Tsukiji Shōgekijō, Tokyo, 1935 [Programme].

28 plays altogether, many of which were part of the French popular theatre.[30] The fact that the troupe performed *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo (A jó tündér)* in the same year that the US movie version of Molnár's play was shown in Japan suggests that the international reception of the Hungarian playwright's works had an influence on the Japanese theatre troupes' choice of programme.

Well-known singer and comedian Ken'ichi Enomoto and his theatre group, Pierre Brillant, performed *Liliom* and a shorter work by Molnár on three occasions in Asakusa, the downtown area of Tokyo during the 1930s and returned to the role of Liliom on stage in 1946. The popular entertainer, who often made radio and television appearances, played the main role of the movie adaptation *Liliom* in 1954.[31] After the Second World War, the Takarazuka Revue performed *Liliom* (1941, 1950, 1951, 1969, 1984) and *Harukanaru Donau (A hattyú)* (1978, 1979, 1984) in Takarazuka, Tokyo and Nagoya. Enomoto and Takarazuka hold a significant place in the theatre history of Japan, as they played a leading role in introducing new genres and plays from the beginning of the 20th century. The fact that highly popular theatre personalities and companies included Molnár's plays into their repertoire helped the nationwide recognition of Molnár as a significant foreign playwright and opened the path for later theatre adaptations.

In the post-war period, the Bunka-za, formed in 1942 in Tokyo, staged *Liliom* on two occasions (1956, 1965).[32] The troupe performed a great number of Japanese plays and included several works from foreign playwrights such as Tolstoy, Schnitzler, Molière and Molnár into its repertoire. The director of the Molnár adaptations was Takashi Sasaki (1909–1967), also a founding member of the troupe, and previously involved with the Tsukiji-za. Therefore, we can assume that the previous Japanese stage adaptations also had an influence on the later reception.

Lastly, Theatre Echo staged the Hungarian writer's two plays, *Liliom* (1960)[33] and *Shibai wa Saikou! (Játék a kastélyban)* (1990).[34] The theatre company was founded and started its activities in the first half of the 1950s. They staged many foreign plays and performed Molnár's works for their 18th and 87th performances.

[30] Shigetoshi Kawatake (ed.), *Engekihyakkadaijiten,* Vol.4. Heibonsha, Tokyo, 1960, p. 56.

[31] *Enoken no Tengoku to Jigoku* (1954) was based on the story of *Liliom.*

[32] Bunka-za, *Ririomu,* Hitotsubashi Kōdō, Tokyo, 1956 [Programme] and Bunka-za, *Ririomu,* 1965 [Programme].

[33] Theatre Echo, *Ririomu, 1960* [Programme].

[34] Theatre Echo, *Shibai wa Saikou!* 1990 [Programme].

The above-mentioned theatre companies are similar to one another in the respect that they were aware of the international literary and theatre trends and included many foreign plays into their repertoires as a means to introduce foreign theatre trends. Accordingly, the theatre programmes show that these theatre companies had knowledge about Molnár's place within international literature and theatre.

Regarding the venues, before the Second World War, most of the Molnár adaptations were performed in smaller or medium sized, newly built theatres in Tokyo and only three known performances took place in other regions. Two of the frequently used venues were the Tsukiji Shōgekijō[35] and the Jinjukōdō[36], both located in the central part of Tokyo.

This tendency largely changed after the Second World War, as highly popular entertainers included Molnár's works into their repertoires, thus making the Hungarian writer's plays better known nationwide. Even though more than half of these later performances still took place in Tokyo, cities like Kyoto, Nagoya, Osaka, Sapporo, Toyama and Takarazuka also started providing venues to several stage adaptations. Molnár's plays were still mostly performed in small and medium-sized theatres, but a few large-scale performances took place in venues such as the Takarazuka Grand Theatre (Takarazuka), the Imperial Theatre and the Aubade Hall (Toyama).[37]

Translations and performance programme

Next, I discuss the translations which served as the base to the script and the programme of the theatre performances. I aim to find out what language trends characterized the theatre adaptations by taking a closer look at the significant translators and language of the sources used for the translations. I also attempt to highlight which of Molnár's plays were the most popular subjects for Japanese theatre companies.

Based on the theatre programmes, the stage adaptations can be divided into two categories: first, performances which relied on published Japanese translations of Molnár's plays, therefore the name of the translator and the language of the source of the translation are known; and second, stage adaptations which only mention the name of the translator or dramaturg in the programme, while

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[35] Tsukiji Shōgekijō had high ceilings, curved walls and were equipped with modern stage technology, such as electric stage lighting and contained 400-500 seats.

[36] Jinjukōdō contained approximately 600 seats.

[37] All three theatres contain about 2000 seats.

the source of the script remains unclear. Regarding the first group, it is known that at least twenty translators were involved in introducing Molnár's work to Japanese readers; among them, there were four translators – Kaoru Osanai, Zentarō Suzuki, Tadashi Iijima and Yasumoto Tokunaga – whose works were used most frequently as a basis for the script of stage performances. As for the second category, the scripts of the stage adaptations were often produced by members of the theatre company or by people closely connected to it; the scripts were mainly used only for one stage adaptation and remained unpublished after the performance. Therefore, in the following section, I examine the first category because these translations had abiding influence on the reception of Molnár's works both in the Japanese literary and theatre world.

Earlier stage performances used translations which relied on English or other third-language sources. Translations from the original Hungarian text were published only after the Second World War. As was mentioned before, Osanai translated two Molnár works with the purpose to perform them on stage. He relied on English, German and French sources for his translations, therefore his translations were not completely loyal to the original text. His translations were used for stage adaptations on four occasions, but mainly only before the Second World War.

Many stage adaptations used Zentarō Suzuki's translations during the inter-war period.[38] Suzuki used English sources and contributed the largest number of Japanese translations of Molnár. Many of the later translators and theatre professionals read Molnár's stories for the first time in Suzuki's translations.[39]

After the Second World War, two translators emerged who relied on the original Hungarian text as a source language and who also had first-hand knowledge of Hungarian culture and literature. One of them was Tadashi Iijima (1902–1996), who took an interest in Hungarian literature after reading a translation of Molnár's *Liliom*. He later translated two of Molnár's plays using Hungarian and third-language sources which were both used as a basis for stage adaptations before and after the Second World War. In the post-war period, many theatre companies such as Bunka-za and Theatre Echo relied on Yasumoto Tokunaga's translation and even included an introduction to Molnár and his works, written by the translator, into their theatre programmes. Tokunaga, who was the first exchange student to study in Hungary as part

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[38] These translation works remained present in the Japanese theatre world even in the post-war period.

[39] Tadashi Iijima, *Boku no Meiji, Taishō, Shōwa - Jitenteki essay*, Aogaeru, Tokyo, 1991.

of the 1938 Cultural Convention[40] between Japan and Hungary, translated several works by Molnár and by other Hungarian writers, contributing to the introduction of Hungarian literature in Japan.

Regarding the plays, more than five of Molnár's longer works and about ten one-act plays were performed by Japanese theatre companies before the Second World War: *Akuma (Az ördög), Liliom, Gensui (Marsall), Konoehei (A testőr), Shibai wa atsuraemuki (Játék a kastélyban*), and *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo* (*A jó tündér*) amongst others. The post-war reception shows similarities: besides four longer-plays, several shorter works were also adapted to the Japanese stage such as *Liliom, Harukanaru Donau (A hattyú),* and *Shibai wa Saikō (Játék a kastélyban).*

Several of the Hungarian writer's internationally acclaimed plays, such as *Akuma (Az ördög)* and *Ohitoyoshi no Sennyo (A jó tündér)*, were only performed before the Second World War. The international reputation of these two plays, as they were popular on European and US stages and had also been adapted for television, was probably one of the reasons why they were discovered by Japanese theatre companies, however, they failed to gain popularity in the Japanese theatre world. The influence of the international reception can be witnessed in the case of *Harukanaru Donau (A hattyú).* The US movie adaptation, especially the performance by Grace Kelly, helped the play to be discovered by Takarazuka Revue and even reach the stages of the Imperial Theatre around the 1970s.

Among the Molnár plays performed by Japanese theatre companies, *Liliom* is the only one which never lost its popularity, as it has been staged about forty times so far. A wide variety of different theatre companies included the story of the downtown rogue into their repertoire starting from amateur groups to significant *shingeki* and commercial theatre companies. In the pre-war period, *Liliom* and Molnár's other plays were often performed together with another work, either foreign or Japanese. However, after the Second World War the number of whole-night performances increased.

Regarding the genre of the stage adaptations, we know that before the Second World War, straight play[41] performances were more common. However, after the war, and especially from the late 1960s, the number of musical adaptations increased. The Broadway musical adaptation of *Liliom* was first adapted to stage in Japan in 1969 and has been performed frequently ever since.

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[40] Umemura 2017.

[41] In this case, I refer to *shingeki* and other non-musical performances as 'straight play'.

Two ballet companies, the Tokyo Seinen Ballet Company and Tani Momoko Ballet Company also performed Molnár plays in 1960 and 1998.

In conclusion, we can say that at least four significant translators' works were used for the introduction of Molnár's plays on the Japanese stage. Similar to the Molnár reception in Japanese literature in general, the early stage adaptations dominantly used translations which relied on English and other third-language sources. Theatre companies started to use translations which relied on the original Hungarian text only after the Second World War.

Regarding the program of the performances, the stage adaptations are quite diverse, however compared to the other plays, *Liliom* was adapted to the stage most often. While in the interwar period straight play adaptations were more common, after the Second World War, the number of musical performances increased.

Significant *Liliom* performances

Lastly, I aim to highlight the main characteristics that made *Liliom* the most frequently performed Molnár play in Japan. For this purpose, I use examples from three significant stage adaptations of the play. I also mention how these stage adaptations contributed to the later Molnár reception in the performing arts of Japan.

In the case of Tsukiji Shōgekijō's performance of *Liliom* (1927), the influence of the contemporary historical and theatre trends can be witnessed. Regarding their bilateral relations, Japan and Hungary established diplomatic relations in 1869 and have maintained friendly – if not overly close – diplomatic and cultural relations since. In the 1910s and 1920s, societies were established which examined the ties connecting the two countries and worked on strengthening cultural relations between them.[42] Osanai had seen one of Molnár's plays on stage during his stay in Vienna,[43] and referred to Molnár as a Western writer with an Eastern heart,[44] which suggests a sense of sympathy and closeness towards the Hungarian writer and his country of origin.

