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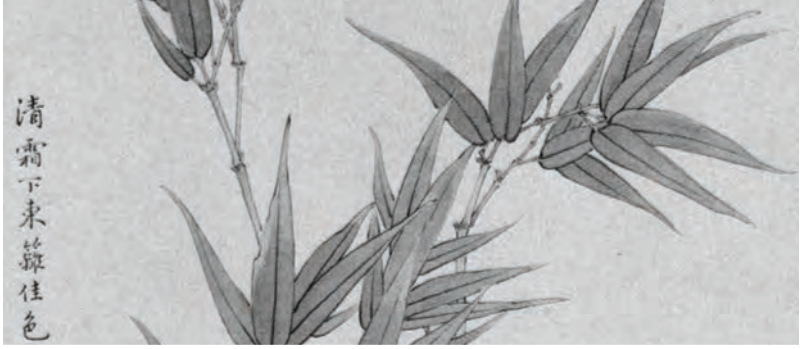

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SECTION

語言學

LINGUISTICS

CHINESE DERIVATIVES WITH A COMPONENT-PREPOSITION

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Abstract:

The Chinese word-formation system may include complex words with components such as prepositions, classifiers, and negators. Such derivatives differ in structure from other regular models of complex words, composed of lexical morphemes. A preposition connected to a monosyllabic or disyllabic word-base could form a derivative word that has uniform meaning and is grammatically modified as a uniform lexical unit. The article analyzes three such models: Verb + 在, Verb + 给, and Verb + 以.

Keywords: Chinese language, Chinese grammar, Chinese word-formation, Chinese morphology

Some combinations of verbs with prepositions in Chinese, commonly considered as prepositional phrases, are in fact regular derivative words. Although they differ in their composition from other derivative words in Chinese, made up of lexical morphemes, they share the same common characteristics and word-formational meaning as do all normal derivatives, belonging to one and the same word-formation model. This paper shall focus on three such models, namely: Model „Verb + 在", Model „Verb + 给", and Model „Verb + 以".

Such structures are very productive, commonly used and important. Regarding them as derivatives significantly enhances Chinese grammar descriptions. According to Dependency Grammar theory, as verbs they act as predicates that generate specific constructions, entailing the presence, general meaning and position of all the other elements of the sentence – mandatory or facultative. So, understanding word-formation of Chinese verbs and their basic functions is key to Chinese grammar comprehension.

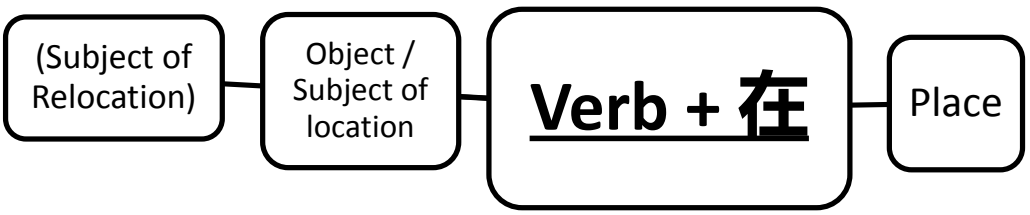
Chinese linguists have been considering the morpheme 在, together with 给 as a postpositive component of disyllabic lexical units since the 1960's, noting their use from early 20th century vernacular (白话) (Gorelov 1989: 53). Prominent Russian sinologist and linguist Nikolay Korotkov first mentioned "verb-preposition models" in Chinese, such as "verb + 以", "verb + 于", "verb + 为", each with just a few lexical units, but without much insight into their grammatical properties (Korotkov 1968: 65). An interesting to date synthesis of Chinese linguistic literature and analysis of language facts on the subject of such words, called by the author "V+P" 组合词, can be found in the work of Bai Lin (Bai 2010).

Prepositions in Chinese derive from verbs. Many prepositions in modern Chinese, including the ones discussed here, can still function alternatively as verbs or vice-versa. The current paper will assume that they are prepositions, based on the overwhelming treatment of such structures in Chinese grammar books. However, a decisive assessment of the capacity in which these morphemes participate as components of the verbs discussed hereafter is a subject of a separate discussion.

Prepositions as derivational morphemes in Chinese are usually attached to monosyllabic verbs or adjectives. They often become an integral component of a string of derivative words which function with a uniform meaning and exhibit uniform grammatical properties.

Model „Verb + 在":

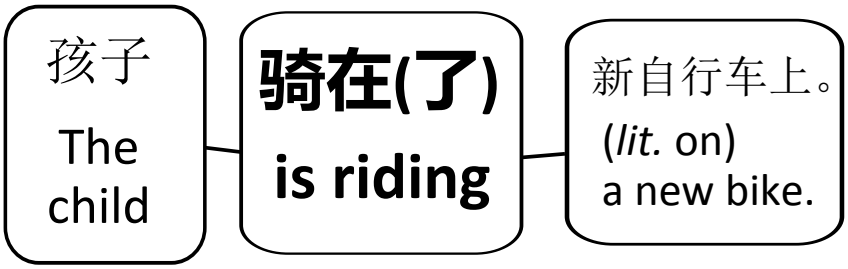
In this model, monomorphemic verbs of any semantic category combine with the preposition 在, thus forming verbs which entail a situation in which an object is placed at a certain location. There are two or three potential elements present in this situation. Two of them cannot be omitted – a subject or an object and a supplement of location. There may also be a subject – an agent of relocation of the object:



These derivative verbs can be separated into two subgroups, depending on their semantic and grammatical properties and the number of elements they entail.

Subgroup 1: Typical verbs of location

Derivatives from the first subgroup serve as predicates in a situation where there is only a subject that is situated at a certain place, represented by the supplement:



This row of derivatives is represented by a large number of verbs. For example:

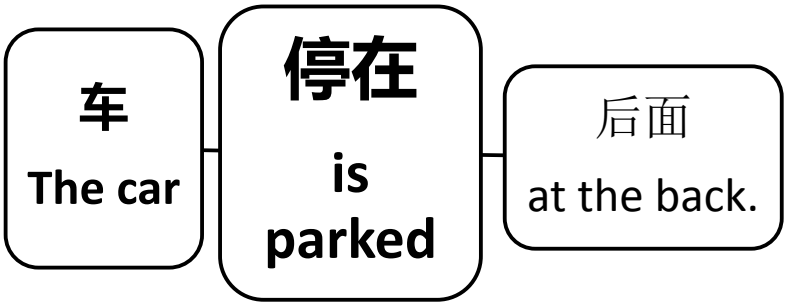
- 躺在 “lie on”, 处在 “be at”, 坐在 “sit on”, 倒在 “lay fallen on”, 垂在 “hang over from”, 住在 “live at”, 站在 “stand at”, 追在 “follow at”, 留在 “stay at”, 压在 “press at”, 开在 “drive at”, 掉在 “hang on”, 骑在 “ride on”,卡在 “stuck in”, 浮在 “float on”, 待在 “stay at”, etc.

The verbs above are separated from a second group because they do not change their meaning and always describe only one situation:

- 小男孩**坐在**栏杆边上。“The kids **are sitting on** the edge of the railing.”
- 我习惯**待在**家里。“I am used to **staying at** home.”
- 树枝**垂在**水面上。“The branches **are hanging over** the water.”
- 落叶**飘在了**天上。“The fallen leaves **started floating in** the air.”

