

Translation and the languages of Islam: Indo-Persian *tarjuma* in a comparative perspective

On the occasion of the 4th international conference of the Perso-Indica project (<http://www.perso-indica.net/>), we would like to consider our main object of research—the Persian translations and original works bearing on Indic cultures—in a wider perspective than has generally been the case. We aim to do so by comparing the Indo-Persian movement of translation that took place in the subcontinent from the 13th century onwards with other processes of translations operating primarily from and to non-Muslim languages (e.g. Greek, Syriac, Pehlevi, Sanskrit into Arabic, etc.; Arabic into Latin; Greek into Ottoman Turkish, etc.) and, secondarily, between different languages of Muslim societies (e. g. Arabic into Persian, Turkish, Malay, Sub-Saharan languages, etc.; Persian into Urdu, Turkish, Malay, etc.). We have therefore invited contributions bearing on such movements of translation in different regions of the Muslim world between the 7th and 19th centuries, and highlighting the ways in which each specific translation process articulated the relation between source, “bridge” and target languages.

Within this broad frame of comparison, we have more specifically invited each contributor to provide elements of reflection on at least one of the following questions:

- **Translated:** what was the literary form (prose, poetry) of the original text and to what literary genre or tradition did it (or was it considered to) belong? Which field(s) of knowledge did it cover? How popular was it in the society and time in which it was written?

- **Translator(s):** who is translating? An individual: if so, is translation part of his everyday job, is he a professional cultural broker such as the well-known Ottoman dragomans? Is, on the contrary, translation an accident in his professional trajectory geared towards other activities, be they intellectual or not? Is the translator part of a group specialized in translation: does he, for instance, belong to a “bureau” of translation or to a family/lineage renowned for its multilingualism and its abilities as cultural go-between? Is the translator a collective and, if so, what do we know of the dynamics and tensions at work in the process of translation? More generally, what are the networks (social, intellectual, economic, religious, political) in which the translator participates? In paying particular attention to the identity (both individual and collective) of the agents of translation, the idea is here to sketch a contrasted socio-intellectual history of the translators active in the pre-colonial Muslim world.

- **Patron(s) of translation:** is the translation a personal initiative undertaken for personal reasons? Is the translation the result of a commission by an individual or an institution? If so, what do we know of the relation between the translator and his patron prior, during, and after the translation? How was the translator selected and on what criteria? What, if any, were the material conditions (salary, linguistic training, library, etc.) provided by the patron for the realization of the translation? How much involved was the patron in the composition of the translation (e.g. checking its progress, editing passages, etc.) and on which aspects (if any) of the process did he intervene?

- **Purpose(s) of translation:** if every translation is as such a scholarly effort and may be said to partake in the long run in a general epistemic endeavor, the projects and processes of knowledge building in which many of them were framed need careful examination in order to uncover the function(s) assigned to the texts

once they were translated and, by the same token, to understand the idiosyncrasies of each translation. In other words: why was a particular text selected for translation in a particular time and place and what was/were the (political, religious, social, scientific) role(s) assigned to the translated text by the translator and/or his patron? While the purposes of translations in the Muslim world were of course multiple, particular attention will be paid here to the ones that were commissioned as part of state- or empire-building and to those that were conceived in a missionary perspective of conversion/in a spirit of proselytism and even of conversion.

- **Process and tool(s) of translation:** unveiling the purpose(s) of translation is crucial in order to understand its process and the multiple transformations it entailed at the levels of literary form and genre, language and signification. Bringing the why into light will certainly help us better explain and circumscribe the how and ultimately allow us to lay out a number of correspondences between the purpose assigned to a translation and the methods used for its realization or the type of translation produced as a result. Closely connected to the question of process is the issue of the linguistic and philological instruments and resources available in the society in which the translator was active: what were the dictionaries, glossaries, grammars, etc. at hand when the translator started his work? Did he know of their existence? If so, did he use some of them and how?

- **Audience, reception and circulation of translation:** how was the translation received by its targeted audience, especially by its patron in the case of commissioned works? How widely did it circulate in contemporary Muslim societies and beyond, and through which specific networks? Did it become a “source” for later translations in other languages, especially in other languages of Islam and in European languages? Studying the afterlife of such translations in both the Muslim world and Europe is crucial to put in perspective and in dialogue the Orientalist traditions they respectively built. In this respect, a particularly important question is the appropriation by Western scholarship of translations composed in an Islamicate context: how were these translations understood by European intellectuals and colonial administrators and what was the role (and visibility) of such translations in the latter’s knowledge-building on the society to which the “Ur-text” belonged or on the language in which it was originally written?

