

HIPERBOREEA

JOURNAL

Journal of History
Vol. III, No. 1
June 2016



Bucharest
2016

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ISSN 2284-5666 ISSN-L 2284-5666 www.revistahiperboreea.ro

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SUREŚVARA'S VIEW ON KNOWLEDGE (*JÑĀNA*)

Alexander Pereverzev*

Abstract. *The article deals with the soteriologic function of knowledge (*jñāna*), according to the non-dualist school of Vedānta (with a special reference to its classic author, Sureśvara) and with its phenomenological and semiotic aspects, in the view of the same school of thought. In its first part, it stresses on the role of knowledge in liberation, both in the system of Advaita Vedānta and in comparison with other schools of Indian philosophy. The second part deals with the great formulations of the salvific knowledge and with the attempts to analyze their meaning. Hence, the study also approaches the semiotics and the epistemology of Advaita Vedānta.*

Keywords: *Indian religion, Brahmanism, Advaita Vedānta, Sureśvara, mokṣa, jñāna, mahāvākya.*

On the whole there is a remarkable agreement between the *mokṣa*-oriented philosophies of India as to the means of attaining *mokṣa*. They agree that finally it is *tattva-jñāna* that enables one to realize that radical freedom, which goes by the name of *mokṣa* or *apavarga*. This *tattva-jñāna* can be tentatively defined as insight into the true nature of reality. It is only for the Cārvākas that the question of the means of attaining *mokṣa* does not arise: for them there is no such thing as *mokṣa*. As was shown in the previous chapter, the attitude of Mīmāṃsā to *mokṣa* is by no means unambiguous so that this school cannot be unreservedly considered *mokṣa*-oriented. Also, for the most part of its history it did not accept *jñāna* as a method or means of attaining liberation. As for the other schools of Indian thought what differs is the content of their respective notions of *jñāna* as well as the nomenclature they use for liberation.

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In Jainism bondage is affected by the influx of karmic particles into the self due to attachment, hatred and such like mental afflictions, which proceed from ignorance (*avidyā*). It is checking of the influx that is required for attaining liberation according to Jainism. But that is not achievable as long as one, obscured by the influx of karmic particles, entertains a wrong notion of oneself. Therefore, Jainism prescribes *samyag-jñāna* (right knowledge) combined with *samyag-darśana* (right conviction) and *samyak-caritra* (right conduct) as three component parts of its method meant to be practiced simultaneously. The right knowledge, besides other things, includes the knowledge of nine *tattvas*, the fundamental categories of Jainism.¹ Its highest type is *kevala-jñāna* which is direct (*pratyak'ā*) and dependent on nothing but the capacity of the self alone.² It sublates all other types of knowledge that are limited and imperfect compared to it.

It is possible to say that the influx of karmic particles is the immediate cause of bondage in Jainism, while ignorance is its indirect cause. That makes the checking of influx the immediate cause of liberation and right knowledge its indirect cause. The knowledge of the self is said to eliminate *karmas*.³ Its highest type is identical with the essence of self and is not analyzable into the knower, known etc.

According to *Sūl khyā* and *Yoga* bondage is unreal since *Puru'ā* and *Prakṛti* – the two entities that constitute Reality – are immaterial and material respectively and can be associated only due to ignorance. This allows these schools to put particular stress on knowledge and orient their entire method towards its acquisition. Knowledge, labeled in these schools '*viveka*', stands for that discriminative wisdom, which enables one to distinguish the self from *buddhi* (a part of *Prakṛti*) and thus understand their distinctness from each other. This discriminating insight can be summed up in the following words: "*n stī na me n haṁ ityavi e' am*."⁴ These three expressions aptly convey the essence of *viveka* – the direct experience of being different from *Prakṛti* and its evolutes. The detailed enquiry into what constitutes

¹ Shivkumar, 1984, 96.

² *Tattvārtha-sūtra*, I.11-12; *Sūl khyā*, 2.1-7.

³ *Yoga-sūtra*, 4, Gopani&Bothara, 1989, 124.

⁴ *Sūl khyā-Kārikā*, 64.

Prakṛti and what are the phases of its evolution initiated by these schools serves the same purpose – to drive a wedge between *buddhi* and the self. S I khyā and Yoga stressed that liberation results from knowledge alone,⁵ seeking no reliance on rites or worship due to the imaginary nature of bondage, anticipating and echoing some of the Advaitin's arguments to that effect. In Yoga it is again discriminating insight reinforced by concentration that destroys bondage: “*viveka-khy tir aviṣṭav h nopayaB*”.⁶

The closely related schools of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika are likewise unanimous in ascribing salvific role to knowledge, which they naturally interpret within their respective conceptual frameworks. Naiyāyikas opine that the knowledge of sixteen categories admitted by their school results in liberation. The foremost among them are *pramāṇa* (the means of valid knowledge) and *prameyā* (the objects of knowledge including *tman*).⁷ The exclusive potency of knowledge to yield liberation is stressed repeatedly: “*tman deB khalu prameyasya tattva-jñān n niB reyaś dhigamaB*.”⁸ Knowledge is viewed in these schools as the absolute destroyer of bondage: “*h naḥ tattva-jñānam*”⁹ and is obtained from the scriptures only.¹⁰ Vaiśeṣikas believe that it is the knowledge of the categories accepted by their school (six in number) that is ultimately salvific.¹¹ Their list of categories likewise includes *tman*, which both schools consider knowable like any other *padārtha*. By knowledge they mean the insight into the very essence of the category: “*asya vastuno yo bhavaś tat tasya tattvam*.”¹² This knowledge was later augmented by certain other factors like *dharma* and grace of God,¹³ but its crucial role remained undiminished.

It has to be noted that the theorizing and debating about the number and nature of categories engaged in by the followers of Jainism, S I khyā, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika can hardly be imagined fruitful for attaining liberation if it is indulged in as an

⁵ *Jñāna n nuktiB*; S I khyā S tra, III.23.

⁶ *Yoga-s tra*, II. 26.

⁷ *Nyāya-s tra*, 1.1.2.

⁸ *Nyāya-bhāṣya*, 1.1.1. and *Nyāya-vṛttika*, thereon.

⁹ *Nyāya-vṛttika* on *Nyāya-bhāṣya*, 1.1.1.

¹⁰ *TasyopāyaB śāstra*, *Nyāya-bhāṣya*, 1.1.1.

¹¹ *Vaiśeṣika-s tra*, 1.1.4.

¹² *Nyāyaśāstra* and *Vaiśeṣika-bhāṣya* on *Vaiśeṣika-s tra*, 1.1.4.

¹³ *Vaiśeṣika-s tra*, 1.1.4.

intellectual exercise akin to cataloguing and processing information. Studying the categories constituting the world per se cannot be suspected to be salvific as was observed by Daya Krishna.¹⁴ Yet, if the same study is directed towards proving, locating and realizing the difference between what is to be liberated (Self) and what it is mistakenly identified or confused with (non-self), then its usefulness for liberation becomes understandable. Indeed, the painstaking analysis of various categories makes sense if it is meant for establishing what constitutes the self and what is foreign to it, since the *mok'a*-oriented endeavour will remain unsuccessful if it is based on a flawed conception of the nature of what should be liberated. Therefore, it is the non-discrimination between the self and aught else that constitutes *avidyā* that keeps generating bondage (real or imaginary) if not uprooted.

Most schools of Buddhism agree that it is insight into the nature of reality (*prajñā*) that delivers the practitioner. This insight cannot appear in the mind that is impure and unfocused. Therefore, it is held that moral discipline (*śīla*) and concentration (*samādhi*) are essential for the arising of *prajñā* but this does not mean that they can result in liberation, having superseded *prajñā*. Generally speaking, *prajñā* can be described as the realization of the three characteristics of the world: impermanence (*anitya*), suffering (*duḥkha*) and insubstantiality (*anātman*) that happen to be inextricably linked. The earliest Buddhist sources stress that a liberated person is the one who is fully aware of these fundamental facts of existence.¹⁵

The Mahāyāna tradition went to great lengths to elaborate this point. According to the Mādhyamika school the knowledge of the absence of the inherent or autonomous existence of things (*svabhāva*) has a truly transformative power.¹⁶ It consists in continuous perception of the fabricated nature of things or the realization that their permanence and satisfactoriness is a misconception. All phenomena are empty (*śūnya*) – i.e. nonexistent independently from the causal chain of dependent origination (*pratitya-samutpāda*).¹⁷

¹⁴ Krishna, 1991, 29-30.

¹⁵ *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, III. 134; also *Dhammapadam*, 20. 5-7.

¹⁶ Burton, 2004, 83.

¹⁷ *Mādhyamika-kārikā*, 24.1-6.

Their existence as independent and lasting entities is a fabrication, while in reality there is no unfabricated agent or basic changeless stuff.¹⁸ Craving, which is a fuel of bondage, is, on the M dhyamika assumption, bound to cease the moment the essential emptiness of things is understood. It also follows that on this realization the desire to know things as having independent substance becomes obsolete because the impossibility of such knowing is comprehended. Skepticism is also believed by the followers of M dhyamika to have savoury effect. It can be viewed as a kind of position and, therefore, knowledge having certain content but not simply the absence of position altogether. Having no positive thesis to proffer, no view of the world to adhere to, knowing that things are not knowable by conventional means turns out to be liberating according to M dhyamikas.¹⁹ Non-establishment of any thesis and the behavioral pattern based thereon would be the method of the Pr saJgika-M dhyamika, while developing the bare minimum argumentation is accepted as the method in the Sv tantrika-M dhyamika.

The authorities of Yog c ra opine that *tathat* (suchness, the state of things as they are) is identical with the complete absence of any objective entity even when it is cognized. Instead it implies the reality of cognition only, “*dharm M l param rtha ca... saiva vijñapti-m trat*”.²⁰ Yog c ra’s main premise is that experience is real and can be possible even in the absence of the concerned external objects, which are treated as fabricated by the ignorance-confounded mind. On this view even the admission of still objective *dharmas*, the building blocks of external objects, is ignorance-influenced.²¹ Knowledge of the above, reinforced by yoga-practice, results in liberation. It does so precisely because the practitioner becomes aware that his craving is directed towards the ultimately non-existent entities, and then the whole scheme of duality gets relegated to the level of relative reality (*paratantra-svabh va*).²² In fact, the very knowledge that the perception of duality as real is a mere fabrication of a confused mind *constitutes* liberation. In interpreting the

¹⁸ *BodhicittavivaraMa*, 55, Lindtner, 1982, 201.

¹⁹ *Yukti' a' "ik* , 49-51; Lindtner, 1982, 115-7.

²⁰ *Tril oik* , 25, Chatterjee, 1980, 123.

²¹ *Vil atik* , 11, Chatterjee, 1980, 12.

²² *Trisvabh va-nirde a*, 3, Anacker, 2005, 291.

knowledge of reality as not merely instrumental to attaining of liberation but identical with it, Yog c ra comes close to Advaita, as will be demonstrated below.

The leading Therav da schools – Sautr ntika and Sarv stiv da – did not share the antirealistic tendency of Mah y na, although their view was certainly antisubstantialist. The thinkers of these schools reduced the objectively existing world of a realist to a flow of *dharmas* – material and mental entities responsible for the perception of the apparently constant objects either by themselves (according to Sarv stiv dins) or with the help of mental images (*k ra*) (according to Sautr ntikas). The direct access to these fundamental, further indivisible entities results in the realization of the purely nominal existence of things. Once a thing is subdivided into *dharmas* its very awareness ceases²³ and the craving for it stands undermined. Thus, insight into the constituents of things is believed to result in liberation.

Paradoxically as it may sound, even the method of M m l s , which originally attempted to be entirely *karma*-based, cannot be considered free from *jñ na*, if we for a moment abstract from the above given definition of *jñ na*. It may be remembered that even before the development of *samuccayav da* by some M m l sakas and Ved ntins there was a widespread conviction reflected in the Br hmaMas that the fruit of the ritual accrues only to such a person who *knows* the mythological background of the ritual and that too not in an abstract way but rather by meditating on it during the performance of the ritual which is supposed to reenact the story supplied by the tradition of the Br hmaMas. Narrating various mythological episodes, the authors of the Br hmaMas repeat at the end of each of them “*ya evam veda*” – he who knows it (meditates on it while performing the rite) is eligible for the fruit of the ritual. Considered from this angle, *jñ na* is not just an acquaintance with the nuances of the ritual without which, no doubt, its successful performance is impossible. *Jñ na* here is the knowledge of the intricate connection between things, especially the words of Vedic hymns and their referents, the sacrificial utensils and what they signify, Vedic deities and what is offered to them. This connection and even identification of things is known as *bandhut* . It is undoubtedly different from what developed philosophies meant

²³ *Abhidharmako a*, 6.4.

by *jñ na*, but it can still be considered as an insight into the nature of the world, since all things in the Brahmanical ritualism were supposed to have their symbols (*bandhu*); which meant that the whole universe, with things animate and inanimate constituting it, was the subject of this “*bandhut* -philosophy”. This insight into association of various things bordering on identity may be viewed as introduction to the monistic tendency of Vedānta, particularly Advaita²⁴ but this is outside the pale of the present discussion. Since *Mīmāṃsā* is based on the ritualism of the Brahmanas, it is possible to say that the *Mīmāṃsā*’s view of *samuccaya* owes something to the Brahmanical combination of ritual and the meditation on or steady awareness of its mythological underpinning and that *Mīmāṃsā* is not so irreconcilably opposed to *jñ na* as some of its advocates may have claimed.

Jñ na in Advaita is quite different from what most of the above mentioned schools of Indian thought meant by it. To begin with, Advaitic *jñ na* covers several distinct and yet closely related things. Apart from not specifically Advaitic meaning – objectified, empirical knowledge – at least three meanings of *jñ na* are discernible in the Advaitic context:

- a. Pure consciousness identical with Brahman (as in “*Satyam jñ nam anantaḥ Brahma*”, *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*, 2.1.1). Here *jñ na* is coeval with Ultimate Reality.
- b. Psychosis resulting in liberation (*akhaṇḍaḥ kṛāṇḍaḥ*).
- c. The path leading to the advent of such a psychosis encompassing all preliminary steps, disciplines and prerequisites (also called *jñ na-yoga* or *jñ nam rga*).

Since the first of them was discussed in the previous chapter, here we shall focus on the remaining two.

The Advaitin considers liberation achievable only through self-knowledge, awareness of the non-dual ātman-Brahman that

²⁴ Belvalkar&Ranade, 1997, 63.

is supposed to eradicate wrong notions of the self²⁵ and the world and all behavioral patterns based on them. This knowledge arises in the mind of a properly trained and eligible student as a result of the operation of *abda-pram* Ma. Here the Advaitin is obliged to explain what he means by *abda* and how it produces saving knowledge.

Not entirely discarding the secular aspect of *abda*, the Advaitin recognizes only the potency of the Vedic word when it comes to the question of attaining *mok'a*. His interpretation of Vedic *abda* is in complete opposition to the M m l saka's. Firstly, in order to draw the line between his and non-Vedic schools the Advaitin emphasizes that Brahman is known from Vedas only.²⁶ This implies that the knowledge as propounded by *n stikas* (non-believers in *ruti*) cannot be salvific and moreover, any search for *mok'a* outside the framework of scriptures is at least fruitless. Secondly, the Advaitin specifies that it is not the scripture as such but only a purposeful portion of it (*t tpariyavat rutiB*) that should be taken as productive of liberation.²⁷

Pram Ma is supposed to convey the knowledge that was unknown previously, that cannot be obtained from alternative sources²⁸ and remains uncontradicted.²⁹ For the M m l saka, Veda is a *pram* Ma because it discloses the nature and means of *Dharma*. The Advaitin does not intend to contradict this.

Rather he goes a step further, claiming that apart from *Dharma* Veda teaches about Brahman as well: "*Dharma-brahmaM vedaikavedye*".³⁰ This finds confirmation in Sure vara who comments that Veda, having a purely revealing nature, throws light, just like the sun, on a variety of objects that may possess contradictory nature, i.e. *siddha* (existent entity) and

²⁵ At one place Sure vara says that knowledge consists in the realization that one is not the agent, *Taittir yopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.739.

²⁶ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, II.1.27; II.3.1; *Nai'karmya-siddhi*, III.67; *Taittir yopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.1.3 and V *rtika* thereon.

²⁷ *Bh mat*, Roodurmum, 2002, 12.

²⁸ Sure vara says *pram* Mas have their special fields where each of them is unchallenged just like eye, ear, etc. "*rotr divat pram M n m as dh raMa-meyat* " (*Bh had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, I.3.48).

²⁹ *Ved nta-paribh '*, p.4.

³⁰ *mgveda Bh 'ya*, *Bh mik*; p.24; Also *Bh had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, I.3.70-1.

s dhya (ritual activity).³¹ Both of them cannot be ascertained through perception and other related *pram* *Mas* and that justifies the status of Veda as *pram* *Ma*. There is a certain similarity between Brahman and *Dharma* as objects of philosophical reflection which may explain their being capable of being ascertained through the same *pram* *Ma*: both possess no form and no relations.

That much, however, does not put them on entirely equal footing. For the Advaitin Brahman, which is identical with *mok' a*³² is of ultimate importance while *dharma* has significance on the *vy vah rika* level. As long as ignorance is not dispelled, all sorts of actions, ritual and secular, are not simply advisable but even unavoidable, which makes *karmak M; a* a subject of arch-importance. But the importance of *jñ nak M; a* is far greater. It appears that in general for the Advaitin Veda is an all-covering guidebook that communicates the ideas of *Dharma* and Brahman along with the means of their acquisition (*karma* and *jñ na* respectively) in two distinct portions (*karmak M; a* and *jñ nak M; a*). *Dharma* and Brahman as human goals are of relative and absolute value respectively and are meant for different kinds of disciples.

Due to the Advaitin's contention that realization of Brahman is incomparably more important than following the dictates of *Dharma* and enjoying its limited results, it is sometimes stated that knowledge of Brahman is in fact the only subject of the Vedas.³³ As this knowledge actually consists in removal of ignorance and its projections, this removal is described as the objective of the Veda: "*avidy -kalpita-nivltti-paratv c ch strasya*".³⁴ In this passage aJkara calls Veda *stra* but his understanding of this term is entirely different from the Pr bh kara's. In Advaita Veda is *stra* not because it inspires to act but because it has an authority to teach the nature of Self which is or is conducive to liberation – *tmajñ notp danam*.³⁵ On this view Veda has no unquestionable authority beyond the capacity to generate the knowledge of the self – only in this

³¹ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, I.3.77.

³² *Brahmabh va ca mok' aB, Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.1.4.

³³ *Upade a-s hasr , padya*, XVII.9.

³⁴ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.1.4.

³⁵ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.4.7.

sphere is it truly unquestioned as a *pram* Ma.³⁶ The self-knowledge identical with *mok'a* dwarfs *dharmā* as *puru' rtha*, since the self is dearer than anything else (*preyo'nyasm t sarvasm t*) and more interior than anything else (*antaratama*) and the dearest deserves utmost affection and exertion as aJkara says.³⁷

To support this view the Advaitin has to challenge the classification of scriptures advocated by M m l sakas. Nobody, least of all the Advaitin, can deny the significant role played by injunctions contained in the Veda or reinterpret them to suit their purposes. However, it is possible to criticize the M m l sakas' construing of *mantras* and *arthav das* invariably as additions to injunctions. Even construed as secondary to injunction *arthav da* has got to convey some independent information. The *arthav da* "V yur v k'epi''h devat ", for example, first of all communicates that there is an entity called V yu, and only later is construed as serving the purposes of injunction it is attached to.³⁸ This may be correct from the hearer's point of view who at first hears a statement of plain fact and the next moment interprets it in accordance with the intention of the speaker as useful for some action or as having motivational force. It is the Advaitin's conviction that statements of facts or statements regarding existent things (*bh t rthav das*) do not forego their nature of informants by just being useful for something else. Some *arthav das* and even *mantras* (as long as they do not restate what has already been stated) are to be understood as *bh t rthav das* having independent authority and, therefore, have to be counted as *pram* Mas.

Further, the Advaitin claims that alongside *vidhis* and *arthav das* there is the third type of the Br hmaMa texts, which is absolutely irreducible to the other two and wields an independent authority – *mah v kyas/ ved ntav kyas*. They have their sole purport in teaching the non-dual tman-Brahman.³⁹ Behind this assertion there is a view that not only action but also awareness can be the purport of a sentence. Although *mah v kyas* do not fall in the category of *bh t rthav das* (as a subdivision of

³⁶ Arapura, 1986, 115.

³⁷ *Bhāṭṭarāmyakopani'ad- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.4.8.

³⁸ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.3.33.

³⁹ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.1.4.

arthav das), the whole polemics around the separate nature of the latter have been initiated by the Advaitin to demonstrate that *mah v kyas*, few as they are, do not comprise a unique minority in the Vedic corpus as far as conveying unsubordinated meaning is concerned. The Advaitin is even keen to distance himself from proper *arthav das*. aJkara, for instance, concedes that some *arthav das* like “*sa arod t, yad arod t tad rudrasya rudratvam*” are inauthoritative because they do not result in knowledge which is certain and fruitful. Sure vara goes even further by admitting that *mantras* and *arthav das* are subsidiary to injunctions. He, however, states in the same breath that *mah v kyas* do not fall in either category thus acknowledging them as a separate group of Vedic texts.⁴⁰ It is conceded that *mantras* and *arthav das* do not generate fruit independently from injunctions.⁴¹

When the Advaitin says that Brahman is known only from the scriptures he means exclusively Upani’adic texts, the *ved ntav kyas*:

“*Tad Brahma... ved nta- str d ev ’vagamyate.*”⁴²

Thus, unlike M m l s , Ved nta as a *dar ana* has its main source of inspiration in the Upani’ads. It is the Upani’ads that constitute the truly purportful portion of the scripture for the Advaitin.

These conclusions are strengthened by the Advaitin’s theory of language. Again, the Advaitin does not try to deny the obvious importance of motivational utterances of which injunctions are the typical example. Rather he states that assertive sentences may and do have value of their own. The charge that knowledge-conveying statements are fruitless and do not facilitate acquisition of anything tangible is incorrect. Awareness can result in relief from tension like in the case of the tenth rustic who was told that he was the tenth⁴³ or in elation like in the case of one who is told he has got a son.⁴⁴ The experience of joy and cessation of tension may not be as tangible as physical objects but are nevertheless direct and undeniable. In the same way fear along

⁴⁰ *B\had raMyakopani’ad- aJkara-bh ’ya*, I.4.7 and Sure vara’s *V rtika* thereon.

⁴¹ *Sambandha-v rtika*, 564-5.

⁴² *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh ’ya*, I.1.4.

⁴³ *B\had raMyakopani’ad-bh ’ya-v rtika*, I.4.7.600-3.

⁴⁴ *Sambandha-v rtika*, 578-9.

with its physical accessories goes when one realizes that the snake one erroneously perceives in darkness is in reality just a rope.⁴⁵ Cessation of suffering following the arrival of right cognition is certainly desirable and is worth attaining. Statements of facts have their immediate benefits that cannot be contraverted or played down. Moreover, the way the existence of a thing predates its utilization, the statement regarding its existence should come prior to injunction to use it. Even in the Veda there are texts that merely state the existence of sacrificial materials and these become indispensable preconditions to injunctions. The injunction to use a thing and a statement of its existence are not to be confused: “*Kriy rthatval tu prayojanal tasya, na cait vat vastvanupadi*”⁴⁶ *al bhavati*”.⁴⁶ Injunctions and even actions initiated by them do not affect the nature of existent thing which according to the Advaitin cannot be surrendered. Says Murty: “An existent thing does not cease to be existent, merely because a statement is made about it for the sake of some activity.”⁴⁷ It is the very nature of words to signify what they mean – the objects as they are (*bh t rtha*) unaffected by injunctions: “*bh te ‘rthe ‘vadhltā- aktayaB abd B.*”⁴⁸ The denotative power of words is eternal and not dependent on anything including injunction for its function. Words cannot cease meaning what they are supposed to mean and sentient beings endowed with the knowledge of language cannot help grasping the ideas conveyed by words. As Sure vara puts it, even the crows of M m sakas cannot snatch the denotative power of words.⁴⁹

Equally deficient is the attempt to interpret all sentences as expressing subject-predicate relation and requiring a verb to connect them. Just because the majority of sentences follow this model does not give one license to generalize that all sentences follow or should follow it. This model suits the examples that illustrate the relation between two independent, even if connected, substantives. The meaning of such sentences is bound to be relational. But this ignores the identity statements (both in Vedic and secular context) which are an undeniable fact of language.

⁴⁵ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.1.4.

⁴⁶ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.1.4.

⁴⁷ Murty, 1974, 22.

⁴⁸ *Bh mat on Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.1.4.

⁴⁹ *Taittir yopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.693.

Identity statements refer to single entities underlying the apparent difference of subject and predicate. Their meaning is non-relational and their usage is not purposeless: they result not only in recognition (*So'yal DevadattaB*) but even in cognition (*Da amo'si*). As they provide new information we are obliged to count them as a part of *abda-pram Ma*. It is ultimately true that all sentences contain or presuppose verbal forms. But this does not allow one to conclude that every sentence is related to action directly or indirectly. Certain verbs describe pure existence which cannot be interpreted as activity on the part of an existent entity.

The Advaitin's insistence on the independent character and significance of existential statements springs from the general orientation of Vedānta as a philosophical system towards ascertainment and acquisition of the already existent entity (*bh ta*),⁵⁰ while *M m l s* strives after what is to be yet affected and brought into existence (*bh vya*). In the ultimate sense Brahman is the only existent entity. It is not to be affected or created by one's effort but rather discovered through successive or instant removal of the veil of nescience that obscures and distorts its experience presenting it as the world of multiplicity and making the latter cognizable only in the context of division into knower, known and empirical knowledge. Brahman is *pariMi' hita-vastu*, an entity of unchangeable nature that does not depend on nor gets affected by human will or cognition. The belief that Brahman is realizable in this very life is the cornerstone of the concept of *j vanmukti*, which is not found in *M m l s* or even in *Ny ya-Vai e'ika* with which it shares much in the sphere of metaphysics. As if to counter the position of *M m l s* that liberation is attainable only in the afterlife *aJkara* stresses: "*Sa ca vidv n... ihaiva brahmabh taB... na ar rap tottarak lam*"⁵¹.

In the field of syntax the Advaitin once again distances himself from the *Pr bh kara* lending his support to the *abhihit nvaya* view.⁵² There are certain reasons behind it. According to the Advaitin's theory words express universals that

⁵⁰ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.1.2.

⁵¹ *Bhāḍa raMyakopani' ad- aJkara-bh 'ya*, IV.4.6.

⁵² See *Sure vara*: one does not understand the meaning of the sentence if one does not know the meaning of words constituting it (*Taittir yopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.715).

are, naturally, unrelated to one another. Advaita agrees with Mīmāṃsā that the relation between the word and its meaning is natural and beginningless. From this it has to follow that words cannot be divorced from their eternal meanings and nothing can prevent them from expressing what they signify. This makes the Prabhakara theory of the meaningfulness of words only when related superfluous. The word-meanings are necessary building blocks of the sentence meaning: "When the two words combine together, their universal meanings become limited and particularized and this results in a new meaning (of a sentence)."⁵³

The *abhihit nvaya* theory provides the Advaitin with a more flexible framework to express his views. The Advaitin does not share the idea of the primacy of action in the fields of language and epistemology. The Prabhakara views word-meanings as related to one another and as hinging upon the meaning of the imperative verbal form. For the Advaitin the relation with imperative is not ubiquitous and words can well stand and function by themselves. He finds more sense in the Bhāṭṭa theory, provided the idea of the primacy of verb is expunged from it. For the Advaitin the meaning of words like *ātman*, *Brahman* etc. can well be non-relational (*asaślīṇa*) which goes against the conviction of the Prabhakara that the meaning of words in the sentence is always relational (*saślīṇa*). This lends further support to the Advaitin's point on the independence of purely descriptive sentences. Such sentences, whether Vedic or secular, cannot be written off precisely because words cannot be prevented from expressing their meaning (even by the fiat of Mīmāṃsā) and therefore have to be taken to mean what is understood from the combined meaning of the words constituting them. Construing them as subordinate to injunctions is not necessary to understand them.

To sum up, *abda-pramāṇa* is a declaration in speech or writing consisting of one or more sentences.⁵⁴ Sentence is a unit of *abda-pramāṇa*. In its Vedic aspect it may be injunctive as well as declarative and Advaita is primarily interested in the latter.

⁵³ Grimes, 1991, 124.

⁵⁴ Satprakashananda, 2005, 173.

According to the *Pr bh karas* perception is immediate: “*S k' t prat tiB pratyak'am*”,⁵⁵ while for *Naiy yikas* perception alone is endowed with immediacy (*aparok'atva*). This is acceptable to the *Advaitin*⁵⁶ but he is also eager to prove the immediacy of the word-generated knowledge. Immediacy, on the *Advaitin*'s contention, is not caused by the contact of sense-organ with object. The only criterion of immediacy is the unity of consciousness limited by the object and the consciousness limited by the *vltti*. When both coincide outside the percipient's body it is the case of perception. But this unity needs not be caused exclusively by the sense-organ. *Vltti* should coincide with the object of perception but this can be caused by the authoritative person's statement as well. This being so, the statements “*So' yal DevadattaB*” and “*Tat tvam asi*” can be counted as perception yielding vivid, immediate knowledge. In both cases there is a unity between what is limited by the *vltti* and what is delimited by the object, in the latter case the object being coincidental with the subject.⁵⁷ It may be added here that according to the *Advaitin* the possibility of such an immediate knowledge can be explained with the help of the underlying unity of subject and object. In *Advaita* “the purely epistemological question of perception... is erected on a metaphysical theory of the basic identity of the subject and the object. Man knows because objects are knowable.”⁵⁸ The immediacy of knowledge is even less questionable when we come to the identity statements which are meant to convey the identity of the percipient and the object of knowledge. As a result of hearing such sentence, the hearer realizes himself to be the content of the sentence, as in the case of the tenth rustic who did not know he was the tenth until he was informed about it. This knowledge is even more immediate since its content is identical with cognizing consciousness, which is even stronger proof of immediacy.⁵⁹ Knowledge so interpreted stands for self-experience. Indeed, experience is sometimes

⁵⁵ *PrakaraMa-pañcik* , pp.131-2.

⁵⁶ See *Ved nta-paribh '* on perception.

⁵⁷ *Ved nta-paribh '* , pp.33-4.

⁵⁸ Sundaram, 1984, 36.

⁵⁹ Murty, 1974, 108.

described as culmination of knowledge⁶⁰ or the fruit of knowledge – “*anubhav r ; hal tu jñ na-phalam*”.⁶¹

The attainment of the non-dual experience of Brahman is explained along the same lines. This experience (*anubhava*, *s k' tk ra*) is the result of metaphysical knowledge (*jñ na*) identical with liberation (*mok'a*). aJkara states rather unambiguously that there is no interval between knowing/experiencing Brahman and being liberated: “*rutu dayo brahma-vidy nantaram eva mok'am dar ayanto madhye k ry ntaral v rayanti*”.⁶² This is an integral experience of Brahman as one's own self⁶³ where Brahman is known immediately (*aparok' t*). Sure vara explains immediacy as the absence of distinction between knowing subject, known object and empirical knowledge: “*dl' "a-dar ana-dl y rtha-sambheda-vi' ayasya hi ni' edh y parok' d g r abhinn rtha-grahaM ya tu*.”⁶⁴ Here knowledge of the thing is identical with the thing. Strictly speaking, immediate knowledge is impossible if the object is something foreign to oneself because consciousness alone is immediate. As Sure vara puts it, objects may seem to be immediate being ascertained through mental acts that entirely depend on immediate consciousness.⁶⁵

It has to be noted that the expression “Experience of Brahman” is figurative. tman-Brahman is experience, self-luminous pure awareness which admits no distinction into experiencer and the object of experience. To convey this idea Sure vara chooses to use the word “*anubhava*” not only while describing the nature of tman but even as a synonym of tman in the works of his later period.⁶⁶ The content of this experience is described as blissful pure consciousness: “*Tasm t sarva-duBkha-vinirmukta eva caitany tmako' ham itye' a tm nubhavaB*”.⁶⁷

The immediate cause of *anubhava* according to aJkara and Sure vara is the realization of the import of *mah v kyas*. The

⁶⁰ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, II.1.14.

⁶¹ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, II.3.32.

⁶² *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.1.4.

⁶³ Murty, 1974, 112.

⁶⁴ *Bh'had raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, III.4.17.

⁶⁵ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.115.

⁶⁶ *Taittir yopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.614; SV, 151, 189, 190, 1001, 1002, 1005; *Bh'had raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, I.4.873.

⁶⁷ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, IV.1.2.

number of *mah v kya*s is usually put at four: “*Prajñ na| Brahma*” (Aitareya Upani’ad, III.1.3), “*Aha| Brahm smi*” (Bḥhad raMyaka Upani’ad, I.4.10), “*Tat tvam asi*” (Ch ndogya Upani’ad, VI.8.7), “*Ayam tm Brahma*” (Bḥhad raMyaka Upani’ad, II.5.19; M M; kya Upani’ad, 2). The preceptors of Advaita find “*Tat tvam asi*” the most appealing probably because it is addressed directly to the listener. They make it a stock example of *mah v kya*s. Sure vara likewise prefers it whenever he comes to the explanation of the meaning of *mah v kya*s. At times, however, he analyzes the other: “*Aham Brahm smi*”⁶⁸, “*Ayam tm Brahma*”.⁶⁹ Each of these four is traced to one of the Vedas.⁷⁰ Discovering one *mah v kya* in each Veda seeks to support the claim that every Veda contains and culminates in the teaching of non-duality of individual and universal consciousness. Apart from these four even the famous *via negativa* method of the Bḥhad raMyaka Upani’ad is sometimes used to arrive at this identity. The *neti-neti* method is meant to eliminate the limiting adjuncts (*up dhis*) of Brahman. Once everything other than Brahman including time and space is withdrawn, the identity is automatically established and the intellect rests in tman alone.⁷¹ Formally, however, it is not treated as a *mah v kya*, although it is harnessed for the same purpose. Sure vara, for example, claims that it can bring about liberation, “*netityuktaB kaivalyam sthitaB*”⁷² and in his main treatise labours to interpret it on the pattern of *mah v kya*s,⁷³ saying besides other things that the purport of the *neti-neti* passage of the Bḥhad raMyaka Upani’ad is to indicate Brahman, which is what *mah v kya*s are supposed to do.

*Mah v kya*s are essentially the same in meaning and this meaning constitutes the purport of the Upani’ads: “*Ita ca tat tvam asi v kyaṃ vastu-param evety ha sarvopani’ad iti*”.⁷⁴ The Advaitin is convinced that Vedic revelation in order to justify the name of *pram Ma* should convey a uniform message. If there is no unity of meaning in the Vedas they cannot produce any

⁶⁸ Bḥhad raMyakopani’ad-bh ‘ya-v rtika, I.4.1428-30.

⁶⁹ Sambandha-v rtika, 861.

⁷⁰ Satprakashananda, 2005, 200.

⁷¹ Bḥhad raMyakopani’ad- aJkara-bh ‘ya, II.3.6.

⁷² Nai’ karma-siddhi, II.116.

⁷³ Bḥhad raMyakopani’ad-bh ‘ya-v rtika, II.3.214-34.

⁷⁴ Ch ndogyopani’ad- aJkara-bh ‘ya, VI.16.3.

definite knowledge, in the absence of which one cannot treat it as a *pram Ma*. In the Advaitin's view knowledge of the self is what runs through all the Upani'adic texts making them a source of valid cognition.

The Advaitin claims that liberation can be of only one type.⁷⁵ It does not differ from person to person. It is not associated with particular space and time.⁷⁶ Nor it depends on the embodied or disembodied condition. The difference between *j vanmukta* and *videhamukta* is only in the presence or absence of mind and body, not in the content of realization.⁷⁷ This becomes clearer if one remembers that on the Advaitin's view bondage likewise has a single and uniform nature – ignorance – and there cannot be any liberation other than eradication of this ignorance.⁷⁸ The Advaitin's method is to a great extent based on his metaphysics. The only thing that can help attain liberation is knowledge since it is antagonistic to ignorance and there is no source of this knowledge other than Veda. Ignorance is destroyable while in body (and probably only while in body).

Sure vara often treats ignorance as a mere absence of knowledge (*abh va*).⁷⁹ It is a non-entity and hence cannot be revealed by *pram Mas*, which by their nature establish the previously unknown yet existent entities.⁸⁰ *abda* as a *pram Ma* is applicable to the self because it is unknown in its entirety, the "I"-feeling being just a pale shadow of the true self. The only thing *pram Ma* can do with respect to ignorance is to cancel it.⁸¹ Ignorance gives rise to non-self which is explained by Sure vara as consisting of the empirical knower, knowledge and the objects

⁷⁵ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, III.4.52.

⁷⁶ *Na de a-nimitta-vi e'am api sal k rtayati, Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, III.4.51.

⁷⁷ *B\had raMyakopani'ad- aJkara-bh 'ya*, IV.4.6.

⁷⁸ Says Sure vara: *Muktau tamotirekeMa n ntar yo'nya i'yate/ yato'to jñ navidhvastau muktaB sanna vimucyate (B\had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, IV.4.559).

⁷⁹ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.7, sambandha. Here Sure vara has his master's backing who at times calls *sal s ra*, the projection of ignorance, "aviveka", the lack of discriminating knowledge (*Upade a-s hasr*, padya, XVI.61). The later Advaita insists on the positive nature of ignorance and declares it *bh var pa* to distinguish it from the *ajñ na* of Naiy yikas. Vide *Ved ntas ra*, p. 52.

⁸⁰ *B\had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, I. 4.258.

⁸¹ *B\had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, I.4.257.

of knowledge.⁸² The way existent things like pots are first unknown and then revealed through the operation of perception etc., the self, previously unknown, is revealed with the help of Vedic testimony when non-Self is sublated. In this respect *abda* is radically different from other *pram* Mas. It does not reveal Brahman as object since it cannot be known the way objective entities are known. Rather it empties it of what it is not – ignorance. Sure vara stresses that the knowledge of Absolute consists in the removal of ignorance obscuring it. It is not an arrival or creation of something new since Brahman is of the nature of ever-present awareness. The knowledge of eternal entity identical with consciousness cognizing it makes sense only if it is interpreted as removal of ignorance.⁸³ The negative function of Advaitic means is expressed in that it removes the obstacles (*pratibandha*) to knowledge and liberation.⁸⁴ The obstacles are in the long run imaginary – ignorance and different misconceptions regarding the self. The identification with non-self having been stopped, there is nothing to further obstruct one's natural identity with the self.

Removal of ignorance is achieved with the help of *akha'*; *k ra-vltti*. *aJkara* describes what is probably the nature of this *vltti*, although he does not use the term – it is a modification of the intellect which is both pervaded by the reflection of consciousness (the way any *vltti* is in the act of cognition) and directed towards consciousness. The self is known with the help of *vltti* which is, in a way, not different from it: “*dl ir ev nubh yeta sven nubh v tman* ”.⁸⁵ In it internal organ expands to correspond to what it is trying to objectify. Sure vara highlights the difference between the final *vltti* (although he does not call it *akhaM*; *k ra-vltti*) and ordinary *vlttis*. The latter are conditioned by their objects while the former has only self for its support: “*bodho' yam... tmaik lambanaB*”.⁸⁶ He also mentions that in it self is known without being objectified⁸⁷ and it is free from *rajas* and *tamas*.⁸⁸

⁸² *Bh*had *raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, I.4.282.

⁸³ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.105.

⁸⁴ *Bh*had *raMyakopani' ad- aJkara-bh 'ya*, II.5.15.

⁸⁵ *Upade a-s hasr*, *padya*, XVIII.205.

⁸⁶ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, IV.55.

⁸⁷ *Ity aj nan vijan ti yaB*, *Nai' karma-siddhi*, IV.53.

⁸⁸ *Taittir yopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.108.

As a result of the operation of this *vltti* ignorance veiling tman-Brahman is dispelled. All the same, being itself a product of ignorance, the final “suicidal” modification of internal organ⁸⁹ also disappears.⁹⁰ So, by knowing Brahman the Advaitin means cancellation of *avidyā* with the help of *vltti* corresponding to Brahman in which process the *vltti* itself perishes. What destroys *avidyā* is not the modification of internal organ per se but the reflection of consciousness in it. *Vltti* is not contradictory to ignorance, while consciousness is. Nevertheless, *vltti* is indispensable in this process as it channels the stream of awareness, directing it towards what is being ascertained. Appaya D k’ita illustrates it with a simile of a straw and a lens. The light of consciousness focused with the appropriate *vltti* destroys ignorance the way sunlight focused with a lens burns a straw.⁹¹ Pure consciousness, the very stuff of Brahman, is the foundation of both empirical knowledge and ignorance: “*Bodh bodhau yato dl'au sv nubh tyanus rataB.*”⁹² It is the locus of *avidyā* and cannot be its remover. But the mental modification saturated with the reflection of consciousness is contradictory to ignorance, not being its locus:

“*Ajñ na-virodhi jñ na| hi na caitanyam tra| kintu vltti-pratibimbita , tacca na'vidyā rayaB, yacc 'vidyā rayaB tacca n 'jñ na-virodhi*”.⁹³

As Brahma remarks, transcendental knowledge or pure consciousness “...is not only not opposed to ignorance but is its substratum. It is only the modalized consciousness of Brahman (*brahm k ra-vltti*) that opposes itself to ignorance (*avidyā*) and removes ignorance by generating knowledge of Brahman”.⁹⁴ This is exactly what Sure vara means when he says that the self becomes capable of dispelling ignorance only when erected on the pedestal of *pram Ma*. Without *pram Ma* it tolerates, as it were, ignorance, although it is of the nature of illumination:

⁸⁹ Chatterjee, 1993, 64.