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[42] The Turan Society (established in 1910) and later Hungarian Nippon Society (est. in 1924) were two societies who played significant roles in strengthening the bilateral relations. In 1924 the Eastern Asian Institute was established at ELTE University (Budapest), while in 1938 the Cultural Convention was signed to promote cultural exchanges between the two countries. Umemura 2017.

[43] Kaoru Osanai – ed. Yukio Sugai: *Osanai Kaoru Engekiron Zenshuu,* Vol.1., Miraisha, Tokyo, 1964.

[44] *Sekaigikyoku Zenshū,* Vol. 22., Kindansha, Tokyo, 1927.

The Tsukiji Shōgekijō's performance took place in an era when the interest towards Western culture, literature and theatre was growing in Japan.[45] Japanese literature and theatre went through changes as they were influenced by the modernization process of the Meiji period (1868–1912).[46] New theatre forms and trends appeared such as *shingeki,* which introduced modern, Western-style stage adaptations of plays by foreign and – later – Japanese playwrights to the Japanese audience. The fact that Tsukiji Shōgekijō adapted *Liliom* to the stage with a modern, Western-style approach proves that the reception of the play was influenced by contemporary theatre trends. Indeed, photos of the performance show that the troupe used Western-style costumes and a simple, modern stage design which was decorated with Hungarian signs to reflect the original atmosphere of the play.

We can presume that the fact that one of the significant contemporary theatre companies staged *Liliom* helped the Molnár plays to gain recognition in the theatre world of Japan, as Japanese translators and theatre personalities involved in bringing Molnár's works to Japan often mentioned Tsukiji Shōgekijō's performance as one of the best Japanese stage adaptations of the play.[47]

It is often mentioned in theatre programmes that one of the reasons behind *Liliom's* popularity is that such a love story could have easily taken place in a downtown area of a big city in Japan, such as Asakusa Ward in Tokyo.[48] Popular entertainer Ken'ichi Enomoto also shared this opinion.[49] Enomoto, who was considered the "king of Japanese comedy", started his career on the stages of theatres in Asakusa Ward. These theatres often introduced new, Western theatre trends and genres to the Japanese audience in light performances in which music played an important role. In 1933, Enomoto and his company made a successful stage adaptation of *Liliom* in a theatre in Asakusa Ward. Enomoto returned to the role of Liliom on several occasions, for example, the 1946 theatrical production and the movie version of the play in 1954. This suggests that the story of the downtown rogue was well-adaptable to the Japanese stage and popular among the Japanese audience. This theory is also supported by the fact that the movie could be fully localized[50] without causing any major

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[45] Kume 2009, pp.33-45.

[46] Eiko Tsuboike, *An Overview – Latest Trends by Genra: Shougekijou (Small Theatre) Movement*, performingarts.jp [14.07.2020]

[47] Yasumoto Tokunaga, *Budapesuto furuhonya*, Kokubunsha, Tokyo, 1982.

[48] Bungaku-za, Theatre program of the Liliom, 1965.

[49] Bungaku-za, Theatre program of the Liliom, 1965.

[50] The venue of the story was changed from Budapest to Japan.

damage to the storyline or atmosphere of *Liliom*. This shows the play's compatibility with a Japanese setting. Enomoto's performance was a turning point in the Japanese Molnár reception, because one of the well-known contemporary theatre and movie personalities played the role of the downtown rogue and also because music[51] was an important aspect of these performances. This marked the start of *Liliom*'s long journey in Japanese music theatres.

Lastly, the structure and international reception of *Liliom* can be mentioned as factors explaining why significant Japanese theatre companies such as the Takarazuka Revue performed the play on several occasions. One of the most attractive characteristics of the troupe is that it provides the audience with an idealized version of men who are performed by female actors. Many of their performances focus on the *otokoyaku*s or male roles, therefore the story of *Liliom* which is centred around a strong but vulnerable lead male role who is supported by a silent and pure female partner fit to the repertoire of the company.[52,53]

The theatre programmes of the stage adaptation of *Liliom* by the Takarazuka Revue shows that the troupe was aware of and influenced by the international reception of Molnár's play. Given the lack of access to the Western adaptations, the troupe still performed its original adaptation of *Liliom* in revue-style after the Second World War. However, less than two decades later they introduced the play's Broadway musical version to the Japanese audience. These stage adaptations are significant because they were among the earliest large-scale adaptations of *Liliom*, as the performances took place in the Takarazuka Grand Theatre and the Tokyo Takarazuka Theatre.

Altogether, we can say that the contemporary theatre trends, the international reception and early Japanese adaptations of *Liliom* had a significant influence on the success of the play in Japan. The universality of the plot of *Liliom* made it easy to adapt the play to the Japanese stage. The fact that a structure of the play centres around a male character made the play attractive to troupes whose main focus lies in the male lead.

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[51] The music of the stage adaptation was composed by Shigekazu Kurihara (1897–1983). The composer worked together with Enomoto on several occasions, as well as played an important role in the introduction process of the genre of operetta and jazz in Japan.

[52] Masao Hashimoto, *Yume wo egaite hanayakani: Takarazuka Kageki 80 nenshi,* Takarazuka Kagekidan, Takarazuka, 1994.

[53] In the 1950's and 1969's performances, the role of Liliom was played by two legendary top stars, Yachiyo Kasugano (1915–2012) and Shibuki Maho (1935–2020).

Conclusion

Molnár is one of the first modern Hungarian writers whose works were introduced to Japan. The reception of Molnár's works in the performing arts of Japan started relatively early and continues to this day. A large number of performances took place in Tokyo, but the number of performances elsewhere in the country also increased after the Second World War. The work of about four significant and several one-time translators (many of whom relied on English, German and French sources) were used for the performances. Translations using the original Hungarian text appeared only around and after the Second World War. Over five longer and several shorter Molnár works were staged over the years, among which *Liliom* is the most popular.

Regarding the reasons behind the successful reception of Molnár's works in the performing arts of Japan, we can mention the favorable historical period and also stress the importance of contemporary literary and theatrical trends. In the later years, the influence of the international reception and the US movies can also be witnessed. Lastly, especially in the case of *Liliom,* the topics themselves and the easy adaptability of the Hungarian writer's works to the Japanese stage can be considered the main reasons that helped the favorable reception of Molnár's works in the performing arts of Japan.

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Tamás Solymosi

The End of Western Authenticity?

The Shifting Ways of the Tangible Monument Protection

> *If we compare the architecture of Western civilization to a museum, [then] Japanese architecture [can be likened to] a theatre.[1]*
> Toyo Ito

The words of the quotation are taken from one of the best known and most innovative Japanese architects, the Pritzker Architecture Prize winning Toyo Ito. In his artistic vision, he is trying to display simultaneously the physical, virtual and spiritual space. His most iconic construction is the so-called *Sendai Mediatheque* in Sendai city. This serves as a library, event hall, and multifunctional space for all kinds of cultural events. In this quote Toyo Ito compares Western and Japanese architecture. In his vision, architecture in the west is like a museum, while architecture in Japan is like a theatre. He argues that the difference and the opposition lie in the conceptualization of time.

The metaphors of the museum and the theatre serve as the framework of my paper. We will use them as the starting point to introduce my topic and research question. The museum is a static environment where the focus is on exhibition and presentation in an isolated manner, while theatrical plays are always actualized performances in constant change. This opposition appears to be a straightforward and simplified explanation, nevertheless, it offers me the opportunity to analyse so-called "Western" and Japanese practices.

Given my previous studies, my field is cultural heritage and its presence in UNESCO discourses, as well as its perception in the Japanese context. Hence my question is the following: How did the Japanese historical building and monument protection influence UNESCO's notion of authenticity in the 1990s? My goal is to establish the connection between the Nara Document on

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[1]   Bognar Botond, "What Goes Up, Must Come Down", *Harvard Design Magazine* (online).

Authenticity, which is the outcome of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) and ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites)[2] experts' meeting in 1994, and the Ise Shrine, which served the symbolic representation of this theatrical, actualized and manifested conservation practice. Including the Ise Shrine as a primary example of the Japanese practices at the Nara Conference was the first step to broaden the understanding of cultural diversity and to make value-based cultural property evaluation more inclusive and diverse because previous documents had not made it possible for east-Asian practices to show themselves.[3] Transcultural flows refer not only to the spread of specific cultural forms, but also to the process of borrowing, exchanging, remaking and rethinking those cultural elements. Therefore, this flow in the case of cultural heritage started in 1992, the year Japan signed the UNESCO World Heritage Convention.[4] However, cultural forms do not exist in isolation from their wider socio-political environment. Consequently, we need to consider the standard-setting documents and their interpretations in a wider context.

Following the development of authenticity, the next milestone is the Nara Conference. Two years after the ratification of the World Heritage Convention, Japan organized this professional conference in order to discuss problems concerning the notion of authenticity. As highlighted above, the conference took place in a symbolic place. Nara is the ancient capital of Japan and the geographical distance from Paris made it possible for new ideas to be born.[5] With the provocative title of my paper, my goal is to shed light on the process of change, the change that was taking place in the 1990s. Japan ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1992, the Nara Document on Authenticity was accepted in 1994, and five years later in 1999 Matsuura Kōichirō was elected director-general of UNESCO, and was heading the organization until 2009. The fact that he was the first director-general from the Asian continent and was re-elected in 2005 means that he was the person who led UNESCO into

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[2] The ICOMOS is one of three formal advisory bodies of the World Heritage Committee, which selects the sites to be listed on UNESCO's World Heritage Sites.

[3] Seung-Ji CHUNG, "East Asian Values in Historic Conservation", *Journal of Architectural Conservation,* Vol. 11, No. 1 (2005), pp. 55–70, p. 56.

[4] Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972.

[5] Paris is the headquarters of UNESCO, and the birthplace of the world heritage system. The distance from the western European *milieu* was a symbolic change to show that the ideas of western protection needed new influence, and Japan (Nara) was able to provide this much needed new impact.

the 21ˢᵗ century. During Matsuura Kōichirō's time in office, there were several significant changes which resulted in four conventions, one recommendation and five declarations.[6] My argument is that that they started with the shifting notion of authenticity.

In this paper, I introduce and analyse two fundamental texts of architectural monument protection: the fundamental texts are the Venice Charter[7] and the Nara Document on Authenticity. By examining these documents, we can follow the paradigm shift in understanding authenticity regarding the built environment. It is a novel phenomenon in them that even their wording includes the new concepts of 'spirit' and 'feeling'.[8] It was in the Nara Document that these concepts first appeared in a standard-setting document, as they had not featured in the previous Venice Charter. My thesis is that these concepts are part of the Japanese understanding and protection system. It is for this reason that we can find them in the Nara Document passed at a conference called by the Japanese party. According to my hypothesis, this document was much awaited by those cultures and nations that are not closely in line with UNESCO's established practices. The Japanese influence on the UNESCO system made it clear that authenticity can be understood differently than how it had been treated in the widely accepted Venice Charter.