Subgroup 2: Verbs of location and relocation

The second group of derivatives from this model also entails the placement of a certain subject at a certain location:

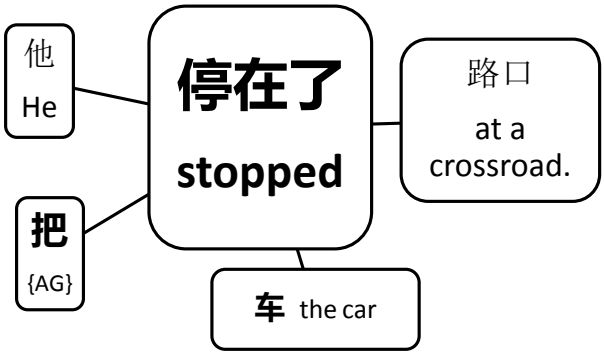


However, unlike verbs from the first group, they **can change their basic meaning from motionless “location” into “relocation”** – i.e. the dynamic movement of the subject by an outside force and its placement at a new location, specified by the supplement. Grammatically this semantic change is represented by two syntactic constructions:

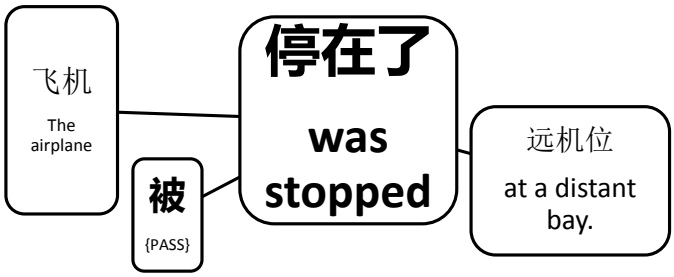
1) An active construction – with the prepositions 把 or 将

2) A passive construction – with the preposition 被

The active construction introduces a third element – an agent-subject, performing the relocation, usually represented by a person. The former subject becomes an object (supplement) of the relocation:



In the passive construction, the subject of the location is the former object of relocation. The active subject, responsible for the relocation, which could be placed immediately after the preposition 被 and in front of the predicate, is usually omitted. So the construction again consists of two elements:



This row of derivatives is represented by the following verbs:

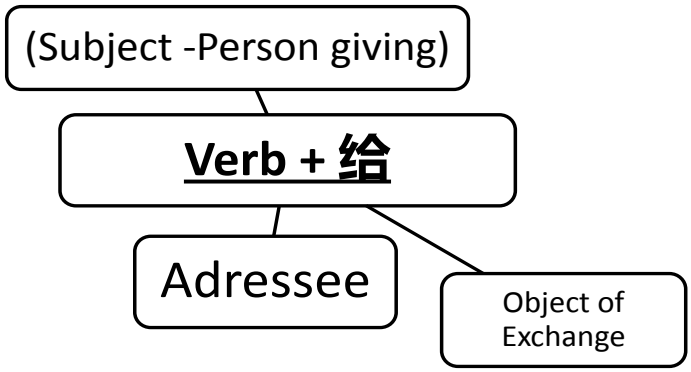
- 放在 “lay somewhere or put something somewhere”, 挂在 “hang somewhere, or hang something somewhere”, 写在 “written, or write on”, 埋在 “buried at, or bury at”, 排在 “queued up at, or queue up at”, 印在 “printed at, print at”, 溅在 jian[1] “spilled at, or spill at”, 停在 “parked at, park at”, 记在 “noted at, note at”, 涂在 “smeared at, smear at”, 带在 “carried in, carry in”, 藏在 “hidden in, hide in”, 塞在 “stuffed in, stuff in”, 套在 “dressed in, dress in”, 钉在 “nailed onto, nail onto”,吊在 “hang from”, 扔在 “thrown at, throw at”, etc.

It should be noted that morphological inflections like the aspectual suffix –了 are only added after the second component – 在, and cannot be attached to the first one – the verb. This shows that the verb-preposition structure is uniform and indivisible, and also demonstrates its formal right to be considered a word:

- 我终于又**躺在了**宿舍的床上。“At last I **lay in** my dormitory bed.”
- 我**处在了**风雨中。“I **found** myself **in** the pouring rain.”
- 七夕节我**住在了**饭店。“At Double Seven Day I **stayed in** a hotel.”
- 手提包**扔在了**地板上。 “The bag **was thrown** on the floor.”
- 公共汽车**停在了**汽车站。 “The bus **stopped at** the bus stop.”
- 几滴雨水**落在了**屋顶上 。“Few drops of water **fell on** the roof.”
- 球**打在了**他的头上。 “The ball **hit** him **on** the head.”

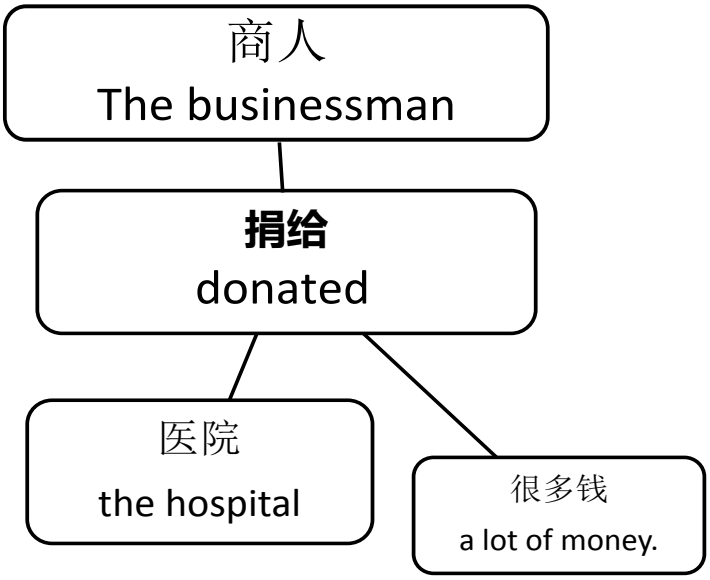
Model „Verb + 给“:

Verbs from this model represent a situation of giving or taking, involving three basic elements: a subject – person performing an act of giving, and two supplements – a person-addressee and an object that is given to the person:



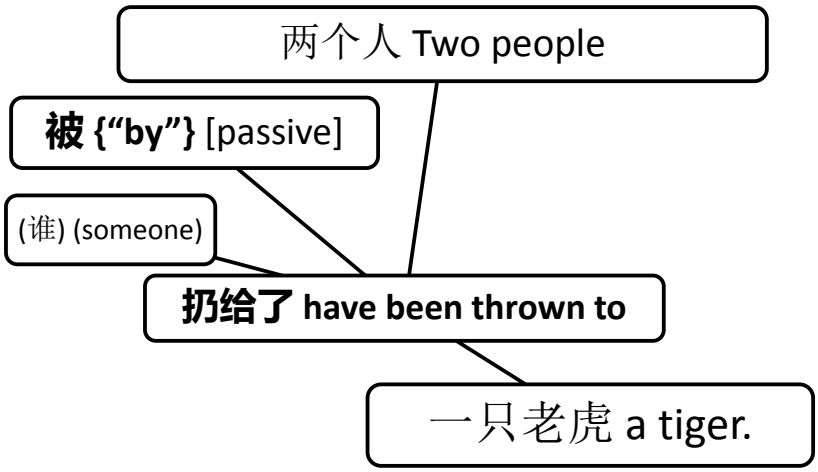
There are two basic syntactic constructions to represent this situation.

1) One basic construction with these verbs has the two supplements postpositionally. The addressee is first in order after the verb, followed by the object that is given. All three elements, the subject and the two supplements, must be present:



Another basic construction includes the use of the prepositions 把, 将, without changing the meaning of the verb. The preposition 把, 将changes the word order and places the supplement of the object of exchange in front of the predicate, and so in postposition there is only the supplement which represents the recipient. The subject here can be omitted, adding and imperative implication to the phrase:

The two basic constructions with these verbs can undergo a passive transformation. The object of relocation becomes the subject, and the former subject and agent of relocation is often omitted. The word-order is changed as follows:



- 商品**被退给**分销商。 “The commodity **was returned to** the retailer.”
- 1812年在孟加拉邦，两个人**被扔给了**一只老虎。“In 1812 in Bengal two people **were thrown to** a tiger.”
- 房间**被分给**别人了。“The room **has been assigned to** other guests.”