⁹⁰ With its cause destroyed, it cannot persist long, says Sure vara: “*Ni'edhya-hetau pradhvaste ni'edho'pi nivartate.*” (*Bḷhad rāMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.3. 196). Also *Taittir yopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.607.

⁹¹ *Siddh nta-le a-saḡ graha*, III.12.

⁹² *Sambandha-v rtika*, 548.

⁹³ Madhus dana Sarasvat , *Advaita-siddhi*, Sastri, 1917, 557.

⁹⁴ Brahma, 2005, 190-1.

“Pram Ma-phalak r ; hal svatamo hanti n nyath / vastu
mey bhisambaddhal m nal tadvat tamopanut// Avabuddha-
svabh vo’pi sahate n vabuddhat m/ vastutv n na tamo hanti
tath pi pramitil vin //”.⁹⁵

AkhaM; k ra-vltti, therefore, is purely transitional.⁹⁶ It marks a transition from cognition (which naturally yields to analysis along the subject-object lines) to the experience of Brahman (which does not admit of subject-object distinction and does not stand analysis). It is characterized by immediacy borrowed from Brahman which it unveils.⁹⁷

What remains unclear, however, is the precise mechanism of mind’s ascertaining Brahman. The later tradition opines that Brahman is vltti-vy pya (ascertainable through the vltti), although not phala-vy pya (ascertainable without the assumption of particular form by mind).⁹⁸ This makes Brahman knowable in principle, even with the medium of mind, yet not the way empirical objects are. What is beyond doubt is the indispensability of vltti. Experience of Brahman is the only epistemological means of identification with the object. Therefore, identity with Brahman cannot be established without vltti.⁹⁹

It may be asked here why at all verbal testimony is capable of revealing Brahman. There may be two possible replies to it. On the one hand, there is an observation that knowledge of anything, not necessarily Brahman, is possible only in the framework of language. Empirical world is a conglomerate of name and form (n ma-r pa) which are glossed by Sure vara as the statement and the stated.¹⁰⁰ Their close interrelation presupposes that access to the one is automatically access to the other. On the other hand, there is a conviction – as old as Indian thought – that speech in its highest aspect is rooted in Brahman. Already in the Sal hitas speech was eulogized as having its supreme abode in Brahman¹⁰¹ or having its three fourths

⁹⁵ *Blhad raMyakopani’ ad-bh ’ya-v rtika*, IV.3.181-2.

⁹⁶ Sinha, 1983, 145.

⁹⁷ *Pañcada* , VII.49.

⁹⁸ *Pañcada* , VII.90-2.

⁹⁹ Chatterjee, 1993, 35.

¹⁰⁰ *Blhad raMyakopani’ ad-bh ’ya-v rtika*, I.4.391.

¹⁰¹ *Brahm ’yal vacaB paramal vyoma*, *mgveda*, I.164.35.

concealed therein.¹⁰² In the Upani'ads speech is sometimes identified with Brahman – “*V g vai Brahmeti*”.¹⁰³ The variety of philosophical traditions based on Vedic revelation praise speech as a gateway to liberation¹⁰⁴ and for any orthodox Indian philosopher the argument that speech is a self-revelation of Brahman precisely because it is rooted there sounds quite convincing.

What kind of knowledge has liberating capacity? How can a verbal communication, even if it conveys a fact, affect the hearer's understanding and behavior so profoundly? It is often stated by aJkara and Sure vara that a mere grasping, albeit thorough, is sufficient to achieve the goal: there is nothing to be done apart from remaining merely in the knowledge of the meaning that is revealed by words themselves.¹⁰⁵ Certainly, much remains undisclosed here and it can hardly be the preceding discipline that is supposed to prepare the disciple's mind that makes the difference. Those who advocate direct agency of the relevant ruti texts do not go beyond stating that experience is the crown of knowledge. The verbal knowledge one receives every day hardly results in one's experiencing what is communicated. One's understanding of the expressed fact remains superficial and one's old convictions contrary to the newly learnt fact may well persist on the subconscious level and even resurface when the circumstances are suitable. In any case understanding cannot be a substitute for direct experience.

In the attempt to solve the problem Burton applies the division of knowledge into knowledge by description and knowledge by acquaintance proffered by some modern epistemologists (like Bertrand Russell) to liberating knowledge in Indian context. His analysis is largely restricted to various Buddhist schools but is likely to offer valuable clues considering the consensus among the traditional Indian philosophers on the role of knowledge in attaining liberation. According to Burton knowledge by description comes from a trustworthy authoritative source and produces belief in some fact. It is a propositional

¹⁰² *mgveda*, I.164.45.

¹⁰³ *B\had raMyaka Upani'ad*, IV.1.2.

¹⁰⁴ *Tad dv ram apavargasya – V kyapad ya*, I.14.

¹⁰⁵ *MuM; aka-Upani'ad- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.1.5.

knowledge which does not have epistemic primacy, which rightfully belongs to the knowledge by acquaintance.¹⁰⁶

It is still a controversial issue whether or not knowledge can be equated with experience/acquaintance but what matters is the inextricable link between knowledge and experience in the context of liberating knowledge advocated by various Indian traditions. The scriptural statement displays its power when it is internalized, when its content is actualized by the hearer. Put in different words, the liberating potency lies not in merely remaining in the knowledge of the words of relevant scriptural passages but in remaining in the existential knowledge of the meaning of these words.¹⁰⁷ This seems to agree with aJkara's interpretation of *jñ na* and *vijñ na*, which he distinguishes as the understanding of the meaning of scriptural words as such and conversion of this understanding into personal experience:

“*Jñ na| strokta-pad rth n | parijñ na| vijñ na| tu jñ t n | tathaiva sv nubhava-karaMam.*”¹⁰⁸

It is also remarked that to be liberating the knowledge of one's identity with Brahman should be as certain, vivid and presumably uninterrupted as the perception of and identification with the physical body in the state of bondage:

“*Deh tmajñ navaj jñ na| deh tmajñ na-b dhakam/ tmanyeva bhaved yasya sa necchannapi mucyate*”.¹⁰⁹

Thus, it is clear that in the Advaitic context *jñ na* is not a mere illumination based on the distinction between subject and predicate.¹¹⁰

The method advocated by Sure vara (*jñ na* in the third sense in the above given classification) presupposes that the aspirant discriminates between eternal and non-eternal, is indifferent to the rewards he might reap here and hereafter, is desirous of liberation and has acquired six mental disciplines: *ama* (physical restraint), *dama* (mental restraint), *uparati* (satisfaction), *titik'* (strength in the face of hardships), *sam dh na* (concentration) and *raddh* (faith). Sure vara

¹⁰⁶ Burton, 2004, 33.

¹⁰⁷ Comans, 2000, 315.

¹⁰⁸ *Bhagavad-g t - aJkara-bh 'ya*, VI.8.

¹⁰⁹ *Upade a-s hasr*, padya, IV.5.

¹¹⁰ Nayak, 1995, 75.

mentions them¹¹¹ usually abbreviating them as *am di-s dhana*.¹¹² He refrains from discussing them in detail probably considering his master's rather detailed treatment of them sufficient. He saves his energies for the analysis of the comprehension of the meaning of the *mah v kya*s that alone have the power of producing savoury knowledge: "*Sarvo' ya! mahim vedyo v kyasyaiva yathoditaB*".¹¹³ At one point, however, he gives graphic descriptions of the misery of lying in the womb, the craze of youth, the suffering and ignominy of the old age and the travails of the journey in the afterlife saying that this will generate one's desire for liberation (*mumuk' utva*),¹¹⁴ which happens to be one of the practitioner's prerequisites according to aJkara. So, this may be regarded as his "*mumuk' utva* methodology".

Sure vara first enquires into the reasons of non-comprehension of the meaning of the *mah v kya*. The main reason is non-comprehension of the meaning of words constituting it, since Sure vara believes that sentential meaning is nothing but the combined meaning of words constituting it. He identifies the main impediment as not knowing the meaning of "*tvam*" and the words corresponding to it in other *mah v kya*s. It is the host of wrong notions like "I", "mine" etc. that obscure the true meaning of "*tvam*", "*aham*" etc. *AhaJk ra* – ego, the mistaken notion of the self – is called the root of evil since it is here that the self and the non-self meet and their mutual superimposition takes place.¹¹⁵ Sure vara focuses on the meaning of "*tvam*" also because it is something one can relate to more easily than to abstract "*tat*" or "*Brahma*". It is also easier to analyze than something outside one's experience. It echoes the opinion of aJkara who says that the meaning of "*tat*" is already known¹¹⁶ and it is the meaning of "*tvam*" that needs to be ascertained.¹¹⁷

To ascertain the meaning of "*tvam*" the *anvaya-vyatireka* (agreement and disagreement) method is employed. The earliest

¹¹¹ *D nto bh tv tataB ntaB tata coparato bhavet, B\had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, IV.4.1203.

¹¹² *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.4.120.

¹¹³ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.1.

¹¹⁴ *Taittir yopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.190-221.

¹¹⁵ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.53.

¹¹⁶ *Upade a-s hasr*, padya, XVIII.193.

¹¹⁷ *Upade a-s hasr*, padya, XVIII.180.

stric usage of the method was probably made by the Grammarians and is traceable to Patañjali.¹¹⁸ In grammatical tradition the method of *anvaya-vyatireka* "...used to establish the meaningfulness of components to ascribe individual meanings to components, then, consists in observing the concurrent occurrence (*anvaya*) of a certain meaning and a certain linguistic unit and the absence (*vyatireka*) of a meaning and a unit."¹¹⁹ As is not uncharacteristic of Indian thought, the method was borrowed by other major *stras* and utilized in their linguistic and other theories. Advaita applies this method in its ascertainment of the true nature of the self as pure awareness.

But the Advaitin's usage of *anvaya-vyatireka* is different from its usage in the grammatical *stra*. The method is usually applied to illustrate the cause-effect relation between two things (*k rya-k raMa-sambandha*) as well as their mutual existence and non-existence (*vy pya-vy paka-sambandha*).

In Advaita, however, it is used to demonstrate the existence of two entities (the self and the non-self) independently from one another: when X occurs Y occurs (*anvaya*); when X occurs Y is absent (*vyatireka*).¹²⁰ In the Advaitin's opinion "What is invariably present in all our experience and what is not subject to change is *anvaya*".¹²¹ Sure vara makes extensive use of the method explaining the process of disidentification of the self and the non-self. The process starts with what is the most external and the easiest to discard as the non-self – physical body. The body is perceived by the same organs that perceive purely external objects with which identification is unimaginable. In experience it is found adventitious since it is not cognized in dream and sleep. Thus, body is known and seen while it is insisted that self is the knower and the seer.¹²²

Sure vara then proceeds to draw distinction between the self and subtle body. In the absence of discrimination mental states along with the notions "I" and "mine" are routinely transferred to transcendental self and in some schools are counted as its properties. However, since they keep changing they are

¹¹⁸ *Mah bh 'ya*, II.346, I.219.

¹¹⁹ Cardona, 1967-8, 337.

¹²⁰ Comans, 1996, 60.

¹²¹ *Nai' karma-siddhi*.

¹²² *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.19.

impermanent and what is impermanent cannot be construed as a property of a permanent entity. Moreover, they cannot be considered properties of the self for the simple reason that they are perceived or known as objects of knowledge (*karmatvena upalabhyatv t*) whereas in the Advaitin's opinion transcendental Self stands for ultimate subjectivity.¹²³ Sure vara identifies inwardness (*pratyaktva*) and consciousness (*bodha*) stressing its unobjectifiability.¹²⁴ So, "I"-feeling is the property not of the transcendental but of the empirical self.

There would be a chance of compromise here if we were to admit the possibility of the self's being both subject and object as reflected in the expression "I know myself". Besides reiterating that the self cannot be subject and object simultaneously Sure vara states that even if the self were assumed to have parts, qualitatively part could not be different from the whole and would be bound to be pure consciousness.¹²⁵ It may be proposed that self is subject and object in succession. However, for the Advaitin there is a radical discontinuity between the seer and the seen. The knower can never be reduced to the known. The self is *alupta-dl''i* – of uninterrupted vision.¹²⁶ On the other hand, nothing can turn the unconscious known into the conscious knower. Being opposed to one another they cannot exchange places even for a moment. Besides, the succession would imply the incongruity of there being the seer without the seen and vice versa alternatively – something, which is not found in common experience.

Internal organ submits to the same argument as a physical body: it is adventitious since it is not found in deep sleep and hence cannot be claimed to be a quality of eternal self. Sure vara renounces the Ny ya-M m l s theory that the self can be sometimes endowed with consciousness, sometimes free from it just like a mango fruit that is seen to be green first and mellow later. It is unacceptable to anyone who bases his thought on the Upani'adic tradition which presents the self as an entity of homogeneous nature. Mango changes its colour because it is of composite nature so that the comparison with self falls through.¹²⁷

¹²³ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.22.

¹²⁴ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.14.

¹²⁵ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.26.

¹²⁶ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.41.

¹²⁷ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.34.

The adventitious character of internal organ makes it impossible to consider it an attribute (*vi e' aMa*) of the self. Attribute is invariably connected with the object it qualifies. Blueness, for example, cannot be taken away from the blue lotus even for a short while. Quality and the qualified belong to the same ontological level. Were internal organ as real as the self, even *ruti* would not be potent to annihilate it. But the experience of sleep disproves its reality and its invariable association with the self. Internal organ as well as the multitude of objects it cognizes appear and disappear. Therefore, they cannot be as real as what witnesses their appearance and disappearance. Therefore, internal organ has to be treated as *up dhi* (adjunct) of the self.¹²⁸ Adjunct's association with what it is superimposed upon is dependent on the lack of discrimination and ends with the advent of discrimination.

Thus, the method of *anvaya-vyatireka* helps to gradually divest "I" from "this" and to ascertain the element of pure subjectivity in what is a blend of objectivity and subjectivity. Sure vara does not catalogue the varieties of *anvaya-vyatireka* the way Madhus dana Sarasvat does. The latter lists altogether five varieties of this method: *dl g-dl ya-*, *s k' -s k' ya-*, *gam p yi-tadavadhi-*, *anuvltta-vy vltta-*, *duBkhi-paramaprem spada-anvaya-vyatireka*.¹²⁹ Except, perhaps, for the last one Sure vara utilizes them with correctness and efficiency: *dl g-dl ya-* (*Nai' karma-siddhi*, II. 19; 22; III. 56), *s k' -s k' ya-* (*Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II. 4.343), *gam p yi-tadavadhi-* (*Nai' karma-siddhi*, III. 55), *anuvltta-vyavltta-anvaya-vyatireka* (*Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II. 4.125).

He also uses it for reasons other than identification of true self, i.e. to establish the preeminence of *pr Ma* over other sense-organs¹³⁰ and the relation between *pr Ma* and *d man* etc.¹³¹

Yet Sure vara is acutely aware of the limitations of reasoning and devotes considerable time to proving that it can be at the most valuable and indispensable link in the chain of

¹²⁸ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.94.

¹²⁹ *Da a lok*, p.70.

¹³⁰ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, I.3.19.

¹³¹ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II. 2.21.

Advaitic method¹³² and not a means of attaining *mok'a*. He unambiguously states that the only result of reasoning (and by reasoning he means *anvaya-vyatireka*) is discrimination of the self and the non-self: “*Sarvasyaiv ' num na-vy p rasya phalam iyad eva yad viveka-grahaMam.*”¹³³ It does not, unlike in S l khya, result in liberation. The quest should proceed beyond discriminatory vision towards the unitary experience which is obtainable from *mah v kya*s alone. Discriminatory cognition is necessarily characterized by difference (*bheda*) which the Advaitin does not admit in his conception of the ultimate reality. Perception of difference is a vestige of ignorance that has to be rooted out. Reasoning cannot remove the dualistic world of bondage and suffering. It only helps to identify the self in the stream of non-self. The very cognition of difference between the self and the non-self arises in what is non-self. If it remains rooted in the seed of bondage how can it be expected to uproot the bondage. In reality discriminatory cognition is not better than even erroneous cognition and one who relies on it in the struggle out of bondage is like a hare who thinks he might escape death by merely closing his eyes.¹³⁴ The self's existence and nature can be inferred but its special features like non-duality and blissfulness cannot be experienced through inference. Sure vara claims that inference can yield only mediate knowledge – mediate because of the mediation of the *liJga* – while the goal of the Advaitin's method is attainment of direct insight into the nature of the self. So, inferring the self, however precisely, does not make one happy.¹³⁵ Reasoning, forever limited and capable of being only a preparatory step, cannot leave the hearing of *mah v kya* without scope. To him who has been convinced, in however abstract a manner, of the opposition between the self and the non-self the *ruti* not only says what the self is but generates a direct insight into its nature – the insight that is free from the least doubt: “*S k' d aparok' t karatala-nyast malakavat pratip dayati.*”¹³⁶

¹³² *Anvaya-vyatirek bhy l vin v ky rtha-bodhanam ... na sy t, Nai' karma-siddhi*, II. 9.

¹³³ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II. 96, sambandha.

¹³⁴ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, IV.15,16.

¹³⁵ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.57.

¹³⁶ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.47-8, sambandha.

Mah v kya is addressed to someone who has mastered the above-mentioned six mental disciplines and applied the inferential method of *anvaya-vyatireka*. The process of understanding of *mah v kya* has, according to Sure vara, three phases:¹³⁷

1. *Sam n dhikaraMya-jñ na* (which is the knowledge of grammatical coordination).

Grammatical coordination gives one a hint that two words, although having different denotation, may have one referent. Bringing of two words together with the help of grammatical structures is a necessary precondition of the realization that they signify one entity. As was suggested, grammatical coordination propounded by Sure vara was probably the influence of his master.¹³⁸ In his analysis of the *mah v kya* aJkara mentions co-reference of the words “*tat*” and “*tvam*” indicated by the word “*asi*” which he calls “*tulyan ; atva*”(collocation).¹³⁹

2. *Vi e'aMa-vi e'ya-bh va-jñ na* (the knowledge of the relation of the qualifier and the qualified/ subject-predicate). In the *mah v kya* the word “*tvam*” is the subject qualified by the word “*tat*”. When two words enter the subject-predicate relation their meanings are transferred to one another and the opposing qualities are negated. The stock example of this relation is “*n lam utpalam*” (blue lotus). Once the two are combined, it is understood that what is blue is lotus and what is lotus is blue. On the other hand, non-blueness is removed from the meaning of “lotus” and non-lotusness from the meaning of “blue”. In the same way the meanings of “*tvam*” and “*tat*” become blended and mutually qualified. In the process the word “*tvam*” comes to acquire the meaning “free from suffering” due to its proximity to and its being qualified by the word “*tat*”, while the latter acquires the meaning of inwardness being juxtaposed with and related in the above-mentioned way to the word “*tvam*”.¹⁴⁰ Thus, *vi e'aMa-vi e'ya-bh va* is “a stage of unitary judgement” when otherwise disconnected words are apprehended as connected as substantive and adjective.¹⁴¹ However, the subject-predicate relation has its limitations when applied to the *mah v kya*. It gives rise to the

¹³⁷ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.3.

¹³⁸ Mayeda, 1980-1, 151.

¹³⁹ *Upade a-s hasr*, padya, XVIII.169,194.

¹⁴⁰ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.10.

¹⁴¹ Roodurmun, 2002, 215.

sentential, related meaning where the two – blueness and lotusness – are distinguished. They represent two independent things combined but also found outside each other's boundaries: lotuses can be white while blueness can belong to a pot.

3. *Lak'ya-lak'aMa-jñ na* (the knowledge of implication and what is implied). Application of *lak'aM* is of arch-importance for the Advaitin who is determined to extract non-relational (*asal sl''a*) meaning from *mah v kya*. In general, *lak'aM* is important for any philosophical school that believes in anything either completely ineffable or at least not easily expressible in popular parlance. This explains why *lak'aM* being quite understandably a mainstay of any manual on poetics, also found its recognition in almost every major school of Indian philosophy. The detailed theories of *lak'aM* are found with Naiyayikas,¹⁴² Grammarians¹⁴³ and M m l sakas.¹⁴⁴ There is also some discussion on the topic in the writings of M dhyamikas¹⁴⁵ and Vijñanavādas.¹⁴⁶ The early interest of Indian philosophers in *lak'aM* can be explained by the necessity to explain some Vedic passages that are obscure and contradictory to what is obvious. For M m l s *lak'aM* has a purely exegetical value. Advaita goes several steps further. It admits the ineffability of Brahman and recognizes *lak'aM* as the only possible device to enable one to have a discourse about it. It also makes *lak'aM* a vital part of its method without which Brahman is not realizable.

There are two major conditions that sanction the use of *lak'aM* :

(1). The inapplicability or the unsuitability of the primary meaning in the context (*mukhyartha-badha*). The mere contradiction of the primary sense does not sanction the use of *lak'aM*. Some cases can be solved by resorting to inference and presumption. All the same, the Advaitin insists that when it comes to grasping the meaning of the *mah v kya*s, the inapplicability of the primary sense necessitates the application of *lak'aM*.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² *Nyaya-sutra*, II.2.62.

¹⁴³ *Mahabharata*, II, Kielhorn, 1962, 218.

¹⁴⁴ *M m l s -sutra*, I.4.23.

¹⁴⁵ *Vigraha-vartan*, Johnston&Kunst, 1978, 43,56.

¹⁴⁶ Sthiramati on *Trilokī*, 1.

¹⁴⁷ Bhat, 1973, 132.

(2). Some relation between the primary meaning and the implied referent of the word.¹⁴⁸ These are agreed upon by both rhetoricians and philosophers and stipulated by the representatives of the Advaita tradition.¹⁴⁹ It is also noteworthy that since word has secondary meaning only when used in a sentence, *lak' aM* is a function of a sentence, not of a single word.¹⁵⁰ Before applying *lak' aM* it is necessary to look into the reasons for its usage in respect of tman-Brahman. The Advaitin is convinced that no language other than a figurative one is applicable to it. No word is capable of denoting it. It is said to be not of the nature of word – *a abd dy tmaka*.¹⁵¹ Sure vara lists the conditions for denotation and proceeds to demonstrate that they are not found in case of Brahman. *Sambandha* (relation of the sixth case type) like in *R ja-puru' a* (king's man) is inapplicable to Brahman which is self-existent and does not serve someone else's purpose. Strictly speaking, it is not related even to its own M y , the very question of their relation being possible only in the state of ignorance. Class feature (*j ti*) is not found in Brahman which is unique and has nothing alongside it to be compared with. Quality (*guMa*) is likewise alien to Brahman which is a qualityless and attributeless entity not admitting internal division along the substance-quality lines. Action (*kriy*) is impossible for Brahman, which is viewed as a multiplicity of agents only due to superimposition, remaining all the same *akriya* (actionless) and *ak raka* (free from the factors of action).¹⁵² The last reason for denotation is convention (*r ; hi*). The reason why it is denied vis-à-vis Brahman is perhaps that convention is possible with respect to what is a tangible object of daily transaction (*vyavah ra*). The unknown cannot, in principle, be an object of convention, which depends for its function on regular and collective dealing with its object.¹⁵³

There are some additional reasons why primary sense should be abandoned in the case of *mah v kya*. Firstly, it is opposed to what the sentence attempts to establish. The Advaitin

¹⁴⁸ Raja, 2000, 231-2.

¹⁴⁹ *V kyavltti*, 47; p.243.

¹⁵⁰ Bhattacharyya, 1983, 85.

¹⁵¹ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, I.4.7.839.

¹⁵² *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.57, See also “*ni' kriyo' k rako' dvayaB*”, *Upade a-s hasr* , padya, XVII.80.

¹⁵³ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.103 and *Candrik thereon*. Also *Taittir yopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.596, 598.

tries to prove that *mah v kya* conveys the knowledge of non-dual blissful self. If this knowledge does not arise from the sentence interpreted in the primary sense, it should be discarded in favour of implied sense. Secondly, it is not conducive to the attainment of liberation, which is likewise taken to be a purpose of *mah v kya*. If the primary meanings of “*tvam*” and “*tat*” are maintained, the words will not be able to be related at all as there is a glaring contradiction between their primary meaning and the identity conveyed by their grammatical coordination and the finite form of the verb (*asi*). If identity is not established, *avidyā* will remain undisputed and liberation unattained. Thirdly, primary meaning does not add to what is supplied by other *pramāṇas*. If it is insisted upon, *mah v kya* will be reduced to a tautological statement. One can know oneself as suffering and limited even without resorting to *rūti*. By the same token mediacy (*p rok'ya*) and otherness-than-self or duality (*sadvit yatva*) are understood the moment one hears the word “*tat*” outside the Vedic context.¹⁵⁴ The words “*tvam*” and “*tat*” convey the ideas of the immediate transmigratory self and anything remote in space and time respectively. If these are preserved, then the words will not be combined into a sentence, as the condition of *yogyatā* (semantical compatibility) will be unfulfilled. One cannot appeal to the example “*n lam utpalam*” because the primary meanings of “*n la*” and “*utpala*” are not incompatible. Therefore, to enable a *mah v kya* to convey sense and to prove the *pramāṇa*-status of *rūti* one has to sacrifice the primary meanings of words and to apply *lakṣaṇam* while interpreting it.

This proved, it is necessary to define the primary meaning of “*tvam*” before discarding it altogether, since the opponent (presumably the Naiyāyika and the Mīmāṃsaka) tries to salvage his view of the self as possessed of qualities like cognition etc. and to prove that such a self is identical with Ultimate Reality. Sureśvara is obliged to reiterate that “I”-notion (*aham-pratyaya*) is not a quality of self but of internal organ. He claims that the illustration “I know myself” advanced by the opponent does not prove the latter’s point at all. The self cannot be imagined to be capable of knowing its qualities. If the self had qualities it would not be able to perceive them since it is indivisible (*abhinna* *t*), homogeneous (*sama* *t*) and partless (*nirāl* *atv* *t*). The quality

¹⁵⁴ *Nai' karmya-siddhi*, III.23-4 and *Candrikā* thereon.

perceived implies that it is perceived outside self in some object (however proximate to the self). Internal organ is such object for the self – proximate yet different from self and therefore knowable.¹⁵⁵ The opponent may modify his stance by trying to distinguish between the “I”-notion and what he held to be qualities of the self (cognition etc.) and is now ready to consign to the domain of internal organ. Empirical usage sanctions the connection between the self and “I”-notion. But if it had been so, says Sure vara, self would have been ascribed many a quality on the basis of empirical usage which is absurd. Just because one says “I am fair” one cannot infer that fairness is the quality of self.¹⁵⁶ Sure vara is trying to stress the limitations of *vyavah ra*, which, ultimately, belongs to the realm of nescience. Linguistic communication and suchlike transactions are possible only in the context of superimposition. If one indulges in metaphysical speculations relying on linguistic conventions that are ignorance-ridden the results will be as ridiculous as the one mentioned above. So no portion of the empirical self is meant to be identical with the Absolute in the *mah v kya* and in the process of disidentification internal organ fares no better than even gross body. Thus, the primary meaning of “*tvam*” is found unsuitable and has to be discarded.

For *lak'aM* to function, there should be some relation between the primary and implied meaning of the word. The word “*GaJg*” in “*GaJg y l gho'aB*” (the cowherds’ hamlet on the Ganges) implies the bank of the river because of the proximity of the two. Implication is not altogether arbitrary. There has to be some sort of association like in the case of the river and its bank; otherwise implication will be too abstruse to serve as means of conveying one’s idea. In the context of the *mah v kya*, then, there should be a relation between the primary meaning of “*tvam*” (the empirical self plagued with suffering and subject to transmigration) and what it implies – the transcendental self or Brahman. That presents some problem for the Advaitin since he denies any relation between the self and the non-self on the *p ram rthika* level. The non-self is reducible to *avidy*, and the Advaitin, as was illustrated in the previous chapter, feels uncomfortable when he faces the related problems of the origin,

¹⁵⁵ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.26.

¹⁵⁶ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.28.

object and substrate of *avidyā*. The charge that there is no relation between the self and the non-self threatens to demolish the whole concept of Veda as revelation since in that case *lak' aM* will be inapplicable and *mah v kya*s as interpreted through the prism of denotation will be reduced to mere restatements of what can be known otherwise. Hence, Sure vara has to concede that such relation exists. He acknowledges that there is a relation of the *avabh saka-avabh sya* type between the self and the internal organ signified by the word “*tvam*”. The self enables and illumines in a rather disinterested way the modifications of internal organ superimposed on and wrongly ascribed to it in common experience.¹⁵⁷ The self, Sure vara says, observes the dance of the internal organs: “*e'a sarvadhiy | nlttam... v k'ate' v k'am Mo'pi*”,¹⁵⁸ which calls to mind danseuse-spectator metaphor of the *S | khya-k rik*.¹⁵⁹ If that qualifies to be called a relation, then there is a relation between them. Although even here Sure vara is careful enough to add “*av k'am Mo'pi*” hinting that from the ultimate standpoint the self does not witness anything and that there is a difference in ontological levels between the activities of internal organs and the self-contained, uninvolved, actionless presence of the Absolute.

This apparent connection between the internal organ and the self serves as a reason for employing *lak' aM* and helps Sure vara to avoid the charge that the self cannot be implied because it cannot be denoted. With the latter Sure vara certainly agrees, saying that the self is free from the reasons for the use of words: “*vidh ta-sarvakalpan -k raMa-sv bh vy d tmanaB*”.¹⁶⁰ Here Sure vara harks back to the Upani'adic view of the ineffability of the self: *upa nto' yam tm*.¹⁶¹ In Sure vara's mind implication is possible even in the absence of denotation on the basis of the discussed connection. Sure vara establishes the invariable concomitance between implication and connection with the primary meaning (*mukhy rtha-sambandha*).

The concomitance between implication and denotation is invariable as long as we do not attempt to imply the self, while

¹⁵⁷ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.60.

¹⁵⁸ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, II.58.

¹⁵⁹ K ., 59.

¹⁶⁰ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III. 99, sambandha.

¹⁶¹ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, III.2.17.

Sure vara-proffered concomitance covers even the self and can, therefore, be taken as a universal rule.¹⁶²

To justify the choice of the word “*tvam*” or “*aham*” for signifying the self Sure vara draws our attention to the similarities between the transcendental self and internal organ. Although doubtlessly material, internal organ is experienced as more inward than material external objects. In the state of wakefulness it is possible not to be aware of external objects while reminiscing or day-dreaming but in both these states internal organ is engaged in creative activities on the basis of impressions stored in it. The same continues in the state of sleep only with more profound abstraction from the world of external objects. Even while the contact with external objects is severed internal organ persists and functions, which demonstrates its inwardness vis-à-vis them. Compared to the self, it still remains external but that does not affect its inwardness in respect of external organs. It is always midway between the self and the objects and in that it is partially inward and is comparable to the self. Sure vara mentions that the inwardness of internal organ is relative while that of the self absolute.¹⁶³ The word “I” denoting primarily internal organ conjures up not only personal associations and feelings that are a legitimate domain of the internal organ but is capable of reminding one of one’s selfhood on a much deeper level. “I”, says Deutsch, “calls for a radical particularity. Its use affirms an inviolable subjective – and finally free – consciousness as the centre of personhood”.¹⁶⁴ The other feature of internal organ that likens it to the self is its extreme subtlety. Unlike external objects it is not known through perception. It is present in all empirical experience except sleep, and from the way it is presented it is understandably treated as immediate. When it operates, no additional cognition is required to know it, since it is obvious, and perceptual activities happen as a result of its activity. It is also true that like the transcendental self it is inward and cannot be grasped by organs of perception that are directed outwards.

There is one more apparent connection between the self and internal organ mentioned by Sure vara. In the method of Advaita internal organ is utilized for self-realization. In fact, it is

¹⁶² *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.98-8 and *Candrikā* thereon.

¹⁶³ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.12.

¹⁶⁴ Deutsch, 1992, 84.

indispensable in the struggle for liberation, which is attained the moment adequate mental modification arises. So, whatever is useful in discovering the self should be, in a way, connected with the self, at least from the practitioner's angle.¹⁶⁵

Finally, being a product of *avidyā*, internal organ is so utterly dependent on the self for its relative existence and operation that it can certainly be viewed as a kind of relation, although a one-way one, between them.

All this gives the Advaitin sufficient ground to choose words denoting empirical self, "T"-notion or internal organ to imply the transcendental self.

The possibility of implication in the case of *mahāvākyas* having been proved, the question arises as to the type of implication that would fit best. There are just three types of implication: Exclusive (*jahallak'āṁ*) as in "*Gājagryāgho'āḥ*" when primary meaning is completely abandoned; Inclusive (*ajahallak'āṁ*) as in "*Kuntāpraviṇti*", when primary meaning is preserved while something else is indicated, and Exclusive-cum-inclusive (*jahad-ajahallak'āṁ* or *bhagatyagalak'āṁ*) as in "*So'yādevadattāḥ*" when the part of a primary meaning is shed while another is retained. Although this classification is not found in the writings of Ājaka or Sureśvara, it is quite clear that they advocate indicative interpretation of the *mahāvākyas*. The choice in favour of the third type of implication was made on the later stage of Advaita.¹⁶⁶ It became the most popular method of interpreting *mahāvākyas*, as it is, indeed, quite comprehensive when it comes to bringing out the essential nature of the object. Sureśvara, however, seems to have a predisposition towards the first type. By way of illustrating the type of implication in the *mahāvākyas*, he mentions the sentences that decidedly contain the *jahallak'āṁ*: "*mañcānti*" and "*Agnisamyagadhite*". The former is a stock example of *jahallak'āṁ* and is similar to "*Gājagryāgho'āḥ*". In the latter student is compared to fire in which case there is a qualitative transfer (*gauṁvṛtti*). Qualitative transfer is justified by the similarity of qualities and does not require retention of the primary meaning of the word. At least in the example in question

¹⁶⁵ *Nai'karmya-siddhi*, II.55.

¹⁶⁶ *Pañcadaśa*, VII.74, *Tattvamasya divyē'ulak'āṁ bhagalak'āṁ / so'yam ity divyasthapadāyoraivaṇṇapar*; Also *Vedāntasāra*, Jacob, 1995, 126.

the primary meaning of the word “*Agni*” is not retained when the student is indicated by it.

Sure vara’s preference for exclusive implication can be indirectly seen in his treatment of the mechanism of *lak’aM*’s operation. He states unambiguously that in the sentence “This snake is a rope”, snake, albeit spoken of, is not meant to be conveyed. What figures in the *lak’aM* is not the message of the indicative sentence – it is there only to point to something beyond it. *Lak’aM* has only one thing that is desired to be conveyed (*lak’ya*), the rest being barely the means. What indicates and what is indicated are related as the sublated and the sublator. The function of erroneously cognized, ultimately non-existent snake is to point to the rope wherein it is imagined. The sublation of the erroneous cognition of the snake makes the sublation of its substrate possible. Thus, the rope is cognized when the snake superimposed upon it due to superficial similarity and lack of proper conditions for the operation of *pram Ma*, is sublated. In the same way, the “I”-notion denoted by the word “*tvam*” causes one to cognize transcendental self not otherwise but through its own dissolution, so that the way nothing of the snake remains in the corrected cognition of it as a rope, nothing of a limited, suffering, transmigrating self remains when it is realized to be Brahman.¹⁶⁷ Sure vara is quite clear that the words constituting *mah v kya* surrender their primary, popularly known meaning in their entirety since these are not what *ruti* wishes to convey while establishing identity between them: “*an liJgita-s m nyau na jih sita-v dinau... tattvamau...*”¹⁶⁸ While Sure vara was in favour of Exclusive indication, his disciple Sarvajñ tman acted like a middle link between him and the later tradition that threw its lot with the Exclusive-cum-Inclusive type. Sarvajñ tman seems to be quite ambivalent as he gives his master’s view¹⁶⁹ quoting the examples of what is decidedly Exclusive indication, “The boat makes noise”, “The iron burns”, “The poisonous rope in front” and also applies the third type of indication.¹⁷⁰

Sure vara analyses *mah v kya* into restatement (*anuv da*) and predication (*vidh na*). Technically, restatement plays the role

¹⁶⁷ *Nai’ karma-siddhi*, III.27,43.

¹⁶⁸ *Nai’ karma-siddhi*, III.75.

¹⁶⁹ *Sal k’ epa- r raka*, I.169-70.

¹⁷⁰ *Sal k’ epa- r raka*, I.151.

of subject (*udde ya*) so that the sentence might follow the subject-predicate pattern. “*Tvam*” constitutes a restatement and the subject of the sentence. According to Sure vara’s interpretation it does not convey any information that could not be procured through alternative means of knowledge. It carries with it the whole host of already familiar associations. Tautological as it might seem, it is, nevertheless, important in producing the desired understanding. It is indication that conveys qualitatively new information, but in the absence of however wrongly understood subject it is bound to remain distant and unconnected with anything known to the hearer. Subject is introduced only to be substituted by the predicate, which alone cannot sublimate the subject unless there is a juxtaposition of and grammatical connection between the two. As Sure vara says, repeat as often as we may the predicate “stump”, we cannot eradicate the erroneous idea of man unless two cognitions (of stump and of man) are brought together and arranged as the sublator and the sublated.¹⁷¹ This also explains why there can not be contradiction in the *mah v kya*. Contradiction is likely to occur between two predicates but not between subject and predicate shorn of their primary meanings. Thus, *ruti* reveals the self by sublating its imperfect perceptual knowledge: “*api pratyak' a-b dhena pravlttiB pratyag tmani*”.¹⁷² But this happens only after the restatement is made, which is necessary to sum up the wrong cognition before it is cancelled.

At this point it is necessary to say more about sublation (*b dha*). What gets sublated is not the object but the wrong notions thereof. Sublation does not necessarily imply disappearance of the object. It is rather percipient’s getting new perspective on the object. As Sarvajñ tman says, nothing changes except the disappearance of *avidy* : “*tava bodha-janmani pur na punas tava ka cid apy ati aya bhavati*”.¹⁷³ This may explain why some aspects of the liberated person’s behaviour remain the same as before self-realization. He perceives the world of duality even after the disappearance of *avidy* , although he considers it in a different light. This prompted Deutsch to redefine sublation (which he on this occasion calls subration) as the mental process

¹⁷¹ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.74.

¹⁷² *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.95.

¹⁷³ *Sal k' epa- r raka*, II.239.

whereby one disvalues some previously appraised object or content of consciousness because of its being contradicted by new experience. Thus, it is not a disappearance of the object, but only its relegation to a lower level in one's value system.¹⁷⁴

The method has to be adjusted to the disciples who differ in their abilities (*adhik ri-bheda*). Sure vara distinguishes four kinds of disciples. Vir j realized the unity of the self by rejecting all the non-self, having been purged of all the impurities that might have obstructed his understanding.¹⁷⁵ Although Sure vara advocates the unavoidability and crucial importance of the *mah v kya* in Vedantic discipline he admits that in the case of Vir j nothing remained to be communicated.¹⁷⁶ The commentator, however, presumes that there was hearing of the *mah v kya* even in the case of Vir j, if Vir j is to be believed to have attained liberation, since there is a qualitative difference between the realization of the absence of non-self and the realization of the self as unsurpassed bliss etc.¹⁷⁷ A certain Pi caka went to the forest for some work and by chance heard the *mah v kya* recited. Since he possessed a certain supersensory power (*at ndriya- akti*) due to some merits accumulated in previous lives, he realized the meaning of the *mah v kya* instantaneously apparently without going through the rigours of spiritual discipline. Then there are the likes of *vetaketu*,¹⁷⁸ who heard the *mah v kya* and understood its import having resorted to the *anvaya-vyatireka* reasoning. It is believed that for *vetaketu* the process of reasoning sufficed and he moved from hearing of the sentence to reasoning and the realization of the sentence-meaning, while typically the sentence is recited to the one who has already gone through the process of reasoning. The fourth category consists of all those aspirants who require additional discipline. Their accumulated merit is limited and does not undermine ignorance sufficiently to allow a single hearing of the *mah v kya* to dispel it. Even though they have already inferred the difference between the self and the non-self with the help of the *anvaya-vyatireka*

¹⁷⁴ Deutsch, 1988, 15; See also the critique of this interpretation of sublation in White, 1981, 190-1.

¹⁷⁵ *Bhāṣya rāmāyaṇa Upaniśad*, I.4.1-2.

¹⁷⁶ *Nai' karmya-siddhi*, III.64.

¹⁷⁷ Candrik on *Nai' karmya-siddhi*, II.4.

¹⁷⁸ *Chāndogya Upaniśad*, VI.1.

method they require repeated hearing (*ravaMa*), an additional course of reasoning (*manana*) and concentration (*nididhy sana*) to bring about the desired result. In this Sure vara follows aJkara who says that the sentence-meaning is not realized as long as the ignorance shrouding the meaning of the constituents of the sentence is not dispelled. The repeated hearing and reasoning help clarify the meanings of *Tat* and *Tvam*. With each repetition a certain wrong notion or doubtful cognition can be shed so that coming out of ignorance becomes a gradual process. It is only the advanced disciples (those who are free from obstructions like ignorance and wrong notions) on whom can dawn the realization of the sentence-meaning after a single hearing.¹⁷⁹

ravaMa is the first and indispensable step in the process of realization of the meaning of the *mah v kya*. aJkara glosses *ravaMa* simply as hearing the *mah v kya* from the Scriptures or teacher.¹⁸⁰ It appears to be a rather simple, unsophisticated interpretation and aJkara is obliged to immediately add that Brahman is realized not through hearing alone but through the combination of hearing, pondering (*manana*) and contemplation (*nididhy sana*).¹⁸¹ From what Sure vara supplies below as well as from the commentarial tradition and the opinion of the members of Sure vara's line,¹⁸² it is clear that Sure vara does not share this simplistic view of *ravaMa*, although at the first instance he ignores the pressing demand to define it.¹⁸³ The oversimplified view of *ravaMa* will be unjustified if we consider the etymology of the word: although the suffix "*ana*" does not in itself suggest repeated action or process and only stresses the meaning of the root, which is action of a particular type, the very idea of action as a process and not a single act or event is subscribed to by Indian grammarians. If we follow the etymology of the word and the opinion of Sure vara and the tradition subsequent to him, *ravaMa* should be taken as a mental activity in the form of enquiry into the import of Upani'adic texts. It first of all implies an apologetical attempt to prove the independent significance of the

¹⁷⁹ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, IV.1.2.