Translation and the languages of Islam: Indo-Persian tarjuma in a comparative perspective

THURSDAY 8 DECEMBER, 2016

9:00-9:30 Welcome coffee

9:30-10:00 **CORINNE LEFÈVRE** (CNRS) & **FABRIZIO SPEZIALE** (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle – Paris 3)
Introduction

LONGUE DURÉE AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

Chair: Pascal Buresi (CNRS, EHESS)

10:00-10:30 **CRISTINA D'ANCONA** (Università di Pisa)
In horizonte aeternitatis et temporis: Greek, Arabic, Latin

10:30-11:00 **SHANKAR NAIR** (University of Virginia)
Translation in the Time of Prophecy: Greek and Sanskrit Knowledge in the Islamic Prophetic Context

11:00-11:30 DISCUSSION

11:30-11:45 Coffee break

Chair: Daniel de Smet (CNRS)

11:45-12:15 **MARIA MAVROUDI** (UC Berkeley)
Byzantine translations from Arabic into Greek

12:15-12:45 **BLAKE SMITH** (Northern University-EHESS)
From Dara to Deussen: Anquetil Duperron's *Oupnekhat* between Mughal and European Orientalisms

12:45-13:15 DISCUSSION

13:15-14:45 Lunch

TRANSLATION AND RELIGIOUS ENCOUNTERS

Chair: Bernard Heyberger (EPHE, EHESS)

14:45-15:15 **MUZAFFAR ALAM** (University of Chicago)
'Umar Mihrabi's Hujjat al-Hind

15:15-15:45 **INES G. ŽUPANOV** (CNRS)
From Abgar to Akbar: Jesuit Translation and Accommodation of the *Life of Jesus*

15:45-16:15 DISCUSSION

16:15-16:30 Coffee break

Chair: Alexandre Papas (CNRS)

16:30-17:00 **CARL ERNST** (University of North Carolina)
Disentangling the Different Persian Translations of *The Pool of Nectar (Amrtakunda)*

17:00-17:30 **ALBERTO FABIO-AMBROSIO** (CETOBAC/LSRS Luxembourg School of Religion & Society)
The Ottoman Pool of Water of Life

17:30-18:00 DISCUSSION



FRIDAY 9 DECEMBER, 2016

GENRE AND TRANSLATION

Chair: Muzaffar Alam (University of Chicago)

9:30-10:00 **NATALIE ROTHMAN** (University of Toronto)

Making Ottoman Historicity Legible: Dragomans, Istanbulite Diplomacy, and Ottoman-Italian Translations in the Seventeenth Century

10:00-10:30 **AUDREY TRUSCHKE** (Rutgers University)

Translating Indian History: Mughal Genre Expectations of the Sanskrit Epics

10:30-11:00 **DISCUSSION**

11:00-11:15 Coffee break

Chair: Carl Ernst (University of North Carolina)

11:15-11:45 **PEGAH SHAHBAZ** (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3)

Persian Sight of the Indian Insight: *Pañcatantra* Tradition through Translation and Retranslation

11:45-12:15 **ANNA MARTIN & MAXIMILIAN MEHNER** (Philipps-Universität Marburg)

Vīratnaśekharaśikhā*: Sahib Rām's adaptation of Kāṣifi's *Ahlāq-i Muḥsinī

12:15-12:45 **DISCUSSION**

12:45-14:15 Lunch

MULTILINGUALISM, ORALITY AND VERNACULAR CULTURES

Chair: Rainier Lanselle (EPHE)

14:15-14:45 **WALTER N. HAKALA** (University at Buffalo, SUNY)

Revisiting "How Newness Enters the World": The Semantic Strategies of Inclusion, Identification, and Displacement in Hindvī Vocabularies

14:45-15:15 **DROR WEIL** (Princeton University)

Persian's Eastern Frontier: The Translation of Persian Texts in Late Imperial China, 17th-18th centuries

15:15-15:45 **RAJEEV KINRA** (Northwestern University)

Cosmopolitan Maintenance in a Vernacular World: Sources, Methods, and Multilingualism in *Farhang-i Jahangiri* (1608)

15:45-16:30 **DISCUSSION**

16:30-16:45 Coffee break

Chair: Marc Gaborieau (CNRS, EHESS)

16:45-17:15 **TAL TAMARI** (CNRS)

The Culture of Translation in West Africa: Arabic and Regional Languages, From the Written to the Oral and Back Again

17:15-17:45 **MARC TOUTANT** (CETOBAC)

Translating Persian into Turkic at the Court of the Khivan Khans

17:45-18:15 **DISCUSSION**

18:15 **CONCLUDING REMARKS** by **EVA ORTHMANN** (Universität Bonn) and **GENERAL DISCUSSION**

TRANSLATION AND THE LANGUAGES OF ISLAM: INDO-PERSIAN TARJUMA IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

LONGUE DURÉE AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES

CRISTINA D'ANCONA (Università di Pisa)