This model is used to form verbs with a general meaning of giving or taking from verbs of any semantic type. For example:

- 付给 “pay to”, 分给 “divide between (among)”, 交给, 递给 “give to hand to”, 传给 “pass over to”, 售给, 卖给 “sell to”, 借给 “borrow, lend to”, 还给, 归还给 “return to”, 发给 “give, hand out to”, 带给 “bring to”, 拨给, 汇给 “send (money) to”, 献给 “dedicate to”, 扔给 “throw to”, 判给 “adjudge to”, 退给 “give back to”, 写给 “write to”, 寄给 “send (mail) to”, 捐给 “present to”, 租给 “lease to”, 介绍给 “introduce to”, 嫁给 “marry to”, etc.

Verbs with the constituent 给 act as a **single unit – the** aspect **suffix** 了**can be added only to the whole unit:**

- 蒋女士将**身份证出借给了**李某购车。“Madam Jiang lent her ID card to a person named Li in order to buy a car.”
- 我们把他**交给了**警方 。“We **handed** him **to** the police.”
- 银行**借给了**我一些钱。 “The bank **lent** me some money.”

The preposition给is always separated from the verb, and then the aspect suffix 了can only be added to the verb:

- 我老公**出借了**二十万现金给一家房产公司。“My husband **lent** 200 thousand in cash **to** a real estate company.”

Model „Verb + 以“:

The current model of these verbs is derived from the function of preposition 以 in classical Chinese, where it was placed before the predicate in constructions such as this:

- 堯**以**天下**與**舜。“Yao **gave** Shun the World Under Heaven.”

As in the construction above, verbs of this model entail a situation of giving or taking, usually with three elements present – a subject-agent, usually a person, an object of exchange, and a second supplement – the addressee. The preposition以 introduces the object of exchange (World Under Heaven – 天下 in the above example. The other object is Shun舜 – the addressee.)

In classical Chinese, it was normal for the object of exchange after 以to be omitted. Word-order remained the same and the preposition 以 usually preceded the verb:

- 桓公歸**以**(之)**告**管仲。《韩非子》“Duke Huan returned and (lit. “**of** (this)”) **told** Guan Zhong.”

Constructions with an inversion of the verb before 以in classical Chinese were emphatic and rare, like this one from the Book of Songs:

- **投**我以**桃**，**报**之以**李**。“Return a favor with a favor.” (lit.: “Send a peach, get a plum” or “**indulge** me **with** a peach, **favor** yourself **with** a plum”) 《诗经·大雅·抑》

In modern Chinese, this reversed word-order – verb followed by the preposition 以, became popular and commonly used in formal speech. Both objects of the verb are in postposition: the addressee – right after the verb, followed by the object of exchange – introduced by the preposition 以:

- 基金会**给**艺术家**以**资助 。“The foundation provides artists with financial support.”

The new word-formation model emerges when the addressee is placed before the verb or is omitted. In an active syntactic construction the addressee can also be introduced with the preposition 对 and placed before the predicate:

- 我**对她报以**一笑。“I **responded to her with** a smile.”

Verb and preposition act as a single unit when adding the grammatical suffix 了:

- 《日报》**对此予以了**关注。“The Daily News **expressed** concern **over this**.”

Often in constructions with a verb of this model serving as predicate the addressee is omitted, and the verb is followed directly by the preposition 以. There is only one pre-positive element – the subject, and one post-positive – the object of exchange:

- 她**报以**一笑。**“**She **reacted (was responded upon**) with a smile.”

Verbs from this model may entail an ambiguous construction, both active and passive, when the addressee as third element is omitted and there are only two elements present – the subject and the object of exchange. If the facultative subject is the person performing the action of exchange, then the construction is also active. But more often the subject here is the former object-addressee, and the construction is passive. When we translate, we often need to add the omitted elements, depending on the meaning of the verb. Sometimes both are possible:

- 法庭宣布被告无罪, **予以**释放。“The court found the defendant not guilty, so ***he*** (the defendant**) was set** free.” or “…, so ***it*** (the court) **set *him*** free.”

In such a two-element construction, verbs of this model do not combine with the preposition 把, but interact readily with the passive preposition被, placed immediately in front of them. For example:

- 一高校外聘**教师**课堂卖证**被予以**辞退。“A high-school transfer **teacher** selling diplomas in class has been suspended **(lit.: has received** suspension from work).”
- **协会被授以**最高荣誉勋章。“**The association was awarded** the Medal of Highest Honor.”
- **河道被铺以**钢筋混凝土河床。“**The river course was cast** in a reinforced concrete bed.”
- 52人中，有**49**人是因为受贿罪**被处以刑罚**的。“**49 people** out of 52 **were given** sentences for receiving bribes.”
- 主题购物**中心**从出生开始就**被报以**期望。“The Themed **Shopping Centre was met with** high expectations from the day it was launched.”

Verbs here usually also have a passive meaning without the preposition被. For example:

- **地板铺以**薄塑料板。“**The floor is covered with** thin plastic boards.”
- 公务员有下列情形之一的, **予以**辞退。“A civil servant may be **suspended** (lit.: **given** suspension) in one of the following situations.”

In passive constructions with a verb of this model as predicate, the omitted subject is usually represented by the addressee:

- 因此**得以了**以下的结论: …。“Therefore the following conclusions **were drawn**: …”

The above prerequisite is the reason why the minimized construction of these verbs usually has a passive meaning and includes just one object of exchange – the only element which cannot be omitted, which is represented by a noun or substantivized verb. For example:

- **铺以**(混凝土) “be covered in (concrete)”, **晓以**(事实) “be enlightened with (reality)”, **判以**(死刑) “be adjudicated (the death penalty)”, **饰以**(穗带) “be embellished with (ribbon, lace)”, **润以**(脂油) “get soaked in (grease)”, **授以**(勋章) “receive, be granted an honor”;
- **加以**(品评) “be given (evaluation)”, **引以**(自豪) “be possessed with (pride)”, **报以**(一笑) “be answered, replied upon with (a smile)”, **处以**(刑罚) “be punished, receive (penalty)”, **予以**(打击) “be hit, be inflicted (a blow)”, **给以**(资助) “give or receive, be given (financial assistance)”, **给以**(评论) “give or receive (opinion)”, **得以**(保密) “become secret (be given secrecy)”, **得以**(平静) “become silent (be given silence)”, **施以**(符咒) “become enchanted”

Some verbs of this model may change their basic meaning and entail a causative construction, involving a secondary verb. For example, the verb **引以(**自豪) “**be filled with, feel (**pride**)**”:

- 这也**引以了**许多人**谈论**关于“天长地久”的话题。“This **inspired** many people **to discuss** the topic of eternity.”

In some seemingly equivalent cases, the preposition以 added to a verb is a different morpheme – a marker of the instrumental supplement, deriving from another popular function in Classical Chinese. In such occasions the instrument of action is mentioned beforehand – in the same sentence or the previous phrase, along with the subject or without it. A characteristic feature of these phrases is the fact that they do not combine with the preposition 被:

- 钢锥, 登山者**用以**攀登悬崖。“Pitons, climbers **use (them)** to climb cliffs.”
- 松开离合器**等以**启动。“Gradually release the clutch-pedal and **wait (with its help)** to start moving”.