As it was emphasized at the conference, the Ise Shrine served as the symbolic representation of the protection of Japanese buildings and historical monuments.[9] My goal is to understand the practices and traditions connected to the Ise Shrine and its symbolic position in contrast to the previous protection system formulated by the Venice Charter, shedding light on the transcultural impact that started in the 1990s.

The main question is how Japanese practices for protecting ephemeral structures, temples, shrines, monuments, and other buildings influenced UNESCO's thinking about the protection of the built environment. East Asian values in monument protection seem to reflect a different approach compared to western

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6 UNESCO: "General introduction to the standard-setting instruments of UNESCO", UNESCO Legal Instruments Portal.

7 The Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, 31 May 1964.

8 Incidentally, it may be noted that in the Hungarian practice of monument protection emotional value had already been an established concept. Based on the ideas of Frigyes Pogány and András Román, monuments are not merely esthetical and historical buildings, but they have the emotional factor as an added value.

9 Jordan Sand, "Japan's Monument Problem: Ise Shrine as Metaphor", *Past and Present,* Volume 226/10 (2015), pp. 126–152, p. 143–151.

ideas and practices of monument protection. At the time of the Venice Charter, the western approach was dominant, focusing purely on the materiality of the built environment. In general, we assume that in the East Asian practice there is more emphasis on the organic relationship between people, buildings and connected practices.[10] Therefore, that the non-visible part of a structure should be in harmony with the natural scene is as important as the tangible part of the monument. The recognition of intangible elements is owed to the Japanese influence on the UNESCO discourses realized in the Nara Document on Authenticity.

The management of Japanese cultural properties

The year 1950 is the beginning of the official and government-supported cultural property protection system and policy in Japan, as the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties was enacted in 1950.[11] In the text of the law, "cultural property" is the term used, rather than cultural heritage, but the two are interchangeable. This law could be regarded as the keystone for future policies. The date of its passing is not accidental, as on 26 January 1949 a fire had broken out in the Hōryū-Ji Temple in Ikaruga, Nara Prefecture. According to local traditions and Japanese officials, this is not only one of the oldest Buddhist temples, but also the oldest existing wooden building in Japan.[12] The accident deeply shocked the people and showed the fragility of their historic wooden structures. At the same time, since this horrible experience raised the nation's awareness, the government decided to create the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties in order to manage and protect the nation's cultural properties with a legislated act[13] and to dedicate the day of the disaster as the Fire Prevention Day for Cultural Properties in Japan.

However, the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties was born partly out of fear. The fear of losing traditional arts and crafts in the face of westernization and modernization began in the Meiji period (1868–1912). This was the time of modernization in Japan, meaning "westernization" not just in language but also in culture, and even regarding their cuisine. That is

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[10] Tze M. Loo, "Escaping its Past: Recasting the Grand Shrine of Ise", *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies,* Vol. 11, No. 3 (2010), pp. 375–395, p. 385.

[11] Kakiuchi Emiko, "Cultural Heritage Protection System in Japan: Current Issues and Prospects for the Future", *GRIPS Discussion Paper*, Vol. 14, No. 10 (2014), pp. 1–12, pp. 3–4.

[12] Hōryūji: A Brief History http://www.horyuji.or.jp/

[13] Kakiuchi 2014, p. 5.

also the time when the term *washoku*[14] was created in order to distinguish traditional Japanese cuisine from the newly established cuisine called *yōshoku.*[15] The Meiji period could be labelled as that of "westernization", "modernization", or "revolution", but none of the terms can properly explain the events of late 19th century Japan. Nevertheless, the western impact is unquestionable as the main influence which defined the *Zeitgeist*.

The fear of losing important cultural and traditional assets and cultural properties in the modernization process enabled rethinking their management and initiating a nationwide protection system. An outstanding initiative, the law covered a broad spectrum of cultural properties even by international standards. It integrated the previous legislation to create a new and inclusive cultural property protection system. The scope of the protection covered five big categories: (1) tangible cultural properties, (2) intangible cultural properties, (3) folk-cultural properties, (4) monuments, and (5) the groups of historic buildings. The category of monuments is divided into three subcategories: (1) historic sites, (2) places of scenic beauty, and (3) animals, plants, minerals, and geological features. These categories represent Japanese cultural properties and serve as the basis of protection and recognition.

It is worth noting that the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, the so-called World Heritage Convention, has a much less articulated framework for cultural heritage categories. In this framework, the category of cultural heritage contains monuments, groups of buildings, and sites. In the natural heritage category, we find natural features consisting of physical and biological formations, geological and physiographical formations, and natural sites or precisely delineated natural areas. There is no mention of intangible properties or folk elements. Clearly, this categorization shows less diversity than the 1950 Japanese law. The question about the reason for such a huge difference between the two protection systems arises naturally. The answer might lie in the approach they take to cultural properties and the heritage system; hence the most marked difference is in the occurrence of intangible elements.

The 1950 law in Japan recognized and protected intangible cultural properties by subsidizing persons recognized as qualified for preserving such properties. According to this law, the intangible property has to be protected

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[14] Washoku 和食 means Japanese style food. This term is used for the traditional cuisine, which is the combination of white rice as the staple food with one or more main- and side dishes served with miso soup and pickles.

[15] Yōshoku 洋食 means Western style food. This term is used for Japanized western dishes.

by individuals and groups and supported by government subsidies. Individuals are the Living National Treasures of Japan. It is important to note that this recognition protects the know-how and the traditional practices of the country. It is not the agents, the practitioners or the artists that are given protection, but rather their skills, arts and crafts.[16] Here, the individual serves only as a mediator between the protected intangible property and the protection system. The purpose of this recognition is not to honour or recognize the living artist, but to preserve their skills. This special way of protecting intangible cultural properties demonstrates the quintessence of Japanese practices. The tradition does not dwell in the actual product, but within the process of creating it, and this idea leads us to the logic of actualization.[17]

The logic of actualization is an undercurrent in Japanese cultural heritage management. In Ogino Masahiro's description, the logic of actualization is the way in which the past is brought up to date in the present. This traditional standpoint constitutes the main difference compared to the approaches taken in Europe. In the case of the Japanese attitude to intangible properties, especially to the Living National Treasures, the tradition does not have a fixed embodiment; it is hidden up to the time when it is staged by the individual, and it will be manifested through the individual. This is the process of actualization, the working process of an artisan or the performance acted out by a Noh actor. Noh actors are the individuals who take part in the traditional Noh performance, a dance-based theatrical performance originating from the 14th century. Traditions are inherited by actors, therefore, the actual heritage of the Noh theatre is the skills and performance of the actors, which can only be seen when they are on the stage. Therefore, as Ogino points out, the Noh theatre and the actors performing on stage are a good example of the logic of actualization.

Ise Shrine as the symbol of Japanese authenticity

In accordance with the logic of actualization, the conservation of objects is secondary. In Japan, there are few surviving historical monuments due to the fact that traditional architecture is made out of ephemeral building

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[16] Masahiro Ogino, "Considering undercurrents in Japanese cultural heritage management: the logic of actualization and the preservation of the present". Akira Matsuda – Luisa Elena Mengoni (eds.): *Reconsidering Cultural Heritage in East Asia*, Ubiquity Press, London, 2016, pp. 15–29, p. 16–18.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 19.

material, such as wood, which decays faster than such more durable structures as buildings made of stone. In Europe, where the main building materials are more resistant to nature's impact than in Japan, conservation has a different approach. The main purpose and responsibility of conservation and muse-ums are to exhibit and visualize historical time periods in order to show and maintain the connection with the past in the eyes of the visitors. According to Ogino, Europe's archenemy is time rather than some foreign invader.[18] In my interpretation, he refers to the need for large-scale musealization and heritagization in order to show the nation's linear history through its historical monuments and historical objects that withstand the test of time.

In contrast, in Japan, we experience a different approach, a non-linear under-standing of history. The recognition of a symbolic way of preservation originates at the Nara Conference on Authenticity. This conference was a joint effort of UNESCO, ICCROM and ICOMOS, which was made possible by the Japanese government. At this conference, the Ise Shrine and its practices appeared as a symbolic representation and prototype of Japanese historical building protec-tion and architecture.[19] In 1992, Japan ratified the World Heritage Convention, and the following year, two outstanding sites were nominated and accepted to the World Heritage List.[20] By considering these nominations, one must ask the question: why did historical buildings in Japan pass the test of authenticity as defined by the World Heritage Convention? The traditional Japanese wooden architecture has been maintained by the so-called 'repair with dismantlement' *(kaitai shūri)* technique. This means that the traditional wooden buildings are entirely or sometimes just partially dismantled and reassembled with new materials where the structure and the place are to be maintained.

The practice of *kaitai shūri* explains a different approach to historical authen-ticity.[21] This Japanese idea of authenticity is hard to explain and understand in the terms of the 1990s dictated by the World Heritage Convention and the Venice Charter. The Nara Conference undertook to solve this obvious conflict between different approaches. Here the Ise Shrine featured as the main symbol of historical architecture protection. Ise with its periodical renewal and rebuild-ing showed that authenticity can be maintained even though the materials were

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[18] *Ibid.,* p. 20.

[19] Sand 2015, p. 143.

[20] Buddhist Monuments in the Horyu-ji Area and Himeji-jo.

[21] Mihō Fukuda, "Repair by Disassembly (Jap. Kaitai Shūri) in Japan". Katharina Weiler – Niels Gutschow (eds.): *Authenticity in Architectural Heritage Conservation*, Transcultural Research – Heidelberg Studies on Asia and Europe in a Global Context, 2017, pp. 247–260, p. 247.

not identical with those of previous eras. At the Ise Shrine a colossal festival *(matsuri[22])* takes places every twenty years, the tradition of *shikinen sengu.[23]* Next to the main shrine, there is an empty area of the exact same size. A new building with the same dimensions as the current one is constructed in the adjacent areas, a different site every twenty years. In the middle of celebrating religious rituals, the enshrined deity is said to have moved to its "new home" during this periodical renewal called *shikinen sengu*. The first of these renewals was conducted approximately 1300 years ago. The same *matsuri* is organized in order to rebuild the shrine complex as their ancestors did ages ago.