¹⁸⁰ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad- aJkara-bh 'ya*, II.4.5.

¹⁸¹ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad- aJkara-bh 'ya*, II.4.5.

¹⁸² Vide nandagiri on the above and *Sal k'epa- r raka*, III.344.

¹⁸³ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.214.

Upani'ads. In a way, most of the Advaitic polemics about the possibility of non-action oriented sentences and statements of facts in secular and Vedic contexts may be viewed as assisting those on the level of *ravaMa*. Sure vara alludes to the six factors assisting in determining the import of Vedic passages current in the *M m l s* tradition:¹⁸⁴ *ruti* (direct scriptural statement), *liJga* (indicative power), *v kya* (syntactical connection), *prakaraMa* (context), *sth na* (position), *sam khy* (name).¹⁸⁵ In *M m l s* these are utilized to determine the precise use of each utterance of the Veda or of the thing/action in the ritual context as well as which of them is subservient to which. Sure vara certainly does not want to get involved in the explanation of ritualistic minutiae and restricts the utilization of these factors to textual interpretation trying to create an independent domain for the *mah v kyas* and related passages in the corpus of the indisputably ritual-oriented Vedic texts. He, however, refrains from explaining how exactly he applies these factors while interpreting the texts. It may be supposed that since on the *M m l s* view each preceding factor is more authoritative than the succeeding ones, Sure vara tries to convey that as direct assertion of the scripture has ultimate authority in the field of *Dharma* and Brahman, there is no reason to doubt the validity of scriptural statements regarding the underlying unity of *j va* and Brahman.

ravaMa is to be followed by *manana*. Once the meaning of Upani'adic passages has been ascertained, one should convince oneself about the plausibility of the heard message. Reflection is called for to establish the truthfulness and non-contradictory nature of what is communicated: “*gam rtha-vini cityai mantavya iti bhaMyate*”.¹⁸⁶ This stage is psychologically important for the aspirant: if one retains doubts about the plausibility of the message, if one is not convinced about its actuality, one cannot proceed towards its realization. It is the nature of human mind to seek justification for anything it is involved in. As Brahma aptly remarks: “Reflection or *manana* implies a rational justification of the subject, without which it can never have a permanent hold on the mind”.¹⁸⁷ It does not follow

¹⁸⁴ *Blhad raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.214.

¹⁸⁵ *M m l s -s tras*, III.3.14.

¹⁸⁶ *Blhad raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.214.

¹⁸⁷ Brahma, 2005, 217.

that Ultimate Reality should be necessarily rational. This was never a conclusion of the Advaitic tradition. What it implies is that there is nothing impossible in the content of Vedānta, nothing downright absurd that might discourage the seeker from lending his ear to the Upaniṣadic sayings.

Manana gains in importance when considered in the context of one's practice. For a proposition to become true, or for a thought to become knowledge, there should be no evidence to the contrary supplied by other *pramāṇas*. If there is a conflict with another evidence, one should resort to *manana* to investigate whether the conflict is genuine or apparent. A thinker, particularly if he is also a practitioner, cannot commit himself to something that is in contradiction to what is already known. Thus, *manana* becomes an indispensable stage of one's progress. Referring to the definition of *manana* supplied in *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* (*prajñāna-pariccheda*) Ghosh says: "*Manana* is a kind of mental act which gives rise to some favourable arguments for justifying some conclusion if there is possibility of conflict with other evidence... whether the conflict with other evidence can be removed with the help of some arguments or not is to be shown through the process of *manana*".¹⁸⁸ Sureśvara does not stop on giving definitions of *rāvaṇa* and *manana*, but proceeds to discuss what constitutes them.

Firstly, the purport of scriptural passages is not to present the self as involved in causality. The idea is not to affirm the causal aspect of the self, having denied its effectual aspect, but to deny completely any causality in the self which is the devourer, as it were, of cause-effect relation and has nothing preceding or succeeding it. The cause-effect relation is a product of ignorance, it is not proved by *pramāṇas*. Secular *pramāṇas*, themselves products of ignorance are bound to cognize everything as non-contradictory to their nature. They cannot but structure everything according to the cause-effect pattern, which, however, does not prove that everything they reveal follows this pattern in actuality.¹⁸⁹

Secondly, the scripture intends to convey knowledge of the self as the unchanging essence (*tattva*) in the stream of

¹⁸⁸ Ghosh, 1992, 137.

¹⁸⁹ *Bṛhadāraṇyakaopaniṣad-bhāṣya-vṛtika*, II.5.242-3 and nandagiri's commentary thereon.

changing cognitions. This knowledge is capable of dispelling ignorance that gives rise to changing cognitions by the strength of its object (internal self) – *antarmeya-bal t*. Knowledge of the invariable entity is itself invariable (*avyabhi-ri*) and is, therefore, capable of canceling nescience and its effects that are variable. It is only the knowledge based on the strength of the internal entity (*antarmeya*) that can be considered a sublator (*b dhaka*) and is, therefore, right/proper (*samyag-jñ na*), not the secular knowledge based on ignorance of the self alone (*pratyaj-mohaja-sal rayam*) and, as a result, non-contradictory to it. The fruits of these two knowledges are liberation and bondage respectively.¹⁹⁰

Lastly, *ruti* teaches about the self that is the most inward consciousness and the witness of a variety of mental acts and identifications: “*pratyaktvena ya bh ti pratyak-buddhi-pram MakaB*.”¹⁹¹ And it is only this self that should be understood identical with Brahman.¹⁹² These lines of reasoning, according to *Sure vara*, come under the caption of *ravaMa*.

This is immediately followed by an extensive discussion on *manana*. First of all, *Sure vara* sets out to prove that the phenomenal world’s being of the nature of pure consciousness is a possibility. In the introductory remark he points out that consciousness pervades phenomenal manifestation and thus enables the objects to be known. Its pervasion of the world is also clear from the fact that it is the only unvarying thing amidst varying mental states.¹⁹³ The self is presupposed in every cognition pervading it through and through. The *Upani’ad* contains three parallel illustrations to clarify the same point: the sound of drum, of conch and of lute.¹⁹⁴ The cognition of the particular (drum sound) presupposes the cognition of the universal (sound). In fact, the former is impossible without the latter, even though the cognizer may remain unconscious of it. However, *Sure vara* is quick to add that the illustration is not

¹⁹⁰ *Blhad raMyakopani’ad-bh ’ya-v rtika*, II.4.255-260 and *nandagiri’s* commentary thereon.

¹⁹¹ *Blhad raMyakopani’ad-bh ’ya-v rtika*, II.4.79. *Sure vara* is fond of using “*pratyak*” (the inward) in the sense of consciousness treating them as synonymous. Vide *Blhad raMyakopani’ad-bh ’ya-v rtika*, II.4.79.

¹⁹² *Blhad raMyakopani’ad-bh ’ya-v rtika*, II.4.79.

¹⁹³ *Blhad raMyakopani’ad-bh ’ya-v rtika*, II.4.264-6.

¹⁹⁴ *Blhad raMyaka Upani’ad*, II.4.7,8,9.

precise, since the pervasion by the self of external objects is not like in the case of two different entities belonging to the same ontological level (for example, the sword and the sheath). Concomitance (*vy pti*) presupposes difference which is not found in the case of the self and what is imagined in it. Even the method of *anvaya-vyatireka* does not prove the coexistence of the self and the non-self as belonging to the same level of reality. The self is not found outside the non-self since it is always its substrate. On the other hand, particulars cannot be viewed as independent from the universal (as sounds of drum are not imaginable alongside the sound *per se*) and therefore, the non-self cannot be established as existing independently beside the self.

Particulars are said to be of the same nature as the universal containing them and so, when universal is cognized they are cognized too, by extension.¹⁹⁵ Moreover, when the former is present, the latter are present and vice versa. This, however, does not mean that there is only *anvaya* relation between them to the exclusion of *vyatireka*. *Vyatireka* can be admitted but with proviso: it will have to consist in the fact that it is only through ignorance that something is viewed as the universal encompassing particulars.¹⁹⁶

Throwing more light on the difference in the ontological level between the self and the non-self Sure vara states that the existence of non-self in the ultimate sense stands unproven. The non-self is established only by the self in the garb of agent/knower (*kartitva-kañcuka*).¹⁹⁷

Sure vara concludes his commentary on the drum-illustration saying that as particular sounds of the drum exist in drum-soundness, which along with other universals exists in the mega-universal of sound, particulars characterized by different name, form and action ultimately exist in the universals (*s m nya*) which, in their turn, finally exist and merge in the great universal (*mah s m nya*). In the same way the elements beginning with the gross merge in the subtler ones, the chain ending in consciousness.¹⁹⁸ In the process, Sure vara says, they cease to be themselves (*pratyag tm vas na*), presumably

¹⁹⁵ *Bḥad raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.279.

¹⁹⁶ *Bḥad raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.282.

¹⁹⁷ *Bḥad raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.284.

¹⁹⁸ *Ch ndogya Upani'ad*, VII. 25

surrendering their characteristics and, therefore, not affecting the substrate of their merger.¹⁹⁹

The merger of particulars into the universal, however distinct they may appear at the first glance, is possible since both belong to the same category (*ekaj ti*) like fire and its byproducts (smoke, sparks, etc.).²⁰⁰ That obliges Sure vara to restate the basic proposition of *Satk ryav da* – the ultimate non-difference of the nature of cause and effect.²⁰¹ *Satk ryav da* also helps to explain how production of the effect does not compromise the self-sufficiency (*ptak matva*) of the cause, pure consciousness. The cause does not require any means or effort to produce the effect, which is not different from it in nature.²⁰²

This is followed by the discussion regarding the spontaneity and eternity of Vedic revelation, which is like *niB v sa*, exhalation of the Absolute. Like any other apparent effect, Veda is not produced with reliance on means and as a result of some effort, the way the creations of human intellect are. This proves its superhuman nature and trustworthiness as a source of valid knowledge (the validity of Veda is also proved by the absence of reasons to mistrust it). Being a breath-like, effortless, although apparent, expression of Absolute, it is eternal and unproduced.²⁰³

Itih sas and Pur Mas, according to Sure vara, are included in the Veda but have certain limits as *pram Mas*. They are, ultimately, products of human mind. Secondly, they do contain statements contrary to the spirit of the Vedas (as interpreted by Advaitin) which should be discarded.²⁰⁴

Commenting on *B\ihad raMyakopani'ad- aJkara-bh 'ya*, II.4.11, Sure vara offers further deliberations on the matter of merger of various elements into their causes, which is possible due to identity of their nature. Objects of sense organs – varieties of touch etc. that are of the nature of air etc. and have as their

¹⁹⁹ *B\ihad raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.294-5.

²⁰⁰ *B\ihad raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.300.

²⁰¹ *B\ihad raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.302.

²⁰² *Sv rtha-s dhana-yatn d n anapek'ya*, *B\ihad raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.303.

²⁰³ *B\ihad raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.307.

²⁰⁴ *B\ihad raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.319-22.

modifications sense-organs²⁰⁵ – merge into qualities (*guMa*)/*tanm tras* (touch etc. in general referred to by words “*tvac etc.*” in the text of the Upani’ad); these merge into *manas*, *manas* into *buddhi* and *buddhi* into pure consciousness.

Buddhi is said to be the universal of the organs of knowledge (*jñ nendriya*), while *pr Ma* – that of the organs of action (*karmendriya*). Both powers – of grasping and acting – proceed from the internal organ in its aspects of *buddhi* and *manas* respectively.²⁰⁶ The development of these two powers culminates in the acquisition of body by the *j va*, since sense-organs require a receptacle (*yatana*).

The principle of merger is then summed up: effects get restored to their respective causes and ultimately to their root-cause – *mah k raMa*, Brahman. They cannot merge into the effects belonging to the same level: sense-organs that are varieties of elements do not merge into elements. Instead, being the effects of *guMas*, they merge into their respective *guMas*.²⁰⁷ The same is true about the objects. Objects merge into *guMas* and not into senses. It is also proved by the fact that *ahaJk ra*, reflected in the thought “I am this” and standing for identification with the objects, is not seen to function when there is no sensation, no presentation of the objects and no identification with the body. This proves that objects merge into *guMas* and not into sense-organs which are their modifications.²⁰⁸ The merger of the varieties of action into their generalities follows the same pattern.

The merger is held to be of two types. The type described above following natural cause and not caused by human endeavour is called common (*s dh raMa*). It is temporary and is invariably succeeded by the remanifestation of the merged

²⁰⁵ If sense-organs did not belong to the same category as their objects they would grasp all objects indiscriminately; the sense-organ and the object are said to be related like the lamp and what it illumines, *B\had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.364-5.

²⁰⁶ This demonstrates that *Sure vara* follows the *S l khya* pattern of analyzing internal organ into three – *manas*, *buddhi* and *ahaJk ra/ahal v\tti*. Earlier he states that *ahaJk ra* is just a function of intellect which pervades the body and cognizes the sensation the moment there is some external irritation, sensation of touch etc. This is how one gets experience “I am being touched”, “I have heard” etc. *B\had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.350-1.

²⁰⁷ *B\had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.372-3.

²⁰⁸ *B\had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.354-55.

phenomenon in the reverse order (from *buddhi* to the objects of sense-organs). It is natural in the sense that it occurs in everyone's case, which warrants its name – common.²⁰⁹ The other type is identical in order but has different cause. It is caused by mental operation (*buddhi-p rvaka*) and directly results from the destruction of ignorance.²¹⁰ It is not followed by a recurrent cycles of cosmic and individual manifestation since its cause has been destroyed. Since it is of rare occurrence it may be called as *dh raMa*. The name is also warranted since this kind of merger results from the meddling with the “natural” ignorance-propelled flow of things.

The topic of merger and evolution reveals the influence of S I khya on Sure vara. However, there are significant differences between what Sure vara states and the scheme of classical S I khya. Firstly, Sure vara's account has to follow the text of the Upani'ad that, if followed closely, cannot be treated as an illustration of the S I khya cosmogonical theory. Secondly, *manas*, although a derivative of *ahaJk ra*, does not play the role of the merging point of senses in S I khya, while according to Sure vara it does. Thirdly, S I khya does not treat senses as products of the elements, while aJkara's commentary and the *V rtika* on it agree that they belong to the same category and share common nature, while nandagiri adds that senses are the products of objects.²¹¹ Lastly, and perhaps most significantly, Sure vara allows all evolutes to merge into pure consciousness and not into *Pradh na*, as per the view of S I khya.

This is how, according to Sure vara, tman should be pondered over – with the help of illustrations like drum, lute and conch, applying logic and making considerable effort.²¹² Thus, Sure vara gives an extensive explanation of *ravana* and *manana* unparalleled in the history of early Advaita. It cannot be treated as a gallop of his imagination since he bases his opinion on the text he is commenting on. Nonetheless, his creativity cannot be denied. The original source being quite obscure and terse, Sure vara rather willfully interprets its portions as illustrative of *ravaMa* and *manana*. According to him *B\had raMyaka*

²⁰⁹ *B\had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.389.

²¹⁰ *B\had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.331.

²¹¹ On *B\had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.255.

²¹² *B\had raMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.395.

Upani' ad, II.4.6 explains *ravaMa* and *Blhad raMyaka Upani' ad*, II.4.7-11 discuss *manana*. Questionable as Sure vara's methods might be, he certainly succeeded in creating a more or less clear picture of the Vedantic method out of cryptic sayings of the *Upani' adic* seers open to a wide range of interpretations due to their ambiguity both intended and natural.

Next Sure vara defines *nididhy sana*. He glosses it as *apar yatta-bodha* – realization not dependent on anything else.²¹³ The second line of the definition – “*p rvayor avadhritvena tadupany sa i'yate*”²¹⁴ that describes *nididhy sana* as the limit and culmination of the two previously mentioned mental practices, led the translator interpret *nididhy sana* as dependent on them.²¹⁵ This was scarcely Sure vara's intention. Several verses after he mentions *anany yatta-vijñ na*, awareness independent of anything else, probably of the knower, the object known and the mental operation²¹⁶ and yet later identifies *nididhy sana* with *vijñ na*.²¹⁷ Thus, he denies that *nididhy sana* is a mental act and affirms that it, being identical with *vijñ na* has liberation as its direct and unavoidable result and exists for itself: “*sv rtham eva tu vijñ na| muktim tra-phala| smltam.*”²¹⁸ It would be more correct then to further identify *vijñ na* with liberation since that would explain sufficiently why *vijñ na* is *sv rtha*, in contrast to *ravaMa* and *manana* that are obviously *par rtha* – practiced for the sake of attaining the liberated state.

Sure vara widens the rift between *ravaMa* and *manana* on the one hand and *nididhy sana* on the other hand by admitting the possibility of injunction in respect of the first two and its impossibility in respect of the latter is concerned. Injunction is possible in case of what depends on human effort, be it physical or mental action. This includes *ravaMa*, *manana*, *ama*, *dama*

²¹³ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.217; Elsewhere he strikes a similar cord equating *nididhy sana* with “right knowledge” which is a modification of internal organ in accordance with the cognized object: “*nididhy sana- abdena samyag-jñ na| vivak'itam*”. *Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, I.4.7.890,899.

²¹⁴ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, I.4.7.890,899.

²¹⁵ Sure vara's *V rtika on Y jñavalkya-Maitrey Dialogue*, Hino, 1991, 179.

²¹⁶ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.221.

²¹⁷ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.233.

²¹⁸ *Blhad raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.234.

and presumably the entire *up ya-catu'aya* introduced by aJkara.²¹⁹ *Nididhy sana* is conspicuously absent from this list.

This represents a somewhat visible departure from the view of aJkara who seemed to consider *nididhy sana* as sustained meditation, a mental endeavour, which, like *ravaMa* and *manana*, fell in the category of action and could therefore be the object of injunction. He treats it at par with *up sana* in that both are repetitive acts: “*api cop sanal nididhy sanal cetyaM t vlttiguMaiva kriy 'bhidh yate.*”²²⁰ He also draws a clear line between the realization of Brahman and the complex of mental activities inclusive of *nididhy sana* connecting them as the goal and the means respectively: “*avagatyarthatv n manana-nididhy sanayoB.*”²²¹ Besides, the etymology of “*nididhy sana*” suggestive of activity and process and its being mentioned in the context of *ravaMa* and *manana* sanction aJkara's interpretation.

Seeing the dangers inherent in his view, Sure vara adds, rather belatedly, that he has nothing against the contention that the knowledge of Brahman arises from meditation and the rest (presumably *ravaMa* and *manana*): “*vijñ notpatti-hetutval dhy n deB...*”²²² But that upsets his own scheme of the *mok'a*-attainment, since, *ravaMa*, *manana* and *nididhy sana* having been defined, there is no scriptural justification for the introduction of *dhy na* into the method. The reason for the disagreement with aJkara in this instance is probably that Sure vara is too eager to prove that liberation results from the awareness of the Ultimate Reality alone and not from actions, be they physical or mental. It is not that aJkara held a different view, but rather Sure vara felt it necessary to put more emphasis on it. His solution to this problem, however, does not seem to be workable. Having bridged the gap between *mok'a* and *nididhy sana* by interpreting the latter as *vijñ na*, Sure vara has to face a similar problem explaining how *manana* (undoubtedly an action, even though mental) might result in Brahman-awareness. The introduction of *dhy na*, too, seems to be a hasty move in contradiction to the original text that contains no mention of it, unless *dhy na* is interpreted as preceding *ravaMa* etc. and

²¹⁹ *Bḥhad rāMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.122.

²²⁰ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, IV.1.1.

²²¹ *Brahma-s tra- aJkara-bh 'ya*, I.1.4.

²²² *Bḥhad rāMyakopani'ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II.4.234.

made a part of the list of prerequisites (*ama* etc.) as was suggested by the commentator.²²³

Sure vara also dwells at some length on the nature of the meaning acquired from the *mah v kya*. He calls it “*av ky rtha*” (non-sentential meaning) to distinguish it from what arises on hearing a secular sentence. When the meanings of the members of the *mah v kya* have been ascertained through the *anvaya-vyatireka* method that divested them of their incompatible elements, and when they have been found to be co-referential, when *lak' aM* has been applied and the meaning has been found non-contradictory with the help of *manana*, there arises a non-sentential meaning which is beyond mind and speech: “*Tadaiva v ky rthat m pratipadyate g r-manasoB sltil na pratipadyata iti.*”²²⁴ The reason why Sure vara calls it non-sentential is perhaps that ordinary sentence conveys the subject-predicate relation which can be considered its meaning, while the *mah v kya*, according to the Advaita tradition, does not convey such relation. Besides, observes Sure vara in passing, Brahman cannot be known from an ordinary sentence (or even expressed by a word) because sentence communicates information on the basis of similarity / difference of the object about which statement is made therein with/from other objects, while Brahman predating anything else is beyond difference and similarity: “*na v kya-padayor artho bheda-s m nya-varjan t*”.²²⁵

There are indications that Sure vara viewed non-sentential meaning identical with the nature of the self and, therefore, with liberation. He says, for example, that on realizing the meaning of the *mah v kya* one recognizes himself as being of the non-sentential (inexpressible with the help of sentence?) nature “*...niravidyo vidv n av ky rthar pa eva kevalo' va i'yate...*”²²⁶ This constitutes a valuable addition to the teachings of aJkara who is uncharacteristically laconic regarding the final stages of the Ved ntic method. It is not unlikely that the *av kyartha* theory of Sure vara became a foundation of the later Advaita theory of the *akhaM; k ra-v\tti*.²²⁷

²²³ *straprak ik on B\had raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, IV.4.1217.

²²⁴ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.2, sambandha.

²²⁵ *B\had raMyakopani' ad-bh 'ya-v rtika*, II. 3. 21.

²²⁶ *Nai' karma-siddhi*, III.29, sambandha.

²²⁷ Sengaku Mayeda, 1980-1, p.160.

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VAJRASŪCIKA-UPANIṢAD.
DENIAL OF THE NATURAL AND THE
„VERTICALIZATION” OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

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Abstract. *Vajrasūcika-Upaniṣad is a more recent text, belonging to the line of the Sāma-Veda.*

The text demolishes all the religious claims of any phenomenal condition, arguing that spiritual pre-eminence is reached only through the direct realization of the ultimate reality (Brahman) as own-identity (ātman). The last paragraph of the text offers a presentation of this ultimate reality and of the condition reached by the one who gets dissolved into it.

Keywords: *Indian religion, Brahmanism, Vajrasūcika, Upaniṣad, caste-system, Brahman, liberated one.*

Vajrasūcika-Upaniṣad is a late text, belonging to the line of the Sāma-Veda.

The dual approach to life and the denial of the natural

Vajrasūcika-Upaniṣad is a very suggestive embodiment of a type of religious thinking frequent all over the world during the last three millenia; according to this religious trend, the highest realisation of a human being was the mystical/religious „leap” towards the transcendental. This approach of human life is to be found, to some extent, in all the great religions of the world, which all exhort the escape from the world as the utmost task of the humans. The value of human life was not to found in the consumption of some limited human tendencies but those religions proposed a much higher meaning, identified with the

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escape towards an absolute level of being. The way for achieving this „salvation” from the world was the religious practice, under its multiple forms: the individual ascetic practice, the compliance to a divine plan and to some divine injunctions or the total submission to a „saviour”. In all these cases, religious practice opposes the natural, involving even a denial of the natural and a focusing upon an alleged soteriological level of being, transcending the natural. This soteriological sphere was envisaged in various ways: as a personal God and his „kingdom” or as an impersonal principle, an impersonal level of reality which should be targeted by the devotee. Whatever it was, the important thing was that the soteriological level was situated beyond the natural, usually considering as opposing the salvific divine, as „sinful” or illusory.

All these soteriological approaches rested upon a sheer dichotomy between the sacred and the profane; in spite of its ontologic monism, religiously, a sharp delimitation was drawn between the common, profane experience and the sacred experience, consisting of the realization of the absolute. Common worldly experience was deprived of all religious meaning, only its transcending being soteriologically meaningful. This approach is opposed to the contemporary naturalism, which considers the Universe as an aspect of reality, as genuinely real, and not as something hindering the reality. Hence, the naturalist approaches can consider common experience, profane life focused upon the Universe as an expression of reality, as genuine. In opposition to naturalism, *Vajras-cika-f r€z' ru=* through its mystical and transcendental approach, denies all religious meaning to all human affairs and extol the leap beyond, to the transcendental.

Denying the religious meaning of any human condition and the leap towards the transcendental as the sole religious accomplishments

One by one, the text denies all religious or soteriological meaning to all human realizations and conditions, claiming that only the direct intuition of the ultimate reality (Brahman), its realization as one's own self (*tman*), can lead to an elevated spiritual condition. This problem is raised in the context of a discussion regarding a classic issue of Indian culture, namely the

caste system and the condition of „Br hmaMa” (the sacerdotal condition, involving religious superiority).

Vajras-cika-f fr€z' ru avails of the method of *reductio-ad-absurdum* in order to prove its thesis. The text denies the religious meaning of any natural human element and condition (in the paragraphs 3-8).

Consequently, in paragraph 9, the condition of „Br hmaMa” is defined only through its relation to the transcendental sphere into which the devotee gets merged and which is assumed as his own identity by the one who becomes „one] with the non-dual 9ru%ztD€r: Self 94†~r€:, which is devoid 9yD€r: of birth 9{4†z:, qualities 9x^Mr: or deeds 9|...z€4:, which is devoid 9...ryz†r: of all 9†r...%r: faults 9u, 'r:, such as the six fluctuations 9-...~D:, the six states 9sy4%r: and others, whose own-nature 9†%r...-fr: is reality 9†r†€r:, knowledge 9{ 4€r:, bliss 94€r€ur: and infinity 9r€r€†r:, [which exists] by itself 9†%r€r~:, which is without determinations 9€z...%z|r}fr:, which is the foundation 94uy4...r: of the entire 9rov'r: thinking 9|r}fr:, which is [everywhere] present 9%r...†r~4€r: through being fixed 9~z†%r: inside 9r€†r...€r: all 9rov'r: beings 9sy-†r:, which is both inside 9r€†r...: and outside 9sryz†:, just as the space 94|40r:, which is the enchaining 9r€^†€-†r: [of everything], whose own-nature 9†%r-sy4%r: is indestructibility 9r|yrM;r: and bliss 94€r€ur:, who is not to be known 9rf...r~v€r:, who can be known 9%vu€r: only 9v|r: by being experienced 9r€^sy%r:, which becomes manifest 94sy4†r~4€r: through direct perception 9rf r..., |'r†4:, just as a fruit of malaka in [your own] hand 9|r...r†r}r:.”

(tm namadvit yal
j tiguMakriy h nal
'a; rmi'a; bh vety disarvado' arahital
satyajñ n nand nantasvar pal
svaya
nirvikalpamaœe' akalp dh ramaœe' abh t ntary mitvena
vartam namantaryahiœc k œavad
anusy tamakhaM; nandasvabh vama-prameya
anubhavaikavedyamaparok' atay
bh sam nal
karatal malakavats k' taparok' kltya - 9).

This accomplishment involves a radical negative positioning towards all human experiences, the liberated one being „devoid १...ryztr: of existence १sy4%r:, enmity १~4tr...fr:, thirst १tl'M4:, hope १4o4:, illusion १~, yr:, acts १%dt: with his consciousness १tvtrt: untouched १rtrlt fl' "r: by deceit १ur~syr:, by ego-making १ryrl |4...r: and by others”
(*k mar g dido'arahitaB oam diguMasal panno bh va m tsarya tl'M o moh dirahitaB dambh haJk r dibhirasal spl'"acet vartate - 9*).

The attempt to reconcile with the Vedic tradition

Nevertheless, on the other side, the novel and anti-clerical mood of *Vajras cika-f fr€z' rulis* a bit compromised when, in the end, the text claims that the truth of its statements is endorsed by revelations (*oruti*), traditions (*smlti*), by the *Pur4Ma-s* and by history (*itih sa*). The author of *Vajras cika-f fr€z' rul* doesn't dare to utterly speak against the Vedic tradition, so he tries to cover the element of novelty of his thinking through a false statement („thus claim १rsyzf...4fr: the revelations १o...^tz:, the tradition १t~ltz:, the *Pur4Ma-s* and history १tzy4tr:” – *iti orutismtipur Metih s n mabhipr yaB - 9*). Although the ideas put forward by him derail from the tradition, the high authority of his ancestors prevent him from displaying his utter dissent and prompt him to claim that he is rather one of their faithful followers.

The text was translated from Radhakrishnan's Sanskrit edition (1954, 933-938), which is also reproduces in the present article, in *devan garl* script and with some small corrections. Radhakrishnan's edition doesn't include the initial invocation but, since it appears in most editions of the text, we have supplemented it to our edition. The text edited by Radhakrishnan is in Latin transliteration.

We also consulted the Sanskrit editions of Mah deva stri, 1921, 416-422; N r yaMa R ma, 1948, 260-261 and the English translations of Narayanasvami, 1914, 110-112; Radhakrishnan, 1954, 933-938.

ॐ आप्यायन्तु ममाङ्गानि वाक्प्राणश्चक्षुः श्रोत्रमथो बलामोन्द्रियाणे
च ॥ सर्वोणे सर्वे ब्रह्मोपनिषद माहं ब्रह्म निराकुर्यो मा मा ब्रह्म
निराकरोदानेराकरणमस्त्वनिराकरण मेस्तु तदात्माने निरते य
उपनिषत्सु धर्मोस्ते माये सन्तु ते माये सन्तु ॥
ॐ शान्तिः शान्तिः शान्तिः ॥

Aum!

May my limbs 9rJxr:, my voice 9%4t:, my breaths 9f...4Mr:,
my eyes 9tr|'^t:, my ears 9o..., t...r: be strong 9 >fErz: and, also,
may [my] faculties 9zEu...zEr: [be] strong 9sr)r:!

All 9tr...%Mz: and everything 9tr...%r: are established in
Brahman 9s...ry~r1^frEz' rur:.

May I not be driven away 9Ez...> >|l: from Brahman and may
Brahman not drive me away 9Ez...> >|l:!

May there be 9rt: no separation 9Ez...4|r...rMr:, may there be
9rt: no separation 9Ez... |r...rMr: between me [and Brahman]!

May those virtues 9uyr...~r: from the Upani'ads, which are
also in the one who rejoices 9Ez...rt: in the Self 94t~rE:, may them
be 9rt: also in me! May them be 9rt: also in me!

Aum! Peace 9o4Ez:!! Peace! Peace!

वज्रसूचे प्रवक्ष्यामि ज्ञान अज्ञानभेदनम् ।

दूषणं ज्ञानहीनाना भूषणं ज्ञानचक्षुषाम् ॥१॥

1. I will expose 9f...r>%rt: the knowledge 9{ 4Er: pure as the
diamond 9%r{...rt-tz:, which destroys 9syvurEr: the ignorance
9r{ 4Er:, which blames 9u-'rMr: the insufficient 9yDeR:
knowledge 9{ 4Er:, which embellishes 9sy-'rMr: [those who
have] the eye of knowledge 9{ 4Ertr|'^t:.

ब्राह्मणक्षात्रेयवैश्यशूद्रा इति चत्वारो वर्णः तेषां वर्णोना ब्राह्मण एव
प्रधान इति वेदवचनानुरूप स्मृतीभिरेप्युक्तम् ।

तत्र चोद्यमांस्ते को वा ब्राह्मणो नाम किं जीवः किं देहः किं
जातेः किं ज्ञानं किं कर्म किं धार्मिकं इति ॥२॥

2. *Br hmaMa*, *K'atriya*, *Vai ya* and *-dra* – these are the four castes $\%r...Mr$:¹. *Br hmaMa* is the main $\%f...ruy4\epsilon r$:² of these castes $\%r...Mr$:. This is according $\%r\epsilon^{\wedge}...-fr$: to the statements $\%r\epsilon r$: of the Veda and it is also asserted $\%r$: by the tradition $\%r\sim|z$:.³

Here $\%r\epsilon r$:⁴, the [question] raised $\%t, u\epsilon r$: [in this respect] is $\%r\epsilon r$: „Who is the one named $\%r4-r\epsilon$: *Br hmaMa* ”?

Is he the soul $\%r$:?

Is he the body $\%u\epsilon r$:?

Is he the one by birth $\%r4z$:?

Is he the knowledge $\%r4\epsilon r$:?

Is he the Karma?

Is he the religious one $\%u\epsilon r...z|r$:⁵?”

तत्र प्रथमो ब्राह्मण इति तन्न ।

जीवस्यैकरूपत्वात् एकस्यापे कमेवशादनेकदेहसभवात् सवेशरोराणा
जीवस्यैकरूपत्वाच्च । तस्मान् ब्राह्मण इति ॥ ॥

3. Here $\%r\epsilon r$:, firstly $\%f...r\epsilon r\sim r$:, [it was claimed] that the soul $\%r$: is the *Br hmaMa*.

It is not so, since the soul $\%r$: has a single $\%v|r$: nature $\%r...-fr$: in countless $\%r\epsilon v|r$: past $\%r\epsilon r$: or [still] unborn $\%r\epsilon r4xr\epsilon r$: bodies $\%u\epsilon r$:, since, although one $\%v|r$:, due to the determination $\%r\epsilon r$: of Karma, [the same soul] appears $\%r\sim syr\epsilon r$: in countless

¹ „*VarMa*” - literally, „color”.

² „*Pradh4na*” – literally, „fundamental”.

³ The Brahmanic system of the castes, in Muller, 1859, 207-208; Hodgkinson, 2006, 203-207; the hereditary character of the castes, in the classic texts, in Hodgkinson, 2006, 207-209; the castes, in modern India, in Bloomfield, 1908, 5-7; a naturalist approach to the castes and their classification on psychological grounds, in Leidecker, 1933, 185-187.

⁴ „*Tatra*” - literally, „there”.

⁵ „*Dh4rmika*” - literally, „the one characterized by the religious/moral law”.

9r€v|r: bodies 9uvyr: and in all 9†r...%r: [these] bodies 9or...D...r: the soul 9{D%r: has a single nature 9v|r...-fr†%r:.⁶

Therefore, the soul 9{D%r: is not the *Br hmaMa*.

ताहे दे ब्राह्मण इति तन्न | आचाण्डालादे पयेन्ताना
मनुष्याणा पञ्चभौतिकत्वे देहस्यैकरूपत्वात्
जरामरणधर्मोदिसाम्यदशेनात् ब्राह्मणस् श्वेतवणेः क्षात्रियो
रक्तवणेः वैश्यः पीतवणेः शूद्रः कृष्णवणे इति नियमाभावात् |
पित्रादेदहने पुत्रादीना ब्रह्महत्यादिदोषसंभवाच्च | तस्मान्
ब्राह्मण इति || ||

4. After that 9†r...yz:, [it was claimed] that the body 9uvyr: is the S...4y~rMr.

It is not so, due to the single nature 9v|r...-fr†%r: of the bodies 9uvyr: of men 9~r€~'€r:⁷, including 9fr...€r€†r: including the out-castes 9†4M;4}r:⁸, which, [all of them] consist of five elements 9fr trlsyr^†z|r†%r:, due to the view 9ur...or€r: that [all men], equally 9†4~€r:, [are characterized by] diseases 9{r...4:, death 9~r...rMr:, virtues 9uyr...~r:, vices 9ruyr...~r: and others, due to the non-existence 9rsy4%r: of such a regularity 9€z€r~r: that a *Br hmaMa* should be of white 9o%w†r: color 9%r...Mr:, a *K'atriya* – of red 9...r|†r: color 9%r...Mr:, a *Vai ya* – of yellow 9fD†r: color 9%r...Mr: and a *-dra* – of black 9|l'Mr: color 9%r...Mr:, due to the fact that, at the cremation 9uryr€r: of the father 9fz†l: and of others, the guilt 9u,'r: of having killed 9yr†€r: a *Br hmaMa* and others are passed 9†rl syr%r:⁹ onto the son 9f^†...r: and onto others.

⁶ In Brahmanism, the word „jīva” (usually translated by „soul”) refers to the subtle body (jJxr), to the support of Karmic traces, to the vehicle of transmigration. This support, without being eternal, still does not perish along with the physical body, but it is preserved along the whole chain of reincarnations. According to the Karmic imprints, this support assumes a particular body as his own identity. Being the impersonal vehicle of transmigration, the soul (j va) cannot account for the released condition.

⁷ The Sanskrit text edited by Radhakrishnan, 1954, 935, has here „4caM; al4di paryant4n4m manu0y4M4m”; we changed it into „4c4M; 4l4di paryant4n4m manu'y4M4m”.

⁸ The condition of „C M; la”, in Garbe, 1892, 56-57.

⁹ „Sambhava” - literally, „become”, „take place”.

Therefore, the body 9uvyr: is not the *Br hmaMa*.

ताहे जातेर् ब्राह्मण इति तन्न | तत्र
जात्यन्तरजन्तुष्वनेकजातेसभवात् महषयो सान्ते |
ऋष्यशृङ्ग मृग्याः कौशिकः जाम्बूको जाम्बूकात् वाल्मीको
वाल्मीकात् व्यासः कैवतेकन्यायाम् शशपृष्ठात् वासेष्ठ
उवेश्याम् अगस्त्यः इति श्रुतत्वात् | जात्या
विनाप्य ज्ञानप्राप्तेपादे सान्ते | तस्मान् जातेर्
ब्राह्मण इति || ||

5. After that 9{r...yz:, [it was claimed] that a *Br hmaMa* is [as such] by birth 9{4{z:?

It is not so. There are 9r†: many 9sry^: great seers 9~ryr...':z: which were born 9{r~syr%r:1 through countless 9r€v|r: [types of] births 9{4{z:, being born 9{4{z: from different 9r€{r...r: living beings 9{r€{^: . [It was] revealed 9o...^†r†%r: that m'ya IJga was born 9{4{r: from a gazelle 9~lx€4:10, Kau ika – from grass 9|^or:, J4mbuka – from a fox 9{r~s^|r:, V4lmika – from an anthill 9%4}~z|r:, Vy4sa – from Kaivarta's daughter 9|r€€4:11, Gautama – from the back 9fl'"yr: of a hare 9oror:, Vasi'"ha – from a nymph 9~...%r00:, Agastya – from a jar 9|r}ror:. Among them, inspite 9%€4fz: of [their] descendancy 9{4{€r:, there are 9r†: many 9sry^: seers 9l'z: which, [reaching] the heights 9rx...r:, have attained 9f...r†zf4uz†r: the knowledge 9{ 4€r:.

Therefore, the *Br hmaMa* is not [as such] by birth 9{4{z: .

ताहे ज्ञान ब्राह्मण इति तन्न | क्षात्रेयादयोऽहि
परमाथेदशेनोऽभिज्ञा सान्ते | तस्मात्तन् ज्ञान ब्राह्मण
इति || ||

¹⁰ „Mlgy4” – uncommon form of „mlga”, which has a much broader meaning than „gazelle”, referring to any animal whose chasing requires a lot of run. The word „mlga” derives from the stem „mlg” - „to hunt”, „to chase”, „to seek after”, „to examine”.

¹¹ According to the Brahmanic mythology, Kaivarta was a fisherman, born from a *K'atriya* father and a prostitute mother. Nevertheless, there are many other accounts of his birth (Monier-Williams, 1997, 311).

6. After that ११r...yz:, [it was claimed] that a S...4y~rMr is the knowledge १{ 4€r:.

It is not so. There are १r†: many १sry^: K'atriya and others which have seen १ur...or€r: and have understood १rsyz{ 4: the supreme truth १fr...r~4...†yr:.

Therefore, the *Br hmaMa* is not the knowledge १{ 4€r:.¹²

ताहे कमे ब्राह्मण इति तन्न | सर्वेषा¹³ प्राणेना
प्रारब्धसाञ्चितागामिकमेसाधम्येदशेनात्कमोभिप्रोरेताः सन्तो ज
क्रियाः कुवेन्तीति | तस्मान् कमे ब्राह्मण इति || ||

7. After that ११r...yz:, [it was claimed] that a *Br hmaMa* [is determined] by his Karma.

It is not so, since it was seen १ur...or€r: that Karma already begun १f...4...rsuyr:, the accumulated one १†r †zr: and the coming one १4x4~z€: are of the same nature १†4uyr...~€r: in case of all १†r...%r: living beings १f...4Mz€:. The holly १†r€†r: men १{r€r: perform १||: actions १||z€4: being motivated १rsyzf...v...zr: by Karma.¹⁴

Therefore, a *Br hmaMa* [is not determined] by Karma.

¹² The words „jñ na” („knowledge”) and „param rtha” („absolute/supreme truth”) are most likely to refer to the empirical forms of empirical knowledge and truth and not to the transcendental intuition. This last form of knowledge, aiming the absolute, is the one exhorted in the last paragraph of the text.

¹³ Radhakrishnan, 1954, 936 has „sarve04m” instead of „sarve' 4m”.

¹⁴ Karma is the energy that fuels the transmigration and, therefore, it cannot account for the liberated condition, for the condition of „*Br hmaMa*”. Karma and Karmic retribution, in Veda and in later Brahmanism, in Bloomfield, 1908, 252-257; Milner, 1993, 304-306, 311; the caste as the result of Karmic retribution, in Leidecker, 1933.