In horizonte aeternitatis et temporis: Greek, Arabic, Latin

The Neoplatonic topos of the immutability of the principle (μονή), procession of the derivatives from it (πρόοδος), and reversion toward the principle (ἐπιστροφή) had a lasting influence in Arabic-speaking world. According to Plotinus, the procession of derivatives from a First Principle whose immutability counts as the ratio of its causal power is spontaneous and necessary: the derivatives proceed from the First Principle in exactly the same way as light proceeds from sun. The “descent” of soul in the world of coming-to-be and passing away does not coincide completely with this necessary emanation, even though it is included in this general law of declension of being. Indeed, soul is in part endowed with the task to implement this process by producing the visible universe (the cosmic soul), and in part is open to the risky adventure of sinking into it (the individual soul). Once abandoned the intelligible world, the individual soul risks never coming back again, unless it re-discovers the truth and remains focused on it, devoting itself to philosophy. In this consists the reversion towards the principle. This model counts as the background of Proclus’ triad μονή - πρόοδος - ἐπιστροφή, a formula that does not exist as such in Plotinus. The Plotinian model was known in the Arabic-speaking world via the translation of conspicuous parts of Enneads IV-VI, a translation done in Baghdad toward the middle of the ninth century by a member of the “circle of al-Kindī”. It is in the adapted translation of Plotinus that the topic of the “Provenance and Destination” was created. It has been made famous by a couple of Avicennian works, the *K. al-Mabda’ wa-l-ma’ād* and the *Risāla fī-l-ma’ād*, but the model of the soul’s journey back to the intelligible world is widespread in Arabic philosophical literature, the most famous example being that of Mullā Ṣadrā’s “Four Journeys”.

This paper is devoted to the Graeco-Arabic transmission of the Plotinian topos, with a special focus on one of its typical features: the idea of soul as located on the border between eternity and time. The image of the soul on the “horizon” (*ufq*) between the two worlds has been created in the Arabic Plotinus, and is attested in coeval translations of works different from the Enneads. Two translations, both tracing back to the Kindian milieu, bear witness of this: that of Proclus’ *Elements of Theology*, and a compilation of Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*.

Both were translated into Latin, in different times, thus allowing the modern reader to plot the Graeco-Arabic-Latin transmission of a crucial Neoplatonic topos.

SHANKAR NAIR (University of Virginia)

Translation in the Time of Prophecy: Greek and Sanskrit Knowledge in the Islamic Prophetic Context

This paper analyzes a sixteenth-century Persian translation of the *Laghu-Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha*, known as the “*Jūg Bāsisht*,” undertaken by the Mughal courtier Niẓām al-Dīn Pānīpatī with the aid of two Sanskrit paṇḍits. In an attempt to explain the purposes and motivations behind such treatises, recent studies of Mughal-era *Yoga-Vāsiṣṭha* translations (Alam 2016, Gandhi 2011, Ernst 2003, et al.) have sought to identify the “Sufi” or “philosophical” concerns of the translators and patrons, on the one hand, and their agendas of “politics,” “kingship,” and “legitimation of empire,” on the other – the latter category tending to receive considerably more nuanced attention than the first. Scholars of the 8th-9th-century Greek-to-Arabic translation movement have similarly sought to analyze both the philosophical and the political motivations of the parties involved (Adamson 2003, Gutas 1998, et al.) though, in the case of this academic subfield, the emphasis is often flipped, the *philosophical* content of the treatises tending to receive more sustained attention than their ‘Abbāsīd

political context. In this paper, utilizing the *Jūg Bāsisht* as my foil, I aim to compare and contrast these Greek-to-Arabic and Sanskrit-to-Persian translation movements, with the hopes of culling insights from the field of Greek-to-Arabic studies in order to refine current accounts of the Mughal translation movement. I isolate one insight in particular: in the 'Abbāsīd case, Muslim inheritors of Greek texts contextualized their intellectual endeavors within an Islamic notion of "prophecy" (*nubūwwa*), variously presented as somehow central to the enterprises of translation and philosophy. In the *Jūg Bāsisht*, the translator Pānīpatī invokes a similar prophetic context, though with certain key theological features that distinguish him from his 'Abbāsīd predecessors. I argue that these differences in theological commitments help to explain much of what distinguishes Pānīpatī's approach to translation from that of the 'Abbāsīd-era translators.

MARIA MAVROUDI (UC Berkeley)

Byzantine translations from Arabic into Greek

The paper will summarize findings and attempt some preliminary conclusions regarding one of the least researched chapters in medieval intellectual history: the Byzantine translations of Arabic texts into Greek. Its discussion will take three directions: Byzantium's much discussed relationship with ancient Greek scientific and literary culture; Byzantium's considerably less investigated engagement with the Islamic world; and the role that Byzantine translations from Arabic into Greek may have played in cultural developments taking place in Latin-speaking Europe.