While the *kaitai shūri* is an architectural technique that serves the purpose of maintaining and protecting the structures, the *shikinen sengu* is a traditional folk and religious festival. These shrines and temples are much more than just places of worship: these are the homes of the Shinto deities, the *kami*. These places are considered their home-place. For this reason, when the new "home" is already standing right next to the old one, during a religious ceremony the *kami* will be first transferred to their new shrine, i.e., to their new home. Even though the material of the structure is different, the *kami* who resides in the shrines will endow the structure with spiritual depths, hence the brand-new shrine building can be considered their authentic residence. In other words, the transfer of the *kami* empowers the newly constructed shrine building. The principles of the *kaitai shūri* and *shikinen sengu* are identical. Their main purpose is to maintain the ephemeral wooden structures, but because the Ise Shrine plays an outstanding role in Japanese cultural and social history, this is also a symbolic approach. This symbolic approach was used in the Nara Conference as the prototype of Japanese historical building protection in order to show the difference in discourses on authenticity.

This shows that we cannot leave aside religious practices and we cannot focus on the mere protection of cultural property. The main reason for this 1300-year-old tradition is to transfer knowledge and culture from one generation to the other.[24] In the twenty-year space it is possible to teach the old ways and traditional crafts to the new generation of craftsmen in order to maintain the practice and maintain the shrine complex. More importantly, those craftsmen and builders are not solely "workers", as their main task is to build a new home for the *kami* who reside in those shrines.

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[22] *Matsuri* 祭り means festival or feast. It is a term for the traditional Japanese festivals.

[23] Isao Tokoro, "The Grand Shrine of Ise: Preservation by Removal and Renewal". Ismail Serageldin – Ephim Shluger – Joan Martin-Brown (eds.): *Historic Cities and Sacred Sites: Cultural Roots for Urban Futures*, The World Bank, Washington, 2004, pp. 22–29, p. 22.

[24] Loo 2010, p. 387.

On this basis, is it possible for a building to be 1300 years old and 20 years old at the same time? Lopes poses this theoretical question to his readers.[25] The answer could be "yes" because *shinkinen sengu* has been a continuous practice for 1300 years, and it is an authentic representation of the protection and maintenance of the Ise Shrine complex. On the other hand, another answer could be "no" because every twenty years all the materials are dismantled, and a new wooden structure is being built in the adjacent area. Both answers are adequate, but we also need to bear in mind the complexity of cultural practices, which involve not just practical knowledge and know-how, but also the practices of the Shinto belief and its traditions.

This brings us back to the logic of actualization. Every twenty years the protection of cultural property is staged and acted out in the form of the *shikinen sengū matsuri*. This festival reflects that authenticity and time can be relativized, in a way that a paradox is created. This paradox makes it difficult for western professionals to accept and understand the Japanese way of historical building protection. It could be understood as a difference in historical continuity. While the western idea of continuity tends to follow a linear chronology, in contrast, the eastern understanding could be likened to a cyclical, recurring philosophical approach. This appears in the practice of *shikinen sengū*.

The Nara Document on Authenticity was the first of numerous attempts to change the long-held approaches of the World Heritage Convention and the Venice Charter.

From the Venice Charter to the Nara Document on Authenticity

The history of authenticity in the UNESCO normative documents starts in 1978, when the World Heritage Committee developed precise criteria for the first time on the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List. This was entitled the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. This document is constantly revised by the Committee to reflect new concepts and knowledge. The first ever Operational Guidelines were formulated in 1978, and contained a short paragraph mentioning authenticity. Even though the World Heritage Convention had been made in 1972, this document does not even mention authenticity as a desirable or necessary value or a category when designating cultural heritage or natural heritage sites.[26] The obvious lack of interest

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[25] Dominic McIver Lopes, "Shikinen Sengu and the Ontology of Architecture in Japan", *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Vol. 65, No. 1 (2007), pp. 77–84, p. 81.

[26] UNESCO, "Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage" 1972.

in the notion of authenticity is possibly due to the fact that because the participants of the conference managing the Convention came from the same socio-cultural environment, there was no need to discuss it. Authenticity had the same meaning for all the professionals.[27] The first time documents devote serious attention to authenticity as an aspect to consider is in the first ever Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention of UNESCO. Its Paragraph 9 deals with the notion of authenticity, declaring that "the property should meet the test of authenticity in design, materials, workmanship and setting."[28] This is a direct implementation of the spirit of the Venice Charter.

This specific idea of authenticity is the direct influence of the Venice Charter, a 1964 document that establishes the basic idea of architectural restoration and conservation in the case of historic monuments.[29] This had to serve the international framework for historical conservation and protection. Even though this charter deals with the notion of authenticity, it does not provide a clear definition of the terms. Article 9 of the Charter only summarizes the main idea of architectural restoration. "*Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents.*"

The principles of the Venice Charter show us that ideal preservation work is like an item exhibited in the museums. In this sense, there is not much difference between the work of an archivist who looks after documents in the archives, and the architect who preserves and protects historical monuments and buildings. In this sense, these conservation practices follow dot-like protection. The monuments are torn out of their natural and organic environment in order to be frozen in one specific moment of time to be able pass it down to the next generations. The ever-expanding buffer zone around historical sites provides a more complex and inclusive way of protecting monuments, therefore, the outdated model of dot-like protection is being replaced with an area based protection system, which includes not just the monument itself but its environment and the stakeholders as well.

These arguments help us to understand Toyo's thoughts cited at the beginning of this paper. He was using the museum metaphor for western architecture

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[27] Herb Stovel, "Origins and Influence of the Nara Document on Authenticity*", APT Bulletin: The Journal of Preservation Technology*, Vol. 39, No. 2/3 (2008), pp. 9–17, p. 12.

[28] UNESCO, "The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention" 1977.

[29] ICOMOS, "The Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites" 1964.

because, in the spirit of the Venice Charter, it fixes structures in a given time and space. In contrast, the Japanese idea is much more fluid, and the focus is on actualization, as tradition, heritage and authenticity are only visible when they are staged. This different approach of fluid understanding refers to the cyclical and recurring historical philosophy, where change is embedded in the past. These changes are hiding the new behind the façade of the old. For instance, the Meiji Restoration/Renewal/Revolution are all attempts at translating the Meiji Ishin 明治維新, which was a chain of events that restored the imperial rule to Japan, but not in the same way as it was before 1868.

The main outcome of the Nara conference is that they reached the point where the idea of authenticity shifted and recognized the intangible aspects of historical building protection, namely spirit and feeling.[30] With these notions, a new age of authenticity was launched, because intangible aspects were accounted for.

It is not surprising that the Ise Shrine complex was used as the prototype and symbolic representation of Japanese practices. In the case of the *shikinen sengū,* the intangible elements provide authenticity of the shrine complex. Since this practice is authentic, hence the result is also an authentic way of historical building preservation and protection. This realization made the Nara Document on Authenticity possible. It is worth noting that even though the Nara Conference was inclusive and innovative, it was unable to propose a definition for authenticity. The main result nonetheless is the relativization of the concept of authenticity. The conference and the resulting document opened the way for further discussions on the definition and understanding of what it means to be authentic.[31]

Cultural heritage as a tool for reconciliation

Cultural heritage is much more than just a research topic or a new buzzword in the human and social sciences. Cultural heritage could be a tool for reconciliation, a tool that could help us connect to our history and to connect with the history of mankind in order to build peace in people's minds. In this international cultural discussion, all the stakeholders are working for the same goal: to express the diversity and unity of humanity through the lens of world heritage. As the focus of the cultural heritage shifted from monuments and sites to the practices and intangible ways of expressions, this shows the need for a more inclusive and culturally diverse understanding.

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[30] ICOMOS, "The Nara Document on Authenticity", 1994.

[31] Sand 2015, pp. 151–152.

In this paper, I have tried to shed light on the Japanese influence that modi-fied and expanded UNESCO's main idea of monument protection in the 1990s. I have analysed two main normative documents focusing on monu-ment protection and restoration. The first document is the Venice Charter, which has been the most influential and most remarkable document since 1964 on historical building restoration and conservation. This Charter has its own issues, as I explained previously, but it definitely has unquestion-able significance. The second document is the 1994 Nara Document, which extends and expands the framework of tangible monument protection, with introducing new ideas in the architectural conservation world defined by the Venice Charter. At the Nara Conference, where the Document was discussed, an archetypical example emerged, namely the Ise Shrine, which is a symbolic representation of the Japanese protection system.

After the turn of the century, the old definition of cultural heritage became outdated with a more inclusive definition needed. This led to the formulation of new standard-setting documents, such as the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003, or the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions in 2005, and also the Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, including a glossary of definitions in 2011. These conventions and recommendation are just a few of the many normative documents that have been created in answer to this need for change.

To conclude, I would like to quote Matsuura Kōichirō's introductory words from a brochure in 2003.

> Culture no longer solely inhabits the proud temples that European civilization had raised to it: theatres, operas, museums and libraries. Throughout the world, it has moved into cities and countryside, descending into the streets, pervading the forests and fields, endorsing traditions, customs and know-how, encompassing oral tradition as well as the written word in expression of the memory and of creativity drawing together the functional object and the work of art, and relativizing the distances that used to lie between actual experience and creation.[32]

His thoughts are a clear example of the changing definition and concept of cultural heritage that I have also highlighted. As Matsuura stated, from the "proud temples that European civilization had raised", the emphasis moved on to the more diverse and inclusive ways of expression and traditions, to the

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[32] UNESCO, "Cultures: Diversity and Alliance", *UNESDOC Digital Library*, 2003.

"streets", to the mundane. This transition shows us that cultural heritage has become a truly universal notion for humankind's outstanding of common memories and practices. Also, with this quote my purpose is to place this paper into a framework, evoking Toyo Ito in the beginning.

Matsuura and Toyo Ito come from different backgrounds and circumstances, even though their ideas are surprisingly similar. Both professionals refer to the museum as the quintessence of the former, outdated (Western) practices in comparison with the fleeting sensation of the theatre or street life. These metaphors have enabled me to write this paper and conduct research in the quest for authenticity.

Did we reach the end of the Western authenticity? It is certain that the meaning of authenticity has changed – from an exclusive meaning which covered western ideas of monument protection it has shifted to a more inclusive thinking about cultural authenticity. In a way western authenticity has not ended; it has just evolved to a universal understanding, which in addition to protecting tangible monuments, also includes the intangible ways of managing and maintaining historical monuments and cultural heritage sites.

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Zsuzsanna Czikkely

The Twinning of the Towns of Szolnok and Yuzamachi

Introduction

In this paper I will examine the benefits of the twinning of the towns of Szolnok and Yuzamachi 遊佐町. Furthermore, I will analyse the element that enhances this relationship and makes it stable. This is a new approach in Japanese research, because Hungarian-Japanese affairs have been relatively little studied from this perspective. The study covers the beginning of the relationship and the major events of it. It explains not only how the relationship was established, but also how it has now been maintained for more than 35 years. Most of the data in the paper come from primary sources.