The three types of Karma distinguished in the classic forms of Brahmanism are: the „commenced” Karma (*pr rabdhakarma*) – the Karmic energy already in the process of consumption through being experienced, the energy that has already been materialized as the body and the actual experiences; the „collected/gathered/accumulated” Karma (*sañcitakarma*) – the Karmic traces gathered from the past; and the Karma „to come” (*g mikarma*) – the Karmic traces that are to be imprinted by the future experiences and that would ensure the continuity of the transmigration (Nedu, 2002, 43-44; *Tatva-bodha*, in Nedu, 2002, 162-163; *Aparok' nubh ti*, 89-97, in Nedu, 2002, 203-206).

ताहे धामेको ब्राह्मण ईते तन्न | क्षत्रियादः हिरण्यदातारो
सन्ति | तस्मान् धामेको ब्राह्मण ईते || ||

8. After that 9r...yz:, [it was claimed] that the religious one 9uy4...~z|r: is the *Br hmaMa*.

It is not so. There are 9r†: many 9sry^: *K'atriya* and others that offer gold 9yz...rM€ru4†l:.

Therefore, the *Br hmaMa* is not the religious one 9uy4...~z|r:.

ताहे ८ ब्रह्मण | काश्चिदात्मानमद्वावेतीय
जातेगुणाक्रियाहीन षड्भूमेषड्भावेत्यादेसवेदोषराहेत
सत्यज्ञानानन्दानन्तस्वरूप स्वय
निवेकल्पमशेषकल्पाधारमशेषभूतान्तयोमेत्वेन
वतेमानमन्तर्योहेश्चाकाशवदनुस्यूतमखण्डानन्दस्वभावमप्रमेय
अनुभवैकवेद्यमपरोक्षत
करतलामलकवत्साक्षातपरोक्षीकृत कृताथेतया कामरागादेदोषराहेतः
शमादेगुणसपन्नो मात्सये तृष्णाशा मोहादेराहेतः
दम्भाहङ्कारादोभिरसस्पृष्टचेता वतेते एवमुक्तलक्ष
ब्राह्मण ईते श्रुतेस्मृतेपुराणोतेहासानामाभिप्रायः अन्यथा
ब्राह्मणत्वासीद्धेनोस्त्येव | साच्चिदानन्दमात्मानमद्वावेतीय ब्रह्म
भावयोदेत्युपनिषत् ||' ||

9. Then 9r...yz:, who is the one named 9€4~r€: „*Br hmaMa*”?

He is whoever 9|r0tz†: [became one] with the non-dual 9ru%z†D€r: Self 94†~r€:, which is devoid 9yD€r: of birth 9{4†z:, qualities 9x^Mr: or deeds 9|...z€4:, which is devoid 9...ryz†r: of all 9†r...%r: faults 9u, 'r:, such as the six fluctuations 9-...~D:¹⁵, the six

¹⁵ „ *rmD*” - literally, „wave”. The word refers to the passionate and volitional „waves”, to the unrest that troubles all the living beings. Brahmanic texts don't fully agree upon which are, precisely, these six „waves”. At times, they were identified as hunger, thirst, suffering, confusion, old age and death (see

states 9sy4%r: and others, whose own-nature 9t%r...-fr: is reality 9trt[Er:, knowledge 9{ 4Er:, bliss 94ErEur: and infinity 9rErErtr:, [which exists] by itself 9t%rEr~:, which is without determinations 9Ez...%z|r}fr:, which is the foundation 94uy4...r: of the entire 9rov'r:¹⁶ thinking 9|r}fr:¹⁷, which is [everywhere] present 9%r...tr~4Er: through being fixed 9~z%r: inside 9rErtr...Er:¹⁸ all 9rov'r: beings 9sy-tr:, which is both inside 9rErtr...: and outside 9sryzt:, just as the space 94|4or:, which is the enchaining 9rEr~t[Er-tr:¹⁹ [of everything], whose own-nature 9t%rsy4%r: is indestructibility 9r|yRM;r: and bliss 94ErEur:, who is not to be known 9rf...r~v[Er:²⁰, who can be known 9%wu[Er: only 9v|r:²¹ by being experienced 9rEr~syr%r:, which becomes manifest

Narayanasvami, 1914, 111; Radhakrishnan, 1954, 938). Other authors identified them with the sensations of cold and heat (associated to the body), with greed and confusion (associated to the mind) and with hunger and thirst (associated to the life processes) (Monier-Williams, 1997, 222).

¹⁶ „Aoe'a" - literally, „with no exception/without anything left" (a-oe'a).

¹⁷ „Kalpa" - a derivate of the stem „klp", which has a very broad meaning, referring to any kind of mental act, to any kind of awareness, but, particularly, to those involving conceptual construction.

¹⁸ „Antary mitvena" - a slightly intriguing compound, through the not so easy to justify presence of an „ " between its two other members - „antarya" and „()-mitvena". A possible explanation is that the second member of the compound could be „ -mitvena" (a derivate of the compound root „ -mi") and not simply „mitvena" (a derivate of the simple root „mi"). Although „ -mi" is a rare, even uncommon, root, the simple form „mitva" is neither a frequently used word, so, in both cases, we would deal with a bit uncommon words.

¹⁹ „Anusy-ta" - literally, „interwoven", „mutual penetration"; a derivate of the very rare root „anu-siv", which, as such, couldn't be found in any modern dictionary. It consists of the stem „siv" - „to weave", „to sew" and the preverb „anu" - „after".

The meaning of the word „anusy-ta" is of „being interwoven", as the threads of a cloth are interwoven. This view of the Universe as ultimately an interweaving of entities is rarely met with in early Brahmanism. Nevertheless, this view is a classic theme of Buddhism (as stated by the theory of the dependent origination - *pratītyasamutpāda*) and of some late Hindu schools.

²⁰ „Aprameya" - this highly technical word is a derivate of the root „pra-m4", its meaning being „to measure", „to evaluate". Its philosophical sense is „to know correctly/in valid ways". Brahmanic epistemology constructed its terms of „rightly acquired/valid knowledge" (*pram4*) and of „valid means of knowing" (*pram4Ma*) using this root, „pra-m4".

Consequently, the word „aprameya" states the impossibility that a particular entity might represent the object of the human valid means of knowing.

²¹ „Eka" - literally, „one".

94sy4tr~4€r: through direct perception 9rfr..., |'r†4:²², just as a fruit of malaka in [your own] hand 9|r...r†r}r:.

Realizing 9|†€r: it through direct 9†4|'4†: perception 9rfr..., |'†:²³, through the accomplishment of the goal 9|†4...†yr†4:, [he becomes] devoid 9...ryz†r: of desire 9|4~r:, passion 9...4xr: and other faults 9u,'r:, [he is] accomplishing 9†r~fr€€r: qualities 9x^Mr: such as calm 9o4~r: and others, [becomes] devoid 9...ryz†r: of existence 9sy4%r:, enmity 9~4††r...€r:, thirst 9†l'M4:²⁴, hope 94o4:, illusion 9~,yr:, acts 9%†: with his consciousness 9tv†r†: untouched 9†r†l†fl'"r: by deceit 9ur~syr:, by ego-making 9ryrl |4...r: and by others.

The one having the characteristics 9}r|'rMr: thus stated 9^†r:, that himself 9v%r: is the *Br hmaMa*; thus claim 9rsyzf...4€r: the revelations 9o...^†z:, the tradition 9†~†z:, the *Pur4Ma-s*²⁵ and history 9†zy4†r:²⁶. Truly, there is 9††: np other way 9r€€r†y4: to accomplish 9†zuuyz: the condition of *Br hmaMa* 9s...4y~rMr†%r:.

Brahman should be considered 9sy-:²⁷ as existence 9†r†:, consciousness 9†z†:, bliss 94€r€ur:, as the Self 94†~r€: without a second 9ru%z††€r:!
Brahman should be considered 9sy-: as the Self 94†~r€: without a second 9ru%z††€r:!
This is the sacred teaching 9^fr€z'ru:.

²² „Aparok'at4" - literally, „non-invisibility" (*a-parok'at4*). The word refers to the direct character, not mediated by anything, of the realization of Brahman. The direct character of the knowledge of Brahman which, as such, is similar to sensation, in Leidecker, 1954, 232-235. The connection between „*Br hmaMa*" and „Brahman", in Bercea, 1993, 11-12. A discussion upon the novel mystical approaches of the condition of „*Br hmaMa*", in Heesterman, 1995, 652-653.

²³ „Aparok'†" – probably the Nominative of an uncommon „*aparok'in*" - „the non-invisible", namely „the perceptible one". Whatever is the real grammatical form aimed by the author of the text, its meaning is quite clear.

²⁴ „†l'M4" - literally, „thirst".

²⁵ The *Pur4Ma-s* (literally, in Sanskrit, „*pur4Ma*" means „old", „ancient") are a corpus of writings dealing with the mythic history of the world.

²⁶ Indian philosophy hasn't generally stated this, but here, the text claims the opposite since tradition has always been, in India, an important authority as it regards accepted knowledge.

²⁷ „*Bh vayet*" – the Optative-Cauzative of the stem „*bh*" – „to be". Literally, it would mean „to be made to be".

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THE WALLACHIANS IN THE *NIBELUNGENLIED* AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH THE EASTERN ROMANCE POPULATION IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

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Abstract. *This article analyses the fragments in the Nibelungenlied that refer to the Wallachians, by their name (Adventure XXII, Stanza 1366 in manuscript C), the name of their country (Wallachian land), and/or of their leader (Ramunc – actually still a collective name, reaffirming the Roman origin of those Wallachians) (Adv. XXII, S. 1370 MS. C; XXXI, S. 1925 MS. C).*

The mentions above lead to the Romance population from Pannonia to the east, echoing the times of the first two crusades, when that particular people, the Romanians, were neighbors of the Poles, Russians, and “Greeks” (Byzantines), precisely as they were grouped by the lied (Adv. XXII, S. 1366 MS. C).

The Wallachians were a Romance nation in the east of Europe, with leaders of their own, having a good cavalry and distinctive costumes. They represent the offspring of the Romance population attested in various sources, both north and south of the Danube, from the times the Roman province of Dacia onward.

Keywords: *Nibelungenlied, Wallachians, eastern Romance.*

* PhD in Theology at the “Lucian Blaga” University in Sibiu, 2012, with the thesis *The Anthropology in the Light of Revelation and Science (Antropologia în lumina Revelației și a științei)*, published by Argonaut, Cluj-Napoca, 2013, serbangpdrugas@gmail.com

Introduction

The *Nibelungenlied* (*Song of the Nibelungs*) is a German folk poem, a late *saga*, wrote in the style of the French *Chanson de Roland* or the Spanish *El Cid*.

It was written in Middle High German, dialect spoken between ca. 1100 and 1500 AD. The language of the *lied* contains many archaisms, showing that the older traditions are mixed with the later ones. The oldest complete manuscripts, kept in museums, are from the 13th century (manuscript, i. e. Handschrift: A¹ – München; B² – St. Gallen, Switzerland; and C³ – Karlsruhe), while there are 35 known fragmentary manuscripts from the 12th to the 16th century.⁴

This confirms that the final text must have been finished not later than c. 1200 AD, in Passau or somewhere close.⁵ The

¹ *Das Nibelungenlied*, Handschrift A, Hohenems-Münchener Handschrift um 1280, München, Staatsbibl., Cgm 34, 60 Blätter, Pergament Codex containing: 'Nibelungenlied' (A), 'Klage' (A), Ps.-Engelhart von Ebrach: 'Das Buch der Vollkommenheit' (Streuüberlieferung) [Nachtrag] (Marburger Repertorium, <http://www.mr1314.de/1483>).

² *Das Nibelungenlied*, Handschrift B, St. Galler Handschrift um 1250, in Pergament Codex (Marburger Repertorium, <http://www.mr1314.de/1211>), is as follows: [a] St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl., Cod. 857 noch 318 Blätter; [b] Berlin, Staatsbibl., mgf 1021, 5 Blätter; [c] Karlsruhe, Landesbibl., Cod. K 2037 [früher Privatbesitz Antiquariat Joseph Baer, Frankfurt a. M.]. Containing: 'St. Galler Handschrift 857' (ehemals) enthaltend: Wolfram von Eschenbach: 'Parzival' (D [D]) [= a]; 'Nibelungenlied' (B) [= a]; 'Klage' (B) [= a]; Stricker: 'Karl der Große' (C) [= a]; Wolfram von Eschenbach: 'Willehalm' (G) [= a]; Friedrich von Sonnenburg: Sangespruchstrophen (G) [Nachtrag] [= a]; Konrad von Fußesbrunnen: 'Kindheit Jesu' (L) [= b]; Konrad von Heimesfurt: 'Unser vrouwen hinvar' (E) [= c].

³ *Das Nibelungenlied*, Handschrift C, Hohenems-Läßbergische Handschrift um 1230, Karlsruhe, Landesbibl., Cod. Donaueschingen 63 [früher Donaueschingen, Fürstl. Fürstenbergische Hofbibl., Cod. 63], noch 114 Blätter, Pergament Codex containing: 'Nibelungenlied' (C), 'Klage' (C), (Marburger Repertorium, <http://www.mr1314.de/1482>).

⁴ Lothar Voetz, <https://www.blb-karlsruhe.de/blb/blbhtml/nib/einfuehrung-voetz.html>. Hagen, 1854, 573-577: about the discovery of some mss., then about 22-23.

⁵ Lothar Voetz, *loc. cit.*: "With a content based on older oral traditions, 'Nibelungenlied' acquired written shape at 1200 or shortly afterwards. The

poem's connection with the oldest historical events are the references to Attila (Etzel) and his Huns, and Theodoric, the king of the Ostrogoths (Dietrich von Bern). The poem assimilates themes of older saga, like Eddas (c. 9-10th cent. AD) or Waltharius (c. 1000 AD).⁶ Gh. I. Br tianu wonders if the *Nibelungenlied* does really evoke something about the battle in 437, when the Burgundians were banished from their homeland on the Danube and arrived in Switzerland.⁷

Some scholars, like H. Weber or D. B. Shumway, connected the *lied* with its ancient targeted time of Attila, trying to seek evidences for the characters and places from the 5th century onward.⁸

Texts

I will reproduce below the three main stanzas that refer to the Wallachians, in their original text of the manuscripts and in different editions.

(1) Adventure XXII, Strophe - Stanza 1278 A / 1335 B / 1366 C / 1339:

(a) MS. (Handschrift) C (the oldest, dated c. 1230 AD),⁹ Blatt 52v,¹⁰ Stanza 1366:

language of the 'Nibelungenlied' is medium high German. An 'original' is not obtained. The author of the 'Nibelungenlied' is unknown. The anonymity of the poet is probably also decisively conditioned by the genre of poetry. There is much to suggest that the 'Nibelungenlied' would have its origin connected with Passau or the metropolitan area of the medieval diocese of Passau, which included Vienna, too, at that time. As the client and patron of the unknown poet of the 'Nibelungenlied' is considered more likely to be Wolfger of Erla, that of 1191 - 1204 was Bishop of Passau." Cf. B. Augustana, http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/12Jh/Nibelungen/nib_intr.html, Cf. Classen, 1997, 1.

⁶ Br tianu, 1980, 22.

⁷ *Ibid.* Cf. Greenfield, 1994, 184-185.

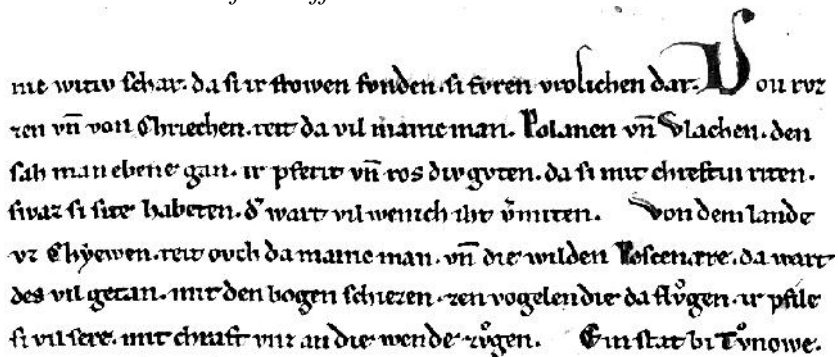
⁸ Weber, H., 1814, 39-41.

⁹ Patrimonia 289: *Die 'Nibelungenlied'-Handschrift C - Codex Donaueschingen* 63, webmaster@blb-karlsruhe.de, Die Nibelungen-Handschrift C digital, <https://www.blb-karlsruhe.de/blb/blbhtml/nib/uebersicht.html>; Ute Obhof, *Die 'Nibelungenlied'-Handschrift C, Codex Donaueschingen 63/Badische Landesbibliothek, Karlsruhe*, Hrsg. von der Kulturstiftung der Länder,

Transcription (OCR) of the official website:

“ 1366,1))V((on Rvzzen vñ von Chrieche reit da vil
manic man
1366,2 Polanen vñ Vlachen den sah man ebene gan
1366,3 ir pferit vñ ros div gyten da si mit chreftin riten
1366,4 swaz si site habeten d/er wart vil wenich iht
v/er\miten”

Facsimile of the official website:



mit wizu schaz da si ir stouwen fonden si turen vrolichen dar. **V**on ruz
zen vñ von Chrieche reit da vil mane man. Polanen vñ Slachen den
sah man ebene gan. ir pferit vñ ros diu gyten. da si mit chreftin riten.
swaz si site habeten. d' wart vil wenich iht v'miten. Von dem lande
vz Chyeuven reit ouch da mane man. vñ die wilden Riesenre. da wart
des vil getan. mit den bogen schrezen. zen vogelen die da flügen. ir pfele
si vil sere. mit chraft. mit an die wende. rügen. Ein stat bi Tynowe.

(b) MS. B (dated c. 1250 AD), S. 1335 [356b]:¹¹

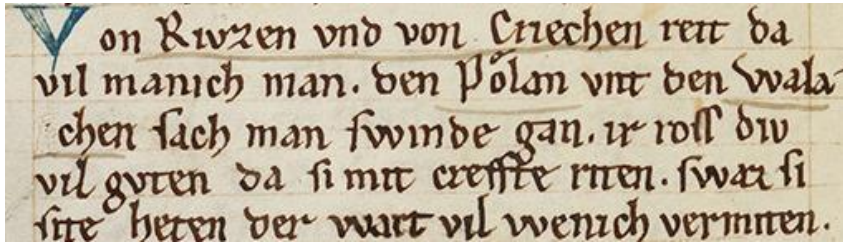
“Von Rivzen vnd von Crieche reit da vil manich man
den Po°lan vnt den Walachen sach man swinde gan
ir ross div vil gyten da si mit creffte riten
swaz si site heten der wart vil wenich vermiten”

Karlsruhe, KulturStiftung der Länder, 2005, 45 S. : Ill. (dt.), Standortnummer in der Badischen Landesbibliothek: 105 K 1884 u.a. The same note for any other further quote or facsimile of the original Handschrift (manuscript) C, if not mentioned otherwise.

¹⁰ See https://www.blb-karlsruhe.de/virt_bib/nibelungen/frame-av.php?r=5; <http://www.blb-karlsruhe.de/blb/blbhtml/nibelungen/ni-52v-53r.html> The same note for both the transcription (OCR) and the facsimile of the official website, as well as for any other quoting or facsimile of the Handschrift (manuscript) C in this paper.

¹¹ Handschrift B, Adventure 22, Bibliotheca Augustana, http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/12Jh/Nibelungen/nib_b_22.html#. The same note for any other quoting of the Handschrift (manuscript) B in this paper, if not mentioned otherwise.

Facsimile of the official website:

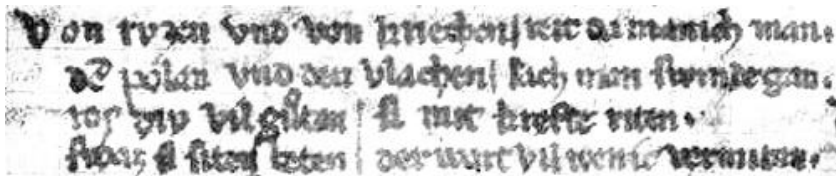


(c) MS. A (dated c. 1280 AD), S. 1278:¹²

Transcription of the official website:

“1278 Von Rvzen vnd von Kriechen reit da manich man
den Polan vnd den Vlachen sach man swinde gan
ros div vil gu^oten si mit krefte riten
1279 swaz si siten heten der wart vil wenic vermiten ”

Facsimile of the official website:



(d) Simrock,¹³ Zweiundzwanzigstes Abenteuer - *Wie Kriemhild bei den Heunen empfangen ward*, S. 1278-9/ 1388:

- Original text:

“Von Riussen und von Kriechen reit dâ manec man;

¹² Handschrift A, Adventure 22, Bibliotheca Augustana, http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/12Jh/Nibelungen/nib_a_22.html. For the manuscript capture: *Das Nibelungenlied und die Klage*, Leithandschrift A, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münchener Digitalisierung Zentrum, Digitale Bibliothek, Cgm. 34, [S. I.] vor 1280, um: nbn: de: bvb: 12-bsb00035316-7. The same note for both the transcription and the facsimile of the official website, as well as for any other quoting and facsimile of the Handschrift (manuscript) A, if not mentioned otherwise.

¹³ Simrock, 1868, 1900, 2014. Cf. also Zeune, 1836.

den Poelân unde Vlâchen sach man swinde gân
ros diu vil guoten si mit kresten riten.
swass si site hêten, des wart vil wênec vermiten.”¹⁴

- Modern German:

“Von Reußen und von Griechen / ritt da mancher Mann:
Die Polen und Walachen / zogen geschwind heran
Auf den guten Rossen, / die sie herrlich ritten.
Da zeigte sich ein jeder / in seinen heimischen Sitten.”¹⁵

(e) Needler, s. 1339:¹⁶

“Of Reuss men and Greeks there / great was the tale,
And rapid saw ye riding / the Wallach and the Pole
On chargers full of mettle / that they did deftly guide.
Their own country's custom / did they in no wise lay
aside.”¹⁷

(f) Shumway:¹⁸

“Of the Russians and the Greeks there rode there many a
man. The right good steeds of the Poles and Wallachians were
seen to gallop swiftly, as they rode with might and main. Each did
show the customs of his land.”

(g) Armour:¹⁹

“[When they spied the queen, they came on in stately
way.] Russians and Greeks were there. Polacks and Wallachians
spurred along, deftly managing their good horses, displaying
themselves each according to the custom of his own land. ...”²⁰

¹⁴ Simrock, 1868, 430.

¹⁵ Simrock, 1868, 431. Simrock, 1900, 194.

¹⁶ Needler, 1904 (1905, 1906).

¹⁷ Needler, 1904, 335.

¹⁸ Shumway, 1909.

¹⁹ Armour, 1999. Cf. other English editions: Hatto, 1962, Prose translation;
Ryder, 1962, Verse translation.

²⁰ Armour, 1999, 102.

(h) Weber, Adventure XXII:

“Adventure XXH. How Etzel and Chrimhilt held their Bridal Feast.— Etzel received his new bride at the town of Tūln, accompanied by a great host of vassals, among whom were Russians, Greeks, Poles, Wallachians, Kyben, the savage Petscheners, and many other nations. He had four-and-twenty princes in his train, among whom were Ramung, sovereign of the Wallachians; Gibcke, Hornbog, Hawart, and Iring, from Denmark; Irnfried, duke of Thurinoia; Blodelin, the king's brother; and, finally, Dietrich of Bern. Chrimhilt was instructed by Rudiger to kiss twelve of the noblest champions: the others she also received with great courtesy. A tournament was held till the evening broke in, and the whole train then proceeded to Vienna, where the bridal feast was celebrated for seventeen days. The gifts distributed by Etzel and his subject princes were incalculable; and his two minstrels, ' Werbel and Swemmel received no less than a thousand marks. At the end of the feast, the king, with his bride and his attendants, left Vienna, and proceeded by the old fortress of Hunenburg, and by Misenburg, to his own residence, at the castle of Etzelenburg. Chrimhilt was served by seven daughters of kings, and particularly by Herrat, niece to Etzel, and wife of Dietrich of Bern.”²¹

(i) Maniu, Romanian translation:

“Puzderie o ti se roir acolo, parte rus i parte elineasc ,
Iar leahi i deopotriv valahii, iure pornir s
învîrtejeasc ,
Minunat jucându- i sirepii sprinteni, pe care c l reau cu
m iestrie;
Îmi vedeai i osebeai îndat' pe fiecare dupre portul din
inutul lui de
obîr ie.”²²

(j) Tempeanu, Romanian translation, XXII, 1399:

“În ceata cea pestri ru i, greci destui erau,

²¹ Weber, H., 1814, 192-193.

²² Maniu, 1958, 258.

Poloni, valahi ca gândul de repede zburau
 Pe caii lor cei ageri. Erau buni c l re i!
 Precum le era firea i se purtau eroii îndr zne i.”²³

(k) My Romanian translation:²⁴

Ru i i Greci – mul i au venit acolo;
 Polonii i Vlahii în galop rapid se-apropiau,
 Pe cai buni m re ei c l reau.
 Fiecare a rii lor obiceiuri ar tau.

(l) My English translation:

Russians and Greeks – many came there;
 Poles and Wallachians [Vlâchs] were arriving fast, in
 gallop,
 On good horses they were greatly riding.
Each did show the customs of his land.
 [last verse taken from Shumway, *above*]

**(2) Adventure XXII, Strophe - Stanza 1282 A / 1340 B / 1370
 C / 1343:**

(a) MS. C, Blatt 52v, Stanza 1370:

Transcription of the official website:

“1370,1 Der herzoge Ramunch vzer Vlâchen lant
 1370,2 mit sibenhund/er\t mannen chom er fvr si gerant
 1370,3 sam die wilden vogele so sah man si varn
 1370,4 do chome d/er\ fvrste Gibeche mit vil h/er\lichen
 scharn”

²³ Tempeanu, 1964, 299.

²⁴ My translation. Cf. Maniu, 1958; Paradais, 2008. The same note for the Romanian translations of the following stanzas.

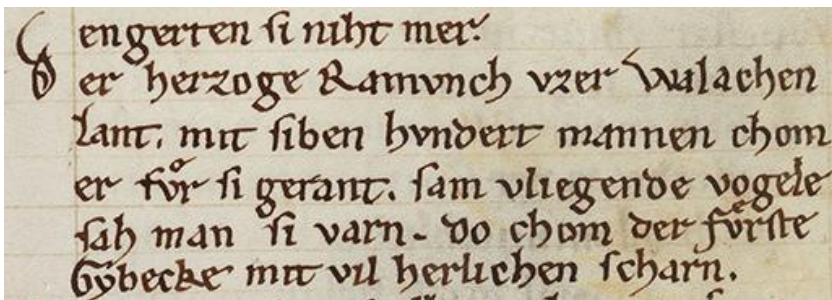
Facsimile of the official website:

rich um ber. dar si u frowen sehen. da von negerten si niht mer. Der her-
zoge Ramvunch. vzer vlachen lant. mit sibenhundert mannen. chom er
fvr si gerant. sam die wuden vogele. so sah man si varn. do chome d' fvr-
ste Gybecke. mit vil herlichen scharn. Hoenboge d' snelle. wol mit wifunt

(b) MS. B, S. 1340 [356b]:²⁵

“Der herzoge Ramvunch vzer Walachen lant
mit sibem hvndert mannen chom er fvr si gerant
sam vliegende vogele sah man si varn
do chom der fvrste Gybecke mit vil herlichen scharn”

Facsimile of the official website:



(c) MS. A, S. 1282:²⁶

Transcription of the official website:

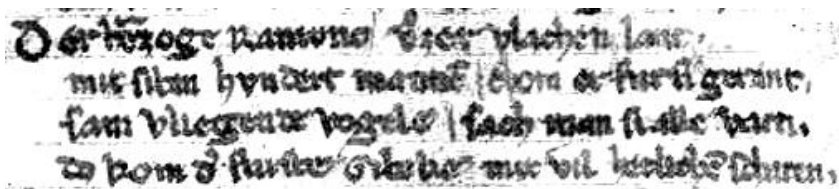
“Der herzoge Ramvunc v^ozer Vlachen lant

²⁵ Handschrift B, Adventure 22, Bibliotheca Augustana, http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/12Jh/Nibelungen/nib_b_22.html#. The same note for any further quoting of the original Handschrift (manuscript) B, if not mentioned otherwise.

²⁶ Handschrift A, Adventure 22, Bibliotheca Augustana, http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/12Jh/Nibelungen/nib_a_22.html. For the manuscript capture: *Das Nibelungenlied und die Klage*, Leithandschrift A, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münchener Digitalisierung Zentrum, Digitale Bibliothek, Cgm. 34, [S. I.] vor 1280, um: nbn: de: bvb: 12-bsb00035316-7. The same note for any other further quote or facsimile of the original Handschrift (manuscript) A, if not mentioned otherwise.

mit siben hvndert mannen chom er fur si gerant
sam vliegende voge le sach man si alle varn
do kom der furste Gibeke mit vil herlichen scharen”

Facsimile of the official website:



(d) Simrock, Zweiundzwanzigstes Abenteuer - *Wie Kriemhild bei den Heunen empfangen ward*, s. 1283/ 1392:

- Original text:

“Der herzoge Râmung ûzer Vlâchen lant
mit sibem hundert mannen kom er vür si gerant.
sam vliegende voge le sach man sie alle varn
dò kom der vürste Gibecke mit vil hêrlichen scharm.”²⁷

- Modern German:

“Ramung der Herzog / aus Walachenland,
Mit siebenhundert Mannen / kam er vor sie gerannt.
Wie fliegende Vögel / sah man sie alle fahren.
Da kam der Fürst Gibeke / mit viel herrlichen Scharen.”²⁸

(e) Needler, S. 1343:

“Then the Duke Ramung / from far Wallachia
With seven hundred warriors / dashed forth athwart her
way:
Their going might ye liken / unto birds in flight.
Then came the chieftain Gibeke, / with his host a stately
sight.”²⁹

²⁷ Simrock, 1868, 432.

²⁸ Simrock, 1868, 433. Simrock, 1900, 194.

(f) Shumway:

“Duke Ramung of Wallachia, with seven hundred vassals, galloped up before her; like flying birds men saw them ride. Then came Prince Gibek with lordly bands.”

(g) Armour:

“Duke Ramung of Wallachia spurred up to her with seven hundred men. They sped like birds on the wing. Then came prince Gibek with gallant host.”³⁰

(h) Maniu, Romanian translation, XXII:

“Dintîi ivitu-s-a Ramung-viteazul, voivod din ogorul valahilor,

Cu apte sute de sirepi ce zboar cum rîp ie stolul potîrnichilor,

A a perindatu-s-a iure stolul, iar pre urm lor a fost trecut

Gibek-crai, carele a ijderi multe mîndre pîlcuri sub sabie în paz
a avut”³¹

(i) Tempeanu, Romanian translation, XXII, 1343:

“Venea pe cai s lbatici, cu apte sute-osta i,

Însu i Ramuno cneazul, ce-avea als u s la

În ara Valahiei. Zburau sirepii lor.

Sosi i prin ul Gibek, înv luit în colb ca într-un nor.”³²

(j) Paradais, Romanian prose translation, XVII:

“Mai era înso it Attila de dou zeci i patru de principistr lucitori dintre care nu-i vom aminti aici decât pe Ramung din ara Valahiei, pe Gibeke i Hornbogdin ara hunilor, pe Hawart

²⁹ Needler, 1904, 336.

³⁰ Armour, 1999, 102.

³¹ Maniu, 1958, 259.

³² Tempeanu, 1964, 300.

din ăra danezilor, pe Iring și Irnfried din Thuringia, fiecare având sub porunca sa câte o mie două sute de o țeni cutez țori.”³³

(k) My Romanian translation:

Rămunc(h), domnul (ducele) din Valahia, [ăra Vlahilor]
Cu apte sute de oameni, a venit gonind ănainte ei.
[ănainte Kriemhildei]
Ca păsările zburând fost-au văzuți galopând.
și a venit căpetenia Gibek, cu o oaste domnească .

(l) My English translation:

Rămunc(h), the lord of Wallachia,
[Wallachian land, the country of the Wallachians / Vlâchs]
With seven hundred men, came running before her,
[before Kriemhild]
Like flying birds men saw them in gallop coming.
Then came prince Gibek with gallant host.
[last verse from Armour, above]

(j) Cf.: www.blb-karlsruhe.de:

“Der herzoge Ramunch vzer Vlâchen lant/mit
Sibenhunduert mannen chom er fvr si gerant/sam die wilden
vocele so sah man si varn”³⁴ - “Duke Ramunc of Walachia,/with
seven hundred vassals, galloped up before her/like flying wild
birds men saw them ride” //“Der herzoge Ramunc uzer Vlachen
lant, / mit siben hundert mannen kom er fur si gerannt” - “Ramunc
the duke, ruler over Valachs, came to them at once with his 700
men”

³³ Paradais, 2000, 107.

³⁴ *Das Niebelungenlied*, Adventure 22, page 52v, stanza 1370 in Version C, <http://www.blb-karlsruhe.de/blb/blbhtml/nib/uebersicht2/nib-index-6.html> . Cf. also Lettsom, 1890.

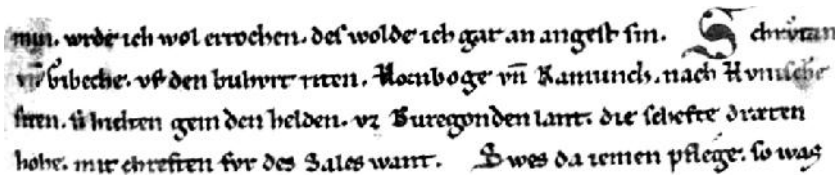
(3) Adventure XXXI, Strophe - Stanza 1818 A / 1877 B / 1925 C:

(a) MS. C, Blatt 68r,³⁵ Stanza 1925:
Transcription of the official website:

1925,1))S((chrivotan vñ Gibeche vf den buhvrt riten
1925,2 Hornboge vñ Ramunch nach <hvnische/n\> siten
1925,3 si hielten gein den helden vz Buregonden lant
1925,4 die schefte dræten hohe mit chreften fvr des sales

want

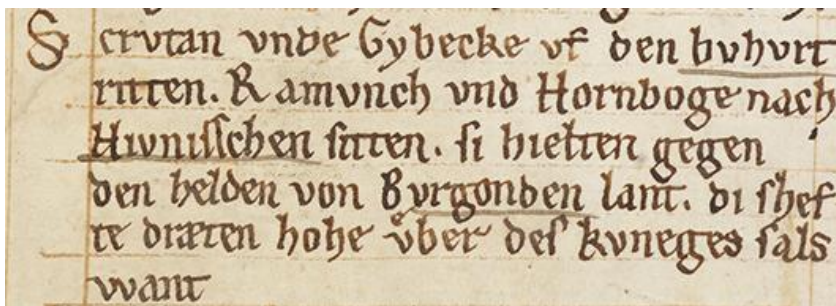
Facsimile of the official website:



min. wude ich wol erochen. des wolde ich gar an angelb sin. **S**chrivotan
vñ Gibeche. vf den buhvrt riten. Hornboge vñ Ramunch. nach Hvnische
sitten. si hielten gein den helden. vz Buregonden lant. die schefte dræten
hohe. mit chreften fvr des sales want. Swes da iemen pflege. so was

(c) MS. B, S. 1877:³⁶
“Scrvtan vnde Gybecke vf den bvhrvrt ritten
Ramvnoch vnd Hornboge nach hivnisschen sitten
si hielten gegen den helden von Bvrgonden lant
di shefte dræten hohe veber des kvneges sals want”

Facsimile of the official website:



Scrvtan vnde Gybecke vf den buhvrt
ritten. Ramvnoch vnd Hornboge nach
Hivnisschen sitten. si hielten gegen
den helden von Bvrgonden lant. di shef-
te dræten hohe vber des kvneges sals
want

³⁵ <http://www.blb-karlsruhe.de/blb/blbhtml/nibelungen/ni-67v-68r.html#seitenanfang>

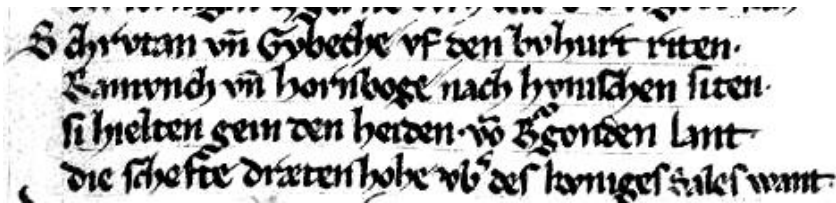
³⁶ Handschrift B, Adventure 31, Bibliotheca Augustana, http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/12Jh/Nibelungen/nib_b_31.html.

(c) MS. A, S. 1818:³⁷

Transcription of the official website:

“Schrvtan vn–Gybeche vf den bvhurt riten
Ramvnc vn–Hornboge nach hvnischen siten
si hielten gein den heiden von Bvrgonden lant
die schefte dræten hohe vber des kvniges sales want”

Facsimile of the official website:



(d) Simrock, Zweiundzwanzigstes Abenteuer - *Wie Kriemhild bei den Heunen empfangen ward*, S. 1818/ 1975:

- Original text:

“Schrûtan unde Gibeke ûf den buhurt riten,
Râmunc unde Hornboge, nâch Hiunischen siten.
si hielten gein den helden von Burgonden lant.
die schefte bræten hôhe über des küneges sales want.”³⁸

- Modern German:

“Schrutan und Gibeke / ritten zum Buhurd auch,
Hornbog und Ramung, / nach heunischem Brauch.

³⁷ Handschrift A, Adventure 31, Bibliotheca Augustana, http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/germanica/Chronologie/12Jh/Nibelungen/nib_a_31.html.
For the manuscript capture: *Das Nibelungenlied und die Klage*, Leithandschrift A, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Münchener Digitalisierung Zentrum, Digitale Bibliothek, Cgm. 34, [S. I.] vor 1280, um: nbn: de: bvb: 12-bsb00035316-7, http://www.bavarikon.de/bookviewer/kpbO-BSB-HSS-00000BSB00035316_00001#, <http://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&lv=1&bandnummer=bsb00035316&pi mage=00035316&suchbegriff=&l=en>.

³⁸ Simrock, 1868, 612.

Sie hielten vor den Helden / aus Burgundenland:
Die Schäfte flogen wirbelnd / über des Königssaales
Wand.”³⁹

(d) Needley, s. 1880:

“Schrutan and Gibecke / rode into the mellay,
Eke Ramung and Hornbog / after the Hunnish way;
Yet must they come to standstill / 'fore the thanes of
Burgundy.
High against the palace / wall the splintered shafts did
fly.”⁴⁰

(e) Shumway:

“Schrutan and Gibecke, Ramung and Hornbog, rode into
the tourney in Hunnish, wise. They addressed the heroes from the
Burgundian land. High above the roof of the royal hall the spear-
shafts whirled. [Whatever any there plied, 'twas but a friendly
rout.]”

(f) Armour:

“Schrutan and Gibek came next, and Ramung and
Hornbog, after the manner of the Huns. They all bare them boldly
before the Burgundians. High over the king's palace flew the
splinters.”⁴¹

(g) My Romanian translation:

Schrutan i Gibek s-au întrecut în turnir,
R munc(h) i Hornbog – în felul hunilor;
Treceau mândri înaintea eroilor din Burgundia. [ara
Burgunzilor]
Suli ele zburau înalt spre pere ii palatului regal.

(i) My English translation:

³⁹ Simrock, 1868, 613. Simrock, 1900, 262.

⁴⁰ Needley, 1904, 458.

⁴¹ Armour, 1999, 142.

Schrutan and Gibek competed in tournament,
R munc(h) and Hornbog – in the Hunnish way;
They boldly before the heroes of Burgundy.
[Burgundian land, the country of the
Burgundians]

After a brief analysis, we notice that, in the original German manuscript text, the Wallachians appear also as 'Vlâchen', and Wallachia as 'Vlâchen lant', in the oldest form of this ethnonym, before the 'a' after the 'v' [Valâchen] was added to it. The name of the country appears also in the oldest form, meaning, actually, "the country of the Wallachians", as they appear in so many names of countries, like Burgundy [see the third stanza quoted above: 'Burgonden lant'].

Debates and Conclusions

1. Nibelungenlied and contemporary chronicles

Although the *lied* claims to tell a story of Attila's time, the environment described there is from the 9th – 12th centuries. The presence of the Russians, Pechenegs, Poles, and Hungarians among the people "contemporary" with the Huns of Attila (Etzel) confirms that.⁴²

Robert Roesler would not admit that *Nibelungenlied* referred to the Romanians, because this would contradict his theory, built on political reasons, which postulated that the Romanians came north of Danube in the 12th century, as employees of the Hungarian crown. If this was the case, the *Nibelungenlied* could not mention the Romanians as a well constituted *ethnos*, with its own leaders, north of the Danube. In Roesler's vision, Wallachia points to some Frankish or north Italian lands. But those territories would have been well known by the author(s) of the poem, while the poem presents Walachia as a faraway country, in the 'Hunnish' realm, and puts it next to

⁴² V. E. Tonnelat, *Le chanson des Nibelungen*, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Paris, 1926, p. 175 sqq., 325-327, apud Br tianu, 1980. Coroban, 2013, 119-144.

Poland, which is east and north of Danube, meaning exactly where modern Romania stands.

An early mention of the ethnonym *Vlachs*, in various forms, appears in the *Gesta Hungarorum*, the chronicle of Anonymous Notary (magister P.): “The name under which were about to be known the most often the Romanians by foreigners in the Middle Ages was, nevertheless, that of “Vlah” (Germ. *Walach*, Gr. *blachos*, Sl. *vlas* and *voloh*, Hung. *oláh*). One of the first sure attestation of the north Danube Romanians under this ethnonym belongs to the anonymous notary of the king Béla, who wrote a little before 1200 and mentioned the Romanians in Transylvania.”⁴³

Sorin Paliga noticed, among other authors, the refined ethnological knowledge of this chronicler for his time. He thinks that the first mention of the *Vlachs* in *Gesta Hungarorum*, as *Blachi*, in the expression “Sclavi, Bulgari, Blachi ac pastores Romanorum” should be understood with a following copulative Latin word “ac”. Therefore, he formed two groups of four already distinguishable *ethn* : Slavs and Bulgarians, and further Pannonian Romance and Proto-Romanians.⁴⁴

Other authors, like S. Brezeanu and Al. Madgearu, give, however, pertinent arguments for the interpretation of the same Latin word “ac” as an explanation, and not as a copulative particle.