BLAKE SMITH (Northern University-EHESS)

From Dara to Deussen: Anquetil Duperron's *Oupnekhat* between Mughal and European Orientalisms

At the dawn of the nineteenth century, the French Indologist Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil Duperron published a pioneering Latin translation of the Upanishads, based on a Persian translation of the Sanskrit text, prepared by the atelier of seventeenth-century Mughal prince Dara Shikoh. This text, loaded with appendices, asides and commentary, influenced a number of readers in Germany, including Arthur Schopenhauer, who took from Anquetil the theory that the 'doctrine of the Indians' contained in the Upanishads was an iteration of a teaching that could also be found in the works of Plato and Kant. Taken up in different ways by Orientalist scholars such as Max Müller and Paul Deussen, this trinity Upanishads/Plato/Kant made it possible to see the Sanskrit text as an instance of what Müller called the 'Aryan mind' at work, installing the text in an intellectual genealogy that passed between ancient India and modern Europe, with no intermediary. However, as I have argued elsewhere (in an article published in *Purushartha*, vol. 33), Anquetil's comparisons of the Upanishads to Plato and Kant relied on hermeneutic strategies articulated by Dara Shikoh himself in his preface to the Persian translation, which Anquetil appropriated even as he condemned Dara's own efforts to treat the Upanishads as expressions of mystic monism compatible with Islam. This paper follows the consequences of that appropriation for nineteenth-century European thought, exploring how Schopenhauer, Müller, Deussen and others inherited from Anquetil a comparative framework that brought the Upanishads into dialogue with Western philosophy even as it obscured European Orientalism's engagement with Persianate intellectual traditions.

TRANSLATION AND RELIGIOUS ENCOUNTERS

MUZAFFAR ALAM (University of Chicago)

'Umar Mihrabi's *Hujjat al-Hind*

The *Hujjat al-Hind* by a certain 'Umar Mihrabi or Ibn 'Umar Mihrabi, who claims that it is his translation into Persian from a Sanskrit original, is a polemical text, composed in the form of a dialogue concerning Islam and Hindu religion between two talking birds, one, a sharak which asks questions and seeks clarifications, the other, a parrot (*tuti*) which answers. The parrot does not simply advocate the truth of Islam, it also reviles the beliefs and rituals of the Hindus while elaborating the details of their religion. The work was

apparently composed in Gujarat, and, even though the earliest known manuscript comes from the 17th century, some scholars suggest that the text is much older, compiled during the 15th century. This earlier dating is based on internal textual evidence, for example the mention of place names and certain Hindu castes. The mention of some Tughluq-era Muslim nobles in the text has also been suggested as an indicator of the earlier dating for the translation. As a matter of fact, the translator, Mihrabi, attributes the original Sanskrit to an even earlier period, in a different region in a city named Naldurg after its ruler Rai Nal. He also gives an interesting trajectory of the Sanskrit original: its loss, its eventual recovery, its arrival in Gujarat and subsequent preservation, and, finally, after a later king's keenness to know its contents, the preparation of the Persian translation.

In my paper I will first examine the date of its compilation, and then discuss its contents. The portrayal of Islam in the text seems to draw on the notable 13th century scholar, Najm al-Din Abu Bakr al-Razi's (d.1256) *Mirsad al-'Ibad min al-Mabda' wa al-Ma'ad*. The paper will identify the citations in Hujjat and collate them with *Mirsad*. For Hindu beliefs and rituals the work does not explicitly cite any particular text but I will try to locate the possible sources of some details given in this part as well. In order to appreciate the context of the vituperative projection of Hindu beliefs, I will also try to see if there is any parallel text in pre-Mughal or Mughal Muslim Persian religious and literary texts.

INES G. ŽUPANOV (CNRS)

From Abgar to Akbar: Jesuit Translation and Accommodation of the *Life of Jesus*

Most recently it has been argued, against current efflorescence of Jesuit studies and celebration of the accommodationist method, that Jesuit missionaries were perhaps both more ignorant of Asian languages than they made us believe, and that they had a penchant for falsifying texts in addition to forgetting to mention the help of the "native" informants.

In this paper I want to argue that it is necessary to provide a larger (if not global) 'Jesuit' context of their accommodationist endeavors in South Asia, by comparing missionary catechetical texts written for the local converts, neophytes and missionary targets in both vernacular and cosmopolitan languages. In the center of my analysis are the retellings of the most important and emblematic Christian story -- *The Life of Jesus* -- in the Tamil works by Henrique Henriques and Roberto Nobili, and in *Mir'āt al-quds*, a Persian work by Jerónimo Xavier and 'Abd al-Sattar ibn Qasim Lahori. By way of comparison, I hope to get closer to understanding how the accommodation works on the micro level (translation of the key Christian concepts) and on the macro level of the narrative. I will show the difficulties and semantic traps the Jesuits had to be attentive to; and that the "plain" style, often synonymous with "bad" style, was strategically employed in this kind of culturally sensitive translations. We can then clearly see how different linguistic and political contexts required different kind of accommodation in order to embed the universal message of Christianity into the particular moment and situation.