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SUBJECTIVE MOTIVATION IN THE USAGE OF ASPECT-TENSE FORMATIVES IN MODERN CHINESE

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Abstract:

The aspect-tense markers in Modern Chinese are subject to a substantial degree of non-regularity and variability in use, due to factors of linguistic and extra-linguistic nature. Empirical study on the usage of the formatives shows that only around 17% to 20% of the cases of appearance of the markers account for relatively regular usage among native speakers, while more than 80% of the studied cases are defined by a different degree of variability in marking. This proves a great extent of optionality of choosing between the neutral and the marked form which can be motivated by subjective reasoning. The conditions of optional, subjective choice are determined by the multi-semantic and multi-functional nature of the formatives.

On the basis of experimental study the paper explores the main aspects of the subjectively motivated functions of the verbal formatives in Modern Chinese that are mainly of stylistic, emphatic and modal nature. One issue of this problem that has not still been specially discussed is the aspect of intuitive vs. conscious usage of the markers, as well as the substantial individual differences in the degree of marking among native speakers.

Keywords: Modern Chinese grammar, aspect-tense markers, variability in explication, subjective motivation in usage

The aspect-tense markers in Modern Chinese are subject to a substantial degree of non-regularity and variability in use, due to factors of linguistic and extra-linguistic nature. The variability and optionality of choosing between equally acceptable grammatical variants in the same contextual conditions and without any change in the grammatical interpretation accounts for a significant influence of subjectivity in the usage of these formatives.

A **series of four experimental surveys** on aspect-tense formatives *-le*, *-guo* and *-zhe* in Modern Chinese were conveyed in order to evaluate the minimal and the maximal intuitive usage, the minimal and the maximal conscious usage, to estimate the margins of variation between the four different types of usage, as well as to analyze the factors influencing the functioning of the aspect-tense formatives. On this basis, certain conclusions can also be drawn on the ranges and characteristics of the subjectively motivated usage of the formatives.

The **parameters of the study** are as follows:

The Experimental material is based on a literary text of 11 832 characters (approximately **22 standard pages**) from the contemporary Chinese novel "改写人生", 2008 ("Re-writing One's Life Story", 2008) by 徐奇峰 (Xu Qifeng) with a total number of 1062 observed positions of possible appearance of aspect-tense markers (post-verbal and sentence-final positions). The respondents in the study are native speakers, graduate students in Chinese Philology and Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language majors or university professors in the same field of study in educational institutions in Beijing and North-East China.

Two variants of the study are aimed at assessing the intuitive usage (in minimal and maximal degree) and the other two are designed to estimate the conscious usage of the formatives (also in minimal and maximal degree).

Survey I: Minimal intuitive usage (20 informants)

All existent in the original text markers were **deleted**, the respondents were **not informed** about these changes or the aim of the study, and they had to review the text and make necessary changes according to their own language feeling as native speakers.

Survey II: Maximal intuitive usage (10 informants)

Aspect-tense markers *-le*, *-guo* and *-zhe* were **inserted in all positions** of possible appearance (post-verbal and sentence-final positions), the respondents were **not informed** about these changes or the aim of the study, and they had to review the text and make necessary changes according to their own language feeling as native speakers.

Survey III: Minimal conscious usage (10 informants, the same as in Survey IV)

All possible positions of appearance of the markers (post-verbal and sentence-final positions) were **left opened**, the respondents were **informed** about the aim of the study and they had to consciously insert *-le*, *-guo* and *-zhe* forms only in those cases which they consider mandatory, i.e. the cases in which the marker cannot be omitted, otherwise the phrase will become ungrammatical.

Survey IV: Maximal conscious usage (10 informants, the same as in Survey III)

All possible positions of appearance of the markers (post-verbal and sentence-final positions) were **left opened**, the respondents were **informed** about the aim of the study and they had to consciously insert *-le*, *-guo* and *-zhe* in all the cases which they consider possible, i.e. all the cases in which the usage of the marker will not affect the correctness of the sentence.

Based on the empirical results of the study, three main aspects accounting for subjective motivation in the usage of the formatives can be observed.

Firstly, the objectively irregular or optional usage is considered (with a degree of coincidences in the choice of the formative in a certain position less than 75%) as influenced by extra-grammatical factors. According to the results from the survey on the minimal intuitive usage (Survey I[1]), which is the closest to real language conditions, it is observed that the rate of regular, and in this sense considered as mandatory, or objectively necessary usage covers only around 17% (for *-le* forms) to 20% (for *-zhe* forms) of the cases of appearance of the markers *-le* and *-zhe*.

For the marker *-guo* no constant matches in the appearance in any of the studied positions have been observed.

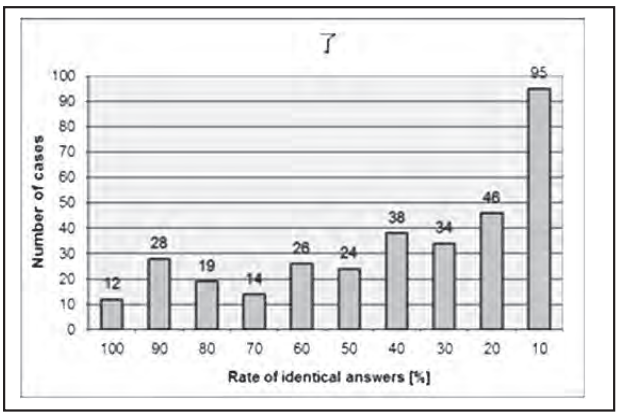
Thus, it can be concluded that more than 80% of the cases of appearance of the formatives as a whole are defined by a different degree of variability in marking. This proves a great extent of optionality of choosing between the neutral and marked form that can be motivated by some kind of subjective reasoning.

Secondly, the range of variation between the intuitive and conscious usage of the formatives is examined.

In the following figures (Fig. 1 to Fig. 4) the horizontal scale identifies the rate of coincidences in the marking of a certain position observed in the text, and the vertical scale shows the number of positions, or cases with the given rate of identical marking.

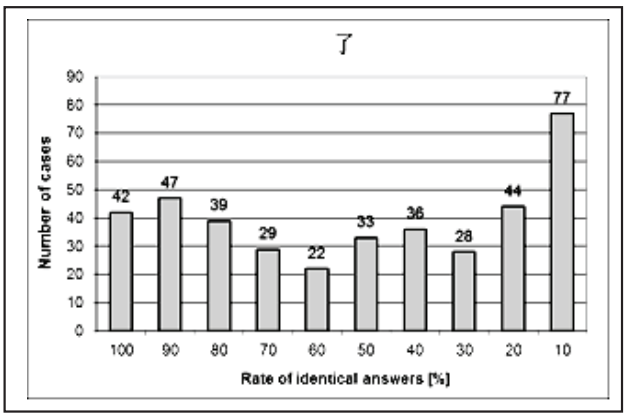
Marker *-le*

Fig. 1: Minimal intuitive variant (Survey I)



Total number of cases of appearance – 336 positions. Among these:
Regular usage: 17%
Predominant usage: 12%
Irregular usage: 29%
Nonstandard usage: 42%

Fig. 2: Minimal conscious variant (Survey III)

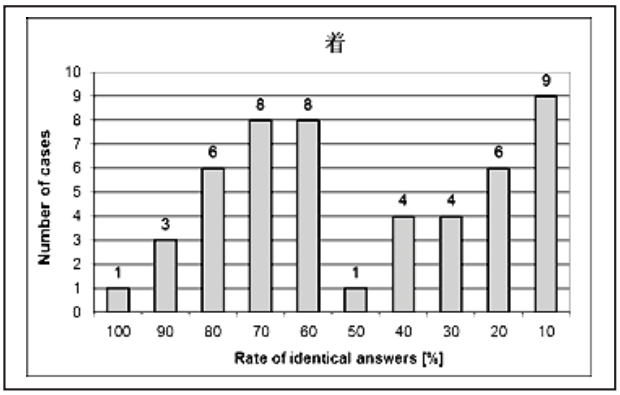


Total number of cases of appearance – 397 positions. Among these:
Regular usage: 32%
Predominant usage: 13%
Irregular usage: 24%
Nonstandard usage: 31%