S. Brezeanu and Al. Madgearu correctly pointed out that on a mere lexical ground both meanings of Latin “ac” are acceptable: copulation or explanation. Therefore, the meaning can be revealed only “in the light of the ethnic realities in Pannonia at the beginning of the Middle Ages”.⁴⁵

First of all, in *Gesta*, “the expression *pastores Romanorum* has, regardless of the meaning of the particle *ac*, an ethnical meaning and not socio-professional, because the first three terms of the passage are clearly invested with ethnical content.”⁴⁶ Secondly, S. Brezeanu and Al. Madgearu outlined other equivalent occurrences, as in the chronicle of Simon de Kéza of

⁴³ Brezeanu, 1999, 48-49. Cf. id., 1982, 400-403.

⁴⁴ Paliga, 2015, 467-476.

⁴⁵ Brezeanu, 1999, 153. Cf. id., 1981, 1313-1340.

⁴⁶ Brezeanu, 1999, 153.

Bihor county, between Wallachians and the "shepherds and the colonists of the Romans", and in *Descriptio Europae Orientalis*,⁴⁷ by the Dominican Anonymous, between *Pannoni* and *pastores Romanorum*. Thus, Brezeanu concludes that "By this, the meaning of the particle *ac* in the excerpt "Sclavi, Bulgari et Blachi ac pastores Romanorum" is also explained, and it can only be explanative ("meaning", "or"), underlining the identity between "Blachi" and "pastores Romanorum"."⁴⁸ Or, as otherwise said by Madgearu: "The translation of the words *Blachii ac pastores Romanorum* was discussed by many researchers. Usually, *ac* means "and." Therefore, it was argued that Blachii were another people than the "shepherds of the Romans." Other historians have shown however that *ac* can be sometimes translated as "or", "that is." Based on the text of Simon of Keza and on the significance of the fragment from GH, they translated the expression as "Blachii, the shepherds of the Romans."⁴⁹ He also pointed out that the first group in the famous quote, "Sclavi Bulgarii" could be very well understood as a unity, "the Bulgarian Slavs", because, originally, there was no comma between them.⁵⁰

A lot of scholarly work, based on the old chronicles, present the eastern Romance population at the dawn of the Middle Ages as a mainly or pronounced pastoral people.⁵¹

The use of the ethnonym *Romani* is allocated by the Carolingian scholars to the population of Rome, other Roman populations being designated by local names (*galli*, *aquitani*,

⁴⁷ Živkovi , 2013, 102-103: "Notandum est hic quod inter Macedoniam, Achaïam et Thessalonicam est quidam populus ualde magnus et spatiosus qui uocantur Blachi. Qui et olim fuerunt Romanorum pastores ac in Hungaria, ubi erant pascua Romanorum propter nimiam terre uiriditatem et fertilitatem, olim morabantur, sed tandem ab Hungaris inde expulsi ad partes illas fugierunt. Habundant enim caseis optimis, lacte et carnibus super omnes nationes. Terram enim horum Blachorum, que est magna et opulenta, exercitus domini Caroli - qui in partibus Grecie moratur - fere totam occupauit et ideo conuertit se ad regnum Thessalonicense et actu mari terraque expugnauit ciuitatem Thessalonicensem dictam cum regione circumadiacente." Ibid., 134: "Pannoni autem qui inhabitabant tunc Pannoniam omnes erant pastores Romanorum et habebant super se decem reges potentes in tota Mesia et Pannonia." Cf. Popa-Lisseanu, 1934, 101-111. Kovaleu, 2013, 59.

⁴⁸ Brezeanu, 1999, 155.

⁴⁹ Madgearu, 2005, 46.

⁵⁰ Madgearu, 2005, 45.

⁵¹ Brezeanu, 1999, 153. Madgearu, 2005, 82.

rhaeti etc.). The Dominican anonymous used in this way the term "Pannoni" to refer to the Romanized population found by the Hungarians in the Pannonian plain.⁵² The same use, to designate Romanized populations, had the German word "*walch-walach*" and its Latinized variants taken from Byzantine sources.⁵³ The last ethnonym appears in *Gesta Hungarorum* for the Romanian population in Transylvania (Ch. 9, 24-27), for Gelou, *quidam Blacus, dux Blacorum*, who leads the *Blasi et Sclavi*, and in Banat (Ch. 44), for Glad, *dux ... Cumanorum et Bulgarorum atque Blacorum*.⁵⁴

The presence of the Romance population in Pannonia at the arrival of the Hungarians is clearly inferred by the first Hungarian chronicles, by the Anonymous Notary of king Béla, by Simon de Kéza and by the Dominican Anonymous. But their inference had serious historical bases. All these authors had contact with the Romanians of their time, and an old Romance pastoral population was known in Pannonia "by the author of the primary *Gesta* and by Anonymus or only by the first named"⁵⁵

As "representatives of the Hungarian consciousness" (Gy. Kristó, apud S. Brezeanu),⁵⁶ both the Anonymous Notary of king Béla and Simon de Kéza did not want to place the Romance population in Pannonia at the time of the arrival of the Hungarians, but they were forced to do so because that information was still too well-remembered in their time. The Wallachians (*blackii*) were placed, for instance, clearly among the autochthonous populations in Pannonia and all the Eastern Europe by Simon de Kéza, as the remnants of the Roman colonists in the time of Attila and up to the time of Arpad, in contrast with the newly arrived.⁵⁷

From the detailed treatment of this subject by S. Brezeanu we extract only his reference to J. Jung: "Judged from this perspective, the thesis of the anachronism, for which Anonymus is blamed by modern historians, appears as aberrant, as remarked J. Jung a century ago. Referring to the supposed immigration of

⁵² Brezeanu, 1999, 154-155.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 101 sq. ("Valah. Originea i evolu ia unui cuvânt").

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 155 ("Romani" i "Blachi" la Anonymus. Istorie i ideologie politic "). Madgearu, 2005, 32-33. Pop, 2011, 141-166.

⁵⁵ Brezeanu, 1999, 153.

⁵⁶ Brezeanu, 1999, 161.

⁵⁷ Brezeanu, 1999, 160-161. Madgearu, 2005, 47-51.

the Romanians north of the Danube in the 13th-14th centuries, the German historian justly underlined that "the Hungarian national pride would have been very well satisfied to legitimate its rule over those late nomads with that delay, if things would have been so... But we find no such thing. The Hungarians in the 13th century... rationalized otherwise, at a time when they would not support their rule on words [I am not quite sure what the author means by "support their rule on words"] and they would not conceal it. The "notary" wrote with the intention to exalt the Hungarians and to do so he falsified the tradition; but as for the Romanians he had no such intention, which made it necessary to give the real tradition, as it circulated in his time... Because we must not presume that a forger could be so stupid to falsify more than it is necessary for his purpose."''⁵⁸

Treating the topic from another perspective, Al. Madgearu reached the same conclusion. Even if the Hungarian chroniclers of the Middle Ages operated many propagandistic stratagems to sustain the Hungarian rule – and precisely because this was their intention –, their information about the presence of the Romanians in Pannonia and in Transylvania at the arrival of the Hungarians was correct: "The *Blachi* of the Anonymous Notary and Simon of Keza are not the Pannonian Romance population that survived among the ruins of the former towns, because they would not have been described as "shepherds of the Romans." This expression reflected the way of life of the Romanians with whom the Hungarians came into contact in Pannonia. Shepherding was the main occupation of the medieval Romanians. Thus, the notion of "Vlach" and "shepherd" became almost synonymous. This stereotypical image of the Vlachs as shepherds assures us that those *Blachi ac pastores Romanorum* could only have been the Romanians. It is interesting to observe that even in the 16th century, German author Hans Dernschwam believed that the Transylvanian Romanians descended from the "sheperds and brigands of the Romans." / The tradition preserved by the Hungarian *Gestae* confused the Romanians and the Pannonian Roman population from the Hunnish period, no longer in existence when these texts were composed. The Romanians were anachronically transferred to the age of Attila, because their existence during the reign of Arpad was remembered. Except for

⁵⁸ Brezeanu, 1999, 159.

these confusions, the tradition written down by the Anonymous Notary, by Simon of Keza, and by other chroniclers reflects a real fact: the existence of a Romanian population in Pannonia in the early Middle Ages. One of the controversial pieces of information transmitted by GH is truthful.”⁵⁹

Gesta Hungarorum was written about the same period as the final editions of the *Nibelungenlied*, in the late 12th century AD. German populations had adopted by then the term *Wlach* – *Wallach* for the Romance populations in general. Hence, we might wonder whether *Nibelungenlied* referred to the western, central European or eastern Romance populations. Nevertheless, contrary to the chronicles, the *lied* was not composed by some who could make distinctions between Romance populations of that time in ethnological terms, but only on geographical and political criteria. Thus, the *Nibelungenlied* clearly pointed to a Romance population situated from Pannonia to the East, as all the editors, translators and scholars treat the passages with "Wallachians" and "Ramunc" (except Roesler and his followers, for their biased reasons).⁶⁰

The same eastern Romance population, the Romanians, is mentioned in Pannonia and in Transylvania by the first Hungarian chronicles (the first of them lost, and preserved for us those of the Anonymous Notary, the short version of Simon of Keza, the work of Dominican Anonymous, and those influenced by all of the mentioned). Not long after these sources some papal and other documents mentioned the Romanian population south and east of the Carpathians (e. g. Seneslau, the duke of the Wallachians, 1247).⁶¹ The Byzantine sources mention the Romance population south of Danube even much earlier – and some of them will be referred to below, in connection with the information in the *Nibelungenlied*.

The reference to the Wallachians as an eastern people in the *Nibelungenlied* is clear,⁶² and it appears in three places, one

⁵⁹ Madgearu, 2005, 82.

⁶⁰ Adolf Ambruster, "Nochmals „herzoge Râmunc úzer Valâchen lant"", in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, XII, 1973, nr. 1, pp. 83-100, apud Giurescu & Giurescu, 1974, 134, 139. Cf. Hurdubeiu, 1944. See also the notes below.

⁶¹ Cf. Giurescu & Giurescu, 1974, vol. 1, 216.

⁶² Magoun, 1945, 129-130. Ambruster, 1993, 42-44: "Der Nibelunge not", XII, ed. K. Lachmann, Berlin, 1878, p. 174 apud *ibid.*; Fritz Schuster, *Herzog*

where Ramunc(h) (or Ramung) and Wallachia are together (Adv. 22, S. 1343/ 1370 – MS. C), one with Wallachia (Adv. 22, S. 1339/ 1366 – MS. C), and one with Ramunc (Adv. 31, S. 1818/ 1925 – MS. C). The “Duke” Ramunc is a well-known character in the second part of this poem, too (*Die Klage*), as well as in other creations of the German medieval literature.”⁶³

I agree with two Romanian historians (A. D. Xenopol and D. Onciul), that the latest information in the poem about the south-east Europe and the (Proto-)Romanians must have been taken from the time of the first two crusades (1096, 1146) – two events with the most powerful impact on the central European mind regarding the lands at east and south of Pannonia: “Although not only the neighbors of the Daco-Romans testify, in the first notes about them, the antiquity of this people in his country. This information we have also in the German poem *Nibelungenlied*, where the Vlachs, with their duke Ramunc (explained by Mr. Xenopol as a transformation of the name Roman), are mentioned in the cortege of Attila. The poem being finished at the end of the 12th century, Mr. Xenopol rightfully maintains that the memory of the Vlachs must have been entered it later than in the time of the first crusade (1096) but no later than in that of the second crusade (1146). Thus, we have here a pretty early testimony about the antiquity of the Romanian people in the region of Dacia.”⁶⁴

Therefore, the *Nibelungenlied* has an important informative value for the Romanians’ history, because it mentions

Ramunc aus dem Walachenland, in “Sudost-Forschungen”, XI, 1946-1952, p. 284-290.

⁶³ Ambruster, 1993, 43 sq.: “The subject of the “duke” and of the Romanians was resumed by A. Armbruster, *Nochmals „herzoge Râmunc uzer Vlâchen lant”*, now in our volume *Auf den Spuren der eigenen Identität*, Bukarest, 1991, p. 75-93.” Cf. Weber, Henry W., 1814, 211-13.

⁶⁴ “Dar nu numai vecinii Dacoromanilor m rturisesc, în cele dintâi tiri despre ace tia, vechimea acestui popor în ara lui. Cuno tin a aceasta o afl m i’n poemul german *Nibelungenlied*, unde Vlahii cu ducele lor Ramunc (explicat de d. Xenopol ca transformare german a numelui Roman) se afl aminti i în suita lui Attila. Poemul fiind sfâr it în forma sa de-acum pe la cap tul secolului XII, d. Xenopol sus ine cu bun temei c amintirea Vlahilor nu poate s fi intrat în el mai târziu decât pe timpul cruciadei întâia (1096) sau cel mult al celei a doua (1146). Deci avem i aici o m rturie destul de timpurie despre vechimea poporului român în p rile Daciei.” in Onciul, 1968, 146-147. Cf. id., 1971, 47–180. Cf. *ibid.*, 1885.

their ethnonym several times and because of the way it does that. Together with most of the scholars, I believe that the name *Ramunc* is rather a collective name than a specific personal one, underlining the ethnicity of the lord (*herzog*) of country (*lant/land*) of Walachia, who allegedly took with him 700 men at the wedding of “Attila/ Etzel” with Kriemhilda.⁶⁵ Therefore, the name *Ramunc* strenghtens, for the audience, the idea of a Roman origin for the Wallachian people which the *lied* mentioned east of Pannonia. Such an association is not at all singular, as we can see in the writings of the priest of Dioclea (12th century)⁶⁶ and in the above mentioned *Chronicle* of Notarius Anonymus.

While the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Notarius Anonymus revealed the situations at the arrival of the Hungarians in the Pannonian Plain, the priest of Dioclea gave a diachronic witness for the penetration of the Bulgarians in the Balkan Peninsula. Both of them mention the Romance populations. Cumulating their information, these populations dwelled in Pannonia, Transylvania and Balkan Peninsula.

The above evidences are clear enough to show us that the Wallachians in the *Nibelungenlied* refer to a Romance population well represented in the 10th-12th centuries AD, and situated from Pannonia to the east, neighboring at north with the Poles and the Russians, and south with the "Greeks", i. e., the Byzantine Empire. To reach this conclusion it is enough to highlight the references to the ethnological realities of those centuries. The way the *lied* grouped the populations and the mention of the Wallachians together with the Russians, Greeks and Poles exclude

⁶⁵ N. Iorga and Gh. I. Br tianu have identified *Ramunc* with Roman Mistislavici, the prince of Halich and Galitia (c. 1200 AD), while others thought it was a collective name: A. D. Xenopol, D. Onciul, G. Popa-Lisseanu, and Ambruster – see Ambruster, 1993, p. 43.

⁶⁶ A priest in Dioclea, Macedonia, writing in the middle of the 12th century, gave witness about the penetration of the Bulgars in the Balkan Peninsula. This caused the contraction of the territory of the Romance speaking populations: “Bulgari ... ceperunt ... totam Provinciam Latinorum, qui illo tempore Romani vocabantur, modo vero Morovlachi, hoc est nigri Latini vocantur” [Ambruster, 1993, 30: Presbyter Diocleatis, *Regnum Slavorum*, in I. G. Schwandtner, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum veteres ac genuini*, III, Viennnae, 1748, p. 478]. He established a clear connection between the Vlachs and the Roman origin of their language. The specification in the prefix, ‘moro-’ (Gk. ‘μ ὄ ’, Lat. ‘nigri’) designates a faction of the Vlach people, allowing us to understand there are others, too.

the possibility for the author(s) to refer here to a (much better known by the author) central European or Italian Romance population.

When the *lied* says “Russians and Greeks – many came there;/ Poles and Wallachians (Vlâchs) were arriving fast, in gallop,/ On good horses they were greatly riding./ *Each did show the customs of his land.*” (Adventure XXII, Strophe - Stanza 1278 MS. A / 1335 MS. B / 1366 MS. C / 1339), it is like trying to make an explanation for the “eastern peoples” in the time of Attila. Of course there are projected back in time the peoples from the late 10th to 12th centuries AD,⁶⁷ but this does not reduce at all the fact that all the people mentioned in that strophe stand for the eastern peoples of those centuries, and therefore the Wallachians could not be the Italians or some central European Romance populations, but only the east European Romance population, and hence the forefathers of the Romanians, or the Proto-Romanians, if we like.

Bringing with him 700 men, galloping aside their northern neighbors (here, the Poles) and presenting their country’s costumes, as well as being represented by Ramunc in a tournament (challenging Hornbog), the Wallachians are described in the *Nibelungenlied* as a well-represented and well constituted east European Romance nation, among the others mentioned together.

2. Echoes from the distant past in the *Nibelungenlied*

The *lied* did project its populations back in time, but it is also no less true that the *saga* maintained some exceptional echoes from distant times. This is the reason why I think the *lied* must be understood as a composition in layers, retaining old tradition and even old information and replacing it with contemporary data when the older one is out of reach. Knowing

⁶⁷ Cf. Mueller, 1962. Werner Hoffmann, 1974. Ehrismann, 2002. Hans Szklenar, 1977, 41-61. Hennig, 1981, 356/182. Gottzmann, 1987, 25. Mertens 1996, 65. Schulze, *Das Nibelungenlied*, 1997, 193. Id., “Gunther ...”, 1997, 44-45. Id., 2005, 781-855. Quast, 2002, 289-291: oral communication – *maere*. Lienert, 2003, 132. Cowell, 2007, 48: “powerful individuals “take charge of the information”, they imposed personalized symbols and resist social codes”.

what we know about the projection of information back in time, we should not lightly dismiss altogether some comments as that old one of H. Weber (1814) that I mentioned in the introduction. This editor interprets the *lied* as really providing some information from the distant times of Attila. Of course the understanding of the *lied* evolved since the 19th century, but, as I said, I would not dismiss all the arguments about the distant echoes from the times of Attila without reading them.

Thus, for the purpose of commenting I will quote some paragraphs from H. Weber: “[p. 39] Of the historical origin of the great epic Song of the Nibelungen, (for the Book of Heroes, though placed before that poem, on account of its relating the actions of older heroes, was evidently compiled in much later times, and is far more fabulous,) a few data and coincidences are all that can be expected. Attila (there named Etzel) needs no explanation; and it is well known that he had Thuringia, Poland, and Wallachia under his dominion, as related in the poem. His wife Halche, the Herka of the Wilkina-Saga, is mentioned in the fragments of the embassy of Priscus to that king, where she is named Erca. In the Hungarian chronicle of Thwartz, Dietrich, (that is, rich in people, afterwards corrupted into Theodericus, but by Procopius always spelt ,) not the celebrated Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths, but one of his predecessors, who lived 80 years before, is represented as fighting with an army composed of Ostrogoths, Germans, and Longobards, against the Huns, at their first irruption into Europe, by whom he was defeated, and forced to join Attila with his own forces, as in the Wilkina-Saga and the Nibelungen. It is there likewise related, that Attila left his kingdom to his two sons, Chaba and Aladar, the former by a Grecian mother, the latter by Kremheilch, (Chrimhild,) a German; that Theoderic sowed dissension between them, and took, with the Teutonic nations, the party of the latter, in consequence of which a great slaughter took place, which lasted for fifteen days. // [p. 40] and terminated in the defeat of Chaba, and his flight to Asia. There is, however, some confusion respecting the Theoderic (Dietrich) of these romances. Several allusions are made, which would cause us to believe Theoderic the Great was intended. In the fragment of Hildebrand, he is evidently and indubitably alluded to, as well as his enemy Odoacer. But he was not born till about the year 442, his great eruption into Italy, and his defeat of

Odoacer did not take place till 480, nor his death till 526; whereas Attila was leader of the Huns already about 428, invaded Italy, and defeated the Western Goths, about 450, and died soon after. It is therefore probable, that an earlier Theoderic is the subject of these romances. Gunter, king of Burgundy, is probably Guntachar, who was actually king of the Burgundians, resided at Worms, and was slain in a battle with the Huns, about 436. Siegfried cannot so easily be traced to any historical personage. It has been conjectured, with some probability, that he was Sigbert, who is said to have been major-domo to Theoderic, and to have dwelt, with his wife Chrimhild, at Worms. His castle of Santen is undoubtedly Xanten, a town on the left side of the Lower Rhine. Tronek, the possession of Hagen, may have been (according to the supposition of Johannes Mueller, the admirable historian of Switzerland) the ancient Tournus, (Tornucium.) Isenland may either have been an additional fiction about Iceland; or the celebrated castle of Isenburgh, on the left side of the Rhine, Charlemagne's favourite place of residence, may be intended. There is a great and inexplicable confusion respecting the real meaning of the title of the poem. In some places, Nibelungenland is evidently Norway; but, in general, here, as well as in the Niflunga-Saga, it means Burgundy. The Nibelung heroes in the latter are always Burgundians, but in the poem they are sometimes warriors of that nation, at others, Siegfried's auxiliaries from Norway. The great Niblung treasure is represented as having come from that country [p. 41] where Siegfried slew Prince Niblung and his brother. Bern, the residence of Dietrich, is not the city so called in Switzerland, but was the original Gothic name of Verona.”⁶⁸

Thuringia, Poland, Russia and Wallachia define, of course, regions which had different names and ethnic composition in the times of Attila, but, yet geographically speaking, those regions were part of the Huns's domination. However, it is remarkable that the *lied* retained accurate information from the times of Attila regarding the name of one of his wives (Halche/ Herka/ Erca), as mentioned in two other sources (*Wilkina-Saga*, *Priscus*). Weber gives valuable information also about Dietrich – Theodericus () in the *Nibelungenlied*, as a predecessor of Theoderic

⁶⁸ Weber, H., 1814, 39-41.

the Great of the Ostrogoths, in corroboration with two other sources (*Thwartz, Procopius*).

D. B. Shumway also pointed to information coming from old times: “In its present form it is a product of the age of chivalry, but it reaches back to the earliest epochs of German antiquity, and embraces not only the pageantry of courtly chivalry, but also traits of ancient Germanic folklore and probably of Teutonic mythology.”⁶⁹

Of course, it is expected from a *saga*, that there are different mixed layers of information. Theoderic (Theodoric) the Great exerts a great deal of attraction, due to his personality. Thus, a Theoderic with his magnitude is involved in the tragedy that occurred, according to the legends, after the marriage of Attila with Kriemhild. Nevertheless, maybe some of the contributors who shaped the *saga* felt the anachronism, for Theoderic the Great was too young to be a protagonist in that drama. This is the reason why the ambiguity might be seen in the *lied*, as Weber pointed out, and a connection might be done with a more plausible candidate to participate in events of Attila’s time. This is “not the celebrated Theoderic, king of the Ostrogoths, but one of his predecessors, who lived 80 years before.” Weber pointed out that the name in general has been Hellenized from the German Dietrich, “that is, rich in people”. Procopius spells Theoderic the Great, indeed as - e. g.:

- “... ὃν ἐ μ — φ ἐ Ἰ ἐ
ἀ ἰ ”⁷⁰ = “[they] who didn’t follow Theuderic when he went from Thrace to Italy”).

- “Υ ὀ ἐ ὕ ὕ ὕ ἰ , ἱ ἐ ἰ ἀ
φ , ὄ ἐ ἰ Π μ ,
ἦ μ , ἀ ἦ , ἀ ὀ ἰ ἐ ὀ ὕ
ἀ ἐ φ. ἐ ὕ , ἀ
ῥ ἐ μ , φ ἦ ἐ Ἰ
ἰ Ὀ φ ἐ ἱ ἰ ἦ ἐ
ἐ ὕ ὦ ἰ . ἄμ ἰ
ἱ , ἄ ἰ ἐ , ἀ μ ἦ ἦ ,
μ φ Π μ ἰ Ἰ ὦ ἄ ἀ ἦ ἱ
μ μ φ ἐ ἰ .” = “Sub idem tempus
Gotthi, qui Imperatoris permissu Thraciam incolebant, in

⁶⁹ Shumway, 1909, i.

⁷⁰ Mih escu *et alii*, 1970, 432.

Romanos rebellavere, duce Theoderico, qui vir erat Patricius, et Byzantii sellam Consularem ascenderat. At Zeno Aug. rationem optimam et re nata inire callens, Theoderico suavit, ut Italiam peteret, et, cum Odoacro collata manu, sibi Gotthisque Imperium Occidentis pararet: cum esset convenientius, praesertim Senatori, tyrannum exigere, et Romanis atque Italis praeesse omnibus, quam armis cum Imperatore contendere, et in tantum venire discrimen.” = “The same time, the Goths, who were dwelling in Thrace with the permission of the emperor, rebelled against the Romans, [under] the duke Theoderic, who was a patrician man, and became consul in Byzantium. But the emperor Zeno, knowing to take advantage in any situation, convinced Theoderic to go to Italy, and, tying Odoacer’s hands, to take for himself and his Goths the Western Empire. Because it was convenient for him, especially as a senator, to remove the tyrant, and rule over all the Romans and Italians than to put himself in a great risk by starting a conflict with the emperor.”⁷¹

Theodoric the Great was the son of the king Thiudimir, and was born in Pannonia in 454, one year after the Ostrogoths defeated the Huns at Nedao. He was raised in Constantinople as a captive, and later ruled over the Goths in Thrace. With mandate from the emperor Zeno, he marched into Italy in 489, and, after hard battles and twists, he won against Odoacer in 493 and killed him in a banquet. As we can see the theme has important similarities with the legendary banquet in the *Nibelungenlied*, which ended with the killing of Attila by Kriemhild, and which corresponds with the rumor that Attila was murdered after his wedding with his wife (H)ildiko.

Modern scholars signaled the anachronic use of the image of Theodoric the Great in the legends of Dietrich von Bern in

⁷¹ Procopius, *De bello gothico*, V, 1, 9-11, in Procopius, 1833, 7; id., 1919, 4-7. Id., 1919, 5, 7: “it was about this same time that the Goths also, who were dwelling in Thrace with the permission of the emperor, took up arms against the Romans under the leadership of Theoderic, a man who was of patrician rank and had attained the consular office in Byzantium. But the Emperor Zeno, who understood how to settle to his advantage any situation in which he found himself, advised Theoderic to proceed to Italy, attack Odoacer, and win for himself and the Goths the western dominion. For it was better for him, he said, especially as he attained the senatorial dignity, to force out a usurper and be ruler over all the Romans and Italians than to incur the great risk of a decisive struggle with the emperor.”

spite of the insistence of the medieval legends to affirm their identity:⁷² “There are traces of a form of the Dietrich legend in which he was represented as starting out from Byzantium, in accordance with historical tradition, for his conquest of Italy. But this disappeared early, and was superseded by the existing legend, in which, perhaps by an “epic fusion” with his father Theudemir, he was associated with Attila, and then by an easy transition with Ermanaric. Dietrich was driven from his kingdom of Bern by his uncle Ermanaric. After years of exile at the court of Attila he returned with a Hunnish army to Italy, and defeated Ermanaric in the Rabenschlacht, or battle of Ravenna. Attila’s two sons, with Dietrich’s brother, fell in the fight, and Dietrich returned to Attila’s court to answer for the death of the young princes. This very improbable renunciation of the advantages of his victory suggests that in the original version of the story the Rabenschlacht was a defeat. In the poem of *Ermenrichs Tod* he is represented as slaying Ermanaric, as in fact Theodoric slew Odoacer. “Otacher” replaces Ermanaric as his adversary in the *Hildebrandslied*, which relates how thirty years after the earlier attempt he reconquered his Lombard kingdom. Dietrich’s long residence at Attila’s court represents the youth and early manhood of Theodoric spent at the imperial court and fighting in the Balkan peninsula, and, in accordance with epic custom, the period of exile was adorned with war-like exploits, with fights with dragons and giants, most of which had no essential connexion with the cycle. The romantic poems of *König Laurin*, *Sigenot*, *Eckenlied* and *Virginal* are based largely on local traditions originally independent of Dietrich. The court of Attila (Etzel) was a ready bridge to the Nibelungen legend. In the final catastrophe he was at length compelled, after steadily holding aloof from the combat, to avenge the slaughter of his Amelungs by the Burgundians, and delivered Hagen bound into the hands of Kriemhild. The flame breath which anger induced from him shows the influence of pure myth, but the tales of his demonic origin and of his being carried off by the devil in the shape of a black horse may safely be put down to the clerical hostility to Theodoric’s Arianism. / Generally speaking, Dietrich of Bern was the wise and just monarch as opposed to Ermanaric, the typical tyrant of Germanic legend. He was invariably represented as slow of provocation and a friend of peace, but once

⁷² Cf. Mark, 2014; Wolfram, 1990, 27 sqq.; Arnold, 2008; Burns, 1982.

roused to battle not even Siegfried could withstand his onslaught. But probably Dietrich's fight with Siegfried in Kriemhild's rose garden at Worms is a late addition to the Rosengarten myth. The chief heroes of the Dietrich cycle are his tutor and companion in arms, Hildebrand (...), with his nephews the Wolfings Alphart and Wolfhart; Wittich, who renounced his allegiance to Dietrich and slew the sons of Attila; Heime and Biterolf."⁷³

Striving to put together all the known ancestry of Theodoric the Great in ancient authors (Cassiodorus, Jordanes, Ammianus Marcellinus), Hodgkin passed to us a lineage in which we do not find anyone else with a similar German name. The most famous of all his forefathers, already emerged from the legends into more concrete historical records is Hermanric who founded an Ostrogothic kingdom which spread from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. This started at the beginning of the 4th century AD, while the Visigoths became foederati of the Roman Empire at the lower Danube.⁷⁴ Connecting this with the archaeological record, these events could be linked with the start of the culture Sântana de Mure – Cerneahov.

The three brothers and chiefs of the Ostrogoths, subjects of Attila, were Walamir, Theudemir, and Widemir, of the Amal clan. The second one was the father of Theodoric the Great. The Ostrogoths took part in the revolt against the Huns and gained a lot from the battle of Nedao. They had fortified their position in western Pannonia, the Danube being their border with the Gepids – the glorious winners at Nedao. Theodoric the Great might have been born in a settlement on the shore of Balaton Lake, where his father had his residence.⁷⁵

Detricus de Verona in Thurocz is not Theodoric the Great, but a German chieftain who lived earlier and led the involvement of the Germanic peoples in the fratricidal wars of the successors of Attila.⁷⁶

It is very possible that Thurocz retained, as the *Nibelungenlied* – and using such legends as a source – the

⁷³ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Volume 8, 1911, 221-222.

⁷⁴ Hodgkin, 1876, 7-17.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 30-32.

⁷⁶ Thurocz, 1600, chap. XI (*De ingressu Hunnorum in Pannoniam...*), pp. 14-15; XII, p. 15; XV, p. 17; XXIII, pp. 27-28; Cf. Thurocz, 1488, chap. XXIII, pp. 39-40 – *De bello post moretem Atile regis inter filios ejusdem gelto et de reditu Chabe filij regis Atile in Scythiam*. McConnell et alii, 2013, 184.

connection of Theodoric with Verona (Bern) and Ravenna (Raben). Thurocz put, as the *Nibelungenlied*, this bond on the shoulders of a Dietrich (Detricus) in the time of Attila, but did a critical service in writing about *Detricus de Verona* (Dietrich von Bern) not (clearly) identifying him with the later Theodoric the Great.

3. Corroboration with other sources about the eastern Romance population in the early Middle Ages

Besides offering some echoes from the distant past, and projecting back in time some of its peoples, the *Nibelungenlied* coincides, however with other sources and historic information and witnesses about the existence of an oriental Romance population in the time of Attila (and also before and after his rule). This coincidence is due to the fact that the only population besides the “Greeks” (i. e., Byzantines) from Pannonia to the east that existed in the time of Attila is the Romance population. The *Nibelungenlied* became an echo of this historical fact, alongside the Hungarian Latin, Byzantine and other Chronicles. Whether the *Nibelungenlied* is a conscious such echo or not is hard to decide. It would be easy to dismiss the question by saying that the *Nibelungenlied* refers to the oriental Romance population of the 11th century, when the first two crusades reignited the interest of the western world in the eastern Romance people. This is all true, and not long time after that period, the Roman origin of the Vlachs south of Danube would be speculated about by the Roman Church to attract this population on his side, in the time of the Asenid Kingdom in the Balkans – late 12th and early 13th centuries.

We saw, however, that the *Nibelungenlied* often mixes contemporary projections to the past with real echoes of those times. Otherwise the preservation of some traditions about Theodoric and Attila, which clearly transmit something from the past could not be explained. We could put together with those blurred memories *the way* in which the *Nibelungenlied* presents the Romanians.

First, the Wallachians in the *Nibelungenlied* are clearly placed in the east European realm; their geographical space is

definitely near that of the “Russians”, “Greeks” (Byzantines) and “Poles” (XXII, 1366 C).

Secondly, “R munc(h), the lord of Wallachia (Wallachian land, the country of the Wallachians / Vlâchs),/ With seven hundred men, came running before her (before Kriemhild).” (XXII, 1370 C). The association of Ramunch with Wallachia is obvious. Ramunch is not a real name, or even if it were, this would not be so important than the fact that the author wants to transmit a message through it. And the message is: the Wallachians placed into an east European area are the offspring of the Romans; these are the 700 horsemen led by a prince to honor Attila. The Russians and the Poles are taken only as geographical marks, meaning: the peoples who lived then in those countries. The Wallachians and the “Greeks” keep that meaning, but add continuity with older “Greeks” and “Wallachians”, i. e., with older Byzantines and Romance population. The deliberate construction “R munc(h), the lord of Wallachia” proves the knowledge of the author that the Wallachians are the descendants of the Romans in the eastern part of Europe.

The intended expression “R munc(h), the lord of Wallachia” in the *Nibelungenlied* evokes in this respect the comments of some Byzantine chronicles that the Wallachians are the descendants of the Romans:⁷⁷

- Mauricius, in *Strategikon* (7th cent.), wrote about some *romaioi* (Romans), refugees north of Danube: “although they are Romans, they changed in time and have forgotten in time their own [costumes], and became more sympathetic with the enemies. We should reward those with good will [among them], and punish those who do us harm.”⁷⁸

- Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (912-959) said, in *De administrando imperii*, about the Romance population in Dalmatia: “The emperor Diocletianus loved the country of Dalmatia, and hence he brought there from Rome a lot of people together with their families, and settled them in Dalmatia. They are also named Romans (Ρ ρῶ) because they came from Rome, and they bear this name until today”.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Cf. Saramandu, 2008, 159–164.

⁷⁸ Mauricius, *Strategikon*, XI, 31, in Mihăescu et alii, 1970, 560-561.

⁷⁹ C. Porphy., *De adm. imp.*, 29, 3-7, in Mihăescu et alii, 1970, 662-663.

- Ioan Kynamos (12th cent.), who traveled north of Danube said about the people there: “a large number of Wallachians, of whom it is said they came a long time ago from Italy” (uncertain if they were from south or north of the Danube, but proving the role of the eastern Romance population in that time).⁸⁰

Thirdly, Ramunch reappears in a tourney. This, his 700 horsemen and the presentation of the costumes of his country shows he represents an important people in the eastern European area, understood, of course, at the perception of the 11th century AD.

The expression “R munc(h), the lord of Wallachia” even evokes the mixed use of the two ethnonyms (first internal, the second external) in very old toponyms: *Vla ca*, *Romana i*, *Roman*, *Codrii Vl siei*, and others.

The proofs for the maintaining of the importance of Latin north of Danube, and of the Daco-Roman ethno-genetic synthesis after the 3rd century AD are conclusive and they come both from written and archaeological sources. The retreat of Aurelian (after 271-275 AD) was registered late and exaggerated by Eutropius (4th cent.). Aurelian's withdraw was most probable thought as a strategy to better defend the empire, never as a definitive abandonment, and even as a movement to better monitor Dacia from the cities on the north bank of the Danube.⁸¹ Aurelian seemed to have consolidated Sucidava, making it a powerful fort on the north side of the Danube, during the same period when he organised the retreat of the army and officials from the main cities of Dacia.⁸²

To the analysis made on written sources we may add the archaeological discoveries. Many Dacian and Daco-Roman necropolises, with a preponderance of incineration opposed to inhumation, in the 2nd-4th centuries AD, demonstrate the continuity of the Dacian communities, both inside and outside the present and the abandoned province. Many of them show a progressive penetration of the Roman cultural features within a Dacian territory which is much attached to its traditions and very reluctant to change them. Even the clear signs of the penetration

⁸⁰ Ioan Kinnamos, *Epitoma*, VI, 3, in Elian & Tana oca, 1975, 239.

⁸¹ Bârzu, 1980, 46, 49.

⁸² Bârzu, 1980, 49.

of Christianity, mostly after the 4th century, would increase very slowly the percentage of inhumations, maybe due to the lack of a rigorous hierarchy as it was in the Roman realm after Constantine the Great.

Some of the mentioned necropolises belonged to the Free Dacians or Carpians (Chilia, Medie ul Aurit). Some of them, in the midst of the Roman province, had clear Dacian features: Soporul de Câmpie, Obreja, Enisala, Frcăele. Others, or in different stages, also in the Roman province, had Daco-Roman features: Soporul de Câmpie, Obreja (Alba district), Morești, Lechină de Mure (Mureș district), Iacobeni (Cluj district), Sighișoara-Pîrîul Hotarului, Alba Iulia – in Transylvania; Locusteni (Dolj district), Frcăele, Daneș, Romula, Sucidava – in Oltenia. Some of them had Daco-Roman mixed features even immediately after the Aurelian retreat: Bratei, Locusteni (2nd-3rd centuries AD).⁸³

Analyzing the persistence of the late Romance population in Pannonia at least until the 7th century AD,⁸⁴ and the penetration there of the Romanian population since at least the 9th century AD,⁸⁵ Al. Madgearu concluded that “the data recorded in *GH* [*Gesta Hungarorum*, n. n.] about the presence of the Romanians in Pannonia in the period of the Hungarian conquest is reliable.”⁸⁶

Latin was the official language in the Eastern Roman Empire until Justinian and the empire knew two major expansions north of Danube, in the time of Constantine and Justinian. The influence of Latin and Roman culture expanded fast over the borders. For instance, a cremation votive altar, from the time of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 AD), with clear autochthonous funerary features, discovered by V. Pârvan (1911) north of Danube, at Țendreni (Iași district, north of Iași city, on river Prut), bore a Latin inscription, of a Roman magistrate from Asia Minor. The same influence at Barboși and Poiana, on the river Siret, all of them north of Danube, in the southern Moldavia.⁸⁷

⁸³ Popilian, 1980, 59-63, 86-87. Protase, 1976, 77-78, 85-87.

⁸⁴ Madgearu, 2005, 59-76.

⁸⁵ Madgearu, 2005, 77-81.

⁸⁶ Madgearu, 2005, 81.

⁸⁷ Pârvan, 1913, 103-106. Bârză, 1980, 47: “l'autel votif de Țendreni, qui atteste le cas d'un autochton usant de la langue latine”.

The first penetrations in the Dacian *province*, after the retreat of Aurelian, were of some Dacians (Ciplu-Gârle, Stolniceni), and a few relocations of some Roxolan Sarmatians (Ploiești-Triaș, Târgușor, Smeeni, Dorobanțu, Râmnicelu). Only later, after 350, it could be seen a sporadic penetration of Goths and Alans from their preferred lands in Moldavia, in specific and restrained areas in the south-east Transylvania and Muntenia, but not west of *limes transalutanus* until the 5th century AD. This means that Aurelian's criterion was rather a strategic retreat than the coming of the Goths, seen in the perspective of a better restoration, the forts on the left bank of the Danube being kept. While some sites north of Danube, in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, show a clear Roman influence (e. g. Bratei, and those mentioned in the above paragraphs), others show no such influence, mostly in sites of the Gothic penetration (Palatca, Sântana de Mureș). The German populations in Dacia are associated from the 4th century AD on with the culture of Sântana de Mureș. This culture shows, however, in other circumstances, an evident influence from the surrounding Daco-Roman population (e. g. Smârdan, Gherșeni, Hirman).⁸⁸

Constantine the Great (ruled over the entire empire 324-337 AD) reinstalled the effective Roman dominion over Banat, Muntenia and even the south of Moldavia. He restored or built many forts in this region (Gornea – Caraș-Severin district, Drobeta, Dinogetia-Garvăn – Tulcea district, Barboi), he made a *vallum* with forts (Hinova, Pietroasele), and he restored a bridges on Danube and the road from one of them to Sucidava (Celei – Corabia – Olt district) and Romula (old Dacian Malva, Recea – in Olt district, inhabited up to the 6th century).⁸⁹ Bishop Ulfila (Wulfila) preached, between 341 and 348, both in Gothic and in Latin to the people north of Danube, showing that the autochthonous population was in the process of a rapid adoption of Latin in that time.⁹⁰

The rule of Constantine the Great encouraged the Christianity inside the Roman Empire and the export of this religion to the peoples under the sphere of influence of the Roman

⁸⁸ Bârzu, 1980, 56-60.

⁸⁹ Bârzu, 1980, 50 (cf. D. Tudor, *Sucidava*, Craiova, 1974, p. 96). Gherghe, 2006, 359-369.

⁹⁰ Pop, 1996, 38. Păcurariu, 1992, 67.