In the last part of the paper I may quickly compare the printed version of *Mir'āt al-quds* (as *Dastan-e masih*) with retranslation into Latin by Louis de Dieu (printed in Leiden in 1639) because his critical reading was geared to undermine and delegitimize the Jesuit strategy of accommodation.

CARL ERNST (University of North Carolina)

Disentangling the Different Persian Translations of *The Pool of Nectar (Amrtakunda)*

One of the most complicated cases of translation from Sanskrit to Persian is the cluster of texts claiming to transmit the *Amrtakunda*, a collection of yogic and tantric practices including divination by breath and summoning goddesses. This presentation aims to clarify the process by which the Arabic version of the *Amrtakunda* was conveyed into three competing Persian translations: the *Hawz al-hayat*, the '*Ayn al-hayat*, and the *Bahr al-hayat*, emphasizing how the Sufi approach of the *Bahr al-hayat*, under the supervision of the Shattari master Muhammad Ghawth, revised and transformed the text.

ALBERTO FABIO-AMBROSIO (CETOBAC/LSRS Luxembourg School of Religion & Society)

The Ottoman Pool of Water of Life

The Ocean of Life or the *Hawd al-Hayat* - coming from a more ancient Sanskrit treatise - was translated into Arabic in the twelfth century, and later translated into Persian by Muhammad Ghawth (d. 1521). In Ottoman speaking region, this important document mixing some Hindu's religious practices with a more Islamic interpretation, has been translated for the first time in the 17th century by Abdullah Salâhî Uşşakî (d. 1783). This one was the founder of the eponymous Sufi order, the Uşşakiyye and dealt with the translation of this text in Ottoman language. This translator has also considered Ibn 'Arabî the author of the Pool of Life. This translation is also probably the basis for the 1912 publication in Istanbul, with a preface of the editor Hafiz İhsan, writer and publisher himself. If in a previous research, I have studied the introduction of this document in Ottoman time, in this new inquiry, the explicit purpose is to go further in an analysis of Ottoman translation, especially the vocabulary of some parts of the published version of 1912 that I possess with a comparison with the 17th manuscript, submitted to the fact if I can have the real possibility to reach it. How the Ottoman authors have received it? A more profound textual research could focus on how the Ottomans have considered such a treatise. The analysis of the translation would be primordial in this type of enquiry.

GENRE AND TRANSLATION

NATALIE ROTHMAN (University of Toronto)

Making Ottoman Historicity Legible: Dragomans, Istanbulite Diplomacy, and Ottoman-Italian Translations in the Seventeenth Century

This paper situates Ottoman-to-Italian translation activities in the seventeenth century in relation to a broader set of diplomatic-cum-scholarly translanguagual practices in contemporary Istanbul. It focuses in particular on the decisive role of dragomans—diplomatic translator-interpreters employed by both the Ottoman court and myriad foreign consulates—in the production and circulation of Ottomanist knowledge. I offer two brief case studies of Istanbul-based Venetian-employed dragomans, Giovanni Battista Salvago and Giacomo Tarsia, whose manuscript translations of Ottoman chronicles formed part of a rich intertextual web. This web included, inter alia, ambassadorial dispatches, dragomans' translations of Ottoman official records, as well as their petitions and diplomatic and personal correspondence. I consider how Salvago's and Tarsia's specific translation strategies—what to translate, and how—related to their understandings of Ottoman courtly genres of historical representation, their variegated patronage and kinship ties in the Ottoman capital and across south-central Europe, and their intended readership among Italianate circles abroad. By situating their translation practices alongside and in relation to other networking activities that repeatedly crossed juridical and linguistic boundaries, particularly kinshipping and gifting, I aim to question prevailing ideas about the nature of linguistic mediation in this diplomatic milieu, and the role of that historicity as a category plays in our own understanding of the Ottomans in early modern Europe.

AUDREY TRUSCHKE (Rutgers University)

Translating Indian History: Mughal Genre Expectations of the Sanskrit Epics

In the late sixteenth century, the Mughal Emperor Akbar ordered Persian translations of the Sanskrit Mahabharata and Ramayana. Both projects required the use of teams of translators and were completed over the course of several years. Abundant evidence from the Mughal courts attests that Akbar's translators approached both epics as historical texts about India's past. In this paper, I investigate how Mughal genre expectations shaped their initial treatment of both Sanskrit epics, including judgments about the works' veracity, and subsequent uses of the translations in Persian.