Definition of the twinning relationship

First, the definition of twinning is based on the book *Testvértelepülési kapcsolatok a gyakorlatban*.[1]

One of the most common forms of international relations in recent years has been twinning. It is comparatively personal, since it is the result of the citizens' initiative, although the official relationship is established by the municipalities. In practice, twinning and municipal relations in which residents, NGOs and other enterprises are actively involved flourish. They go beyond exchanges, as they help people from different cultures to live together and make each other's culture and attitude more accessible. Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County was able to start building its external relations even more widely after the change of regime. In 1993, the first sister–county agreements were established, in 2004 it had a fraternal relationship with 11 countries, including more than 50 towns.

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[1]   István Bali – Ildikó Ürmössy (eds.), *Testvértelepülési kapcsolatok a gyakorlatban [Town twinning in practice],* Jász–Nagykun–Szolnok Megyei Önkormányzati Hivatal Európai Integrációs Iroda, Szolnok, 2004.

Originally, the initiative of town-twinning was intended to maintain peace after World War II in Europe. An example of this is the first French - German twin-town relationship, which was established on May 31, 1950. In 1988 the European Parliament also pointed out the drawbacks, which make it difficult to maintain relationships, such as long distances, linguistic barriers or the small size of the settlement. When towns are choosing partners, the most important question is what goal they want to achieve and what they expect from this connection. Therefore, through the description of the two cities, I will analyse the extent to which this relationship meets the requirements of a successful twinning.

Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county is located in the Eastern part of Hungary, in the middle of the Great Plain, and is divided into two main parts: Jászság and Nagykunság. The center of the county is Szolnok, located at the confluence of the Zagyva and the Tisza rivers. The population was estimated to be 69,725 on 1 January 2021.[2] Szolnok is one of the largest rural rail junctions and lies on the M4 motorway. Prior to the change of regime, the machine industry, the mill industry and the sugar industry were the pulling sectors and significant agricultural machinery plants were established in the town. After World War II, a paper mill and chemical plants appeared. As a result of the growing industry, the city's economy flourished.[3] However, after the end of Socialism in Hungary, most of these facilities were closed down. Today, the industrial park plays a major role in the city's economy.[4] Szolnok received its name from Zounok, who was a count in the age of King Stephen I of Hungary, so the city has a 1000-year long history.[5] The regulation of the Tisza and the use of steamboats started in 1845–1846. A year later the Pest-Szolnok railway line was opened. In 1876 Szolnok received county-town status.[6] The Szolnok Artist Colony has been operating since 1902, and has played an important role ever since that year, as has the Gallery. The theater was built in 1912 and in the 1990s it was renovated and renamed Szigliget Theater.[7]

It is important to mention the Tisza Dance Ensemble, which was founded in 1946, and gained popularity and recognition both at home and abroad.[8]

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[2] "Szolnok népessége" [Population of Szolnok]. https://hu.wikipedia.org/wiki/Szolnok

[3] Dr. István Vadász – Dr. Rozália T. Veszteg, *Jász–Nagykun–Szolnok megye – Szolnok és térsége [Jász–Nagykun–Szolnok County – Szolnok and its Region].* CEBA, Budapest, 1999, pp. 14, 18.

[4] http://info.szolnok.hu/alap.php?mid=2&aktid=370 (21 May 2016)

[5] Dr. Vadász – Dr. T. Veszteg 1999, p. 15.

[6] http://info.szolnok.hu/alap.php?mid=2&aktid=40 (21 May 2016.)

[7] Dr. Vadász – Dr. T. Veszteg 1999, p. 24.

[8] "Együttesünkről" [About us]. http://www.tiszatanc.hu/

The Szolnok Symphony Orchestra also entertain audiences with world-class performances. There are several secondary vocational and grammar schools from which students can choose. The most notable ones are the Katalin Varga and the Ferenc Verseghy Grammar Schools. The former Trade and Economics College became the College of Szolnok in 1999, where students can study commerce and economics.[9] Today, however, it is part of the University of Debrecen.[10] Szolnok signed friendship agreements with 12 cities between 1969 and 2009.

The city of Yuza is located in the north of Japan, in the Tōhoku region 東北地方 in Yamagata County 山形県. It lies in the Plain, on the northern part of the Japanese coastline. The Gakkō River 月光川 and the approximately 4-km-long Ushiwatari 牛渡川 river run through the city. The city is also proud of the mountain of Chōkai 鳥海山. On April 1, 1889, the village of Yuza was created by merging several villages in the area. On April 1, 1941, the village was raised to town status, and it expanded its territory to include other villages in August 1954. In 2004 the city retained its independence by voting to reject agglomeration with the city of Sakata 酒田市. Agriculture flourishes and is the key sector in the area, which is rich in seafood and vegetables. Consequently, the core pillars of its economy are agriculture and fishing; however, units of large electronics corporations are also present in the region. There are six primary schools in the city, but there is only one high school and there is no higher education institution.[11] At the end of September 2021, the city had a population of 13,130 people.[12]

The two towns are nearly identical in area, but Szolnok has several public institutions and a larger population. Their geographical similarity is that both cities abound in water, but differences can be found in their topography. With regard to traffic, both towns are easily accessible. They are equally characterized by the mixture of industrial and agricultural sectors. In my opinion, the only major difference between Yuza and Szolnok can be found at public institution level, so they meet the most important criteria. This relationship was not developed because they were deliberately seeking a sister city. They came into contact first and had been maintaining the relationship for years. Thanks to this, they reached the officially designated partnership. In the next

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9   Dr. Vadász – Dr. T. Veszteg 1999, p. 25, 49.

10   Eduline, https://eduline.hu/felsooktatas/ (02 March 2021.)

11   町長あいさつ [Greetings from the mayor]. http://www.town.yuza.yamagata.jp/

12   遊佐町 [Yuzamachi]. http://www.town.yuza.yamagata.jp/

section I will describe the history of this relationship and the details of the main areas of cooperation.

The history of the relationship between Szolnok and Yuza

"Az akkori rendszer a legitimitását akarta bizonyítani a világnak. Ennek köszönhetően a népművelők, az amatőr művészeti csoportok ápoltak nemzetközi kapcsolatokat."[13]

[The system at the time wanted to prove its legitimacy to the world. As a result, folk educators and amateur art groups maintained international relations.]

The beginning

Japan's youth organization aimed to invite a foreign art group in 1982. It received considerable support from the chairman of the organization and from Kiichirō Onodera 小野寺喜一郎, the future mayor of the city. The next year, on the occasion of the year of international communication, the President of the National Association of Youth Organizations sent an invitation to Hungary because they wanted to get acquainted with a Hungarian youth group. Thanks to this opportunity, the Tisza Dance Ensemble could perform for the first time in Japan.[14] The number of originally planned performances was doubled. The Japanese hosts were interested in the unknown Hungarian folk dance, folk music, folk costumes and the unusual temperament. Accommodating Hungarians in the houses of Japanese families was a lifelong experience for both parties and they established long and meaningful friendships.[15] A delegate said in an interview that they had heard about Hungary on the radio and on television from time to time and there was even a series about Hungary. However, they thought that they could get to know Hungary even better by personal experience.[16] After that visit, until 1987, a delegation from Yuza travelled to Szolnok every year. They stayed with members of Tisza Dance Ensemble at

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[13] *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 25 Feb. 2003, p. 6.

[14] S. Cs. J. "Találkozott a magyar–japán gazdaság – Régióközi együttműködés" [Meeting of the economy of Hungary and Japan –Interregional cooperation] 29 Oct. 2007. http://www.tiaramagazin.hu/

[15] Attila Horváth, "Közönségsikert aratott a magyar néptánc" [The Hungarian folk dance was an audience success], *Szolnok Megyei Néplap* 11 Nov. 1983, p. 4.

[16] Erzsébet Török, "Inkább egyszer láss valamit, mint százszor hallj róla" [You'd rather see something once than hear about it a hundred times], *Szolnok Megyei Néplap* 08 Jan. 1985, p. 5. In this article I found an inaccuracy: the author mixed up the name of the town and the name of the county.

their friends. The program included a visit to the cultural centres of Szolnok, the theater, the museum and the artist colony; it included dancing, and spending New Year's Eve together and going to Budapest on excursions. However, for the Japanese, being hosted by Hungarian families was the best experience, just as it had been for the Hungarians in Japan.[17]

In 1987, the Dance Ensemble was invited again, not only to Yuza, but also to the new settlements of Yamagata and to Yokohama 横浜. The greatest difficulty for folk dancers was the different climate, as the humidity in Japan is very high.[18] This series of performance attracted groups to Hungary not only from Yuza, but also from the surrounding towns. Thanks to the increasingly organized relationship, the Japanese-Hungarian Friendship Organization was formed in 1991 by the Yuza City Organization and Yamagata County Organization, the chair of which was Kiichirō Onodera, Yuza's elected mayor.[19] In addition, the Tisza Friendship Company was formed in Yokohama. The number of families, groups and institutions involved in the organization of programs increased in Szolnok. The majority of the programs and the journey were funded by citizens.[20] A delegation of 17 members went to Yuza and to Sagae 寒河江市 in 1999. Hungarian guests could participate in the work of an organization, they picked the cherries that were grown in greenhouses, then delivered the fruits to the packaging plant, where they sorted them and put the most beautiful ones into boxes with the help of sticks. They even paraded at the Cherry Festival. Japanese guests also took part in the Gulyas Festival, which has been organized in Szolnok in September every year since 1998. It can be seen how intense the relationship was, in the '80 and '90s. Both parties went to the other's country and it was not only the citizens of Yuza who were interested in Szolnok and Hungary, but also the citizens of settlements surrounding Yuza.

Artistic, cultural relations

In 1989, the Tisza Dance Ensemble received another invitation. During the tour they performed at the 100th anniversary celebrations of the city of Yokohama and the 130th anniversary of the port opening. In the meanwhile, apart from

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[17] Mihály Kovács, Kovács Mihály kézzel írt összefoglalója [Hand-written documents of Mihály Kovács], Jan. 2018, p. 1.

[18] Judit Bálint, "A magyar népi kultúra követei voltak" [They were ambassadors of Hungarian folk culture], *Szolnok Megyei Néplap* 26 Sept. 1987, p. 10.

[19] 山形県支部設立 20 周年記念 [20th anniversary of the establishment of the Yamagata], *Barátság* 31 March 2011, No. 143. p. 4.

[20] Kovács, Jan. 2018, pp. 1–2.