Empire. The regions of Banat, Oltenia and Muntenia were under the rule of the empire in the time of Constantine, and the Dacians, the Sarmatians and the Goths were under the sphere of influence of the empire. Even the Huns started as *foederati* when they arrived in Pannonia. The rule of Attila (434–453 AD) in Pannonia and north of Danube in general was a brief interruption of the direct Roman control of these territories. However, except in Pannonia, the Huns had never a stable presence in other territories dominated by them, but a mere nominal control, through taxes and recruitment. Attila destroyed Sucidava in the time of Theodosius II (401–450), but there is no proof that other Roman forts on the left bank of the lower Danube suffered the same faith.⁹¹ The reconstruction of the Danubian *limes* was started by Anastasius I (491–508), with the forts and cities on the north bank, and were continued by Justin I (518–527) and Justinian I (527–565), the last restoring even some northern outposts in Banat, Oltenia, Muntenia and the south of Moldavia.

The penetration of the Roman provincial culture in Dacia, north of Danube, is evident in the 4th, continuing with the 5th century (the banks of the river Târnava Mare, Alba Iulia, Napoca, Potaissa, Porolissum, Sopor de Câmpie, Archiud, Mugeni, Bratei).⁹² An epigraphic proof of the Roman continuity north of Danube is the silver ring of an autochthonous from Micia (Ve el, Hunedoara), 4th cent., with the inscription “Quartine, vivas!” Some historians consider that this artifact has paleo-Christian features.⁹³ Other similar *fibulae* were found in Târnăviș, Porolissum, and Potaissa.⁹⁴ The two ceramic objects, a pot and a bowl, bearing Latin inscriptions, from Curcani-Ilfov (with the inscription *MITIS*), and a ceramic plate from Socetu-Teleorman (*Aureli(u)s Silvan(u)s fecit pataelam bonam*), constitute also epigraphic evidences for an autochthonous Romanized population north of Danube, who kept the skill of writing.⁹⁵ A similar newer

⁹¹ Bârzu, 1980, 50–51.

⁹² Bârzu, 1980, 60–70.

⁹³ Macrea, 1958, 467–472. Bârzu, 1980, 64. Hica, 2004, 196.

⁹⁴ Fabian, 2014, 168–170.

⁹⁵ Mitrea & Deculescu, 1966, 537–549. Voivozeanu, 1970, 530 (foto). Berciu, 1976, fig. 20/2.

discovery was made at Vîrvoru de Jos - Dolj, a plate with the inscription “*Patella-patella-/ Marc[i]*”.⁹⁶

The mixed population in Dacia, with Dacian, Illyrian (due to a massive colonization from this region) and Roman origin sticks very close to the ancient cultural traditions, especially regarding the funeral, up to the late 4th century (e. g. incineration sites in Bratei 1, resilient Dacian features in sites like Arad – Ceala – Pi colt – Medie ul Aurit and Cip u-Gârle). However, the penetration of Christianity during the 4th century is obvious, and it provokes radical cultural and funeral changes in the 4th-5th centuries AD, ending the late Dacian Latène. This process is accompanied by a massive import of Roman provincial cultural features. Nevertheless, the autochthonous Dacian cultural features persists north of Danube during the entire period between the 5th and 7th centuries AD, visible mainly in ceramics, and passing to the next generations, up to the Romanian people.

During the 3rd century AD there are very few Christian elements present in archaeological discoveries north of the lower Danube. Some of the earliest archeological discoveries with Christian content, associated with autochthonous Daco-Roman features, north of Danube, are:⁹⁷

- a Dacian cup and a cross, from Cânde ti – Vrancea, 1st - 2nd century;
- the inhumation grave 7 at Tirighina-B rbo i – Gala i, with Daco-Roman and Christian features (ivory crosses, amphora with XP) and a golden gem with the inscription “*INNOCENS*”, late 3rd cent., with its owner buried VNV-ESE, with hands crossed on his abdomen (Ion T. Dragomir and Silviu Sanie, 1976-1979);
- a gem with the Good Shepherd, from Transylvania, 3rd cent.;
- a golden ring with a gem, bearing graved a peacock and a dolphin, from B ile Herculane in Banat, 3rd cent.;
- a bronze ring with a cross and crosses in Banat, 2nd-3rd cent.;
- the onyx gem from Potaissa, with the inscription “ ”, 3rd-4th centuries;

⁹⁶ Toropu, Ciuc , Voicu, in <http://www.derwent.ro/s/i/index-Inscr.Virvoru.html>. Toropu, 1976, p. 108, pl. 4,17, a-d.

⁹⁷ Cioab , 2014. Pricop, 2008. Teodor, 2006. Vasile, 2006. P curariu, 1992, 96-100. Bârzu, 1980, 64-67. *Anuarul ...*, 1981, 73-114. Stoicescu, 1980, 154.

- two lamps with crosses, two gems and a bronze cross from Romula, 3rd-4th cents.;
- crosses and ceramic lamps from 3rd-6th cents.;
- the *donarium* from Biertan, Sibiu, 4th cent. (with the inscription *Ego Zenovius votum possui*);
- a ceramic vessel from Porolissum, 4th cent. (with the inscription *Ego ...vius / ulus vot pos*); Christ's monogram;
- ceramic vessels with incised crosses, from Vaslui and Suceava, from the 4th century on;
- a pagan funerary stone from Cluj-Napoca, reused in the 4th cent. by a Christian, who added the cross, A and ;
- lamps with crosses, 4th-5th cents.: Lipova (ceramic, fish shape); Apulum (Alba Iulia, ceramic), Dej (bronze), Sarmizegetusa (ceramic);
- a mold for crosses at Sânmicl u – Alba, 5th-6th cents.; molds of bone for crosses, in many places (Olteni-Teleorman, Budureasca-Ploie ti, Cânde ti-Buz u, Davideni-Neam , Traian-Bac u, Boto ana-Suceava etc.);
- an amphora fragment from Sucidava-Celei-Corabia - Olt, 5th-6th cents., with the inscription “X() M() () / () / () ’ / + ()” [Mary bare Christ / Loukonochos of Lykatios/ ... priest], Lukonochos, son of Lykatios, being the first Christian priest known by name north of Danube;⁹⁸
- a bronze chandelier from a church, at R cari (Saldae?)-Dolj, 5th-6th centuries;
- and even some churches - *basilicae* (Morisena-Cenad - Timi , 4th-6th cents; Sl veni - Olt, 3rd?-4th cent., 5th-6th cents.; Porolissum, on an old pagan temple, 4th cent.; Sucidava-Celei, 5th-6th cents.; Romula, 5th-6th cents.;
- churches south of Danube, beginning earlier – Tomis, Troesmis, Beroe etc., in Scythia Minor; and later, e. g. Justiniana Prima with mission north of Danube as well.

Dacia knew a timid, but determined and very early Christian diffusion. We must not forget that even in the Roman Empire, the Christianity was a new religion, one of the numerous minorities, until Constantine the Great. Even if, as we saw, there are some signs of early presence of the Christian practice north of Danube, the determined and irreversible spread of the Christianity

⁹⁸ Mi u, 2001.

in Dacia, north of Danube, as well as in the Empire, south of Danube, owes a lot to the reforms of Constantine.⁹⁹

The Christianity spread in Dacia from cities to villages (e. g. late pagan character in the cemetery in Bratei 1), and from the Roman and Romanized population first to Dacian and then to the German population. The lack of Christian evidences among the sites of Sântana de Mure culture, associated with the German population and its influence over the indigenous population, in parallel with some written witnesses which support the diffusion of the Christianity to those populations (e. g. Ulfila, the martyrdom of St. Sabbas), shows that this phenomenon does not always have a thorough archaeological cover – principle applicable to the Daco-Roman population as well.¹⁰⁰

The archaeological evidences show that the German (mainly Gothic) populations in Dacia suffered in the 5th century AD an intense process of Romanization and Christianization. For instance, the princely Christian grave in Apahida contained, among others, three rings with Christian symbols, and a golden *fibula* with onion head. Other Christian evidence is the medallion with cross in Someeni. Other evidences of Romanization are some discoveries in Pietroasele, Condești, and in Jimleul Silvaniei – in the later site a treasure with a sardonic *fibula*. Such *fibulae* were given by the Roman authorities to the *foederati* chieftains, as happened also with Attila, who received the title of *magister militum* and was a *chlamydatus*, a representative of the Roman power.¹⁰¹

Going back to our subject, it is worth bringing to our attention a common link between the *lied* and Priscus, for this author also mentioned the presence of the Romance population in the dominion of Attila,¹⁰² as the *lied* also does. Although it would be hard to distinguish, in this case, if the *lied* really retained a distant echo about the Romance population in the times of Attila underneath the clear projection back in time for the populations as Hungarians, Wallachians, Russians, Poles and Greeks. But such a fine distinction is not really necessary, because the testimony of

⁹⁹ Cf. Lifa & Ciolac, 2014, 186.

¹⁰⁰ Bârzu, 1980, 66-67.

¹⁰¹ Bârzu, 1980, 70-71.

¹⁰² Mihăescu et alii, 1970, 246-299 – cf. *Excerpta de legationibus*, edidit Carolus De Boor, Berlin, 1903, pp. 121-155, 575-591.

The most relevant passage in Priscus is this: “For [the Scythians] are mixed, and – besides their barbarian language – they try to speak either the language of the Huns, or that of the Goths, or that of the Ausonians, those of them who have connections with the Romans.” (

Priscus could refer to those who spoke the language of the Ausoni (Italians), either as a popular (vulgar) Latin spoken naturally north of Danube, or as an effort made by those in that region who wanted to communicate in Latin. Either way, the quoted excerpts in Priscus clearly states the persistent power of Latin to influence peoples north of Danube late after the Aurelian's retreat, as a surprisingly frequently used language.

Procopius of Caesarea wrote in the middle of the 6th century AD about a Slav, of the Anti population, who had learnt Latin among the populations north of Danube.¹⁰⁵ The original *magister militum per Thracias* (ἡγεμὼν τῶν ἐν Θρακίᾳ στρατιωτικῶν) Chilbudios

¹⁰⁴ Mih escu *et alii*, 1970, 279; De Boor, p. 145 (see above).

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seem to have been one of the numerous men in the Byzantine Empire imported and assimilated from among the Slavic population. He kept the Danubian limes safe and impenetrable for about three years, when he was finally killed in a battle (ca. 533 AD). Another Chibudios was first an Antian prisoner to the Sclaveni, and then to Antae masters. A Roman prisoner said this was the *magister militum*, in order to get his freedom, corroborated with a ransom paid to the Antae. The false Chilbudios revealed the forgery, but the Antae, interested in the reward continued the charade. Justinian offered the Antae the deserted city of Turris, north of Danube, and payment to defend the borders of the empire as *foederati*. The Antae agreed and asked that Chilbudios would recover his office. The plot was discovered by Narses, who sent the phony Chilbudios to Constantinople (ca. 545 AD).¹⁰⁶

This episode, about the false Chilbudios, shows, for a later time than that of Priscus, that the pressure of the Roman culture and of the Latin language was present north of Danube. Bilingualism, including Latin as a language of a very high interest, must have been very frequent there, since some could learn Latin north of Danube, to use it when communicating with officials south of the river.

Similar to the penetration of the Roman power north of Danube during the time of Constantine the Great, Justinian I regained the imperial dominance over territories like (by modern names) Banat, Oltenia and Muntenia, between the Danube and the Carpathians. To this may be added that, in spite of a constant pressure from the Slavs and Bulgars, “from the archaeological evidence it seems clear that the imperial control persisted well past Justinian’s accession on a strip of territory north of the Danube.”¹⁰⁷

The evidence given above about the persistent influence of the Latin and Roman culture in Balkans in early Middle Ages confirms the thesis that at first (6th-10th centuries AD) the Slavs suffered a cultural and linguistic influence from the Romance and

¹⁰⁶ Curta, 2001, 76-81. Ziemann, 2007, 91. Rubin, 1995, 151-153. Martindale, 1992, 286-286. Cf. Cameron, 2000, 72 sqq., 474. Zinkeisen, 1832, 666, 703.

¹⁰⁷ Evans, 2002, 79.

then the Proto-Romanian population north and south of Danube, and only afterwards the process reversed.¹⁰⁸

Teophylactus Simokattes left us a sample of the Romance language (in the course of changing) spoke in the 6th century in the Balkans (*Historiae*, II, 15: “torna, torna” – *return, return*).¹⁰⁹ Later, Theophanes Confessor (8th cent.) quoted the story and gave the above mentioned words twice, once with the adagio “fratre” (*Chronographia* - “torna, torna, fratre”).¹¹⁰ I think, as Giurescu & Giurescu, that the original form is “fratre”, which was altered in some manuscripts at “frater”, because it was considered an error. The reversed process could not be possible. I also agree it could not be a military command, for it could not contain the word for “brother”. The expression is a proof of the local Romance language, from 587, the year of an Avar invasion south of the Danube. In either way (*fratre* or *frater*), the popular use of Latin in the Balkan region is kept in a time when Latin began its evolution toward Romance languages. Therefore, it was also the starting point of the early Proto-Romanian. It can also be noticed that the story itself says that the expression was spoken “in the tongue of the people” or “in the language of the land (country)”. Thus, it wasn’t the official, literary Latin, but the popular form of speaking of the Romanized population.

(Pseudo) Mauricius also gave testimony for the practice of speaking a form of Latin north of Danube is, who wrote about some “Roman” refugees in the 7th century AD from north to south of the Danube who played the role of guides in the lands northern banks, but often intentionally misguiding the Byzantines (*Strategikon*, XI, 31).¹¹¹

And these are only some of the proofs for the development of a Romance language in the entire Carpathian-Balkan region, both north and south of the Danube.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ Paliga, 2003 – in agreement with Mihail, 1971.

¹⁰⁹ Mihăilescu *et alii*, 1970, 539.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Giurescu & Giurescu, 1974, 177-178. The form “frater”, influenced by the opinions of the editors appears also in the *Fontes...* collection (2nd vol.) – see Mihăilescu *et alii*, 1970, 605 (1: 22, De Boor, p. 258).

¹¹¹ Mihăilescu *et alii*, 1970, 561 (apud H. Mihăilescu, București, 1970).

¹¹² Cf. Giurescu & Giurescu, 1974, 126-155.

4. Final considerations over the Wallachians in the *Nibelungenlied*

The Proto-Romanian language developed both north and south of the Danube roughly between the 5th and 10th centuries AD. Therefore, the *Nibelungenlied* refers, through the terms “Wallachia”, “Wallachian land” and “Ramunc(h)” not to some obscure Romance population, but to that which had formed in the mentioned period from Pannonia to the east, to the Carpathian-Balkan area, echoing its reality in the 11th-12th centuries AD, the time of the first crusades. At that time the Wallachians were neighbors with the Poles (West Slavs), Russians (East Slavs) and “Greeks” (Byzantines), exactly as grouped by the *lied* (see Map 1, below).

Although Steven I of Hungary have had begun his reign in 1001 AD, the historiography, the placement of the Szekelys' vanguard only at the Western Carpathians in the 11th century and the archaeological proofs show that the direct domination of the Hungarian Kingdom had not penetrated farther at that time.

On one hand, the "Wallachians" in the *Nibelungenlied* is an ethnonym, and refers to the eastern Romance population, spread, as the chronicles say, from Pannonia, included, to the east (the *Geography* of Moses Chorenats'i, 9th cent. AD; the *Chronicle* of Nicetas Choniates, 12th cent.; of Nestor, 12th cent; *Gesta Hungarorum*, 12th cent.)¹¹³.

On the other hand, the "Wallachian land" in the *Nibeungenlied* refers, therefore, mostly to the Wallachian duchies (duke: "cne(a)z" – "jude", "voievod" – "duc ") at the east of the direct Hungarian domination, who had reached that time the Western Carpathians in the 11th century AD.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Giurescu & Giurescu, 1974, 132-134. Cf. Cross & Sherbowitz-Wetzor, 1953, 35, 52-53 (& 5-6), 62 (& 25) for the *Chronicle* of Nestor.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Pop, 2011, 141-166.



Map. 1. East Europe in the *Nibelungenlied*, echoing the time of the First and the Second crusades

The “latest news” was not in the Middle Ages, for distant and mysterious lands, the most up to date information, but that of some decades ago or even a century ago. A heroic ballad, a *lied*, a *saga* was an interweaved composition with “old” and “recent” information. There the “old” was told through the eyes of various authors and their knowledge of the past. The authors were unspecialized, but not ignorant, and passionate about the legends they were transmitting. The saga suffered multiple revisions from its successive authors and from its editors to whom we owe the final versions.

The rebellion of the Asenids¹¹⁵ started in 1185/6 AD because of the increase of the taxes in the Byzantine Empire. This was the exact time when the last versions of the *Nibelungenlied* were produced, beginning with reuniting two Low German poems about 1150, and the merged one spreading in High German, in south German lands, about 1170. By the time when the political creation of the Asenids was perceived as a new state, in the 13th century, and even earlier, about 1190 the last versions of the *Nibelungenlied* were already created, to be written down not much later, starting most probably in Austria.¹¹⁶ Thus, the rebellion and then the Wallachian-Bulgarian rule of the Asenids

¹¹⁵ Madgearu, 2014.

¹¹⁶ Shumway, 1909, *Introductory Sketch*.

in the Balkans occurred too late to be the inspirational source of the *Nibelungenlied*'s author(s), for the editors of the *lied* had already begun to issue the earliest variants we have now. The *Nibelungenlied* has, therefore, an older ancestry in the central and eastern European realm.

The events that sparked the interest about this part of the world for the German peoples were the Crusades,¹¹⁷ begun in 1096 AD, continued with connected enterprises and with the second Crusade, in 1146/7 AD. This is the right period for central and eastern European peoples represented in the *Nibelungenlied*. We should not forget, in this context, that some crusader armies crossed the lands of the Wallachians, spread in Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia, in their journey to Constantinople. The German branch of the First Crusade (1096), led by Godefroy de Bouillon, crossed Hungary and the Balkans. The Norwegian Crusade (1107-1110), led by Sigurd I, had a cavalry branch that traversed Germany, Hungary, the Wallachian land(s), and the Balkan part of the Byzantine Empire.

Regaining territories from the Bulgarians,¹¹⁸ the Byzantine Empire had restored his Danubian borders in the time of the emperor Basil II (958-1025 AD), just before the first Crusade (1096 AD). Thus, the mention of the "Greeks" among the neighbors of Wallachians in the *Nibelungenlied* means that the author(s) understood by "Wallachians" more their northern branch, which did not fall under Byzantine effective control, meaning those spread from Pannonia to the Danube Delta.

The references to the Wallachians in the *Nibelungenlied* are for a consolidated nation among its neighbors, represented by its elite, showing distinctive costumes, and an army with a well constituted cavalry. The realities in the time the last forms of the *lied* was composed (11th-12th centuries AD) correspond to and continue older realities, of the forefathers of the Wallachian (Romanian) people, the Proto-Romanians from the real time of Attila onward, which are partially echoed in the *lied*.

¹¹⁷ Laiou & Mottahedeh, 2001.

¹¹⁸ Michael Angold, *The Byzantine empire, 1025–1118*, in Luscombe *et alii*, 2008, 217-253. Breisach, 1994, 132-137. Theodorescu, 1974, 48-56.

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ATTITUDE OF PREMODERN ROMANIAN SOCIETY TO „THE MARGINALIZED”. PERSPECTIVES OF OBSERVATION AND INTERPRETATION

Carmen Alexandrache*

Abstract. *This paper gathered a series of manifestations of Romanian society regarding to its interpersonal relationship who has development during Premodern centuries. Our observations present the relationships that determined different attitudes of the „majority” of people towards those incapable to realize physical activity or to pray. These social categories were positioned to outskirts of society, becoming the „marginalized” (for example, the mentally ill, beggar, incurably ill, cripple, mutilated physically, deformed etc.). Towards those „social marginalizes”, Romanian society was called to showing the "Christian pity". Its attitudes were encouraged by the religious and legal norms.*

In order to highlight these relations, we used a various types of documents, as representative of the problem analyzed.

By nature of the topic, the work was formulated some assumptions that could become landmarks reliable in the future scientific research.

Keywords: *mentality, Premodern history, Christian Orthodox religion, social attitudes, norms.*

In the Pre-modern Romanian society, the ability to judge and to decide the place of each individual in society was attributed to the Orthodox Church which, in this sense, was working alongside the Lord, and also alongside the community in its entirety. So, the moral-religious and judicial percepts (at which we should add the will of the political power) were

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promoting the respect for the social order, a form of God's will, the passage from one state to another being the result of sin, of the divine will and of the Christian pity. In this sense, the Center, the social elite, seemed to be intangible (even if the lord, as the earthly representative of the divine will, could change at any time any social status), and its boundaries were more dynamic, including all of those who could no longer obey the laws of God. The social boundaries were made, from the conception of J. Le Goff, which referred to the European West society¹, the following social elements:

- a. the irrecoverable criminals, excommunicated, suicides, witches, heretics, „pagans” („p gâinii”), Jews, etc. (*the excluded*);
- b. the poor, beggars, insane, disabled, mutilated, etc. (*the marginalized*);
- c. those who practice infamous trades, incurably ill, etc. (*the outside social clase / „declasat”*).

The Romanian Pre-modern society, like any other society based on Christian pity, has established some landmarks on what concerns “the destitute”, the sin, divine judgment, charity and faith. Often, in the religious literature of the Romanian space of the XVIIth century, the Christian pity was invoked with words such as: “He who pities a poor man, makes a gift to God and He will repay his good deed²”.

The research of the situations of social marginality is supported today by the history of mentalities, especially by its side oriented towards the mentality facts: the paradoxes, bizarre superstitions, curious facts and attitudes confusing³. Even if, for the period and space we are interested in, the sources do not offer enough data to overcome the level of assumptions which can be more or less historically proven, and the level of speculations, we believe that this *semi- silence* is due to not only the priority orientation towards other social aspects, but also to the oddness related to these social elements, „the fools”, „foolish”, „beggars”. These cases, poorly marked in the writings of the time, we do not

¹ Jacques Le Goff, 1970.

² To see Ligia Livadă-Cadeschi, 2002, 11-60.

³ H. Martin, 2001, 228; J. Le Goff, P. Nora, 1974, Fr. Lebrun, 1967, H. Martin, 1998.

think can be considered exceptions. It is impossible that the frequent wars, predatory attacks, natural disasters and the lack of specialized health service have not increased social deprivation, number of maimed, crippled, deformed, insane, incurably ill, criminals, beggars and vagrants.

Being incapable to get socially and lucratively integrated, and to respect God's laws, all of these made their marginality imminent. This marginality is emphasized also by the reaction shown by the community in dealing with these social elements. Therefore, pin-pointing the attitude towards those found at the edges of society, cannot be separated from the religious feelings that have motivated it, an aspect which we will focus on next.

1. Attitude towards the mentally handicapped (the insane)

Nervous ills, considered forms of insanity⁴ (especially epilepsy and manifestations of violence) were the result of demonic influences („every sin has one devil”⁵).

In the gestures and words of such a sick person, the other members of the community were seeing the presence of the devil, fool being called „a charmed by Satan”, „mad” („smintit”), „possessed” („îndr cit”), „the mindless” („cel lipsit de minte”), „ugly” („pocitul”), „freak” („pocitania”), „ugliness”, („dambla”), „stroke” („apoplexie”), „cataroi”, „pale” („paliz”). By taking power over his mind⁶, the devil “was working” the body of the possessed one, so that the sick started⁷ „to wallow” and „to twitch”⁸) („se bate, se t v le te i-i merg spumele”, „î i schimonose te fa a i î i schimb c ut tura”). Such gestures were troubling the viewers and their religious belief. Therefore, „the possessed” used to be isolated in monasteries and in their families. Were denied the their presence in the church, because „they will no say any bad and disgusting word in the church, and to terrified and to temping the crowd frightened people and stop the service of God”⁹ („s nu spun cuvânt r u i scârnav la

⁴ V. V. Toma, A. Majuru, 2006.

⁵ *Cazania*, 177.

⁶ *Îndreptarea legii*, Glava No. 112, 140.

⁷ *Cazania*, 234.

⁸ *Ibidem*, 177.

⁹ *Îndreptarea legii*, Glava No. 92, 125.

biserice, să se spăimeze și să smintească gloata oamenilor și să curmeze slavoslovnic, adică slujirea Domnului”).

Even if the writings about their existence are poor, we do believe that there must have been quite a few cases of madmen in the Romanian society of the XVIIth century, especially since their status was somewhat regulated in the known Rule of Vasile Lupu (*Carte românească de învățtură de la pravilele împăratului*, 1646) and Matei Basarab (*Îndreptarea legii*, 1652).

Regarding at the one who have this situation, considered repairable and legal intangible, it have established the following:

- a. „the possessed” as „those up to 20 years old, the deaf (...) at the servant, at the immoral”, „can not testify at trial”¹⁰ („cel îndrăcit”, ca și „cei de până în 20 ani, cel surd (...) cel slugă, cel curvariu”, „nu pot mărturisi la judecată”);
- b. if a person is or is not intended become a priest, but „it is happen to have a devil, this man must to no interfere with the faithful to pray until he will clean up the disease after those to make priest”¹¹ (dacă o persoană intenționează sau nu să devină cleric, dar „se întâmplă să se îndrăcească, și nu se amestece să se roage cu credincioșii până ce nu se va curăța de acea boală, după aceea să se facă cleric”);
- c. if „the woman have a devil, her husband must wait three years, unless hell delivers from lust he it have to release”; „if her husband have a devil, his wife must to wait five years and then she have to marry”¹² („mujerul dacă se îndrăcește” bărbatul său „trebuie să aștepte 3 ani, dacă nu se izbăvește din patima dracului să se elibereze”; „dacă el se îndrăcește, ea să îl aștepte 5 ani și apoi să se mărită”);
- d. „if she did not confesse at the start of wedding that she has this lust, the husband have to separate of her and he can't to marry with another woman (...) if the lust of woman has come after the wedding, the husband does not break of her”; it is valid for the man also¹³ („dacă femeia nu a mărturisit la început că are patima să se despartă și să ia

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, Glava No. 24, 85.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, Glava No. 92, 125.

¹² *Ibidem*, Glava No. 235, 229.

¹³ *Cazania*, 234.

alta (...), dac patima a venit dup nunt , nu se desparte”, reglementarea fiind valabil și în cazul „îndr cirii b rbatului”);

- e. who kills his deformed child, „which has terrible signs, he is not punished by law”¹⁴ (cine își ucide copilul deformat, „care are semne groaznice, nu e certat”);
- f. if someone is crazy and foolish and kill his father he does not judged, because the penalty to get them crazy it is enough”¹⁵ („dac cineva este nebun și f r minte și ucide tat l nu se judec , pentru c pedeapsa de a fi nebun îi ajunge”).

One’s facts could not be judged according to the social laws, because one was not aware of one’s mistakes, so it was impossible for one to amend oneself and to obtain the soul salvation by fulfilling the given punishment. Thus, the madman, who for his sins or the sins of others, was caring the devil inside him, was treated as an irresponsible sick person, but not as an incurable one, because the divine pity and forgiveness could cure him. Meanwhile, he was remaining in the care of his family or in that of the monastery¹⁶, where, in isolation he would wait for his redemption. The biblical texts were talking about their salvation in the scenes where Jesus was driving away the devil from men, so as to strengthen their belief in the God. The interpretation offered by the *Homiliary* („Cazanie”) puts emphasis on this teaching, but also has drawn attention over a detail which has fueled the superstitious believes of the people: the crises of the possessed started when it was a full Moon, which was definitely the work of the devil¹⁷.

In the clerical discourse, if the possessed ones were pitied in general, the sinners were considered more worthy of pity because their souls were even harder challenged by the devil than their bodies („urât e m cenia dracului când vedem cum zdrobe te i munce te trupurile oamenilor în care intr . Iar f r

¹⁴ *Îndreptarea legii*, Glava No. 244, 240.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ Evlia Celebi has described a physically deformed man, with a monstrose face, who was living at the corner of a monastery and he was eating i mân stiri, hr nindu-se with everything that he found, see *C l tori*, 1976, 726.

¹⁷ *Cazania*, 51-54.

nici o îndoire mai r u zdrobe te i munce te sufletele cele ce ine în puterea sa, adic în p cate”¹⁸).

The possessed ones, through their sins, “they were giving themselves to the world and their bodies, to their lusts”, “they were not taking care of their souls either”, proving “the lack of power of humans and the weakness of those who had a child’s mind”.

For a Christian man, the devil’s possession was meant to scare him more, because the devil was hiding in the mind and the soul of men, even if his presence was permitted by their owner as a result of one’s neglect of the Christian duty and because of „the sweetness” of sin. They „do not care for their soul or the God”, demonstrating „the fruit of human helplessness and weakness of the child mind”¹⁹

By developing its meaning of „different than others, by not obeying the worldly laws”, the term „mad” was also attributed to those who, for a greater love of God, were courageously breaking the human rationality so as to follow Christ.

2. The attitude towards the one who has physical (and material) weakness

The disadvantaged social categories had the possibility (cripples, paralytics, mutilated, sick etc.) of becoming the main source for delinquents and the most effective way to destabilize the life of a community. So, their marginality was inevitable and the maintaining of this state was considered legal. For example, the separation of the man who became „fools” was accepted, but „if she has the disease, she can to separate, but he take care of her, feeds her all life”²⁰.

If the disease was born like as, then the patient must remain in the care of his family²¹, so „who send sick son to the house where beggars and sick people are losing their earthly

¹⁸ Antim Ivireanu, 1997, 208.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ *Îndreptarea legii*, Glava No. 225, 227.

²¹ L. Livad -Cadeschi, 2002, 26, 30, 33. First hospital who has mentioned in the romanian cronicles, was one at on „the outskirts of Bucharest, with many little rooms and a church in the midst of domaine”, as has asserted Dionisie Ecclesiarhul”. This hospital was founded by Alexandru Moruzi in 1753. There were the people sicked of the plague.

power”²². This affirmation supports the idea of some establishments that were meant to host individuals which society was considering being physically and mentally incapacitated. First hospital from Moldavia and Valahia in 1619-1620 (the hospital of Suceava, founded by Bishop Anastasie Crimca), but the most significant places of this kind belong to the XVIIIth century.

In their support, of these communities that were helping the poor, the crippled and the sick, the Lord has allowed them not to pay taxes, has encouraged the monasteries to help them. The people with a physical handicap were not losing their properties as they were capable to dispose as they wished of their goods²³. For this situation, the Romanian examples are not poor, because we see deeds upon which we can find names and that person’s disability noted down²⁴.

In order to help the sick and the old, the infirmaries were created bolni ele ²⁵, even if their activity is debatable until today. Some think that they were an institution which was offering medical assistance to the clergy and the simple people („romanian hospital”²⁶). Others said that they were some sort of annex of the monasteries meant for the retirement of the old and sick monks, having its own church around which the monks were getting buried²⁷. It is certain that here were being taken care of, after the empirical methods, not only monks, but also the founders and the benefactors of the monastery, and those that became ill while visiting the religious place²⁸.

²² *Îndreptarea legii*, Glava No. 244, 239.

²³ See Marcel –Dumitru Ciuc , Silvia V tufu-G itan, Meletina Bâzgan, 1993. Doc. no. 1036, 357.

²⁴ It is case of the decision of Matei Basarab (in the document / *hrisov* from 1639) who established the exemption of the village M ul de Jos, at South of the Muscel, for to be „the work and the feed for the poor, halted, hunched of the city Câmpulung (*Catalogul documentelor rii Române ti din Arhivele Statului*, vol. IV (1633-1639), 1981. Doc. No. 1514 bis, 654-655. This case has presented by L. Livad - Cadeschi, 2002, 28.

²⁵ For more details about the hospitals monastic („bolni e”) from the XVIIth century, to see M. P curariu, 1992, 222-223.

²⁶ P. Gh. Samarian, 1938, 116-117. See P. Miroiu, in *Mitropolia Olteniei*, 1969, 9-10 and 1970, 1-2.

²⁷ G. Br tescu, in *Mitropolia Olteniei*, 1969, 9-10.

²⁸ In this sense, we remark the document of lord (*hrisov domnesc*) on 19 of May 1713, where the wallachian lord Constantin Brâncoveanu reinforced and complemented the donation of the high backrest (*marele sp tar*) Mihai

These types of concerns have become part of the monastery's norms, them being stated in the *Ritual Law (Tipicon)*. The egumen must to concern for healing the sick, from monastery or from the abroad, younger or older („i de va veni cineva strein i f r cas , în casa de streini cu vreo boal cuprins (...) i s i se porunceasc a petrece în casa de cea de bolnavi, pân se va face s n to i i atunci cele de trebuin în cale de la egumen, împreun cu rug ciunea primind, cu pace întru ale sale s se slobozeasc . Iar b trânilor i celor ce nici un ajutor nu au, s porunceasc a se îndulci de toate cele de trebuin . i pat lor întocmai num rat s le puie lor pentru odihn ”²⁹).

In the *Romanian Codex (Pravila româneasc , 1646)* it is established that: “This is what we teach: build a church or an infirmary or an eating house where the strangers can stop or other similar buildings and you will find happiness and you will not be judged by God” („Iaste înv tur s fac biseric sau bolni sau osp t rie ce s dzice cas de str ini sau grobnic i alte asemenea acestora, pentru c atunci s ia singur cu voias i nu trebuie nice un giude i înc poate s ia singur cându-i ca alege st pânul în zăpis”³⁰). The bishop Atanasie Crimca with the brothers Lupu and Simion Stroici raised at the Dragomirna Monastery, his foundation in 1602 a chapel who became „bolni ”³¹. In 1637-1638, Lady Anu a, the daughter of the lord Mircea Ciobanul was foundation „bolni a” by wooden at Dintr-un lemn Monastery. The Lady Marica Brâncoveanu founded the „Bolni a” („Adormirea Maicii Domnului”) in 1696-1699 at Hurezi Monastery. Of course, in these charitable initiatives were involved the representatives of the nobility or high clergy.

Therefore, we may consider that, the attention offered to these people remains mainly anchored in the religious sphere. The mentally ill or the physically and mentally disabled were perceived as an intermediary between the benefactor and God.

Cantacuzino to Col ea Monastery of Bucharest whose founder he was, the surrounding walls, the cells and the school of here, the hospitale for to rest here the foreign sick”. This donation was for feeding, care and treatment of foreign sick, to see *Condica Marii Logofe ii*, Doc. No. 403, 566-567.

²⁹ *Apud* P. Miroiu, in *Mitropolia Olteniei*, 12, 1969, 699.

³⁰ *Carte româneasc de înv tur de la pravilele împ r te ti*, 1960, 78.

³¹ Al. I. Gona, în *Studii de istorie medieval*, 1998, 260; P. Miroiu, în *Mitropolia Olteniei*, 1-2, 1970, 66.

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GERMANY AND THE CHALLENGE OF MASS IMMIGRATION

Zoltán Eperjesi*

Abstract. *This article gives an insight into the problematic origins of the term multiculturalism, a brief summary of integration of foreigners in Germany by presenting certain debates about incorporation, assimilation and dominant culture in order to ultimately see the critique of the model of multiculturalism.*

Keywords: *multiculturalism, integration, disintegration, assimilation, pluralism, mass immigration.*

Considering the two and a half decades after the fall of the Berlin Wall and German unification, the Federal Republic of Germany is still undergoing major political, societal and demographical changes. Taking into account the events of the last two years regarding refugee crisis, one remarks that the entire German society is heavily loaded and not only because of economic considerations, but also national security reasons thus, threat and fear from terrorism. If somebody has doubts so far that Germany is a country of immigration it must confront the reality. Chancellor Angela Merkel declared six years earlier on Saturday (16/10/2010) at the Germany Day (Deutschlandtag) of the Young Union (Junge Union Deutschlands) in Potsdam that the multicultural society "has failed, absolutely failed".¹ However, it is a justifiable requirement that most of the immigrants learned the German language in order to have better opportunities on the employment market. Forced marriages are unacceptable, and

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¹ "This approach has failed, absolutely failed." Source:
<http://www.dw.com/de/merkel-erklaert-multikulti-faelschung-gescheitert/a-6118143>

naturally also girls from migrant families must be allowed to go with on school excursions. At the same time is necessary to ensure, that criminal acts become sentenced rapidly and there should be no city districts, in which even the police did not dares to enter. Merkel also defended (even within coalition parties) the controversial statement of the German President Christian Wulff, according to which the Islam religion is a component part of Germany. The chancellor continued her argumentation by referring to the ethnic Turkish goal scorers in German national football team, which can be recognised not only on the football players as (Mesut) Özil, but other performers as well. A couple of days earlier at the Regional Conference of the CDU in Berlin, the Chancellor also stated that Christian values are important: "We feel interconnected to the Christian image of humanity. That is what defines us." If somebody cannot accept this development "he is out of place with us". The Bavarian Governor and CSU leader Horst Seehofer addressed foreigners living in Germany to integrate on the eve of the Congress of the Young Union. The people who live here ought to acknowledge the German core culture. In Seehofer's view, integration means: to respect Christian principles, to get the right qualifications for life and to integrate, but without fluency in German language, this could not be accomplished. We shall not encourage the idea becoming the social welfare office for the whole world - warned the CSU leader and shouted: "Multiculturalism is dead!"² Seehofer received great applause for his speech.

Martin Schrader,³ the Secretary General of Central Council of Jews in Germany criticized Seehofer for his close-minded remarks concerning integration of migrants. Following this, Stephan J. Kramer, declared to the "Rheinpfalz am Sonntag" that the readiness to catch more votes, which goes with xenophobic and other social peace threatening statements and is also connected to incorrect assertions, declined considerably even amongst politicians of democratic parties. "That is not just seedy but downright irresponsible." Before his participation at the

² For this section please visit: <http://www.dw.com/de/merkel-erkl%C3%A4rt-multikulti-f%C3%BCr-gescheitert/a-6118143>

³ He is the author of the article „Merkel erklärt "Multikulti" für gescheitert" by Deutsche Welle (Redaction: Pia Gram).Source: <http://www.dw.com/de/merkel-erkl%C3%A4rt-multikulti-f%C3%BCr-gescheitert/a-6118143>

Germany Day of the Young Union within an interview Seehofer said that immigrants from other cultural backgrounds like Turkey and Arab countries would generate difficulties in integrating themselves in German society. Following this, he concluded, "that we do not need additional migration from other cultural backgrounds." Furthermore, at the Regional Conference of the CDU, Merkel clearly accused the previous governments for existing problems in integrating compact communities with migratory background. "The failures of 30 or 40 years cannot be caught up so rapidly." What the politician did not mention here is that since the recruitment of Italian workers in 1955 by the Federal Government there were so far no real official concepts in order to integrate people speaking non-German languages.

It is noticeable that the concept of multiculturalism is interpreted quite differently even by leading politicians, but not only as there are clear variations on the definitions even among experts. Thus, explanations on multiculturalism are highly context-dependent if politicians are giving declarations through the media and scientific definitions of the concept are depending on the field of study of each researcher. In view of that, it is to observe that the issue is quite complex and at the same time there are a range of meanings today. Some people perceive it as enriching experience, others not at all. Accordingly, the term is interpreted in two different ways: certain persons are convinced that this is the best possible way of co-existence in a pluralist society; the others are using the notion in order to draw attention to the particular risks arising of immigration. Multikulturalismus is also shortened with "Multikulti" in the German language, which is very current at the present in the domestic media. The word itself derives from the English (multiculturalism) and emerged in the 1960s, first in Canada and later also in the mediated political discussions of other big receiving countries including Australia and the United States.

The German Federal Agency for Civic Education⁴ defines it as fact that modern societies are multicultural due to their free, democratic and open systems (constitutionality). Furthermore, multiculturalism denotes therefore the political demand to find

⁴ In German Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung or the "bpb" as it is referred to in short. Source: <http://www.bpb.de/die-bpb/138852/federal-agency-for-civic-education>

standard solutions for cultural, religious, ethnical and linguistic integration of immigrants in host countries. It also includes those tools by which people from diverse backgrounds and lifestyles respectfully cohabitate and in this way they are able to learn and benefit from each other. This can only happen by means of mutual respect, appreciation and tolerance. Under the definition of multiculturalism there are two other related words proposed to contemplate. These are pluralism and subculture.⁵ The term "multicultural society" played for the first time an important role within socio-educational and religious debates at the end of the 70s in the German media. Since the late 80s it was increasingly implemented in the mainstream frame with a view to policy on foreigners as an alternative to various nationalist trends. Therefore, it is an accepted reality by now in Germany that a society is considered culturally diverse, if it consists of people with different native languages, various traditions and religions. Besides, by considering the denotations of the term multiculturalism within German contextual frameworks it is necessary to observe that the notion itself was never imbedded into a socio-political concept neither in the GDR nor in West Germany. The term has been used rather unclearly and its meanings were drifting apart in several directions by ending in disjointed folkloristic interpretations. According to certain current accounts one has to drop the (concept-free) term of multiculturalism on the ash heap of history of the 21st century. If doing so, one could ask: wherewith shall it be replaced? This question is not easily to be answered. Therefore, author of this writing summarises the backgrounds of the political movement called "Patriotic Europeans against the Islamisation of the Occident"⁶ (abbreviated as Pegida or PEGIDA) that occurred in Germany.

In this way it becomes possible to examine carefully how currently the main topic about the model of a pluralistic society reoccurred in scientific and public discussions in Germany. Lutz Bachmann is one of the key players of the Pegida and as a model of the name for his new movement he mentioned campaign

⁵<http://www.bpb.de/nachschlagen/lexika/politiklexikon/17871/multikulturalismus> In: Schubert, Klaus/Martina Klein, 2011.