PEGAH SHAHBAZ (Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3)

Persian Sight of the Indian Insight: Pañcatantra Tradition through Translation and Retranslation

Pañcatantra, a far-reaching narrative work of Indian literature, is acclaimed as a representative model for the “Fable genre” in the world. Among numerous Persian renderings of *Pañcatantra*, Naṣr Allāh Munšī’s *Kalīla wa Dimna* (1159-1161) is of high relevance due to the literary values it introduces to Persian ornate prose. Translated from the Arabic *Kalīla wa Dimna* of Ibn al-Muqaffa’ (d. 756), which was in its turn a translation of the Pehlevi *Kalīlag wa Dimnag* by Burzūya Pizišk, Munšī’s rendition became a prime inspiration to later miscellaneous works of this genre as *Anwār-i Suhaylī* by Wā’iẓ Kāšifī (d. 1531) and Abu al-Faẓl ‘Allāmī’s *‘Ayār-i Dāniš* (d. 1602). Besides, during Akbar’s reign (1556-1605), Ḥāliqādāb ‘Abbāsī carried out a direct translation from Sanskrit *Pancakhyana* which displayed more cohesion and congruity to the original text compared to the previous indirect translations. Juxtaposing ‘Abbāsī’s *Pancakhyana* and Munšī’s *Kalīla wa Dimna* as samples of direct and indirect translation will reveal contrasting peculiarities on the perception of the content as well as distinctive linguistic features in their narrative style. The translators’ personal stance over their own interpretation along with their patrons’ understanding and recognition of the work will also be worthy of attention, the study of which this paper will focus on, in order to elucidate the aims and approaches of translation in the 12th century in Iran compared to the 16th century in India.

ANNA MARTIN & MAXIMILIAN MEHNER (Philipps-Universität Marburg)

Vīratnaśekharaśikhā*: Saḥib Rām’s adaptation of Kāšifī’s *Aḥlāq-i Muḥsinī

The Persian compendium of Ethics *Aḥlāq-i Muḥsinī* was written in Herat by the polymath Kamāl ad-Dīn Ḥusain Wā’iẓ Kāšifī during the Timurid era at the beginning of the 16th century. It consists of forty chapters, each of which is dedicated to one capacity of the ideal ruler or a quality of statesmanship. It has been known and appreciated in various parts of the Islamicate world and in South Asia. Countless lithographs and English translations show, that the *Aḥlāq-i Muḥsinī* has been popular up to the colonial era.

During the regency of Ranbir Singh during the second half of the 19th century, this compendium was translated into Sanskrit under the name of *Vīratnaśekharaśikhā* by the Kashmirian scholar Sāḥib Rām. The *Vīratnaśekharaśikhā* represents a special case in several respects: Translations from Persian into Sanskrit are rare and have hardly been researched. Contrary to other cases, where texts were often translated in teamwork, Saḥib Rām did the translation by himself, as he had access to both languages due to his knowledge of Persian.

Taking into account the background of the historical context of Ranbir Singh’s translation office, this paper tries to ask questions regarding the *Vīratnaśekharaśikhā*, such as: Why precisely *Aḥlāq-i Muḥsinī*? How to describe Sāḥib Rām’s approach? Which understanding of translation work is associated with the text? What does this translation, or, adaptation tell us about Sanskrit in 19th century Kashmir and the targeted audience of the *Vīratnaśekharaśikhā*?

MULTILINGUALISM, ORALITY AND VERNACULAR CULTURES

WALTER N. HAKALA (University at Buffalo, SUNY)

Revisiting “How Newness Enters the World”: The Semantic Strategies of Inclusion, Identification, and Displacement in Hindvī Vocabularies

The *niṣāb* genre of multilingual vocabularies in verse became established in South Asia as early as the fourteenth century with the *Ḳhālīq Bārī*, a work often attributed to Amīr Ḳhusrau of Delhi. If this attribution is correct, Ḳhusrau’s vocabulary anticipates by several decades the first surviving Hindvī Sufi romance, *Maulānā Dā’ūd’s Āndāyan* (1379). I will examine the opening verses of approximately sixteen examples of the *niṣāb* genre, extending the analysis carried out by Aditya Behl in his study of the prologues of four major *premākhyāns* for a lecture delivered in 2005 at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (published posthumously as the second chapter of *Love’s Subtle Magic*). Like the admittedly more sophisticated *premākhyāns*, these Indo-Persian vocabularies contain in miniature the *azjā-yi tarkībī* (required compositional

elements) common to many Islamicate texts, providing synonymous pairings of terms associated with divinity, divine unity (*tauḥīd*), prophethood, the *khilāfat* (or *ahl-i bait*), kingship, and a Sufi disciple's devotion to a spiritual master. I argue that the *niṣāb* genre created the semantic conditions through which Sufi romances could equate Islamic and Indic cosmographies.