Yuza, they negotiated about possible co-operation with the city of Sakata. The costs were covered by the inviting party, that is, the Tisza Friendship Company.[21] From March 17 to April 14, 1990, the first cultural Japanese Days were held in Szolnok, within the framework of which the inaugural meeting of the Szolnok branch of the Hungarian-Japanese Friendship Company was held.[22] The management of the company was taken over by Mihály Kovács, Jenő Vajda, István Koleszár and Gábor Takács.[23] From 1996, several Japanese art ensembles performed in Szolnok, such as the Yuza Fukura Dengaku Tradition Folk Band 吹浦田楽 and the Chōkai Drum Band 鳥海太鼓.[24] One of the dancers of the latter had read about Hungary before visiting the country, and heard things about Hungary from other people. However, during his stay, he found that in reality Hungary is much more beautiful and the people are kinder than he expected. Upon visiting the school, he was surprised by how energetic the Hungarian students were compared to the discipline that the Japanese education system requires.[25] In the meanwhile, artists from Szolnok also went to Japan. Starting from the 1990s, the Szolnok Local Government became increasingly interested in this relationship, which had existed for several years by that time, and was cultural and civil in nature.[26] Until the early 2000s, the most significant result was the mutual introduction of art groups.

In 2000, the Tisza Dance Ensemble represented Hungary again in Japan at the Millennium Hungarian Festival, where it was present as the only amateur band.[27] In the newspaper Jászkun Krónika of 16 August, it could be read that all the tickets for the performance from Tokyo were already sold out.[28] From 2004 Aki Fujī 藤井亜紀 was a permanent guest performer, who has been active since 2008 as the Szolnok Symphony Orchestra Premier's soloist.[29] In January

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[21] Imre Berki, "Tánccal szerzett barátság" [A friendship made through dance], *Szolnok Megyei Néplap* 10 July 1989, p. 5.

[22] "Japán kulturális napok Szolnokon" [Japanese Culture Days in Szolnok], *Szolnok Megyei Néplap* 11 March 1990, p. 5.

[23] tg, "A japán kultúra közvetítői" [Mediators of Japanese culture], *Szolnok Megyei Néplap* 02 April 1990. p. 5.

[24] "Japánok Szolnokon" [Japanese people in Szolnok], *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 19 Dec. 1995, p. 8, *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 08 Jan. 1996, p. 1.

[25] "Miután elhalkultak a dobok" [After the drums faded away], *Jászkun Krónika* 08 Jan. 1996, p. 3.

[26] Kovács, Jan. 2018, p. 2.

[27] "Szolnok város története" [The history of Szolnok], http://www.szolfix.hu/c/wiki/, p. 40.

[28] András Bistey, "A tokiói jegyek elkeltek" [Tickets for Tokyo are sold out], *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 16 Aug. 2000, p. 1, 3.

[29] Kovács, Feb. 2018, p. 1.

2006, the Sakata Philharmonic Orchestra gave a joint concert with the Szolnok Symphony Orchestra. In March, the band held four performances in Japan over two weeks, which ended with the Tokyo concert.[30]

Masahiro Izaki 井崎正浩 first performed before Hungarian audiences in 1995 on the Hungarian Television. At that time he became well known by winning the VIII. International Conductor Competition. In 2008, he became the head of the Szolnok Symphony Orchestra. In 2010, he received the title of Szolnok's Chief Director of Music. He invites world-famous Japanese soloists and guest performers to Szolnok almost every year.[31] In 2012, Tetsuo Itō 伊藤哲雄, the Japanese Ambassador, attended a concert by the Szolnok Symphony Orchestra with his wife. Mihály Pataki greeted Tetsuo Itō in the name of the Jászkun Japanese-Hungarian Friendship Company. The Ambassador was in Szolnok because of the relationship between Szolnok and Yuza, as well as the paprika-growing link between the two cities.[32] In the field of art, there was a rich exchange regarding music. The Japanese are very sensitive to the arts, especially to classical music. They are one of the most welcoming audiences towards classical music in the world. In addition, they conduct research into the Kodály method. Thanks to this connection, Szolnok and the settlements around Szolnok also became acquainted with the traditional arts of Japan.

On October 12, 1990, an exhibition by the photographer Ryuichi Tazaki 田崎龍一 opened at the County Culture and Youth Center under the title „*A hegyek és tengerek országa: Japán [The Land of Mountains and Seas].*" The supporters included the Yokohama Tisza Friendship Company, the vice president of which was the photographer.[33] Thanks to this visit, his son Katsuya Tazaki 田崎克哉, was offered hospitality for a year from April, 1992 in Szolnok by Mihály Kovács, with whom he had been in touch for 6 years. At first Katsuya Tazaki found it strange that not everyone had a phone or a car in Hungary, but he quickly became accustomed to life here. One of the young people of the Tisza Dance Ensemble, László Sipos,

[30] BJ. "Japánba ment zenészeink" [Our musicians went to Japan], *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 08 March 2006, p. 3.

[31] Takahiro Hoshino 干野宜大 pianist (2009), Nobuo Furukawa 古川展生 cellist (2010), Nō Theater Company of Fukuoka 福岡市能楽 (2011), Masato Kumoi 雅人雲井 szaxophonist (2012), Kyoko Okuda 奥田恭子 harpist (2014), Rieko Suzuki 鈴木理恵子 violinist and Akira Wakabayashi 若林顕 pianist (2016). Kovács Feb. 2018, p. 1.

[32] "Szolnokra látogatott a japán nagykövet" [The Japanese ambassador visited Szolnok], 07 May 2012. http://info.szolnok.hu/hirek–m21/szolnokra–latogatott–a–japan–nagykovet–n2259

[33] *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 13 Oct. 1990, p. 1.

acted as his interpreter.[34] Katsuya Tazaki learned Hungarian in a language school too, not just in Szolnok. He studied in a school in Budapest for half a year and then took part in one of the two-week intensive courses offered by the Debrecen Summer University. In one interview he said:

> Nagyon megszerettem Magyarországot, főleg az embereket, akik nagyon közvetlenek, barátságosak. A japánok sokkal távolságtartóbbak. Sokat járok Magyarországra, évente kétszer–háromszor is ellátogatok.[35]
> *[I really loved Hungary, especially Hungarian people, who are very direct and friendly. The Japanese people are much more distant. I visit Hungary a lot, two or three times a year.]*

His father helped several Japanese and Hungarian photographers to organize exhibitions so that the two nations could gain insight into each other's cultures.[36] In the 1990s, for example, *kimono* 着物, *bonsai* 盆栽, *origami* 折り紙, *ikebana* 生け花 and tea ceremonies were presented. Apart from these, thanks to the growing number of Japanese keepsakes owned by the Friendship Company, Szolnok organized Japanese exhibitions in several cities.[37] A more complex event was the "Japanese Days", which were held every year with the assistance of the Urban Cultural Center, from 1990 to 1993. The event included a Japanese dinner in the Pelican Hotel.[38] The Tazaki family was also enchanted by Hungary. For this reason, they spoke well about Hungary during photo exhibitions in several parts of Japan. It can also be said that photographers did not maintain a one-sided relationship, as Hungarian photographers also organised exhibitions in Japan. This is the key to a good relationship: the constant contribution to it by both parties.

Jászkun-Japan's Friendship Association also tried to provide assistance and support for people who did sports like karate and sumo. For example, *Shihan* 師範 Kálmán Furkó, one of the greatest followers of *kyokushin* 極真 karate, was helped by a Hungarian-speaking member of the Hungarian Tisza Friendship

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[34] Zoltán Szurmay, "Kacuja a jokohamai vendég" [Katsuya is the guest from Yokohama], *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 17 Oct. 1992, p. 4.

[35] Hajnal Tóth, "Városok, emberek, kultúrák japán szemszögből" [Cities, people, cultures from a Japanese perspective], Oct. 2014. http://epa.oszk.hu/00100/00181/00103/EPA00181_varad_2014_10_1315.htm

[36] T. G. "Magyarország japán szemmel" [Hungary from a Japanese perspective], *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 28 April 1992, p. 5.

[37] For example Abony, Budapest (Fonó, Stefánia Palace), Jászberény, Jászladány, Kalocsa, Karcag, Mezőberény, Mezőtúr, Miskolc, Püspökladány, Sopron and Zalaegerszeg.

[38] Kovács, Jan. 2018, p. 5.

Company. In 2004, the Sumo Europe Championship was held in Szolnok. In 2009, an exhibition was organized in the Mechanical Engineering Vocational Secondary School of relics of sumo.[39] In 2010, the Kyokushin Karate National Championships were held in Szolnok. In 2017, Shihan Kálmán Furkó received the eight-dan 段 rank which is held by only three other people in the world.[40] Szolnok plays a prominent role in domestic sumo wrestling and in terms of talented competitors.

Educational connections

In 1992, the primary school located in Imre Nagy boulevard and Tallinn Primary School took the first steps towards similar Japanese institutions, and the Katalin Varga Gymnasium received an introductory letter from the Yokohama school.[41] In 1995, a delegation of 17 people from King Matthias Primary School of Art and Katalin Varga Gymnasium went to Japan.[42] A delegation of 18 people from Szolnok and Nagykörű went to Japan in 1999.[43] The two above mentioned schools had hosted Japanese guests from the beginning, and they also hosted the first group of teachers and students from Yuza who have visited Szolnok every year since 1994.[44] The Tiszaparti High School joined the hospitality in 1999 and occasionally other educational institutions have also hosted Japanese guests.[45]

Between 20 and 29 March, 2006 the Japanese delegation visited Hungary and Austria and wrote a report on their activities during their journey. These documents are accessible to the public in the local library. The delegation was responsible for presenting Japanese culture, for example, through origami, calligraphy or yukata, and it proved to be a large-scale cultural exchange program.[46] Between 2007 and 2010, there was a Japanese language course with

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[39] Kovács, Jan. 2018, p. 7.

[40] Kovács, Feb. 2018, p. 4.

[41] Zoltán Szurmay, "Japán és szolnoki kapcsolatok" [Relations between Japan and Szolnok], *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 28 Nov. 1992, p. 4.

[42] József V. Szász, "Tiszán és tájfunon túl" [Beyond the Tisza and typhoon], *Jászkun Krónika* 26 Sept. 1995, p. 9.

[43] Kovács, Jan. 2018, p. 6.

[44] "Japán diákok Szolnokon" [Japanese students in Szolnok], *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 25 March 1994, p. 2.

[45] András Bistey, "Egy barátság újabb állomása" [Another stage of a friendship], *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 25 March 2005, p. 3.