⁶ <http://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article135158246/Islamfeinde-protestieren-als-Duegida-in-Duesseldorf.html>. In: *Die Welt*, 8. Dezember 2014.

posters of the CDU from the 1960s with the motto "Save the Western culture". Interestingly, only a couple of months after the first Pegida rally, there is already a comprehensive review about the happenings and the origins of the movement. The social-scientific study also provides facts about the structure of the German society. Authors are employees of the Göttingen Institute for the Study of Democracy (Göttinger Institut für Demokratieforschung) and they visited the rallies organized by Pegida in Dresden. Lars Geiges,⁷ Stine Marg,⁸ Franz Walter⁹ and associates succeeded to gather relevant data from several participants of online platforms, group discussions and in situ interviews by using a mixture of journalistic methods. Researchers applied conventional surveys, as well. Those questioned were mostly male, unaffiliated with any religion, possessed a good to very good qualification and sympathized mainly with the newly founded party "Alternative for Germany" (German: Alternative für Deutschland or shortened as AfD).

This was founded in 2012 by a group of economists aiming to address people who were disappointed with conventional politics, mainly Chancellor Angela Merkel's open-door strategy which allowed more than a million migrants to enter the federal country in 2015. AfD won 4.7% of the votes in the 2013 federal elections, narrowly missing the 5% electoral threshold to sit in the Bundestag. However, the party won 7.1% of

⁷ Lars Geiges was born in 1981 and he is a journalist and political scientist (doctorate in social science). He works as research associate at Göttingen Institute for the Study of Democracy and is editorial board member of INDES. The journal deals with political and social issues. The main research areas are (civil) protest movements, social conflicts and engagement and participation. Source: <http://www.transcript-verlag.de/978-3-8376-3192-0/Pegida>

⁸ Stine Marg was born in 1983 and she is an employee at the Göttingen Institute for the Study of Democracy and co-editor of the BP (exhaustive societal study). She has a doctorate in social sciences by doing research primarily in the field of political culture and among other issues she deals with civil protests. Source: <http://www.transcript-verlag.de/978-3-8376-3192-0/Pegida>

⁹ Franz Walter was born in 1956 (Professor of Politics) and since 2000, he is the head of the Institute for the Study of Democracy in Göttingen. He is the editor of INDES and his main research subjects are: political parties and political culture. Walter has several publications concerning especially the history and development of the German parties. Moreover, he writes to SPIEGEL ONLINE on a regular basis. Source: <http://www.transcript-verlag.de/978-3-8376-3192-0/Pegida>

the votes and 7 out of 96 German seats in the European election in 2014 and subsequently joined the European Conservatives and Reformists (ECR) group. New directions of the party were reinforced by their current leaders as Jörg Meuthen and Frauke Petry.¹⁰ Meuthen¹¹ is a German economist and politician serving as Federal spokesman for the AfD since July 2015. Frauke Petry is a research chemist and entrepreneur who only entered the political scene seriously around 2013. Petry has had a positive effect on the chances of Germany's fragmented far-right movements, broadening the popularity of the party by achieving unprecedented success in regional elections of (spring) 2016. According to projections made by the German media (ARD and ZDF) with most districts counted, the only three-year-old AfD - that has principally mobilised against Chancellor Merkel's open-borders policy - won 15.1% of the vote in the federal state of Baden-Wuerttemberg, about 12.5% in Rhineland-Palatinate and 24% in Saxony-Anhalt, where it finished on second place.¹² The latest results on the AfD of Baden-Wuerttemberg are even more astonishing as this is a successful western state that is home to famous trademarks like Bosch, Porsche or Mercedes. That overall good electoral accomplishments of the new party, which surprised and shocked in equal measure the country in 2016 was largely attributed to Frauke Petry's strategy as she seized control of AfD in July 2015 from its eurosceptic core-members and re-organized it as a vehicle for Germany's growing anti-immigrant reactions

¹⁰ Frauke Petry (maiden surname Marquardt) was born 1 June 1975 in Dresden. She grew up in Saxony and in 1992 her family moved to Bergkamen in Westphalia. Petry owned her first degree in chemistry at the University of Reading in 1998 and before attending the University of Göttingen she gained a doctoral degree there in 2004. Source:

<https://www.alternativefuer.de/partei/bundesvorstand/>

¹¹ Jörg Meuthen was born in July 29, 1961 in Essen. He studied at the University of Mainz and worked as a researcher at the Department of Finance at University of Cologne. After completing his PhD in 1993 he became a speaker at the Hesse Ministry of Finance in Wiesbaden. He is also a professor for political economy and finance at the Academy of Kehl. Meuthen was top candidate for the AfD at the Baden-Württemberg state election of 2016 and is since March 2016 a Member of Parliament. <http://jmeuthen.de/lebenslauf/> and <http://www.hs-kehl.de/hochschule/fakultaeten/alle-lehrenden/prof-dr-joerg-meuthen/>

¹² Source: <http://www.spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/landtagswahlen-2016-in-der-blitzanalyse-afd-triumph-cdu-debakel-a-1082090.html>

and worries. Frauke Petry stated that AfD is originally a child of Merkel's politics: „That is what describes us best. We are here because Merkel's government failed to deal with important topics of society in Germany and Europe.”¹³ Moreover, according to the article (*Frauke Petry: meet the smiling new face of Germany's far-right*) of Peter Foster (Europe Editor in Leipzig of The Telegraph) “a hint of what those topics might be - at least in the view of some members of the AfD – could be found last week in a leaked draft party manifesto which contained a hotch-potch of policies, centred around a return to “national values”. These includes incentivising German women to have three or more children, locking up “therapy-resistant” drug addicts and psychiatric cases, a flat 20 per cent tax, as well as several evidently anti-Muslim policies such as a ban on male circumcision, minarets and wearing the niqab. Mrs Petry, who speaks fluent English learned while studying for an undergraduate chemistry degree at Reading University, waves away the leaked document as “nothing official”, explaining away its rougher edges as the work of a few unauthorised individuals - “God knows who”. Dismissing such voices as unrepresentative is Mrs Petry's main strategy when dealing with AfD's darker side, like Björn Höcke, the AfD's leader in the eastern state of Thuringia, who has echoed Adolf Hitler in calling for a “thousand-year” Germany and made pronouncements on what he calls the differing “reproduction strategies” of European and African people. It is the kind of language that has led Sigmar Gabriel, the leader of the Social Democrats (SDP) to characterise the AfD's ideas and language as a “a fatal reminder of the vocabulary used in the 1920 and 1930s”. But Mrs Petry, who in January 2015 found common cause with Germany's overtly anti-Muslim Pegida movement, denies the charge that she cynically makes political profit from pandering to her party's darker side, even as she officially condemns it. “No, no, no. This is not true,” she says, suddenly animated, “Especially Björn Höcke with his sayings about ‘a thousand years’ of Germany, that didn't help us at all. It damaged us a lot. We suffer from that sort of rhetoric.” And yet despite the official condemnation Mr Höcke remains in his post, appealing to the baser instincts of the party's political base – mostly old, white

¹³ Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/03/26/frauke-petry-meet-the-smiling-new-face-of-germanys-far-right/>

and male - that has undergirded its sudden rise to prominence. Still, on some controversial aspects, like the “three-child policy” to encourage the production of more German babies and defuse Germany’s demographic time-bomb, Mrs Petry is unapologetic. “If you call our policy stupid, then please tell me what you call a policy that asks for more migration into the country to do something about our birth deficit?,” she says, “That’s as stupid as thinking we can solve all problems in Germany just by having more children – we never suggested that.” Instead, Mrs Petry, a mother-of-four who split from her husband last October after announcing she was in a relationship with Marcus Pretzell, an AfD member of the European Parliament, says the policy is a sensible search for a better “balance between old and young”, adding that fixing Germany’s demographics, “cannot be a question of importing population because we can’t solve the problem ourselves.” It is the kind of policy – given the correct gloss – that Mrs Petry evidently hopes can look both ways in a German political landscape fractured by Angela Merkel’s move to the centre-ground, shutting nuclear power stations and welcoming immigrants with open arms. It is a shift that has left a vacuum on the Right which AfD has rushed to fill. But the unforeseen scale and speed of the success of AfD – the party was only founded in 2012 - presents Mrs Petry with a familiar dilemma for far-Right parties all across Europe: how to find a policy platform that both satisfies their angry, disenfranchised grassroots support while remaining respectable enough to form a coalition with more centrist parties. The difficulty of walking this political tightrope is the only moment during our interview when that smile momentarily fades, as Mrs Petry shows a flash of frustration at how the liberal media and political establishment has, thus far, determinedly shut her party out of government even though AfD has seats in five of Germany’s 16 regional parliaments, and won seven seats in the last European Parliament elections. (Five later quit the AfD in protest at the shift to an anti-immigration platform). What the establishment sees as taking a stand for decency, Mrs Petry sees as the refusal of the political elite to recognise the legitimate concerns of traditional-minded, older, whiter, blue-collar Germany. She turns the charge of Naziism on its head, arguing that it is the liberals who are truly being illiberal – a trick also used by Mr Trump, who like Mrs Petry courts and

berates the media in equal measure. “The best we can do to learn from our past is to preserve and create a democratic and liberal society,” she says, not a little primly, “Pushing away your political opponents, calling them ‘Nazi’ and ‘fascist’, even suppressing different ideas of society, calling anyone who criticizes this EU and ‘enemy of Europe’, this is losing our responsibility. This is giving up what we should have learned from Nazi regime.”¹⁴ According to Peter Foster (Europe Editor in Leipzig of The Telegraph) Petry’s party was condemned by *Der Spiegel* as a haven for “right-wing extremists and anti-refugee, Islamophobic rabble-rousers” but, much like Donald Trump’s populist provocations in America, the remarks apparently did Mrs Petry and AfD no harm at the polls.¹⁵ Petry was made a source of vivid debates in January 2016 when she was asked about German and European border policies by a journalist from the regional newspaper Mannheimer Morgen. Petry initially answered that the German Border police must do their work by “hindering illegal entry of refugees.” She then mentioned current German law which says that the border forces may “use firearms if necessary” in order to “prevent illegal border crossings”. The reporter went on to move forwards on this thought in a tabloid background by speculating on the word “Schiessbefehl” that has a strong meaning for Germans: “order to shoot.” Subsequently Petry had to make clear that she did not mention such a notion. Petry went on to reaffirm that no police officer “wants to fire on a refugee and I don’t want that either” but that border police must adhere to existing set of laws in order to protect the integrity of European frontiers.¹⁶ Oliver Lane wrote (5 Apr. 2016) in Breitbart London an article with the title *EXCLUSIVE: Lutz Bachmann Accuses AfD’s Petry Of ‘Taking Fruits’ From PEGIDA... ‘If She Goes, We Can Work Together’*. Lane continues as follows: “The leader of Germany’s Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the West (PEGIDA) movement has accused the insurgent Alternative for Germany (Alternative für Deutschland, AfD) of stunting their

¹⁴ Source: The above section is a quotation of the article written by Peter Foster, available on. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/03/26/frauke-petry-meet-the-smiling-new-face-of-germanys-far-right/>

¹⁵ Source: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/03/26/frauke-petry-meet-the-smiling-new-face-of-germanys-far-right/>

¹⁶ Source: <http://www.morgenweb.de/nachrichten/politik/sie-konnen-es-nicht-lassen-1.2620328>

fundraising opportunities. Founded as a protest movement against the European Union and Germany's membership of the Euro single currency, over the past year Alternative for Germany political party has been enjoying buoyed polls and notable election results on the back of the migrant crisis. By talking less about economics and more about migration and Islam, the party has been able to tap into the very real concerns of millions of Germans. Yet this shift has brought them onto territory already very effectively colonised by the PEGIDA movement, a grass-roots 'strolling' group which takes its protest style from the anti-Communism movements of the 1980s. The group has a diverse range of interests but is primarily known for their opposition to Muslim mass migration and the dangers posed by the Islamification of Western civilisation. Now, speaking in a rare exclusive interview granted to *Breitbart London* PEGIDA leader Lutz Bachmann has spoken out on the often tense relationship between the two movements, and his concerns about the AfD's leadership and their dedication to fighting militaristic and political Islam. Speaking to *Breitbart London's* Raheem Kassam, Mr. Bachmann stressed there was potential for the two movements to work together, but cited the present leadership as the main problem. Speaking of AfD leader Dr. Frauke Petry and her defence of circumcision, he said: "There's a big time problem with [AfD] leaders... she said that freedom of religion, in the constitution, is bigger than the law to stop kids getting hurt – the right to be unharmed". While Mr. Bachmann has no problem with the practice, he stressed it should be up to an adult to decide, remarking: "Circumcision should be your own choice... At your 18th birthday, fine". Beyond purely ideological differences, Mr. Bachmann also expressed concern that AfD was affecting PEGIDA's ability to sustain itself financially, remarking they "take the fruits away from PEGIDA". Speaking of what would have to change for the growing PEGIDA movement to work with AfD, he said: "it looks like a big part of AfD is reconsidering Petry [as its leader]... If she goes, there could be a way to work together". While Mr. Bachmann may have doubts about Dr. Petry, and she has gone to lengths to distance her party from the PEGIDA movement which at the beginning at least appeared to be a natural bedfellow, she is certainly the most outspoken politician on migration in Germany.

Breitbart London reported last week on an English language interview with the AfD leader when she quoted a British academic and said: "One thing is clear: The immigration of so many Muslims will change our culture". Stating the massive demographic change Germany is presently undergoing enjoys no democratic mandate, Dr. Petry said: "Ms. Merkel simply opened the borders and invited everybody in, without consulting the parliament or the people".¹⁷ Articles presented in the above are clearly showing the intricacies of the addressed topics and a certain political and public interwovenness of certain debates in Germany. Stefan Locke's writing (*Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 25.02.2016) with the title of "*Pegida and AfD are the same*" is quite representative in this respect. "Who is marching for Pegida obviously also gives his vote for AfD: According to a new study among devotees of the protest movement, the Alternative for Germany is growing in popularity. Right-wing populists are managing in this way the spread throughout Germany. According to a recent study of the TU Dresden, AfD succeeds always better to gain a foothold in the faction of Pegida. The proportion of participants who would elect AfD today was of 82 percent in January; a year earlier it was still 58 percent, revealed the meanwhile fourth survey conducted among Pegida demonstrators by a research group led by the Dresdner political scientist Werner Patzelt. The proportion of non-voters amongst them declined from 31 to eleven percent. "Pegida and AfD are the same and have only different shape" said Patzelt with references to AfD rallies as in Erfurt, where the same public was to be found as in Dresden by Pegida. It would therefore „groundless belittlement" to continue to conceive of Pegida as local phenomenon of Dresden or Saxony. "Rather, it is the spread of right-wing populism to Germany." "Three quarters of the Pegida participants, and thus ten percent more than last year are thinking that democracy is basically advantageous, nearly 70 percent are unsatisfied with it, how it works in Germany and 83 percent do not feel represented themselves by parties and politicians. Patzelt speaks of a "self-inflicted representation gap of the establishment parties," in which the AfD takes advantage; 56 percent of those polled indicated that they trust the AfD; one year ago these were just 33 percent.

¹⁷ Source: <http://www.breitbart.com/london/2016/04/05/exclusive-lutz-bachmann-accuses-afds-petry-taking-fruits-pegida-goes-can-work-together/>

According to the researchers Pegidianer are politically obviously right-wing compared to the average Germans, nevertheless compared with last year it cannot be observed a "shift to the right" within the movement. So there is no evidence that mostly racists were come to Pegida, researchers assess that the proportion of right-wing and right-wing extremists remained constant at around 20 percent. However, especially among the young participants were increasingly radicals, which would be mobilized through the internet. Many protesters would have hardened until the internal notice against the Federal Republic; also decreased the willingness amongst the participants to incorporate civil war refugees and asylum seekers from 73 to 51 percent; besides there are among the followers less and less, who are feeling that even a peaceful Islam or Muslims are suitable to Germany. Patzelt said that worried men of good will have become revolted citizens by now. The naturalness to express clear xenophobia and Islamophobia has increased all the same a rough, occasionally aggressive attitude towards real or alleged dissidents."¹⁸

Now we are turning back to the experimental findings of Lars Geiges, Stine Marg and Franz Walter about Pegida. Here it is to point out that researchers presented a comprehensive study¹⁹ about the new phenomenon as the reader gains a deeper insight into the beliefs and habits of the core supporters. The main questions of the study are simple: What is Pegida? Who are the organisers of the movement? What are the main features of the association and what attracts supporters to it? Authors are emphasizing in the introductory section that their book is a "work in process" in the sense of latest key accounts on the phenomenon. They are using various methods, which profile is shaping both form and content of the eight chapters. At first they are dealing with the origin and evolution of Pegida, also referred to the personal background of the initiators of the movement. Media scholars and politicians were puzzled on the issue how this movement evolved. Not only (but especially) in Dresden where

¹⁸ Source: This article is a free translation from German into English (by Zoltán Eperjesi) of the article entitiled *Studie aus Dresden „Pegida und AfD sind dasselbe“* written by Stefan Locke in Frankfurter Allgemeine (29. April 2016). <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/fluechtlingskrise/studie-aus-dresden-pegida-und-afd-sind-dasselbe-14090416.html>

¹⁹ The title of the book is: Pegida – die schmutzige Seite der Zivilgesellschaft? (Pegida - the dirty side of the civil society?).

Pegida began, tens of thousands of people have been mobilized. They were going on the streets in order to protest against the "Islamization of the West" by chanting "We are the people" and railed against the German media with main slogans as "lying press". Obviously Pegida gathered almost twice as many "I like this" electronic notifications via the internet, as the parties represented in the Bundestag, "one of the few protest groups which simultaneously functions on the Internet and on the street."²⁰ In the following chapters, the viewer can read about personal impressions of authors concerning the "Evening walks" in Dresden. There are also a few photos with vivid and characteristic banners used by demonstrators. Authors are presenting the findings of a survey, which cannot be regarded as representative. In another chapter one will read that "the Pegida followers are not turning away frustratedly from politics, but rather continue to deal (unilaterally) with societal problems by having ideas how policy could be made 'better' in their eyes and even put up some reform proposals for discussion."²¹ Contemporary historical retrospect shows that it was really impressive that kind of firmness of purpose with which the various members of a petty-bourgeois conservative and not insignificant social milieu influenced each other and dominated public spaces (streets and places) as they also developed and established a new kind of public relations. Now they are represented on the World Wide Web. Such quick demonstrative actions have totally irritated professional politicians of the current governing coalition and some of them reacted supercilious and perplexed to the polarisations of Pegida. On the one hand, the movement was temporally and at the very beginning a surprisingly successful protest mechanism of a quite small core group, where key-members were sharing xenophobic attitudes amongst each other. On the other hand, organizers were addressing people on a huge scale already in the early stages via the internet and other media platforms. Such specific messages of organizers and key-sympathisers were mobilizing those disjointed groups of citizens who were absolutely disappointed with certain current policy guidelines, particularly of the Union and FDP. Furthermore, they were complaining about the main methods of

²⁰ Source: Geiges, Marg, Walter, 2015, 16.

²¹ Source: Geiges, Marg, Walter, 2015, 115.

official broadcasters and the influential German media in general. Turning back to the more radical movements it is to observe that this is the base potential of a young party that emerged from the electoral alternative in 2012. It was founded in 2013 and named Alternative for Germany (Shortened as AfD in German). The party's founder Bernd Lucke (economics professor) was chairman until July 2015. The party became polarised into two factions around May 2015, one line being supported Bernd Lucke and his core economic policies, and another internal group that was fully against mass immigration in Germany and Europe. Lucke has lost a crucial vote on the party's chairmanship against Frauke Petry, who belongs to the national conservative wing of the party. AfD fights for the dissolution of the Euro (currency) area and requests the return to national currencies, respectively the Deutsche Mark. Furthermore, the party seeks among others the implementation of an immigration law according to Canadian model and a stronger official support of young families. However, the main political direction of the party is still much disputed as there is no coherent program that can be really implemented at central and federal levels. Certain researchers are recognising right-wing populist tendencies in their demands; others (the majority) predominantly assessed it as conservative party of the middle class. Their electoral program is based on "flexible" Euro scepticism. On the contrary, generally leaders of AfD are supportive of Germany's membership of the European Union while maintaining criticism of the existence of the Eurocurrency and use of bail-outs by the Euro zone for countries such as Greece or other countries that are encumbered with high debts. AfD leaders are also talking about Swiss-style direct democracy being negative to mass immigration and against a supportive legalisation of gay marriage. The anti-€ party is growing quite rapidly and claims to have about 10,000 members. One of the most prominent supporters of the AfD is the former president of the Federation of German Industry, Hans-Olaf Henkel. The AfD was the first party that opened discussions with organisers of the Pegida movement. The chairman of the Saxonian state parliament faction Frauke Petry invited them to exchange ideas in her parliamentary office in Dresden on 7 January 2015.²²

²² <http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/debatte-um-islam-gegner-saechsische-afd-fraktion-trifft-pegida-organisatoren-1.2288724>

Authors²³ of the Pegida study are asking themselves why the movement directly comes of Saxony²⁴ because everywhere in Germany the Pegida offshoots have had much lower afflux as where it was founded. At the same time it must be noticed that one finds no exact answers in the text of the study to this issue. Another question of the book: why Pegida is considered to be a right-wing populist movement? Because not only right-wing activist protested with Pegida, but in the meantime there is a considerable proportion of Nazis, neo-Nazis or other extremists among the participants, who are identifying themselves with the goals of the organizers. Moreover, there is no official demarcation from them. The fact that Pegida has to do with racism is obviously and also can be simply proved by several statements of the organizers (public speeches, Facebook comments and official interviews). Consequently it can be observed that Pegida is not pushed into the "right corner" from certain outside factors (media and authorities) as stated by certain leaders of it, but rather is true that that entirely voluntary positioned itself in this direction. Moreover, Kathrin Oertel (one of the leaders of Pegida) confirms this quite clear in one of her speeches (15th December 2014). "(...) we are all right-wing. We are pursuing right-wing policy, we are patriots, we love our fatherland, we love our home, and we want to protect this (...) ".²⁵ Attention should be paid to the serious perspective of the authors who are extracting key findings from the focus groups and their various interactions. Authors are also addressing the consequences of political alienation, but without to qualify or trivialize the problematic features of Pegida. Furthermore, the book about Pegida presents other remarkable issues as medial interpretations of the movement and the reception of it in other European countries. Finally, there is an explanation of the phenomenon in the context of cultural alienation and political incoherence. "Followers of the Pegida are representing...an identitarian instead of a pluralistic notion of democracy, because ... minority rights are playing a marginal role."²⁶ Interestingly, the Pegida- protesters are similarly dissatisfied with their democratic opportunities as years ago the

²³ Lars Geiges, Stine Marg and Franz Walter.

²⁴ Source: Geiges, Marg, Walter, 2015, 186.

²⁵ http://www.nachdenkenseiten.de/upload/pdf/141219_pegida_mitschrift.pdf

²⁶ Source: Geiges, Marg, Walter, 2015, 181.

Stuttgart-21 opponents as authors are remarking: "A good 70 percent of both supporter bases indicated unrestricted advocacy for plebiscitary designed communities." Such developments are leading to overview the main sources and bases of contemporary mainstream political principles.

To sum up, the book about Pegida offers the latest details about the movement that grew out promptly of a small Facebook group, which mediated a strong sense of rebellion, demonstration and misgiving acts regarding the current political order of the Federal Republic of Germany. According to the authors, one should indeed see Pegida as a subgroup of the German civil society. It is very clear that Pegida supporters are considering the current immigration waves as a threat to the domestic labour market and such oversimplifications that are based on vague fears against foreigners are transformed in forceful slogans, those they are making political capital of it. Conclusively, the book offers a first socio-political examination about the studied issue, but it also can be perceived as a journalistic virtual walkthrough that is weighed to scientific precision. Authors are offering several relevant information each embedded in multifaceted reflections about the evolution of society and of protest movements in Germany. Researchers were going out on the streets in order to summarize and dissect the addressed field of topics in their study being aware about an important aspect, namely that there is still lack of clarity about a lot of questions concerning the Pegida movement. This work has a message: it is not good to ignore the development of such phenomena as Pegida, because a similar construction known as "the invisible" in France has made strong the National Front there. It seems so that Pegida currently enfeebled by a mixture of factors, but the sudden emergence of the occurrence has simply surprised the media, the professional representatives of the biggest current German parties and the whole society.

The emergence on the movement can be directly tied to Lutz Bachmann. His moving cause to start Pegida was the virtual witnessing of a solidarity rally by supporters on 10 October 2014 in the downtown of Dresden of the banned Kurdistan Workers' Party in Germany (PKK) and their armed struggle against the Islamic state (IS) through YPG (Kurdish volunteers who are a self armed group to protect themselves from ISIS). This protest

was posted by Bachmann on YouTube on the same day.²⁷ The following day (on 11 October 2014) Bachmann founded a closed Facebook group named Peaceful Europeans against the Islamization of the Occident (in German Patriotische Europäer Gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlandes). Initially it was designed to protest against German deliveries of arms to the PKK.²⁸ The following citation is a brief official explanation that presents the complete report of Berlin dpa in order to see the backgrounds of the events. The report deals with the question of war on terror and the new German position. Thus, according to the account of the German Press Agency (Berlin dpa) of August 31, 2014 one can read the following:

“Germany delivers anti-tank missiles and machine guns for the fight against the terrorist militia Islamic State to the Kurds in northern Iraq.

Until now, it was a taboo - but now also Germany delivers weapons in a crisis zone. The Kurds in northern Iraq will be equipped in order to combat the terrorist militia Islamic State. On Monday, Merkel wants to give reasons for the new German attitude.

Germany delivers for the fight against the terrorist militia Islamic State (IS) on a large scale arms in Iraq - among them 500 antitank missiles well as several thousand rifles. The Kurds in the

²⁷ Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d6aFr9GVE2c> The video is very short (lasts 49 seconds) and today has 15 likes and 16 dislikes. It was viewed by 2901 people and there are 9 remarks till now.

²⁸ Please visit the homepage of the Federal Government: http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/EN/Artikel/2014/08_en/2014-08-27-waffenlieferungen-irak_en.html?jsessionid=2A082E971C03B111F5E97FA211F83671.s2t2

Content: “FIGHT AGAINST IS, German support for the Kurds. Germany is willing to provide the Kurds in northern Iraq with arms and ammunition. The government will decide on the arms supplies by Sunday, said Chancellor Angela Merkel in an interview. She will give a government statement in the German Bundestag on Monday.” Wednesday, 27. August 2014. Chancellor Angela Merkel and other government officials have in the meantime excluded arms supplies to the PKK by arguing that only Kurdish organizations should be supported, which do not question the existing nation-states in the Middle East. But this argument did not apply in relation to the PKK, because it changed his initial goals since years and renounced to establish their own state in eastern Turkey. Instead, it demands a federal structure throughout Turkey and broad autonomy rights for the Kurdish population in eastern Turkey.

north of the country should be equipped with the armaments exports. The list of weapons was decided in Berlin by a ministerial meeting under the leadership of Chancellor Angela Merkel (CDU). The total value of the shipment of weapons is approximately 70 million EUR. The federal government categorically excludes the deployment of German combat troops. According to data of Defence Minister Ursula von der Leyen, a large formation of 4000 soldiers shall be equipped until the end of September. "The situation in Iraq is –extremely critical", said the CDU politician. She reproached the IS with "remorseless brutality". Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier (SPD) said: - "Our aid to Iraq and our approach against IS does not begin by arms supplies and dos not cease by arms deliveries."

Risk of attacks due to the change of mind

Up to now, such deliveries in crisis areas were a taboo in German foreign policy. The change of mind is now justified with the "barbaric" actions of the Islamists as well as a danger that IS-fighters carry out attacks even in Germany. Merkel wants to explain the new German attitude on Monday in a government statement in the Bundestag. The ministerial round decided in particular, among others the delivery of 30 anti-tank weapons of type Milan with a total of 500 missiles as well as 8,000 assault rifles of type G3 and G36. There are also 40 machine guns on the list. Additionally the Federal Government provides a further 50 million euro as humanitarian assistance.

Kurdish fighters are trained in Germany then in the area

The weapons training of Kurds should be basically carried out in Germany. According to the resolution, "if that is not practicable, then in the area of Erbil (capital city of the Kurds) or in a third country" Minister of Economic Affairs Sigmar Gabriel (SPD), Finance Minister Wolfgang Schäuble (both CDU) as well as the Minister for developments Gerd Müller (CSU) and CSU leader Horst Seehofer were also involved in the decision. A clear majority of for the arms deliveries is expected on Monday in the Bundestag. The grand coalition of CDU and the SPD is for it. The left and probably the majority of the Green parliamentary group will vote against it. But the vote has only symbolic significance - the deputies do not have a real say in this case. It is possible that the Federal Constitutional Court will deal with the issue. Cross-party lines are afraid that weapons can also get into wrong hands.

The German government is also aware of such risk. Steinmeier wants therefore to make sure that in Kurdistan no arms caches will be created. The first six Bundeswehr soldiers are already on site in order to organize the distribution in Erbil. Several other states have already decided to support the fight against the IS with arms. The US and Iran are supplying the Kurds for some time now. France, Britain and Italy have adopted corresponding resolutions within the EU.”²⁹

At the end of 2014 there were numerous official and public debates on the issue presented above. The question was if by planned arms supplies to Kurdish associations against the IS should be considered the PKK as well, which was also operating in the Turkish part of Kurdistan and its allies in Syria? Indeed, these associations played a key role in the rescue action of thousands of Yazidis because they were blocked by radical Islamists on their escape routes. It is quite possible that the PKK has benefited from the delivery of arms. However, this circumstance raises another problem: whether or not the federal government indirectly armed a group, which is prohibited since 1993 in Germany and is on the list of terrorist organizations of the EU.

This complex issue resulted in further discussions, respectively politicians of the coalition were contemplating about a re-examination of the PKK prohibition. Lose Eckart³⁰ deals with the matter in a professional article (08.28.2014). “Politicians from the SPD, Greens and the Left Party are on the opinion that the PKK has changed. They demand to check the classification of the Party as a terrorist organization. The PKK itself serves as a helper in the fight against the terrorist militia named "Islamic State". The deputy chairman of the SPD parliamentary group and foreign policy expert Rolf Mützenich said the FAZ: "In the context of the talks between the Turkish government and the leadership of the PKK as well as the impressive result of the Kurdish candidates in the Turkish presidential election, there is a chance for reclassification of the PKK." Precondition is a lasting rejection of

²⁹ Source: <http://web.de/magazine/politik/deutschland-liefert-panzerabwehrraketen-irakische-kurden-19260398> © dpa, the German report was translated in English by Zoltán Eperjesi.

³⁰ Staffer and correspondent of the FAZ (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung).

violent activities of the PKK. "Therefore, the development must be observed here with sound judgment."

Background of the debate is the struggle of the Kurds in northern Iraq against the terrorist militia "Islamic State" (IS). Mützenich pointed out that the United Nations categorized the lines of action of the IS as "criminal terror". That is why the IS and its affiliated organizations were sanctioned. The SPD politician said that it would be logical if the EU would take similar decisions. The German government wants to support Kurdish fighters of the Peshmerga units with arms. However, Chancellor Angela Merkel (CDU) was excluding up to this point to supply the PKK with German weapons. The PKK has reached only recently the image of a substitute army in the fight against the jihadists. The co-chairman of the political wing of the PKK, Cemil Bayik declared the FAZ that the PKK and its armed allies in Syria had shown that they can "proceed most efficiently against the terrorist group."

In a recent report of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution it is pointed out that the PKK "carried out hardly any violent actions in Germany." However, they are still recruiting personnel in Germany. In addition, Germany is one of the most important sources of various donations, which the party collects.

Federal Ministry of the Interior: PKK-prohibition "indispensable"

It is true that SPD deputy Sönke Rix thinks, that one cannot say to the NATO partner Turkey "from one day to the next" that the PKK is no longer a terrorist organization. However, in an interview with the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, he did not want to exclude, "that one will talk with them in the long term." He was ready to say: "One has to eye them." He trusts German security authorities that they would correctly assess the new profile of the PKK. However, the Federal Interior Ministry excluded a reassessment of the PKK. It recognizes that there is "no objective reason to enter into discussions about the lifting of the prohibition concerning the PKK" - communicated the spokeswoman. The ban continues to be in force „for the sake of national internal security is still an indispensable regulation." The deputy chairman of the parliamentary group of the Greens, Frithjof Schmidt expressed himself similar to Mützenich. At least

as the Turkish government will be ready to talk to the PKK and will consider it as a political interlocutor, one has to ask if the classification of the Kurdistan Workers' Party as a terrorist organization should be sustained further on as such. Schmidt, who knows well the past of the PKK and is far away from exaggerated positive appraisal, told the F.A.Z. : "There are sufficient reasons to seriously verify the classification of the PKK as a terrorist organization." The PKK will play a role in the long term as a political player in Turkey, but in northern Iraq and Syria too. The PKK adhered to its basic decision to not to commit any attacks in Germany. Konstantin von Notz, likewise one of the deputy chairmen of the parliamentary group of Alliance 90 / the Greens, told the FAZ: "of course" it will be necessary to discuss about the status of the PKK as a terrorist organization. Over the last ten years much has been changed and for that reason, the views on the party need to be differentiated. On the other hand, Notz warned to use such a debate as a "lever" in order to give helpful reasons for arms supplies to the PKK.

Bundestag votes on delivery of arms

The politician of the left wing party and leading candidate for the Landtag elections in Thuringia, Bodo Ramelow, told the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung that it would be a mistake to maintain „the hysteria against the PKK". Although he doesn't wishes to sing "the heroic song" for the PKK. Nevertheless, it could be a false estimation to classify them as a terrorist organization. Nonetheless the Bundestag shall now vote about the planned arms supplies to the Kurds in northern Iraq. In this case, the assessment of the Federal Government about the PKK can be found indirectly in the resolution on the supply of arms to the Kurdish Peshmerga as well, which the coalition parties have elaborated for the special session of the Bundestag on Monday. According to the text, "arms supplies to non-governmental groups as the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) are out of the question." The chairman of the CDU / CSU parliamentary group, Volker Kauder indulged the demand of Thomas Oppermann, the parliamentary group leader of the SPD; correspondingly, the coalition ought to submit a proposal in which the supply of military equipment to the "Kurdish Regional Government of Iraq" should be welcomed. Previously, there were concerns about such an application that it could mistakenly give the impression that

the supply of arms would be completely dependent on the consent of the Bundestag. In fact, the government decides about that. According to the text, humanitarian assistance for refugees in the region should stay in “the focus” of such efforts. At the same time, Germany should be ready “to a generous reception of refugees”.³¹

The above presented professional article (Immer noch eine Terrororganisation?) of Eckart Lohse gives an insight (German perspectives) in the intricacy of the war on terror. As one has seen, there is no possibility currently to reconsider the prohibition of the PKK. Certainly, it is not uncommon in politics that movements or parties, who were fought on this side, are equipped with arms on the other side. These are the rules of superpower politics. Therefore it would be worthwhile to ask what the interests of Germany in the region are. Friedbert Pflüger³² explains why “the energy superpower Kurdistan must not fall to the “Islamic State” as this would be a „geopolitical nightmare.” He introduces his article in the following way: “The recently started American air strikes and weapons deliveries to the Kurds, as announced by the German government, are both urgently needed. Should the “Islamic State” prevail, the terror militia would gain access to huge energy resources; it would be a Taliban with oil and gas.” Pflüger’s conclusions are very explicit. „There are several indications that Ankara could be something like a “good hegemon” for an independent Kurdistan: Erdogan needs the land as a buffer to the civil war areas in Syria and Iraq. He urgently needs the energy reserves of Kurdistan that are on its doorstep. And he has triggered a development with his politics of reconciliation with the Kurds in their own country, which could outlast him.

The central government in Baghdad has intervened in this week for the first time on the side of the Kurds in the events, namely by the approval of strikes of the Iraqi Air Force against IS- troops in northern Iraq. Perhaps it grows out from the threats

³¹ Source and ©: FAZ.NET, <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/immer-noch-eine-terrororganisation-koalitionsplitiker-erwaegen-ende-des-pkk-verbots-13122092.html>, the article of Eckart Lohse (Immer noch eine Terrororganisation?) was traduced in English by Zoltán Eperjesi

³² leads since 2009, the European Centre for Energy and Resource Security (EUCERS) at King's College London and is managing partner of the Kurdish-German Business Alliances GmbH in Berlin / Erbil.

provoked by the IS, nevertheless still - quasi at the eleventh hour - an alliance between Erbil and Baghdad. But it is more probable that the aid from Baghdad comes too late and is too weak to keep the Kurds in the Iraqi federation. Apart from this issue, the Western support for the Kurdish region is a humanitarian and geopolitical priority task.”³³

The conclusion of Peter Nowak³⁴ in his article on the issue is even more thoughtful. “If now a speaker of the Federal Interior Ministry declares that a lifting of the PKK prohibition is not expected for now, the point is to maintain the pressure. Unlike suggested publicly, this issue is not about giving up the demand for a separate state, which was made by now. It involves the separation between state and capitalism critical contents within their policies. The point is that the Kurdish national movement is subject to that pressure in Turkey as well, because of Erdogan's neo-ottoman policy, which is mainly based on the principle "divide and rule" similar to the Kemalists. The coming months will show whether this pressure within the frame of the German and Turkish government goes from strength to strength.”³⁵

The following report of the German Bundestag gives a short overview about arms exports of recent years.

“Weapons: Less exports - more authorizations

Economy and energy / briefing - 06.27.2014

Berlin: (hib/HLE) The overall value of actual exports of armaments from Germany has declined slightly in the past year compared to 2012. This was reported by the Federal Government in its account on the export policy of Conventional Military Equipment in 2013, which was submitted as a / briefing (18/1790). Thereafter, the actual exports in 2013 had a value of 933 million euro and were lower than the previous year by 13 million euro. One third of the deliveries went to EU, NATO and equivalent countries of NATO. Main recipient among third

³³ Source and ©: German Society for Foreign Relations (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik e.V.) <https://zeitschrift-ip.dgap.org/de/ip-die-zeitschrift/themen/geopolitischer-albtraum>, translated by Zoltán Eperjesi

³⁴ Peter Nowak is a freelance journalist for various newspapers as Taz, Jungle World, Express and the internet magazine Telepolis.

³⁵ Source: <http://www.heise.de/tp/news/Waffen-fuer-die-Kurden-2305207.html>, Peter Nowak, *Weapons for the Kurds (Waffen für die Kurden)*. Copyright © Heise Medien

countries were the Republic of Korea (274.5 million euro), United Arab Emirates (102.3) Algeria (59.1) and Singapore (52.5).

However, the value of individual export authorisations for military equipment granted in 2013 was substantially higher. This value amounted to 5.846 billion euro. 2012 it had been 4.704 billion euro. 38 per cent of permits concerned EU, NATO and equivalent NATO countries. "The high proportion of export authorization to third countries follows from extensive permits to Algeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and Indonesia," writes the Federal Government. In the briefing, the Federal Government also takes position to reports according to which Germany is situated on the third place on the list of global exporters of military equipment. Thus, in the study „Trends in International Arms Transfers 2013“ of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), Germany is situated again on the third place of the largest supplier countries with a market share of seven percent for the period from 2009 to 2013 in the international listing. The USA is placed on the top with 29 percent, followed by Russia with 27 percent. China is ranked fourth with six percent and France is ranked fifth with five percent. The government advises to "Caution" in the international comparability of arms transfers of individual countries: „Parameters and criteria, which are on the base of these studies and will be used by the production of statistics, are mostly too different to derive a comparison from this. For example, SIPRI has not operated with actual values of approvals for exports, but rather with fictitious values. In addition, just part of armaments is taken into account in each case. On the other hand, also goods are included that do not constitute military hardware and are not included in the international list of armaments."

The official German Report on Arms Exports contains not only detailed information about exports and licenses, but offers an overview on the German export control system as well as the guidelines for the authorization of military exports and overviews of disarmament conventions and arms embargoes."³⁶

In the following one will read a contribution that was originally broadcasted on December 22, 2015 (at 12:17 clock) in

³⁶ Source and © Deutscher Bundestag (Aktuelle Meldungen)
http://www.bundestag.de/presse/hib/2014_06/-/285362, traduction in English by Zoltán Eperjesi.

Deutschlandfunk and it was taken over by ARD-aktuell / tagesschau.de.

” Demand of the Left Party

"No German weapons for Turkey"

There are scenes like in a civil war: in south-eastern Turkey, the army is fighting against the Kurds. More than 100 people have died in recent days. Therefore, the Left Party demands the stop the supply of arms to Ankara. There is a precedent case.

For days now, fights are romping between the army and Kurdish fighters. Government forces have started a major offensive against the forbidden Workers' Party, the PKK. Among others, there have been fights in the cities of Diyarbakir, Cizre and Silopi, - in the past week, more than 100 people were killed.

In light of this violence, now the Left Party calls on an immediate stop of German arms exports to Turkey. The measure would be necessary "because inclusively German weapons are murdering", - said the party chairman Bernd Riexinger. "The use of delivered weapons against their own population violates the NATO Treaty." He urged Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier, to go immediately to Ankara to stop the deaths of civilians.

Is Merkel's policy concerning arms exports similarly to Kohl's strategy?

A model for the ban on exports could be a measured from the year 1992. Back then, the government of Helmut Kohl together with Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher had similarly imposed an arms embargo against Turkey. Even at that time fights against the PKK were the reason for the arm delivery stop. The Turkish state army uses tanks and water cannons in the military offensive. Around 10,000 members of the military and special forces of the police are involved in the deployment.