[1] The empirical results from Survey I are presented in (Tsankova 2011: 12-15)

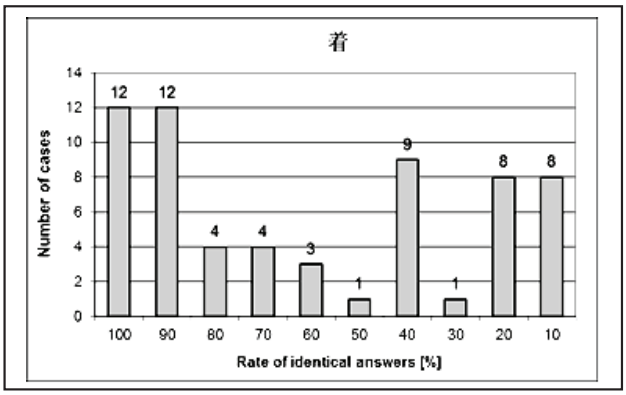
Marker -*zhe*

Fig. 3: Minimal intuitive variant (Survey I)



Total number of cases of appearance – 50 positions. Among these:
Regular usage: 20%
Predominant usage: 32%
Irregular usage: 16%
Nonstandard usage: 30%

Fig. 4: Minimal conscious variant (Survey III)



Total number of cases of appearance – 62 positions. Among these:
Regular usage: 45%
Predominant usage: 11%
Irregular usage: 18%
Nonstandard usage: 26%

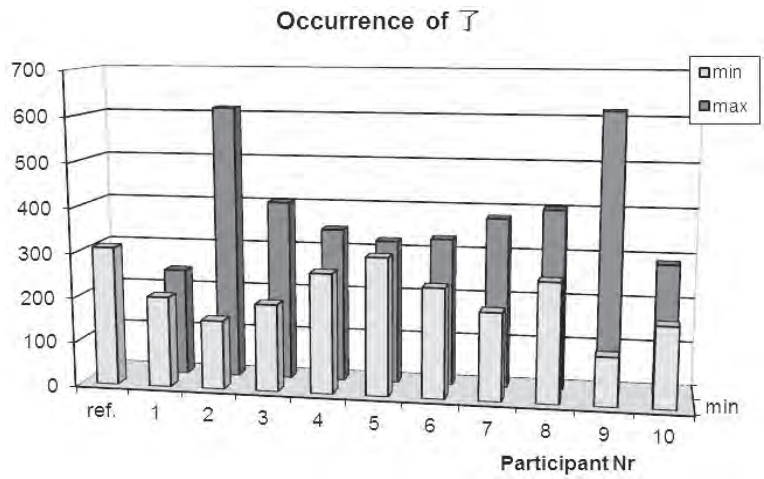
The marker -*guo* is represented by a limited number of cases and thus it is not included in this analysis.

In the variants, aimed at estimating the minimal usage of the formatives (as shown in Fig. 1 to Fig. 4), the conscious usage is definitely higher and with a greater degree of coincidence in marking (almost twice as high) than in the intuitive variant of the study, which means that the minimal intuitive usage of the markers is even lower than the conscious minimal usage, although the latter occurs in the conditions when native speakers are consciously **aiming to omit** the marker in all possible positions. It proves that the usage of -*le* in natural circumstances of speech is more variable than under conducted linguistic behavior. The difference between the intuitive and conscious usage is significant, and therefore it should be considered an important factor of variation and taken into consideration in the theoretical approach and experimental studies of these formatives.

Another aspect of subjectivity that can be observed is the significant individual difference in the usage of the markers among native speakers. The comparative results of the surveys on the conscious usage in minimal and maximal variants along with the referent rate of marking in the original text are shown in the following figures (Fig. 5 to Fig. 6). On the horizontal scale one can identify the reference usage (the most left column, before № 1) and the usage of every respondent in the survey (from № 1 to № 10), and the vertical scale shows the number of marked positions by every participant.

Fig. 5:

Comparative rates of the minimal and maximal conscious usage of -*le* in individual aspect



In the conscious usage of the marker *-le* one can observe substantial amplitudes both in individual variation between minimal and maximal usage, as well as between the marking rates of the different respondents. The largest individual range of variation between the minimum and maximum usage (informant № 9) is between 109 positions of marking in the minimal variant and 616 positions in the maximal variant, which makes amplitude of 507 positions and constitutes an increase of 465%. At the same time the smallest range of variation (informant № 5) is only 5%, with a minimum use in 307 positions and maximum use in 322 positions, while the reference value, or "optimal" rate according to the novel's author is 311 positions.

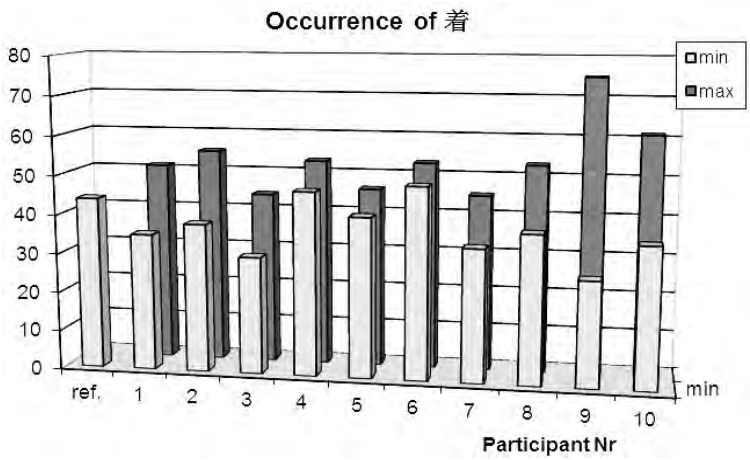


Fig. 6: Comparative rates of the minimal and maximal conscious usage of *-zhe* in individual aspect

The variation between the minimal and maximal conscious use of the marker *-zhe* does not show such vast amplitudes on an individual level as that of the marker *-le*, but still the highest rate is again with informant № 9 (an increase of 178%). There are two cases (respondents № 4 and № 6) where the frequency of use in the minimal version of the study is actually higher than in the original text. This means that even consciously reducing the grammatical use of the marker to a minimum, some informants have nevertheless used it even more often than the author of the text.

The analysis of the statistical results proved that the range of variation between the minimum mandatory usage and the maximum possible usage among the respondents is exclusively vast. Considering the fact that all instances of inserting or omitting the formatives in the text are linguistically correct versions, one can observe the huge potential amplitude in the personal choice between marked and unmarked form in the same contextual conditions. On the other hand, the significant difference between the individual levels of usage among the native speakers proves a completely subjective judgment on the minimum standard usage and the maximum plausible usage in the given conditions. Thus, it appears that the notion of "mandatory" and "optional" use of the markers, even among professional teachers and native speakers of Chinese language is strikingly different and shows obvious individual characteristics. Therefore, one may conclude that there is hardly a real possibility to determine objectively and definitely the minimum grammatical limit in the use of these formatives, because even when consciously reducing the rate of usage to its lowest mandatory limits, these limits can subjectively vary.

As shown by the figures of the survey, the usage of the studied forms seems to be also a matter of personal habit, or personal inclination towards more frequent or less frequent appearance of the markers. This may be explained by individual preferences, or by socio-linguistic factors, regional and dialect background of the speaker – factors that have not been thoroughly explored yet.