[46] ハンガリー・ソルノク市派遣事業 [Hungarian Szolnok city Dispatch Project], 広報ゆざ May

a native teacher in the Tiszaparti Gymnasium thanks to the support of the Japanese Foundation.[47] Thanks to this, 17 of 47 students could travel to Yuza and Yokohama for language practice.[48]

In October 2017, they asked questions about the Hungarian school system, art education, folk dance and supplementary education during their visit to Sándor Kőrösi Csoma Primary School and Elementary School of Art.[49] In the same year, the holiday of girls (*hinamatsuri* 雛祭) was held in the Pitypang Kindergarten and then the boys' feast (*tango no sekku* 端午の節句). Mihály Kovács contributed to this by offering a 40-year-old doll collection to the kindergarten. It is a tradition in Japan to display dolls on this day in front of the houses where girls live.[50] In the field of education, it was mostly the Japanese who studied the Hungarian school system, including the special Kodály method which is used to educate students in Szolnok. Student groups visiting Szolnok can have the impression that they participate in a study trip. When they visit the schools of Szolnok, they can get an insight into how the lessons are held here, and into the behaviour and mentality of Hungarian children. In addition, they can step out of their comfort zone, so they return to Japan with a lot of experience. However, for Hungarian students the presence of Japanese people is a rarity especially in the countryside. Those who agree to host Japanese guests can also get an insight into Japanese culture and behaviour.

Economic relations

The first economic event was organized in 1991, the Symposium of *A japán stílusú management alkalmazási tapasztalatai [Experiences of the Application of Japanese-style Management],* as part of the programs of Japanese Days in Szolnok. The chief patron and ceremony opener of the Symposium was the Japanese ambassador, Eiji Seki 関榮次.[51]

2006, No. 543, p. 6.

[47] "Japán nyelvleckék" [Japanese language lessons], *Szolnok Megyei Grátisz* 11 March 2010.

[48] Kovács, Jan. 2018, p. 6.

[49] "Yuzai delegáció a Kőrösiben" [Yuzai delegation in the Sándor Kőrösi Csoma Primary School and Elementary School of Art], 27 Oct. 2017. http://www.korosisuli.hu/yuzai–delegacio–a–korosiben/

[50] "Japán babagyűjteményt kaptak ajándékba" [They received a collection of Japanese dolls as gifts], *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 17 March 2017, p. 1.

[51] For instance Mitutoyo ミツトヨ, Panasonic, Mitsubishi 三菱 and the Brother. "Felkelőben a japán napok" [Japanese days are rising], *Szolnok Megyei Néplap* 20 March 1991, p. 2.

In 2008, in Sakata, the Szolnok Local Government was introduced in the Economic Forum and Exhibition. The delegation was led by the Sára Hegmanné Nemes, deputy major. At the exhibition, the values and investment possibilities of Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County and Szolnok were presented to visitors, with regard to the benefits of the Industrial Park. The Szolnok delegation negotiated with several leaders of Yamagata County and agreed to extend cultural and educational relations to the areas of the economy and higher education. For this reason, in 2009 a small delegation arrived at Szolnok, representing the Yamagata County General Assembly to discuss opportunities and exchange professional experience.[52] Agriculture plays a prominent part in economic relations on Yuza's side, as many types of paprika have been taken there. Yoshiaki Takahashi 高橋良彰 visited Hungary for the first time in 1990 and became aware of the existence of paprika. The local cuisine aroused his interest. He took several species of paprika home with him and started cultivating them in a greenhouse in 1996. As a result, people in Sakata also tried to cultivate paprika. However, they were not familiar with the appropriate methods, so Takahashi continued alone. In 2002, the paprika production initiative grew greatly. They began to cultivate throughout the area in 2003. The quantity of Japanese paprika exported is approx. 3,789 tons. The quantity imported is 33,771 tons, so about 90% of the paprika consumed in Japan is imported.[53] In order to cultivate high quality paprika they went on study trips to the Netherlands and Hungary. Takahashi arrived in Szolnok in January 2007 with another agricultural expert, Hayato Satō 佐藤勇人 to investigate paprika rating and cultivation.[54] Thanks to their efforts, 30 tons of paprika had been produced by 2010. At this time, an International Paprika Forum was held in Yuza.[55] The idea of this project had already come up during the visit in 2000. At first, seeds of paprika from Szolnok were cultivated by producers in Yuza, but thanks to the former three visits of delegations, they had gained professional experience. They mainly studied organic production and the processing and gastronomy of Hungarian dishes made with paprika.[56] A few years later,

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[52] "Közös programok Szolnok várossal" [Joint programs with Szolnok], 27 Oct. 2008. http://www.jnszm.hu/?f=1&p=10&n=836

[53] 遊佐パプリカ物語 [History of paprika of Yuza], ゆざのみ Oct. 2014, No. 005. pp. 2–5.

[54] "A japánok élénken érdeklődtek a paprika iránt" [The Japanese were keenly interested in paprika], *Szolnok Megyei Grátisz* 02 Jan. 2007.

[55] 遊佐町のパプリカ [Paprika of Yuzamachi], http://www.town.yuza.yamagata.jp/ (09 March 2018)

[56] "Japánban terem a magyar paprika" [Hungarian paprika is grown in Japan], *Magyar Mezőgazdaság* Vol. 65. No. 8. (2010), p. 6.

paprika production in Yuza had already reached third place in the Yamagata region.[57] In 2014, the Jászkun-Japanese Friendship Association sent a recommendation to the First Hungarian White Table Knights for the honorary title of knight to be conferred on Yoshiaki Takahashi, in recognition of his promotion of Hungarian gastronomy.[58] The head of the delegation arrived in Szolnok in March 2014 with a colleague from the Health and Welfare Office of Yuza City Government. He said that a great benefit of the cooperation with Szolnok was that the Yuza area had become a centre of paprika cultivation in Japan.[59] In the economic field, concrete movements and investments have not really happened yet. Only paprika production can be highlighted because it brought great economic progress and profit to Yuza, but Szolnok has not yet benefited economically from this relationship.

Municipal contacts

In 1999, András Tóth, a senior staff member of the Mayor's Office, held negotiations during the visit of the Yuza delegation to improve the relationship between the two cities. They planned to sign the friendship agreement in Szolnok.[60] In 2000, Ferenc Szalay reciprocated the visit and signed the document on 4th November in Yuza.[61] In 2003, Mayor Lajosné Botka officially requested a twinning agreement between Szolnok and Yuza.[62] In the Szolnok County Assembly on 29 January, 2004 the request was submitted, and on 26 March 2004, the agreement was signed in Szolnok and then in Yuza on August 1.[63] Within the framework of the ceremony, the Szolnok Kodály Chorus, with 35 members, gave a performance in Japan. The program included the planting of a memorial tree in Szolnok, and a chestnut tree was planted in Yuza.[64] At the time of the visit of the 2018 delegation, the Hungarian party tried to highlight the thermal tourism opportunities offered by the county, and

[57] "Harminc év japánul, magyarul" [Thirty years in Japanese and Hungarian], 07 Jan. 2013. http://info.szolnok.hu/hirek–m21/harminc–ev–japanul–magyarul–n3448

[58] Kovács, Feb. 2018, p. 4.

[59] "Japán diákok látogattak a megyeházára" [Japanese students visited the county hall of Szolnok], 20 March 2014. http://www.jnszm.hu/?f=1&p=10&n=1983

[60] András Bistey, "Magasabb szintű japán kapcsolat" [Higher level Japanese relationship], *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 08 July 1999, p. 3.

[61] Kovács, Jan. 2018, p. 9.

[62] "Vendégek Juzából" [Guests from Yuza], *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 27 March 2003, p. 1.

[63] Kovács, Jan. 2018, p. 9.

[64] András Bistey, "Lendületben a japán kapcsolat" [The Japanese relationship is gaining momentum], *Szolnok Megyei Új Néplap* 14 Aug. 2004, p. 4.

Kiichirō Onodera reacted to this by saying that Yuza is also rich in thermal water so this can lead to cooperation between the two regions in the field of tourism.[65] The work that Onodera has done for the relationship between the two cities was rewarded by the mayor with a gold "For Szolnok" medallion. The Mayor of Szolnok received a marble memorial plaque.[66] The relationship was encouraged from the beginning by the municipality of Yuza; however, Szolnok needed a little more time to recognise this. The reason why Szolnok sent a smaller delegation to Japan is probably economic. A decline can be seen in the case of Yuza too, but not to such a great extent. This relationship is also considered significant by Tokyo's Hungarian and Budapest's Japanese Embassy, as this is the oldest ongoing relationship between Hungarians and Japanese that includes several areas.

Conclusion

The relationship between Yuzamachi and Szolnok, which I have analysed, is unique in every way, but is not unmatched today. Its specialty lies in the fact that town-twinning initiatives were first envisaged in Europe after World War II for the purpose of preserving peace. However, this relationship has reached over European borders and is present in Japan too. The other specialty is that they were not deliberately looking for a relationship with a twin town; the whole story started with the performance by the Tisza Dance Ensemble in Yuza. At that time, friendships were made, and they still provide the strength that maintains the relationship.

Looking at the fields which the relationship involves, it can be seen how complex and diverse this correlation is: it covers art, education, sports and economic areas. In the field of art, mostly music and dance can be highlighted. Masahiro Izaki has been the head of the Szolnok Symphony Orchestra since 2008, and in 2010 he received the title of Szolnok's Chief Music Director. Thanks to him, Japanese guest performers hold performances almost every year in Szolnok. Some teacher-student delegations have visited Szolnok to study the education system, especially the Kodály method. They have visited Szolnok virtually every year since 1994, except for 2010 and the years of the COVID-19 pandemic. It was mainly Yuza who profited economically from this relationship. In 2017, the paprika project initiated by Yoshiaki Takahashi

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[65] "Japán vendégek a szolnoki megyeházán" [Japanese guests at the county hall of Szolnok], 30 Oct. 2017. http://moosz.com/hirek/japan–vendegek–a–szolnoki–megyehazan

[66] "Évtizedeken ível át Yuza és Szolnok kapcsolata" [The relationship between Yuza and Szolnok spans decades], 27 Oct. 2017. http://info.szolnok.hu/hirek–m21/

ended: Yamagata County has become a major paprika-generating region of Japan thanks to this project, with an annual revenue from paprika of about 100 million yen.

The Szolnok Local Government became interested in the relationship in the second half of the '90s. In 2000, the friendship agreement was signed in both cities, followed by the signing of a twinning agreement in 2004. On the occasion of the 35th anniversary in 2017 Kiichirō Onodera gave a marble plaque to the city of Szolnok. In the summer of 2018, for the same occasion, the mayor of Yuza visited Szolnok.