Germany exported for decade's weapons to Turkey

According to the Federal Ministry of Economics, war weapons of German production amounting to 14.4 million euro have been sold to Turkey, including 25 light machine guns. The government in Ankara bought for decades German arms. The conflict that was simmering since 1984 between the Turkish

government and the PKK escalated in June; - the peace process that was initiated three years ago has suddenly stopped.”³⁷

Since the peaceful revolution (autumn 1989) in the GDR that started primarily through the Monday demonstrations in Leipzig and later spread out to other East German cities, protesters were organising a number of Monday demonstrations at regular intervals in Germany. People were protesting against cuts in social services, against Hartz IV, against the war and against the railway station project Stuttgart 21. However, the number of participants on such rallies usually was not high. There were no big crowds of people: sometimes a few dozens, sometimes a few hundred people gathered together at various manifestations. Concerning the genesis of the Pegida movement it is to observe that a few days before its foundation on 7 October 2014 a group of Muslims, supposed to be Salafists, have attacked Kurds with matchsticks and knives in Germany as they were meeting after a protest against the Islamic State.³⁸ The same day, Yazidis and Muslim Chechens violently fought against each other in Celle.³⁹ Bachmann mentioned "the terrible events in Hamburg and Celle" as a further reason for the creation of his association. Amongst the sympathizers of the protest marches were not only right-wing extremists, populists and neo-Nazis, but also so-called furious citizens (Wutbürger) being full of uncertainties. They were mainly motivated by unjustified fears against immigration and the spread of Islam.

The Pegida movement has really challenged the German society because there were strong anti-Islam protests by the end of 2014 and the start of 2015. For weeks before the start of 2015, the Pegida was demonstrating against the assumed infiltration of uninvited aliens in German society through Islam. Pegida

³⁷ Source and ©: ARD-aktuell / <http://www.tagesschau.de/inland/linkspartei-waffen-tuerkei-101.html>, traduction in English by Zoltán Eperjesi

³⁸ Source: <https://www.rt.com/news/194060-germany-kurds-muslims-brawls/>

³⁹ Source: <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/author/Soeren+Kern>, <http://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4780/hamburg-holy-war>, <http://www.tagesspiegel.de/politik/krawalle-zwischen-kurden-und-salafisten-der-is-konflikt-schwappt-nach-deutschland-ueber/10811906.html> (In: *Der Tagesspiegel*, 8. Oktober 2014.) and Stefan Locke: *Die neue Wut aus dem Osten*. In: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7. December 2014. <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/inland/pegida-bewegung-gegen-islamisierung-des-abendlandes-13306852.html>.

followers are afraid of Islamic terror in order to alienate public opinion against refugees and foreigners. The leaders of the movement declared that authorities and the media started a defamation campaign against their collective actions. Organisers and followers of the Pegida alliance are defining themselves as citizen's movement and they are officially dissociating themselves from right wing activist.

Since October 20, 2014 the Pegida movement called the people for a weekly "evening walk" (Abendspaziergang) on Mondays in the city centre of Dresden. There were 350 participants mobilized on the first gathering and after that the number of supporters was weekly growing. Pegida supporters held again demonstrations on Monday (5 January 2014) evening in Cologne, Kassel, Hamburg and Berlin. According to initial estimates, 10,000 persons were participating on the streets in Dresden, in Cologne and Berlin. On the other hand, news indicated that only a few hundred Pegida supporters have joined the demonstrations. The climax of the protests was on 12 January 2015 as their number achieved 25,000 protesters. Rapid mobilization happened via the internet as in certain cases of the Arab Spring. Organisers have called for protest among other things through the official Pegida page at Facebook. Right there, the movement achieved about 183,623 fans in the meantime and 30,484 are talking about the issue (data of 23.12.2015).⁴⁰ Thus, it is to notice that the internet and especially some social networks were key tools for the mobilization tolls of this movement. Especially Facebook with its various options for group formation and message sharing facilities can be seen as a decisive factor as main communication device between organisers and supporters. Indeed, it offers the possibility to create profiles and sites in which people can interact on a large scale and at very low costs. On the other hand, it is to observe that messages need to be distributed effectively. Exactly these tasks were quite well managed by Pegida organisers and besides they were getting strong and prompt networking support by the populists and other actors of the right-wing scene. Regardless of whether it was the Pro NRW, NPD, large parts of AfD or other right-wing associations, all these formations rapidly recognised the opportunity of new information sharing and used it as working

⁴⁰ Source: <https://www.facebook.com/pegidaevdresden/likes>

platform in order to promote their own interests, as well. For example, the call of the NPD for demonstrations named “Bogida” in Bonn by the application of pervasive and various means of the Pegida occurrence. A simple analysis of the stream of information on the Facebook site of Pegida clearly shows the amalgamation scheme and rapid process of the mentioned circumstances. Thus, a broad range of various activists have worked in a more or less cohesive digital and real-life frame in order to transmit key messages. However, it remains rather unclear against what or for what exactly they were demonstrating together, because related to exact goals it is to observe that each participant declared something different. The Pegida movement itself protests among other things against contemporary occurrences as for example against current political bosses, against the current democracy, against asylum seeker, against Berlin’s and Brussels Moscow-policy and against “liar’s press” (Lügenpresse).⁴¹ This catchword was already used within the Nazi propaganda and it was deliberately chosen by organizers to direct it against those (working in the media) who dared to write critical remarks about the Pegida (association). As the initiators of Pegida published a position paper (Positionspapier)⁴² on 10 December 2014 on Facebook, which was a dateless and unsigned one-page manifesto of 19 bulleted position statements, supporters started to discuss it, respectively whether one should or not be identified with the declared objectives. Consequently, it can be observed that the wide range of different movements, which were meeting and clashing together their different ideas mainly within virtual interface contexts (internet and media), could also lead to the breakup of the Pegida association. Certainly, the movement’s main ideology is still quite unclear. The published position paper is moderately formulated at first view, but on closer examination, it is to see that organisers are keeping to their basic attitude. Contents of public speeches of leaders as Lutz Bachmann or Kathrin Oertel are proving this.⁴³ However, public resistance was

⁴¹ The term dates back to World War I and was contaminated by the Nazis.

Source: <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-germany-islam-protests-idUSKBN0KM21F20150113>

⁴² To see the political positions (19 points) of the Pegida movement please see the appendix.

⁴³ http://www.nachdenkenseiten.de/upload/pdf/141219_pegida_mitschrift.pdf

never taking such large dimensions as in 2014/15 in Germany. While in Dresden thousands of Pegida-followers were going to the streets, a strong counter-movement was taking shape. Moreover, counter-demonstrations witnessed a much higher number of participants: cities as Berlin, Cologne and Dresden experienced many thousands of citizens opposing the right-wing extremists. Besides, a counter-movement was formed on the web as well. Initiators of “Pegidawatch” created virtual profiles by contrast on Facebook and Twitter. The main task of Pegidawatch is to report accurately about the changing backgrounds of Pegida. The Twitter community denotes its tweets on the issue with the hash tag #nopegida. Dario Sarmadi,⁴⁴ presented the critical situation in his article in the light of the new wave of anti-Islamic demonstrations organised by Pegida. Leading migration researchers issued a warning by pointing out that current state of affairs could have caused a dangerous split in the German society. Migration specialists offered a new formula in order to prevent serious societal cleavage by stressing the circumstance that Germany needs a completely new image. Experts also suggested that the time has come for politicians to implement practical means against dangerous societal division. According to researchers, the Pegida association is based on a strong scepticism of democracy, and a feeling of weakness toward political elites, but also a passionate wish for a strong national identity.

Consequently, the new socio-political developments and conditions are showing that Germany's image has to be reinterpreted in which grave distortions can be treated in due form and time. The account of Martin Debes on the Berliner Morgenpost (30.04.2016) shows what happened on the Party conference of AfD. ⁴⁵ The article has the title *In Stuttgart the AfD adjures on its fragile unity*. “AfD was trying to give his first program at the party conference. Day 1 was disturbed by riots and dominated by formalities. Stuttgart. The stage is enlightened with blue lights as the party’s colour, which appointed himself the

⁴⁴ Author of the article of EurActiv is Dario Sarmadi and it was translated by Erika Körner.

⁴⁵ Source: *Party conference in Stuttgart: the Deputy of AfD, Alexander Gauland calls for unity by Martin Debes, translated into English by Zoltán Eperjesi*. <http://www.morgenpost.de/politik/inland/article207499961/In-Stuttgart-beschwoert-die-AfD-ihre-bruechige-Geschlossenheit.html>

"Alternative". It appeared on the scene: Alexander Gauland, 75, the former Hessian State Chancellor of the CDU, currently he is the deputy chairman of the AfD. He is responsible for the pathos. This weekend it is about, he exclaims, "the future of the party, to the future of Germany, the future of Europe". The hope of millions of voters is directed to the AfD. The 15 percent achieved in the regional elections in Baden-Württemberg, the strong 12 percent in Rhineland-Palatinate and more than 24 percent in Saxony-Anhalt were a success, which teaches fear in the meantime to the established parties. Thank goodness." Booming applause.

Party conference of the superlatives

Indeed, this Saturday has started a Party conference of the superlatives in Stuttgart, at least for an organization that exists not more than since three years. More than 2,000 people - there are mainly middle- and mature years aged men - who have gathered in the exhibition hall of Stuttgart. That is ten percent of the total membership. Additionally, there are sitting hundreds of so-called patrons, guests and journalists in the hall. They all negotiated about the first basic program of the AfD. The draft of the board has 78 pages, plus there are 1611 pages of amendments. It's all there, by what the party is defined so as an alternative from the reversal of the energy policy to the abolition of gender research and the ban on minarets. The party meets as in a fortress. The square in front of the exhibition centre, where party and national flags are flying at high masts, is locked with steel bars and razor wire. The police can be seen everywhere in heavy gear, water cannons are at place, a helicopter circles above the area. About 1,000 officers are on mission there. Just as many counter-demonstrators can be counted, many are young, clothed in black and ready to use violence and they are trying to block the entrances. Car tires are burning on a nearby federal highway, a track of the A8 motorway is occupied for a short time. The police take around 500 demonstrators in custody and let them free again on Saturday night in small groups. "However, we will continue to keep the group of persons in mind," said a police spokesman. They are the reason why the political convention starts in the morning with delays, whereby even after that hardly goes forward. They are arguing as on the agenda for two hours and about the point if only the official draft should be the basis of the

debate. Finally, there is only a bare majority for it. Even otherwise, the party is not anymore so as it wants to appear to the outside world. Since his electoral success in Baden-Württemberg is state leader Jörg Meuthen, who officiates also as a Federal Chairman, clearly strengthened whilst his co-Federal chief Frauke Petry looks increasingly isolated. The disagreement with her press secretary, a very personal double interview with her new partner – and federal head of North Rhine-Westphalia – Marcus Pretzell and attacks on other board members: all this has taken sympathies. That is why the party leadership tried to show unity in Stuttgart. Already on the evening before, on the press reception Meuthen has greeted Petry with kisses and told that all the feuds that would "imputed" her were pure nonsense.

Petry and Gauland didn't say a word to each other

However, it was easy to see who is really communicative - and who not. Even as Petry and Gauland were standing a few meters away from each other, they did not talk. She established no contact with the chairman of Thuringia, Björn Höcke or with the election winner of Saxony-Anhalt, André Poggenburg. After finally they were agreeing upon the agenda on Saturday afternoon, the two national chairmen have tried once again to evoke unity. There were differences of opinion, this is true, says Meuthen, but that has nothing to do with disunity. There will be never a party conference like last summer in Essen as one wing seceded around the former federal head Bernd Lucke. The alleged rightward shift was caused because of this, - she shouts. There is a "massive defamation" of the party and "dehumanization" of its protagonists. She declares the AfD the only real opposition. "But we have of course not the perspective of an eternal opposition." Because then all voters who were waiting for a change of course could be disappointed "and those who trust us that we as a party - when the time comes -, we will choose the right moment the right moment for it."

Höcke appears only at noon

At the same time, the chairman has criticized, without naming names, those who served as „door openers for needless medial debates". She appeals almost pleadingly: "We need you as loyal members just as you need us as loyal representatives in the public." It is striking that the auditorium simply politely applauded her, while Meuthen has been celebrated frenetically.

The professor of economics gives the audience what they really want to hear. "We want to be major party and shape the history of our country in the longer term," he exclaims, "get away from the left red green infested Germany of the '68". He receives standing ovations. Petry has to know at least now with whom she has to do when it comes to the top candidate for the Bundestag elections in the autumn. Even the Thuringian Höcke makes in an idiosyncratic way clear that he stays ready. He appears at midday and strides, accompanied by camera teams, the aisle to the stage. As he sits down among the Thuringian members in the rows of chairs, from applause aside one will hear loud "Höcke" calls as well. The next hours will pass in the argument over whether the Land Association Saarland should be dissolved. It was proven that the local board has had contacts with the NPD. In the end a majority upheld the decision of the party leadership, which is still before the Arbitration Court. The majority is extremely tight. Thereafter, the program debate can begin."⁴⁶

The refugee's crisis in Germany

By addressing the refugee's crisis in the Federal Republic of Germany one has to take a closer look at certain facts to asylum and immigration. Who is eligible for asylum or refugee status? According to the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees of Germany (BAMF) persons persecuted on political basis are eligible for asylum.

The right of political asylum has constitutional rank (Article 16a of the Basic Law) in Germany: the Bundestag has decided with approval of the Bundesrat the asylum procedure acceleration law (Asylverfahrensbeschleunigungsgesetz). The draft law has been executed in Berlin on 20.10.2015 and has 15 articles. Simultaneously it has been announced on the 23.10.2015 in the Federal law journal⁴⁷ (Bundesgesetzblatt) and it is effective therefore from 24.10.2015. It was signed by Federal President Joachim Gauck, Federal Chancellor Dr. Angela Merkel, Federal Minister of the Interior Thomas de Maizière, Federal Minister of Finance Wolfgang Schäuble, Federal Minister of Labour and

⁴⁶ Source: The entire article of Martin Debes (Berliner Morgenpost) was translated into English by Zoltán Eperjesi

<http://www.morgenpost.de/politik/inland/article207499961/In-Stuttgart-beschwoert-die-AfD-ihre-bruechige-Geschlossenheit.html>

⁴⁷ Bundesgesetzblatt, 2015, 1722- 1735.

Social Affairs Andrea Nahles, Federal Minister for Families Manuela Schwesig, Federal Minister of Health Hermann Gröhe and Federal Minister for the Environment Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety Barbara Hendricks.

These legislative initiatives are showing that Germany fully reconfirms constitutionality and such basic rights as freedom, democracy and justice. It is to see that the role of research by understanding and tackling the migration challenge is rather limited by now, but the good news is that in countries where the rule of law functions well, there is a possibility to deepen the field of topics. It is true that social scientists and demographers cannot make realistic predictions about current migration flows, but there is a need to take a closer look on the history of migration in Germany. In recent years, the proportion of people with an immigrant background has increased.⁴⁸ Accordingly, the study of the historical development of the German society is more relevant than ever: for example in 2011, 80.3 million inhabitants lived in Germany and 15.96 million from these persons had an immigrant background. Thus, the share of people with an immigrant background of the overall population was at nearly 19.5 percent. For comparison, this proportion was of only 17.9 percent in 2005. However, according to data of the Federal Statistical Office for the year 2014 there were approximately 80.9 million inhabitants in Germany of which around 16.4 million have had a migration background (immigrants and their descendants). Therefore, from the total of 16.4 million, 9.2 million were Germans (56 percent) and 7.2 million (44 percent) were foreigners. Two thirds of the people with an immigrant background (10.9 million respectively 66.4 percent) were themselves migrants of first generation in 2014, inclusively 35.8 percent of foreigners having individual migration experience and 30.6 percent Germans with their own migration experiences. This group can be again divided into Germans with no direct experience of migration (25.4 percent) and foreigners who were born in Germany (8.2 percent). Germans having individual migration experience (30.6 percent of all those with an immigrant background) are classified into even immigrant (ethnic German immigrants (in German Aussiedler and Spät Aussiedler with a percentage of 18.9) and immigrants who were naturalized

⁴⁸ Source: <http://de.statista.com/themen/380/migrationshintergrund/>

(11.7 percent) at their own request. Germans with migration background but with no direct experience of migration (this is 25.4 percent of all people with migration background) can be again subdivided: in naturalized citizens (2.8 percent) and Germans having at least one immigrant parental unit or Germans with one parent born as foreigner in Germany (22.6 percent). The latter group represents for example, children of naturalized citizens German children of foreign parents or children of ethnic German repatriates.⁴⁹ In There were approximately 16.5 million people with migratory background in 2013, thus 20.5 percent of the overall population. This was still at 19.5 percent in 2011, but in large cities 46 percent of children had a migration background. However in 2005, the share of people with migrant background of the entire population was of 17.9 percent. It is to point out that term "immigrant background" is controversial in Germany. The Federal Statistical Office defines persons with an immigrant background as persons "who have moved after 1949 to the present territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, all foreigners born in Germany and all those who were born with German citizenship in Germany with at least one newcomer or parent unit born as foreigner in Germany." The term is used since the beginning of 2005. Beyond the official definition there is the open question of how a person feels or more exactly what the self-perception of those people is who are falling under this statistical definition. Around 1.2 million people immigrated to Germany in 2013. There were 797,000 emigrants at the same time. Thus, the migration gain for 2013 is of 403,000 people. This was the highest migration gain since 1993, apart from the year 2015 that breaks all records because the Federal Statistics Office on Monday (21 March 2016) announced that it recorded the country's highest net immigration of foreign nationals to Germany in 2015, totaling over 1.1 million for the year. The amount marks a 49-percent increase compared to 2014, which experienced a net migration of 577,000 persons. The German statistical office registered in 2015 under two million immigrants arriving in Germany, while 860,000 people departed again. Data is based on the records from January to August 2015 and approximations for the four outstanding months of the year. On the other hand, the number of

⁴⁹ <http://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/28347/umfrage/zuwanderung-nach-deutschland/>

asylum applicants has already increased rapidly during the last years. There was a rise of 70 percent between 2012 and 2013. A total of 109,580 asylum applications have been made in 2013 in Germany. This number again increased by 60 percent between 2013 and 2014. Asylum applicants arrived in 2014 from Syria (23 percent), Serbia (10 percent), and Eritrea (8 percent). According to Lewis Sanders, author for Deutsche Welle, Germany's statistics office has recorded the highest number of immigrants in post war history as net immigration increased by 49 percent in 2015 and for the first time most of the arrivals were not from Europe.⁵⁰ In January 2015 official asylum claims were submitted of applicants originating from Syria (24.6 percent), from Kosovo (14 percent) and from Serbia (9.4 percent). Compared to other countries like Lebanon or Turkey, Germany offers very few people the official asylum. In addition, cities and local authorities are often not prepared for the arrival of refugees. The temporary shelters, rapidly constructed provisory camps or buildings in strong need of rehabilitation are often overcrowded and become semi-permanent solutions. There is a relevant issue, because close beside officials, professional workers; especially volunteer helpers in Germany performed extraordinary backing for immigrants in 2015/16. Generally the population of Germany has done an excellent job in order to cope with the crisis. Back to the year 2013 as 1.2 million people migrated to Germany 755,000 of those arrived, thus 62 percent were coming from the EU region.⁵¹ Here the leading country of origin was Poland. A further trend is the immigration of so-called high potentials: thus, from southern Europe.⁵² Due to high unemployment, particularly among younger people, qualified skilled workers are increasingly migrating to Germany. For example, the number of Greek immigrants, increased by 78 percent and the number of Spaniards and the Portuguese has grown over 50 percent in 2011. 50-70 percent of these young immigrants are in the possession of a college degree. For the first time immigrants from non-European countries outnumbered those from Europe in the year 2015.

⁵⁰ Source: <http://www.dw.com/en/two-million-germany-records-largest-influx-of-immigrants-in-2015/a-19131436>

⁵¹ Source: <http://mediendienst-integration.de/migration/werkommtwergeht.html>

⁵² http://www.bmi.bund.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/123148/publicationFile/9076/Zuwanderungsbericht_pdf.pdf

According to the account of Lewis Sanders on Deutsche Welle there is a controversial deal in order to cope with migration. The article is entitled *Two million: Germany records largest influx of immigrants in 2015*. The quotation of the article begins from the subtitle *Controversial deal*: "The announcement comes as Germany and other European countries struggle to cope with an influx of irregular migrants and refugees, many fleeing war-torn countries in the Middle East, Asia and Africa. German Chancellor Angela Merkel has dismissed efforts to cap the amount of refugees seeking protection in Germany, a move that placed her at odds with several allied lawmakers. The EU on Friday finalized a controversial deal with Ankara that allows authorities to return all migrants entering the 28-nation bloc illegally via Turkey." "The most important part of this deal is that it will end the business model of people smugglers and contribute to securing the EU's external border," Merkel said at a press conference following the agreement.

However, human rights watchdog Amnesty International slammed the agreement, saying it marked a "dark day for Europe and a dark day for humanity."⁵³ Andrea Rösberg reported (18.03.2016) from Brussels to Deutsche Welle that EU-Turkey migrant deal was done. "The EU and Turkey have sealed a deal to end the migrant flow. Turkey has agreed to take back all illegal migrants in Europe, and the EU has made membership concessions to Turkey."⁵⁴ At the same time it is to point out that the labour force is no longer sufficient in Germany to meet the huge demand of the economy and industry. The situation is quite similar with the time of the so-called economic miracle from the mid-1950s. However, the history of migration in Germany is much older and gradually moved from an emigration profile into immigration country. At the beginning, long lasting wars, religious conflicts, famines, political grievances and lack of social prospects in Germany and the region has forced the people to leave their homes. The population losses for the country were really huge in those days: according to estimations for the period between 1820 and 1920, around six million emigrants have quitted Germany. The majority of them immigrated to the United

⁵³ Source: <http://www.dw.com/en/two-million-germany-records-largest-influx-of-immigrants-in-2015/a-19131436>

⁵⁴ Source: <http://www.dw.com/en/eu-turkey-migrant-deal-done/a-19127595>

States of America. Nevertheless, the economic success of the German Reich in times of strong industrialization (amplified by 1890) led to the circumstance that more people were immigrating to Germany as Germans were emigrating. Foreign workers were working especially in the industrial centres of the coal and steel industry. The era of National Socialism and the post-war years have induced new migration trends. Accordingly, it can be stated that the (frequently forced) employment of foreigners was a tangible sign and characteristic of the National Socialist regime. Intrinsically, labour camps and foreign nationals who were going each day to work were an everyday occurrence for the local population. Indigenous people gave these circumstances no special attention. The indifference against the forced labour that was showcased during the post-war years typifies how little this act of cruelty was perceived as a crime by locals. The period after 1945 was also coined by millions of people on the road in order to survive or find safe refuge. The enforced migration of people from different backgrounds as refugees, expellees and so-called Displaced Persons or shortened DPs has again generated altered circumstances in the structure of the population in Germany. The continuous influx of DPs and refugees caused strong tensions and conflicts with the local population. Lack of means but especially the socio-cultural and religious differences of in-migrants caused most of the problems. The number of DPs and refugees began to decrease only in the late 1940s. Simultaneously, the need for qualified workforce increased rapidly and in a short time exceeded the capacity of the German economy. Labour shortage has occurred predominantly in heavy industry and farming. Accordingly, at the very beginning of the new chapter of immigration into the Federal Republic was the huge demand for manpower. The economic boom of West Germany exceeded very soon all expectations. Growth rates of up to 12 percent generated collective frenzy of enthusiasm: the German economy gathered unexpected speed. As a result, the Federal Government picked up the traditional employment model of the temporary recruitment of foreign labour force in order to adjust imbalances tied to labour deficit. The German Government adopted a "temporary measure" in December 1955 and closed the first "Agreement concerning recruitment and placement of workers" with Italy. Thus, thousands of Italian workers were recruited for Germany. Guest

workers were rediscovered as vital human capital in the federal state. Other bilateral agreements followed with Spain and Greece in 1960, Turkey in 1961, Morocco in 1963, Portugal in 1964, Tunisia in 1965 and the last one of this row in 1968 with Yugoslavia. The unemployment rate decreased within a decade from 11 percent in 1950 to less than 1 percent in 1961. Consequently there are living even four generations of immigrants from various countries in Germany. This is especially true for Turkey that has given millions of Turks and Kurds as work power for the country. They contributed to the prosperity of the economy and they were shaping the West German society (for example in the Ruhr coal mining area).

Business, politics and the autochthon population thought that this will be only a short residence time of the guest workers. Therefore, no institution has developed serious social or infrastructural concepts, which were supporting or taking into account a longer residence of guest workers. The workpersons from Turkey arrived mostly from poorer regions and many hoped to get away from stress of poverty. Germany was a real possibility for these people but the work that had to be performed by guest workers in reality was heavy work. They have worked mostly in the chemical industry, iron or steelworks and slowly but surely missed the intimacy of the family, did not know the German language and often lived in isolation: sometimes in a parallel society. Until 1959 the first labour recruitment agreement with Italy has had little significance because the number of individuals recruited remained relatively low. However, after 1959 the foreign population was growing rapidly. As early as 1964 Germans were celebrating the arrival of the one millionth guest workers of Rodrigues de Sá (Portugal). Most of foreign nationals have worked as unskilled or semi-skilled workers in this period and notably in those areas in which piece-work, production line and shift work was available. Such kinds of jobs have been considered really unattractive among German workers. This situation enabled the rise of several German workers into preferred or more qualified positions. Thus, they provided a solid mobility boost amongst the core workforce but without taking advantage to the same degree of it. By comparison foreign workers were in formal terms equated to the German workers, but in reality they were restricted above all by lack of work

experience or the non-recognition of foreign qualifications as well as the lack of language skills: therefore, they were frequently limited to the lower wage categories. In addition, the German economic crisis of 1966/1967 aggravated the situation between Germans and foreigners. The Federal citizens became accustomed with robust annual growth and perceived the first post-war recession as deep incision in their self-esteem as financially strong members of a community driven by economic miracles. The resulting uncertainty also generated critical discussions about labour market policy at national level. For that reason, debaters focused on the advantages and disadvantages of the employment of foreign citizens. This caused a legal prohibition on recruitment in November 1973 and the further increase of the number of guest workers from countries that were not members of the European Economic Community, was therefore entirely cut off. The oil price shock of 1973 was used as the main pretext in argumentations. Indeed, it was not more than a reinforcing moment and a convenient opportunity to reduce the number of foreign citizens in the federal republic. The Red-Yellow government coalition decided to take measures and to give financial incentives to encourage the return of foreign workers in 1982. Helmut Kohl announced publicly: "The number of Turks in Germany must be reduced!" They promised unemployed people from Turkey a premium of 10,000 DM if they return to their homeland but only a few accepted the offering. Turkish and Kurdish workers have compared themselves with a lemon that one is pressing out and its rind is now thrown away. This clearly indicates that there was no official or informal concept of permanent residence for people of non-German origin in the FRG. There have been no real intentions of integration and segregation was considered as own responsibility or seen as normal situation. An exchange with the other culture was basically undesirable. The German government simply wanted labour force - but as Max Frisch put it prominently they got human beings. Yet the desire that the guest worker matter would resolved by a reinforced return home by itself process proved to be unrealistic in the meantime.⁵⁵ For fear no longer be allowed to return to Germany, several guest workers simply avoided to quit the country. In view of that, something that was regarded as a short term or temporary stay of

⁵⁵ Canan, 2015, 12-59.

guest workers was gradually transformed to permanent residence. Moreover, foreigners started to massively profit from legal family unification measures and have brought their close relatives in the Federal Republic. The immigration in the 1980s was overall quite low, but the numbers increased again in the early 1990s and exceeded at times the highest rates of foreign workers immigration. The reasons for this among others were the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Balkan wars, resettlement of German ethnics and the human rights situation in the Kurdish regions of Turkey. There were also increasing numbers of asylum seekers and repatriates. In the course of German reunification xenophobic resentment were growing, which resulted in violent clashes as in Rostock, Mölln, Solingen, Hoyerswerda and elsewhere. A relevant question arises: is that an essential unprocessed communist legacy? The answer is a biased yes, because even in the western German society are several uncertainties concerning foreigners. However, with the considerable decrease in immigration from the mid-1990s, the open violence towards foreign residents has sunken. And what is today after the immigration boom year of 2015/2016? One reason for the declining numbers was the so-called "asylum compromise" that came into force in 1993. Since then, asylum seekers who originated from countries, which were "free of persecution" or entered the country via other ways known as "safe third countries" have no chance to be recognized. As Germany is gapless surrounded by such safe third countries, refugees who want to claim asylum have no chance to enter the country legally by land.

The Asylverfahrensbeschleunigungsgesetz that is effective from 24.10.2015 has to some extent silently corrected the intricate problem. Even the year 2000 has brought something new as at that time started the shift from the concept of heredity to birthright citizenship. Therefore, dual citizenship was introduced in 2000. It allows children of foreigners living in Germany to obtain in addition the German citizenship. This showed that politicians found necessary to legalise the new understanding of citizenship. Since that time, this can be no longer acquired only due to heredity (*jus sanguinis*), but also through the birth in Germany (*jus soli*). Nevertheless, children of "non EU citizens" or states with which there are no specific agreements, will have to decide

after legal age for one of the two citizenships. Furthermore, the new Immigration Act (Act to control and restrict immigration and to regulate the residence and integration of EU citizens and foreigners) came in force by 2005. The German name of this innovative law is *Zuwanderungsgesetz*.⁵⁶ Consequently, Germany declared itself *de facto* into an immigration country. Integration has been defined at this point as statutory task.⁵⁷ The law should simplify the existing difficult procedures. Accordingly, from several residence permits, the even experts named as quite complicated, have been made two: the temporary residence and the permanent residence permit. Moreover, the law should facilitate the corresponding processes. Besides, it was for the first time that German language training for immigrants became legally supported. The aforementioned National Integration Plan has been implemented in 2007 furthermore the Immigration Act was changed due to EU directives in the same year and a third the residence permit was introduced. This was the "permit for permanent residence in the EC". Since then, may get so far even those who were only "tolerated" in Germany a permanent residence permit: of course if they meet certain legal conditions. Moreover, there were changes to the reunification of marriage partner. This must reach adulthood and be able to demonstrate basic knowledge of German. A background for these changes was the first so-called Integration Summit of July 2006.⁵⁸ Here participated Chancellor Merkel, churches and religious communities, the media, trade unions, sports associations, employers, welfare foundations and migrants. A trigger for this was the shocking result of the PISA study in Germany. This mainly said that the success in the educational system is connected with the origin and intra-familial educational background of pupils. The Integration Summit led to the creation of the National Integration Plan. In this case the focus was *inter alia* to establish a dialogue with Muslims. Thereafter (also in

⁵⁶ Source: <http://www.bpb.de/gesellschaft/migration/dossiermigration/56351/zuwanderungsgesetz-2005?p=all>

⁵⁷ Source: http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Archiv16/Artikel/2007/07/Anlage/2007-07-12-nationalerintegrationsplan.pdf;jsessionid=5F825CDFB268BEDA89526C65FEA38C92.s4t1?__blob=publicationFile&v=3

⁵⁸ Source: https://www.bundesregierung.de/Webs/Breg/DE/Bundesregierung/BeauftragtefuerIntegration/nap/integrationsgipfel/Integrationsgipfel1/_node.html

2006) the first so-called Islamic summit was organized. Here the Federal Government, Islamic organizations and individuals meet together for dialogue. Furthermore, since 1 September 2008, it was introduced a naturalization test in Germany.⁵⁹ In order to obtain the German citizenship 17 of 33 questions must be answered correctly. The test should help people on their way to integrate by “forcing” immigrants to confront with the German language, history, laws, society and culture. In addition, a higher language level was demanded than before. It is to see that beside other important qualifications higher language standards are more and more relevant in Germany. This trend shows that language skills are used as a key tool in the new German policy of integration. The Blue Card programme was launched in 2012. It should have made it easier for highly skilled professionals from outside the EU to obtain a work and residence permit in the EU. It is, among other things, criticized because of the high minimum wage level (66,000 euros a year). Germany is also a popular country for young people to study. Altogether there are 86,000 students in Germany who have received their higher education entrance qualification outside of Germany. Nevertheless, concerning concepts as integration, assimilation and guiding culture in Germany it is to point out that in fact, people are experiencing today the consequences of the failed integration policy before 2005 because that was rather a policy of disintegration. The children and grandchildren of the so-named guest workers were excluded from political participation. As example they were deprived of the passive and active voting rights or access to public service and labour. People, who were born in Germany or were living there for many years, were not fully accepted as part of society. Particularly people from Turkey were accused repeatedly that they are unwilling to integrate in German society. This accusation was mostly made by such politicians, who played a significant role and were responsible for the exclusion of immigrants from the German society. In this case exactly these migrants have offered a hand from long time ago to certain politicians and repeatedly asked for better integration. However, back then the German federal policy was not interested in a real dialogue with guest workers. The government was

⁵⁹ Source: <http://www.bamf.de/DE/Einbuengerung/WasEinbuengerungstest/waseinbuengerungstest-node.html>

focusing and on a policy of assimilation. It intended the adaptation of the people with non-German origin to a supposed German core culture although it does not provide enough overall societal approaches or sufficient tools for it. Moreover, the idea of a German core culture remains even today a fiction, because there is no one unique German culture. In the first instance, there are still living people of two quite different social and cultural systems, not to mention the terms of the history of ideas: on the one hand, people of the former West Germany and the citizens from the GDR, on the other hand. What is now the true German mainstream culture? This would be the key issue here. What exactly of the two simultaneous value systems should be part of the desired defining culture? How should small language minorities in Germany react to such absorption attempts? For example, the Sorbs are Germans but they have their own culture and language. Can this special otherness be included into the guiding culture? Furthermore, from a historical point of view it can be affirmed that Germany has never had a homogeneous culture. Since 2005, Germany formally declared itself a country of immigration. Not only since the formal definition of the Federal Republic as a country of immigration had the concept of multiculturalism witnessed an almost inflationary use.

The concept has been used for the first time in a political context in Germany at a symposium (church) in 1980. The term means the cohabitation of various groups on the basis of preservation of their own cultural identity by which the interaction with other cultural groups was absolutely desired. This model was to some extent the counter-model to the absorption of minority groups, which was rather propagated by conservative circles. Nonetheless, the notion of multiculturalism degenerated all the time more over the years to folklore or it was simply prettified. A vision of an idyllic multicultural world was predominant in which migrants were dancing happily together around a kebab skewer. The reason for this was particularly that there has been no "crossover of cultures" on a par, as this was not sought from the side of executives and rather the social, economic and political bases were missing too. In addition, the view on the foreign cultures was dominated by several stereotypes. For example, all people from Turkey were seen as Turks and Muslims as well, but this is not the case. Accordingly, the cultural

differences of the people from this country have been completely ignored. In Berlin about half of the people originating from Turkey are in fact Kurds. They have a completely different language and culture as the Turks: ethnically and culturally they are closely related to the Persians. Indeed, multiculturalism seems to be outdated today. It supposes the coexistence of different cultures, which are defined as homogeneous: so actually it propagates that they are constructed and do not orientate on reality. However, there is neither a single guiding Kurdish Culture nor a German. Furthermore, the primary focus by immigration lies on the culture of people of Non-German origin. Economic aspects of migration are hidden, as the economic constraints, which are prevailing in the home countries of immigrants. It is often ignored that fundamental conflicts between the cultures can be also explained by the fact that people are choosing themselves one ethnic identity that is then considered as the right side. But such an identity only works within a strong group identity and in this way remains even by extensive assimilation preserved. Multiculturalism emphasizes much too strong on the cultural aspect, without addressing the problem from a socio-economic point of view, but structural inequalities are prevailing among the social groups. Examples are the legal discrimination against foreigners or their disadvantages in the labour market. So which other sample can be chosen? Let's see briefly the model of pluralism as it is based on the diversity of social and political interests and does not rely on the coexistence of ideal-type cultures. It is important that the migrants have the same rights as the members of the majority society. They need the same access to education and the same opportunities on the employment market. This is not so much a matter of cultural differences, but it is about economic, social and legal equality. The "failure of integration" advocated by the conservative side or the "end of multiculturalism" resulted itself from the failed integrative policies of the last decades. Consequently, people of non-German origin and people of German origin do not lived together, but rather alongside one another. Due to the socio-economic problems there are real conflicts in certain urban districts and peripheries. One should not forget that this people migrated before 40-50 years to Germany, were paying taxes and then decided to stay permanently in this region. But it is to see that these people were

not recognized as part the majority society. The splitting up of the society mainly originates of socio-economic processes, which in turn are a result of political decisions. Until migrants and larger groups are excluded from political participation there is no chance for comprehensive social integration and the overcoming of cleavages will not succeed. Therefore, the economic, social and legal equality must be the base of a pluralistic society. Although Germany is de facto a country of immigration, but does not understands yet as an immigration society. There still prevail stereotypes and prejudices that have adverse effects on the living together in society. One misconception says for example that people are coming to Germany in order to exploit the social welfare system. Nevertheless, the facts are showing a completely different story: Germany benefits from the immigrants. They stimulate the economy, pay into the social budget and contribute to moderate the shortage of skilled personnel.

Appendix

Political positions of the PEGIDA movement (10 December 2014)

1. Approves the right of asylum for war refugees and politically persecuted people. This is human duty!

(“PEGIDA ist FÜR die Aufnahme von Kriegsflüchtlingen und politisch oder religiös Verfolgten. Das ist Menschenpflicht!”)

2. Advocates the inclusion of the right and duty to integration into the German constitution.

(“PEGIDA ist FÜR die Aufnahme des Rechtes auf und die Pflicht zur Integration ins Grundgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (bis jetzt ist da nur ein Recht auf Asyl verankert)!”)

3. Advocates the decentralised acceptance of refugees and torture victims, instead of often poor quality refugee centres.

(“PEGIDA ist FÜR dezentrale Unterbringung der Kriegsflüchtlinge und Verfolgten, anstatt in teilweise menschenunwürdigen Heimen!”)

4. Suggests creation of a central refugee agency for a fair allocation of immigrants among countries of the European Union. (Central registration authority for refugees, which then similar to the inter-German, Königstein key distributes refugees to the EU Member States) and for its consistent implementation! ")

(“PEGIDA ist FÜR einen gesamteuropäischen Verteilungsschlüssel für Flüchtlinge und eine gerechte Verteilung auf die Schultern aller EU-Mitgliedsstaaten! (Zentrale Erfassungsbehörde für Flüchtlinge, welche dann ähnlich dem innerdeutschen, Königsteiner Schlüssel die Flüchtlinge auf die EU-Mitgliedsstaaten verteilt) und für dessen konsequente Umsetzung!”)

5. Demands a decrease in the number of asylum seekers per social worker from currently 200:1. (practically there is no supervision of in part traumatized people.)

(„PEGIDA ist FÜR eine Senkung des Betreuungsschlüssels für Asylsuchende (Anzahl Flüchtlinge je Sozialarbeiter/Betreuer – derzeit ca.200:1, faktisch keine Betreuung der teils traumatisierten Menschen)“

6. Suggests modeling German immigration policies after those of the Netherlands and Switzerland, and demands an increased budget for the Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, to speed up processing of applications and integration.

(„PEGIDA ist FÜR ein Asylantragsverfahren in Anlehnung an das holländische bzw. Schweizer Modell und bis

zur Einführung dessen, FÜR eine Aufstockung der Mittel für das BAMF (Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge) um die Verfahrensdauer der Antragstellung und Bearbeitung massiv zu kürzen und eine schnellere Integration zu ermöglichen!“)

7. Demands an increase in funding for the police and is against job cuts by the same.

(„PEGIDA ist FÜR die Aufstockung der Mittel für die Polizei und GEGEN den Stellenabbau bei selbiger!“)

8. Demands implementation of all asylum laws including expulsion.

(“PEGIDA ist FÜR die Ausschöpfung und Umsetzung der vorhandenen Gesetze zum Thema Asyl und Abschiebung!“)

9. Mentions zero tolerance towards criminal refugees and immigrants.

(“PEGIDA ist FÜR eine Null-Toleranz-Politik gegenüber straffällig gewordenen Asylbewerbern und Migranten!“)

10. States that Pegida opposes a misogynistic and violent political ideology, but does not oppose assimilated and politically moderate Muslims.

(“PEGIDA ist FÜR den Widerstand gegen eine frauenfeindliche, gewaltbetonte politische Ideologie aber nicht gegen hier lebende, sich integrierende Muslime!“)

11. Supports immigration as in Switzerland, Canada, Australia and South Africa.

(“PEGIDA ist FÜR eine Zuwanderung nach dem Vorbild der Schweiz, Australiens, Kanadas oder Südafrikas!“)

12. States that Pegida supports sexual self-determination (opposes "early sexualization of children").

("PEGIDA ist FÜR sexuelle Selbstbestimmung!")

13. Argues for the protection of Germany's traditional Judeo-Christian culture.

("PEGIDA ist FÜR die Erhaltung und den Schutz unserer christlich-jüdisch geprägten Abendlandkultur!")

14. Supports the introduction of referenda as in Switzerland.

("PEGIDA ist FÜR die Einführung von Bürgerentscheidungen nach dem Vorbild der Schweiz!")

15. Opposes weapon exports to radical and non-permitted groups, such as the PKK.

("PEGIDA ist GEGEN Waffenlieferungen an verfassungsfeindliche, verbotene Organisationen wie z.B. PKK.")

16. Opposes parallel societies and parallel jurisdiction, for example Sharia courts, Sharia police and peace judges.

("PEGIDA ist GEGEN das Zulassen von Parallelgesellschaften/Parallelgerichte in unserer Mitte, wie Sharia-Gerichte, Sharia-Polizei, Friedensrichter usw.")

17. States that Pegida opposes gender mainstreaming, and the almost already compulsive, politically correct gender neutralization of our language!

("PEGIDA ist GEGEN dieses wahnwitzige "Gender Mainstreaming", auch oft "Genderisierung" genannt, die nahezu

schon zwanghafte, politisch korrekte Geschlechtsneutralisierung unserer Sprache!“)

18. Indicates that Pegida opposes any radicalism, whether religious or politically motivated.

(“PEGIDA ist GEGEN Radikalismus egal ob religiös oder politisch motiviert!“)

19. Says that Pegida opposes hate speech, regardless of religion.

(“PEGIDA ist GEGEN Hassprediger, egal welcher Religion zugehörig!“)

Source: <http://www.menschen-in-dresden.de/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/pegida-positionspapier.pdf>, accessed on 02.12.2015.

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