DROR WEIL (Princeton University)

Persian's Eastern Frontier: The Translation of Persian Texts in Late Imperial China, 17th-18th centuries

The 17th and 18th centuries saw the rise of a new interest in Arabic and Persian texts in China, and the emergence of a new genre of Chinese Islamic literature. Chinese scholars undertook extensive searches for Arabo-Persian manuscripts, forgotten in libraries, and brought to China with foreign visitors to China, and integrated them into a new localized literary genre.

The study of China's Arabo-Persian translation brings new light into China's participation in the Islamicate book cultures. Moreover, it highlights the pioneering contributions of China's Islamic literature to the larger history of Islamic literature, such as the use of vernacular

translation and printing, centuries before these were accepted in other regions of the Islamicate world.

My talk will focus on the Chinese translation of two Persian works: the first is Liu Zhi's translation of Mas'ūd al-Kāzarūnī's biography of the Prophet Muḥammad, entitled *Tarjūmat al-Muṣṭafā*. The translation explicated the major events in the life Muḥammad, introducing to the Chinese reader new concepts of historical memory, historical periodization, and aspects of divinity; the second text is Najm al-Dīn Rāzī's influential Ṣūfī treatise *Mirṣād al-'ibād*. Two Chinese translations of this latter text appeared in the late 17th century, and their comparison brings to light some of the difficulties encountered by Chinese translators of Persian works, and the unique issues related to the translation of works on Islamic mysticism.

By highlighting representative segments of these Chinese translations and comparing them to their Persian recensions, the talk will discuss Chinese methods of translation of Persian, Chinese treatment of poetic verses in prosaic works, and the application of Chinese terminology. In addition, it will point out to what we can learn on the eastward expansion of Persian texts during the early modern period.

RAJEEV KINRA (Northwestern University):

Cosmopolitan Maintenance in a Vernacular World: Sources, Methods, and Multilingualism in *Farhang-i Jahangiri* (1608)

Jamal al-Din Husain Inju Shirazi's *Farhang-i Jahangiri* (1608) is widely recognized as one of the most important works of Indo-Persian comparative philology produced at the Mughal court, but there is actually surprisingly little modern scholarship that directly engages with Inju's sources, methods, and rationale for compiling the dictionary. One of the most overlooked features of the *Farhang*, in fact, is the degree to which Inju's understanding of the Persian language is itself quite radically plural. There are *multiple* idioms of Persian, according to Inju, and there always have been -- a multiglossia internal to the Persian literary and linguistic tradition that is, in his view, only further complicated by the use of loan words from languages like Arabic, Turkish, Greek, Hindi, and so on. Inju thus explains in the preface to *Farhang-i Jahangiri* that one of his primary aims in compiling the text was to investigate, elucidate, and -- to borrow a term from today's parlance -- historicize some of these vernacular features of the cosmopolitan Persian literary idiom.

In other words, even though a text like *Farhang-i Jahangiri* would typically be considered simply a "Persian dictionary," much of the text could also be viewed quite justifiably as a sustained act of translation. Moreover, Inju's comments on his textual sources, his scholarly praxis, his use of linguistic informants from other regions, and even the nature of language itself offer a fascinating window onto the forms of philological disciplinarity that were already becoming fashionable in early modern Indo-Persian intellectual circles, well in advance of the European colonial intervention. This paper will give a brief overview of some of these "translational" features of Inju's philological project, and try to situate them against the larger backdrop of other translation projects promoted at the Mughal court, as well as Inju's own career

and legacy, not just in early modern Indo-Persian literary and intellectual circles, but also among later European travelers and colonial orientalists who had access to his work.

TAL TAMARI (CNRS)

The Culture of Translation in West Africa: Arabic and Regional Languages, From the Written to the Oral and Back Again

This presentation will outline the crucial cultural role of translation, from Arabic to locally spoken languages, and more rarely from locally spoken languages into Arabic, among the Islamic societies of West Africa (including but not limited to Manding, Soninke, Songhay, Fulfulde, Wolof, Hausa, Yoruba, Kanuri, and Tamachek). In effect, Islamic pedagogy – beyond the elementary study of the Qur’an – has been based on the oral translation of Arabic texts (primarily composed in the Middle East and North Africa, and covering the full range of disciplines) into a locally spoken language. The translation process conforms to a specific set of rules: the Arabic texts are parsed into meaningful syntactic units, each unit receiving a corresponding translation in the target language; short strings of Arabic words thus alternate, in the flow of discourse, with ones in the target language. In addition, longer, complementary explanations may be enunciated in the target language. Scholarly language may be described as a distinct register – characterised by a large technical vocabulary and specific syntactic structures – of the various contemporary regional languages; except in the case of Old Kanembu (in use among the Kanuri), an archaic language applied to the explanation of Arabic texts only. Many individuals may study or teach in more than one language; there is thus considerable (implicit mental) translation among the various regional languages, resulting in shared technical vocabulary. While most translation is thus oral, annotations in these scholarly registers have been observed in some Arabic manuscripts. Exceptionally, oral commentaries enunciated in a regional language have been written down in Arabic. Oral translation processes account for how elements drawn from written Arabic documents have been integrated into the oral literatures of both the Muslim and non-Muslim populations of the area. Oral and/or written translation into Manding, Fulfulde, and Old Kanembu is evidenced by the seventeenth century; composition of autonomous works, in Fulfulde and Hausa, is evidenced by the early nineteenth century.