Conclusion

Based on the empirical studies and the analyses on different aspects of variation of the formatives *-le, -guo* and *-zhe* in Modern Chinese, one observes that their functioning is largely influenced by subjective motivation and individual characteristics of use. The evidence of subjectivity prove that these forms of relatively recent historical origin have not been fully grammaticalized. The vast possibilities of optionality and subjective choice are determined by the multi-semantic and multi-functional nature of the formatives. In the conditions when the formatives appear to be grammatically redundant, they acquire the capacity under certain conditions to convey additional emphatic, stylistic and modal functions that are motivated by the subjective point of view of the speaker. Such extra-linguistic potentials can co-occur with the grammatical semantics or be expressed separately. Apart from that, the formatives *-le* and *-zhe* may also be syntactically motivated, or

perform some structural, rhythmic, phrase-forming or text-forming role on the level of the sentence and in the whole discourse (Tan 2002: 551-565).

In the circumstances when the grammatical opposition between the neutral and the suffixed form is neutralized, the difference between the marked and the unmarked phrase is transferred into an opposition of emphatic vs. neutral form, or focused vs. diffused form (Huang 1987). This function of emphasizing on some properties of the predicate may in turn be also re-interpreted in different variants in accordance with the situational aspect and the syntactic features of the phrase, as well as in dependence of its contextual and pragmatic background.

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培養具有跨文化交際能力的澳門漢語人才

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CHINESE LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN MACAO: FOSTER MORE AND BETTER TALENTED PERSONNEL FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

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Abstract:

"One belt and one road", the "Bo'ao new word", is brought up by President Xi Jingping in 2015. As Xi said, the strategy is "not just a solo of one country but a chorus of all countries along by." One-belt-one-road, the great idea has really shown Chinese wisdom to the world and can be regarded as a modern translation of the historical token "the silk route". "The five links", interconnection of economic strategy, complementary advantages, and the multiple voice chorus by the related countries, all of these concepts are included in and/or deduced out of the one-belt-one-road idea, and they all are related to international and intercultural and inter-language exchange and communication. Macao, neighboring Guangdong province which is specified by Chinese central government as one of the five provinces in "the new silk map", has been, for a long history, an East-West cultural melting pot.

The department of Chinese language, Macao Polytechnic Institute, teaches and propagates Chinese language, literature and culture, based on which its mission is to educate and cultivate more talented people for intercultural communications. In order to meet the various needs in Chinese language oversea education for the purpose of serving the strategy of one-belt-one-road, we need to do several things such as: widening students' view on intercultural communication, developing their intercultural sense, deepening their intercultural understanding, strengthening their intellectual quality and practical capability in intercultural communication, etc, in a word, trying our best to foster more and better graduates to serve the one-belt-one-road strategy.

Keywords: "One belt and one road", Foster, In Macao's Chinese Language Education

國家主席習近平2015年的"博鰲新語"："一帶一路""不是中國一家的獨奏，而是沿綫國家的合唱"。這是"絲綢之路"歷史符號的現代詮釋，顯示了中國人的智慧。不管是"一帶一路"主要內容所闡釋的"五通"，以及經濟戰略的相互對接，優勢互補，抑或沿綫各國的多聲部"合唱"；說到底乃是跨國度、跨文化、跨語言的交際交往。澳門，毗鄰中央敲定的"絲綢新圖"中的五省份之一廣東，是有著悠久歷史的中西文化融合之地。

澳門理工學院中文組承載著培養具有跨文化交際能力人才的重要使命，承擔著教授、傳播中國語言、文學與文化的任務。因此，為適應"一帶一路"國際漢語教學多樣化的需求，促進跨國漢語教育事業的發展，本文意在探討如何培養跨文化交際能力的澳門人才。

跨文化交際能力的培養應該從以下方面入手：開闊學生的跨文化交際視野，培養學生建立跨文化的意識和思維，提高學生對跨文化交際的理解；夯實學生跨文化學習的理論知識素養和實際工作能力，力求為澳門、為"一代一路"培養有用之人。

跨文化交際學作爲一門學科，創始于20世紀50年代的美國。1972年，美國聖地亞哥大學傳播學院教授拉里A.薩默瓦和加州大學長灘分校傳播研究系教授理查德E.波特主編的《跨文化交際讀本》一書出版。自此，美國的跨文化交際研究不斷擴展領域，完善方法，走向成熟,逐漸成爲21世紀世界主要文化特徵。1983年，跨文化交際學"跨入"國門，繼而成爲我國學術界比較熱門與普及的學科之一。

中國教育部在《國家中長期教育改革和發展規劃綱要（2010-2020）》中亦提出，為提升我國教育的國際地位、影響力和競爭力，適應國家經濟社會對外開放的要求，培養大批具有國際視野、能夠參與國際事務與國際競爭的國際化人才。跨文化交際正是帶著這種使命進入了高等院校的視野，成爲目下高校國際漢語教學與研究的重點。

作爲一門集人類學、心理學、社會學、語言學等為一體的交叉學科，跨文化交際學涉及諸多領域，如文化身份、國籍文化、共文化、言語交際、非言語交際、文化情境、跨文化交際能力、跨文化倫理道德等。跨文化交際研究的基本理念認爲，不同文化背景的人們相互交往是一個非常複雜的過程，在交際中由於不同文化背景下的人的認知行爲，價值觀念和思維模式的不同，對同一事物會有不同的理解，不了解這些差異就會導致雙方誤解、交際失敗。因此，國際漢語教學中引入交際教學法的概念，培養跨文化意識，提高跨文化交際能力；進而思考培養學生跨文化交際能力的主要途徑和教學方法十分必要。

澳門是一個有著獨特歷史與文化積澱的多元社會，三文四語（中文、葡文和英文，粵語、普通話、葡語和英語）交匯融通。隨著全球化的逐漸形成，湧入澳門的族群和語種亦越來越多；各語言間相互影響、踫撞，文化背景、語言環境豐富又複雜。因此，跨文化交際的本土化研究有著特別重要的啓示與現實意義。負笈著語言教育本地化、民族化、國際化使命的澳門理工學院，為尔计划内涵丰富為適應“一帶一路”國際漢語教學的需求，促進跨國漢語教育事業的發展，特別是配合澳門特區政府為世界葡語系國家培養漢語人才的舉措，培養具有跨文化交際能力的澳門人才已提到議事日程。

澳門理工學院是一所公立大學，承載著服務於澳門特區政府、大中華地區乃至世界的社會使命。中文專業的生源主要有三：來自葡萄牙的留學生、澳門土生族群、還有將就讀於“國際漢語”學士學位專業的學生。這些學生畢業後的出路也有三個方向：在中葡一些高校當葡語老師、翻譯；或在澳門法院、檢察院、政府等部門從事中葡翻譯工作（中、葡文是澳門官方語言）；後者是為葡語系國家、世界各國培養通曉中文、葡文、英文以及普通話、粵語的通用型人才。顯而易見，培養具有“跨文化交際能力的高級漢語人才”是我們的終極目標。

為實現這個目標，我們必須從教（教師）與學（學生）兩方面著手深入思考與研究。教師方面，如何增強教師的跨文化教學意識、思維，提高教師跨文化教學的理論知識與素養，開闊教師跨文化教學視野與實際工作能力，以至於更好地培養出具有跨文化交際能力的學生。學生方面，如何透過具有跨文化交際能力的教師的教學實踐，培養學生的跨文化意識，即幫助學生樹立正確的文化態度、增強對文化差異的敏感度、寬容性和處理文化差異的靈活性；夯實學生跨文化學習的理論知識和實際工作能力。跨文化交際學的多學科性質，決定了其課程設置、以及課堂教學手段和方法的多樣性。

跨文化交際課程設置構想：明確目標、豐富內涵，教學內容層次分明，多樣多元。1、基礎課：夯實學生的漢語言文化基礎知識、提高學生運用漢語言的能力。2、提高課：培養學生對異域文化的敏感度和寬容性，增強其跨文化交際的靈活性。3、實踐課：身臨其境體會異國文化、明曉文化衝擊的原因，克服文化障礙，從而提高學生對異域文化的適應能力和跨文化交際能力。