During the writing of the essay it has become clear that the official relations offered more opportunities for residents of the two countries. At the same time, each layer of the relationship is based on personal bonds, which are needed in order to ensure stable and long-lasting intercultural relationships.

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Abstracts

Zsuzsanna Czikkely

The Twinning of the Towns of Szolnok and Yuzamachi

Although Hungarian-Japanese relations are widely researched, twin-town relationships are relatively rarely analyzed. I believe that such links are, however, important elements in the development of international and interpersonal relations. Based on this hypothesis, I examined the twinning of Szolnok and Yuzamachi. I now introduce the cohesive elements and the history of this connection. In my research I used primary sources such as newspapers and the hand-written documents of one of the participants in this twin-town relationship, Mihály Kovács.

Éva Dóra Druhalóczki

Respect for Nature in Japan. The Philosophical and Religious Background of Hanami

Hanami 花見 (the practice of contemplating cherry trees in bloom) has been a custom for centuries in Japan. While it may just seem like a beautiful and reassuring tradition in the modern world, it is worth considering the origins of this tradition. The mixture of Mahāyāna Buddhism, more specifically Chan 禪 Buddhism – which arrived from China – with Japanese tradition, basically with that of *shintō* 神道, the internally originated religious tradition of Japan, has been able to develop a system of traditions that still defines Japanese mentality and culture. The goal of this paper is not only to introduce the history, practice and variations of Hanami, but to show the many forms of Japanese mentality compared to the European hypotheses about the meaning of religion. Hopefully, this will enable readers to form their own impression about the effect of Hanami.

András Edl

Space Program and Propaganda in the People's Republic of China

Propaganda has always been a reliable tool for the Chinese Communist Party to motivate and regulate the population. Highlighting different achievements

and putting them in a specific frame of interpretation helps to legitimize the Party's rule over the country. The Chinese space program was used from the outset as a basis and theme of propaganda. In recent years the PRC's government has improved the propaganda and censorship techniques that it employs. The methods are also used for promoting the country's development, and to further improve China's international reputation. Posters, news feeds, articles, digital tools and movies are all employed by a sophisticated propaganda network. Through this network, the undeniable achievements of the Chinese space program are presented at a time and in a manner suitable for the CCP. A significant part of the general population responded well to the space propaganda, and a further increase can be expected.

Teodóra Mária FORGÓ

Ferenc Molnár's Plays in the Performing Arts of Japan

The purpose of this paper is to introduce the Japanese stage adaptations of Ferenc Molnár's plays from the first decades of the 20th century up to today. Molnár is one of the first modern Hungarian writers whose works were introduced in Japan, and his plays have been performed by Japanese theatre companies on more than 60 occasions. By examining the performances from several perspectives – historical background, trends in translations, adaptations, theatre companies and venues – I aim to highlight the trends that characterized the reception of Molnár's works in the performing arts of Japan. Later, I discuss three significant stage adaptations of his play *Liliom* to find the reasons for this play's popularity in Japan.

Gediminas GIEDRAITIS

Categorization of Eighteen Kinds of Emptiness within Four Kinds of Emptiness in Jingying Huiyuan's 淨影慧遠 Essay on the System of Mahāyāna (Dasheng Yi Zhang 大乘義章)

This paper focuses on the idea of emptiness in the writings of Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠 (523–592), one the main representatives of the *Yogācāra* tradition in China In his *Essay on the System of Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng yi zhang* 大乘義章), in the chapter "Meaning of the Four Kinds of Emptiness Analyzed from Two Approaches" (*Sikong yi liangmen fenbie* 四空義兩門分別), he provides a detailed exposition and analysis of eighteen kinds of emptiness and four kinds of emptiness, the translation and analysis of which is the focus of this

paper. Huiyuan's exegesis on emptiness relies mainly on *Dazhidulun,* a famous work of *Madhyamaka* tradition, which is of significance as Huiyuan is seen as the leading figure of Chinese *Yogācāra.* Moreover, in his explanation he redefines an important native philosophical category of 'principle' (*li* 理) which is paired with a category of phenomena (*fa* 法). Thus, Huiyuan's writings shows the confluence of *Yogācāra*, *Madhyamaka*, and native Chinese philosophical traditions

Richárd GOTTNER

A Brief Introduction to the Development of Karate-terminology

When *karate* 空手 was recognized as an event for the 2020 Tōkyō Olympics a long-cherished dream came true – karate would become the second Japanese martial art, after *jūdō,* to be part of the Olympic Games. Olympic inclusion required a certain degree of standardisation, achieved by the World Karate Federation, which allied the four major schools of *karate* and created a standardised set of competition rules. However, many aspects of karate remain unstandardised, with the names of forms and techniques varying markedly, often even confusingly. In this paper, I give a short historical insight into how *karate-jutsu* 唐手術 ('Chinese-hand techniques') became *karate-dō* 空手道 ('the way of the Empty-hand') examining the earliest available written sources, to show how modern *karate*'s terminology has developed.

Rashad KHATTAB

Representations of the Griffin from the Earliest Times until the First Half of the First Millennium B.C. in the Ancient Near East. Reliefs from North Syria

This study focuses on research into the beginning of the representation of the Griffin as a mythical creature in the ancient Near East, in particular examples of reliefs from northern Syria during the first millennium BCE. The main problem which remains for scholars to solve (as far as this is possible) is that not a single story connected to the Griffin is known. Not one Mesopotamian myth refers to the Griffin and its role, nor does any Mesopotamian myth or other written source shed light on the origins of the creature. So we do not know the original idea behind the birth of the Griffin, and we do not know the original context of its invention and evolution. We can suppose, that – similarly to other, better known mixed creatures – the birth or creation of the Griffin can be connected

to the ancient mythological horizon of the *theomacheia* of the *Enūma eliš,* the Mesopotamian Myth of Creation, or some other early mythological tradition building a bridge between the world of Chaos and the created world of Order, the world of the human civilization of Mesopotamia.

Krisztina Nguyen

Analysis and Evaluation of Beginner Korean Language Textbooks from a Cultural Perspective

In Hungary, more and more students are seeking to acquire the Korean language through formal education with the primary goal of understanding Korean culture better. Culture is recognized as an inseparable part of foreign language learning, and to nurture successful intercultural communicators, appropriate cultural instruction is necessary. Recognizing the central role of textbooks, which also act as 'vessels' for cultural content, this research focuses on the cultural content and the representation of culture in beginner Korean language textbooks. This study analyses textbooks used in first-year university Korean language courses to assess the extent of potential culture learning. Through qualitative content analysis, the findings reveal that textbooks which offer less of the supplementary information necessary for the understanding of cultural implications leave students to decipher the implications by themselves, or they leave the task to the teacher. The results imply that careful assessment and selection of teaching materials would be necessary based on the course and teaching objectives, also bearing the needs and wishes of students in mind.

Dániel Pásztor

Ideological Changes in Royal Titulary of The Early Neo-Assyrian Period (934–883 BCE)

The use of different titles and epithets by the ancient Assyrian kings was a common practice throughout Assyrian history, which covered about one and a half millennia. These so-called "royal titularies", occurring mostly in the inscriptions of each king, constitute a significant source on the king's "mission" on Earth and therefore must be an integral part of research whenever state ideology is under discussion. Following different kinds of changes which took place during one or more rulers' life-time, we find that the invention new titles/epithets and/or the omission of old ones may reflect a shift of accent in the way the ruler's role was perceived by the Assyrian elite and the king himself.

The inscriptions composed by order of the royal court and containing the greatest amount of titles and epithets, convey the most vivid propagandistic messages about the different types of activities of a ruler. The titulary, appearing mostly at the beginning of a royal inscription, can therefore most clearly express the ideological position of a specific ruler in the Empire. My focus of interest is consequently the problem of ideological shift, not just as a time-specific- but also as a location-specific- and material-specific question in the period of the first three rulers of Neo-Assyrian period.

Ákos Ájbek Péri
The Persian Order of the Lion and Sun in Hungary

Between 1870 and 1918 over eight hundred people received the Persian Order of the Lion and Sun in Hungary. The recipients were from every walk of life, from archdukes and generals through officials of the State Administration or wealthy merchantmen to commoners like cooks, gardeners or hunters. The present paper is intended to explain how these people became bearers of the Persian order and to demonstrate what kind of impact the decoration had on the contemporary press.

Orsolya Sarac
The Legend of a Qalandar Chagatay Poet: Babaraḥīm Mashrab's *Manāqib-nāme*

The Central Asian Chagatay poet Babaraḥīm Mashrab (ca. 1640–1711) in his hagiographic work *Manāqib-nāme* commemorates not only his own poetry, but also the principles and credo of the antinomian Dervish community to which he belonged. Members of the Qalandarīyya order rebelled against rules and conventions of Islam that were part of their spiritual quest. In my paper, after a short description of Sufism in Central Asia, I have attempted to give a comprehensive view of the Qalandarīyya order placed in the field of Central Asian Sufism, and one of its representatives in Central Asia, Babaraḥīm Mashrab, using an unpublished manuscript from the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Using Mashrab's *Manāqib-nāme* as a starting point, I primarily discovered how the principles of the order appear in a Central Asian representative almost 500 years after the formation of the order.

Tamás Solymosi

The End of Western Authenticity?

My objective with this research was to shed light on how Japan influenced the standard-setting instruments on the notion of authenticity in the UNESCO discourses in the 1990s. I was looking for an answer to the question of how the cultural flow coming from Japan changed the understanding of authenticity. During my research, I mainly compared UNESCO documents and their supported practices with the Japanese traditions on historic building preservation and protection in order to understand the differences. The key finding of my research was that the Japanese discourses on authenticity are indeed a forward-looking idea that laid the foundation for the third regime of cultural heritage, and also that the Nara Document on Authenticity was one of the first flagships in the UNESCO discourses which led to a broader understanding of tangible and intangible cultural properties.

Andrea Szilágyi

The Question of the Starting Point of Noguchi's Recognition of Nō Theater

This essay analyses Noguchi Yonejirō's (1875–1947) writings on Japanese theatre between 1893 and 1907 to prove that he had no adequate knowledge or appreciation for the Noh. Noguchi introduced *kabuki, kyōgen* and *shinpa* to achieve foreign recognition for the Japanese culture, which would support Japan's equal position against the western countries. After a *nō* event on the 16th October 1907, he re-evaluated and recognised *nō* as the eligible cultural element that exceeding his expectations, setting an example for the western theatrical world. This resulted in his first Nō article "With a foreign critic at a No Performance" *(The Japan Times)* on the 27th October, signalling the starting point of Noguchi's *nō* introduction.