MARC TOUTANT (CETOBAC)

Translating Persian into Turkic at the Court of the Khivan Khans

Even though Khorezm was one of the most Turkified regions of Central Asia, Persian remained, as elsewhere in the area, a favored language of belles-lettres. It is not until the 19th century, marked by the emergence of states dominated by the Uzbek tribal elites, that the situation began to change. At that time, the rulers of the Khiva Khanate sponsored an extensive program of translations into Turkic. If the first translations produced texts that looked very close to the Persian originals, after the second half of the century, translators tried to dePersify their translations just as much as they could. It seems that over the years, the need for linguistic accessibility became more and more important. In order to provide their readers with this kind of linguistic accessibility, translators used various methods: they would translate verse passages into prose, add synonyms or comments, and even change the structure of a passage. In the forewords of all their translations, writers, either in their names or in the names of their patrons, claimed that they worked for the “common people who did not know Persian”. We know that the khans and the high officials, who were often engaged themselves in literary activity, could appreciate those works. But, what about the “common people”?

In order to grasp the significance of this program of translations, this presentation will focus on the following questions: Who were these translators and which books did they translate? How did they work and what was their real purpose?



PERSO-INDICA

*An Analytical Survey of Persian Works
on Indian Learned Traditions*

Perso-Indica. An Analytical Survey of Persian Works on Indian Learned Traditions

Perso-Indica is a project that will produce an analytical survey of Persian works on Indian culture, written in South Asia and the surrounding regions between the 13th and 19th centuries. The production of Persian texts on Hindu traditions and sciences represents one of the greatest transfers of knowledge to have occurred between different Asian cultures. However, it remains one of the least studied: several factors have contributed to the removal of this corpus of texts from colonial and post-colonial accounts of the history of Muslim and Indian cultures. Overall, the production of these texts should be envisaged as a long-lasting, stratified, polycentric and trans-regional phenomenon. *Perso-Indica* will comprise more than four hundred titles and two thousand sources, including manuscripts, lithographs and published sources. *Perso-Indica* intends to become the first major reference work for this field of studies. It will provide an innovative contribution to our understanding of the history of Persianate and Indian intellectual and literary traditions and their cross-cultural interactions, as well as of pre-modern South Asian identity constructions. This project seeks to provide a new vision of the history of translation into Muslim languages, its impact on the intellectual history of Muslim societies, and of the history of translations from Sanskrit into other Asian languages.

Perso-Indica has a composite format: it is a free access on-line publication in the form of articles linked to a database that generates multiple cross-level analytical options. This approach makes it possible to carry out quantitative analyses of Persian text corpora through the creation of tools for processing textual and prosopographic metadata. Each article is dedicated to a work and its author/translator, while preliminary entries are published online before final articles. The analytical tools (indexes, histograms, maps) the online survey uses apply an abstract model to the study of the corpus of texts. The model is based on the selection of a group of key entities and features related to the corpus, and enables the examination of their relations and transformations over periods of time. The online survey implements a system for acquiring metadata on the texts, authors, translators, dedicatees, sources (manuscript and lithographed), etc., that allows the development and use of a series of indexes of the main entities involved in the translation process and context. In parallel, the articles in *Perso-Indica* present qualitative and critical studies of the sources analysed and examine the forms in which Indian knowledge was translated and integrated into Persian textual culture. They study the Persian translation movement as a practice associated with the transformation, incorporation and appropriation of translated knowledge and look at the transformation that took place during the translation, interpretation and usage of these texts.

Perso-Indica is directed by Fabrizio Speziale and Carl W. Ernst, the themed sections are supervised by a group of specialists in the field of Indo-Persian studies and an international network of scholars contribute to the writing of articles. One hundred and thirty articles/preliminary entries have already been published online. The project is supported by the Franco-German Program in Social Sciences and Humanities (ANR-DFG, directed by Fabrizio Speziale and Eva Orthmann). A series of conferences and workshops dealing with different features of this translation process have been organised within this program. The next *Perso-Indica* conference will take place in early 2018 at Friedrich-Wilhelm University in Bonn and will look at the translation and usage of Indian scientific and philosophical materials in the Persian environment.