跨文化交際課程的具體教學手段與方法：文化情境教學、電子化資料教學、教學環境網絡化、多媒體教學、文化沙龍、社會文化調查、跨文化語言實踐活動等。我們國際漢語專業的學生第三年要走出國門，到葡萄牙、澳洲等地實習一年。希冀在跨文化語言實踐過程中，探索文化知識、發現文化差異、體會文化衝突、實踐跨文化交際策略。

在總體設計理論把跨文化交際性原則列爲第一原則的教學實踐活動中，教師既是設計、導演、主角，又是觀衆、導師和評判。教師既要有扎實的漢語言本體知識，又要與多種文化打交道，擁有較強的跨文化交際能力，更應該具有語言交際能力。只有具備了跨文化交際能力這一能動要素的教師，才能作爲中介，真正引導學生認識理解不同語言與文化的差異，準確傳達不同語言文化之精髓。因爲教師畢竟不是傳授語言轉換的機械，而是跨文化的精神對話引領者，是致力於交際教學法的實踐者。

旨在培養交際能力的交際教學法理論起源於歐洲，創始人是英國著名的語言學家威爾金斯（D.A. Wilkins）。從事語言學教學與研究的學者大都知道這位大名鼎鼎的語言學家，“沒有語法，能表達的內容很少，沒有詞彙則什麽也表達不了”的名句。正是這位深諳語言學原理的方家，又是交際教學法的倡導者，誠可見交際法功能之優長。威爾金斯認爲，形式主義的注重語言結構的第二語言教學，“忽視了”語言“交際原則的重要性”。而交際教學法凝視的，恰恰是第二語言學習者的語言交際能力，它希圖通過制定意念大綱（Notional Syllabuses），圍繞內容，語義意念系統，在意念大綱的基礎上，把語言的形式語法規則，詞彙語段以及文化因素綜合起來規劃教學內容、制定基本教學原則，嘗試從語義表達的角度來描寫語法規則，試圖“通過內容而不是僅僅是形式來組織教學”。顯然，它彌補了結構主義描寫的欠缺。

威爾金斯在其重要著作《意念大綱》（1976）中還明確指出：“意念大綱的好處在於它從一開始考慮語言交際能力，而它對語言運用的明顯關注，又可以激發學習者的動力。它在潛力上優於語法大綱，因爲它保證在大綱裏包括重要的語法形式，而且又能覆蓋各種語言功能，不僅僅是那些在某

些語境中出現的典型功能”。（Wilkins, D.A, Notional syllabuses, Oxford: OUP, 1976, P19）。從這段話中，我們理解了以希冀培養學生的交際能力為出發點的“意念大綱”最可貴的優點：一是激發學習者的動力；再是涵蓋重要的語法形式覆蓋各種語言功能。而這兩點，恰恰是結構體系“語法大綱”的“瓶頸”，尤其是對於國際漢語專業的學習者。

語言是工具，是用來交際的工具，這是個彌久恆新毋庸置疑的命題。人類對任何工具天經地義的要求就是“方便”、“好用”。美國社會語言學家海姆斯（D.Hymes）創見性地豐富了交際教學法對於培養跨文化交際能力的理論。在海姆斯看來，語言能力是一種處世的能力，即“便用”語言跨文化交際的能力。可以理解為一個人對潛在語言知識和能力的運用。海姆斯用的“便用”一詞，即方便運用。英國著名應用語言學家亨利.G 威多森 (Widdowson) ，更生動、形象地解釋了具有“便用”功能的交際能力的本質，他認爲交際能力實際上就是掌握了一大批部分裝配好的結構（半成品），公式性套語和一套規則，並能夠根據不同語境進行必要的調整的能力。從這個意義上說，他認爲交際能力是一種“適應能力”，具有“調節性”、“服從性”特質。（Widdowson，《論外語交際能力及其培養》，P13）“調節性”一詞概括得很精到。而這種“調節性”恰恰是國際漢語專業的學習者最需要也最應該學會掌握的。他們通過四年的學習，在具有了扎實的漢語知識之後，最需要的就是這種“調節”能力，即根據交際特點，把漢語基本結構和語法規則功能性地結合起來，盡可能多地了解和運用語言結構的多樣性和語言功能的多種可能性，根據不同的程度、水平，不等的詞彙量，達到不同層次的長進和跨越。

交際能力，通常是指一個人運用各種可能的語言和非語言，如身勢語、面部表情等手段來達到某種交際目的的能力，這種能力實際體現了一個人的整體素質。它應該包括語言、修辭、社會、文化和心理等諸多因素：如語言知識，即字組詞、詞成句、句成篇的能力；認識能力，即人對事物的認識、智力水平、反應能力和有關世界的知識等；文化知識，指人的文化觀念和文化習俗；文體知識，指一個人根據交際對象和交際目的，選取不同風格的詞句和語篇等進行交際的能力；還有情感因素，像一個人的社會態度，交際動機、個人品質、性格和習慣等對交際能力的影響；以及其他方面的副語言知識，如身勢語、面部表情等。總之，交際能力是一個複雜的概念。

實施交際教學法，培養以交際能力為中心的對外漢語教學，要求教師圍繞語義、意念系統認真思考學生應該“學習什麽”和“怎麽學習”等問題，教師要做的功課很多。選擇合適的交際教學教材，撰寫交際教學大綱，然後通過有目的的課堂教學、有組織的課外活動以及縝密有序的考試考核各環節，纔有可能達到逐步培養第二語言習得者具有語言交際能力的教學目標。就拿考試環節來說，我們以前通常採用的，注重詞彙的準確與語法的正確性的筆試內容，以及以朗讀、復述故事、或閱讀文章後回答問題的口試等，我們在評估學生的交際能力測試時，不僅要能覆蓋這些基本知識，還要考慮是否成功地傳遞了需要表達的信息，實現了交際目的等。要達到這個目標，平日對學生進行策略能力和交際策略的訓練又是必須的。“交際策略”通常是指“操母語的人所使用的一些交際技巧，如解釋、迂回、重復、迴避、猜測、猶豫、語體與語碼轉換等”。坦率直言，這對於教與學雙方都是既有意義又是挑戰，要讓第二語言學習者像“操母語的人”一樣，“便用”他們頭兩年學過的漢語知識，從“基本語法+基本詞彙”轉入“語義表達+形式規則”，把語義系統和形式系統聯接、對應，讓學生（說話人和聽話人）在解碼、編碼時能自然順暢地將漢語的意義和形式緊密聯係起來，這種能力的培養，確實需要我們靜心思忖認真鑽研大膽嘗試。

誠然，當下中國對外漢語教學領域已經認識到培養學生的跨文化交際能力的重要性，教師也明白實施交際教學法的必要性；但實際上對於交際教學法的理論研究亦尚在摸索行進中。實際教學的實踐中，交際性原則也沒有得到全面實施；跨文化課程設置、教材編寫、以及教學方法等都欠缺應有的交際特點。正如曾在國家對外漢語教學領導小組辦公室工作的于叢楊先生說過的，“實際教學主要還是圍繞課文內容進行‘語段表達能力’的培養，所作練習也都屬於理解、模仿和記憶練習，缺乏應有的交際特點”，“中高級階段的漢語教學尚未形成以培養交際能力為目的的完整的教學體系。（于叢楊，《論中國對外漢語教學關於交際能力的培養》，第三屆國際漢語教學討論會論文選，1990，北京）這種情形，也決定了實施跨文化交際教學法篳路藍縷的難度。

自20世紀80年代交際教學法和情景大綱、意念大綱、功能大綱被引介進中國後，不少從事國際漢語的教學人員和研究者開始縝密的思索和身體力行的實踐。他們思考的重點始終是如何在中國的對外漢語教學中把意義、結構、交際功能結合起來（呂必松，1980）。時至90年代，中國對外漢語教學界不僅開始明確提出以培養學生的漢語交際能力為目的，嘗試概括交際能力的內涵和外延，並對培養交際能力的具體目標、途徑進行理論探討和準確、清晰的表述。盛炎先生是中國對外漢語教學領域較早關注並研究交際教學法的學者。他對交際教學法深入精到的研究，深刻精湛的理論建樹至今具有價值和意義。

盛炎先生把交際能力總結為語言學能力、社會學能力、話語能力、交際策略四個方面，指出，“交際能力是在實際情境中運用語言形式實現功能的能力，也就是實際運用語言的能力”，“是一種綜合能力，不單是語言結構知識，也不單是聽、說、讀、寫操練能力”。對於第二語言習得者的“漢語教學也不是一般的結構技巧操練，聽、說、讀、寫技能還不等于交際能力。如果只滿足于課堂上的聽、說、讀、寫技巧操練，學生也很難應付實際的交際。”盛先生認爲，對外“漢語教學就要採取措施，促使由語言知識向交際能力的轉化，這種轉化的過程大體上這樣的：語言知識→語言技能→語言交際能力。”（1991）應該說，這是一個深諳對外漢語教學原理又具豐富教學經驗的學者的思考。這裡，他明確指出傳統結構體系注重聽說讀寫訓練的課堂教學“很難應付實際的交際”的弊端，又明晰標示出“轉化”三部曲的進程。我覺得，倘若將國際漢語學習（通常四年本科）作爲一個系統過程考察的話；那麽，以培養學生的“語言交際能力”為終極目標應該貫穿始終。與之相對應的，也就是應該運用交際教學法進行課堂教學、組織課外活動以及考核各環節，訓練其“應付實際交際能力”，實現從形式到內容的轉變。（盛炎，《語言交際能力與功能教學》，第三屆國際漢語教學討論會論文選，1990，北京）。

對外漢語專業畢竟屬於一個年輕的學科，尚存廣袤的研究空間。以培養具有跨文化交際能力為目標和任務的國際漢語教學，任重道遠，充滿挑戰和誘惑。目前國內外對外漢語教學界不少專家學者正艱難耕耘奮然前行，致力於以培養跨文化交際能力為目的的理論研究和教學實踐。這些，無疑對“教”與“學”，對進一步推進國際漢語教學大有裨益。

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ПОДГОТОВКАТА НА СТУДЕНТИТЕ ПО БЪЛГАРИСТИКА В КИТАЙ И СПОСОБНОСТИТЕ ИМ ЗА ПРЕВОД ОТ КИТАЙСКИ НА БЪЛГАРСКИ ЕЗИК: КАК СЕ РЕШАВАТ ПРОБЛЕМИТЕ В ПРЕВОДА ОТ КИТАЙСКИ НА БЪЛГАРСКИ?

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THE ART OF TRANSLATION FROM CHINESE TO BULGARIAN LANGUAGE

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Abstract

Translation is an important part of the curriculum of the people studying Bulgarian language. Students not only need to understand the theory of translation, but they also need to have rich experience in translation practice and to organically combine translation lessons with the other lessons included in their curriculum. The translation quality is tightly connected with the speaking, listening and writing skills of the student, with the richness of one's vocabulary, the understanding of the grammar, the range of one's knowledge, and even the memory. Studying hard for the translation lesson is a good preparation for the future work of the student. Basically, translation is a method of using the words of one language to express the meaning of the words of another language; it helps people speaking different languages to communicate and to understand each other. When we make translations, we need to transform the linguistic form and to choose the most appropriate way of expression among many others. In short, translation is a kind of re-creation. Translation has played a very important role for the cultural development of humankind; it promotes the communication between nations and the social development. Translation is an instrument for transporting ideas and experience. My report is based on my translation teaching practice, and it presents the summarized standard of translation – the basic principles "authenticity, expressiveness and elegance". The standard of the translation can be reached but in some situations it can also be limited. Sometimes we have to use the context to express some related meaning or to add additional explanations. Especially in the process of translating Chinese into Bulgarian, one can find many language elements that are tightly connected with the Chinese specific culture, the Chinese nation and history. The Chinese-Bulgarian translation technique includes comparison between vocabulary phenomena, vocabulary processes, comparison between the grammars, translation of passive sentences and many others, i.e. some of the problems that are worth discussing in the Chinese-Bulgarian translation and can be of great help to the students studying Bulgarian language.

Keywords: translation theory, methodology, standards, comparison, training

За да бъде достатъчно квалифициран, на първо място преводачът от китайски на български език трябва да притежава основни познания и умения за използването на китайския и българския език, да изучава и познава културите на двете страни, а също така да притежава специализирани езикови знания. Тъй като извършването на китайско-български превод е трудна и сложна задача, как можем ефективно да обучаваме студентите, как да спомогнем за подобряване на техните способности и ниво на превода? Тази статия се фокусира главно върху способността на студентите да превеждат от китайски на български език.

Развитието на способностите за превод от китайски на български включва следните аспекти:

1. Езикова интуиция (езиково чувство) към българския език;

2. Способност за вникване в общия смисъл;

3. Способност за наблюдение и анализиране на български език;

4. Способност за отличаване на езиковите нюанси в българския език;

5. Разбиране на социално-културния и междукултурния обмен;

6. Осъзнаване на разликите между китайския и българския език;

7. Информираност относно диалектическата връзка между китайския и българския език;

8. Осъзнаване на принципа „Да се използват български неща за китайски цели“;

9. Осъзнаване на принципа „Да се прилага наученото в превода“;

10. Триизмерни и многослойни начини на мислене по превода;

11. Ясна представа за това, което се превежда;

12. Поглед към перспективите и бъдещото развитие.

Горепосочените умения могат да се постигнат чрез различни конкретни начини. За мен е важно да предоставя възможност на студентите съзнателно да засилят обучението си по превод в следните аспекти:

1. Да разбират важността на преводаческата работа. В зависимост от това, дали преводът е правилен или неправилен, дали е добър или лош, резултатите от него могат да бъдат коренно различни. Например при превод на китайски метафори, палиндроми, скоропоговорки, диалектни изрази, езикови структури и др., които са тясно свързани с национални и исторически традиции, често се появяват трудности. Следователно изразяването на смисъла в превода трябва да се въвежда чрез контекст или обяснение в бележка под линия.

2. Да бъдат по-внимателни, по-задълбочени и точно да разбират оригиналното значение на китайския текст, тъй като правилното разбиране на оригиналния текст е предпоставка за добър превод. За да се разбере правилно оригиналният текст, трябва да се следва принципът на контекста. Както в китайския, така и в българския език много думи имат по няколко значения и извън контекста не сме в състояние да определим значението на дадена дума. В същото време необходимо е да се разбира правилно връзката между граматиката и логиката. Също така, студентите следва да имат богати познания относно държавната система, обществото, обичаите на България, да разбират стила на оригиналния текст. За нас, китайците, превеждането от китайски на български е по-трудно от превеждането от български на китайски, тъй като все пак средствата ни за изразяване на смисъла на български не са толкова изобилни, както изразяването на майчиния език. Разбира се, съществува и обратният случай – напълно можем да разберем смисъла на определени български думи и изрази, но не можем да намерим точен превод на китайски. Правилните стъпки при превеждането трябва да са следните:

а/ Как да се разбере буквалното значение на текста?

б/ Има ли имплицитни и разширени значения?

в/ Съществуват ли същите или подобни изрази в българския език? Ако съществуват, могат директно да се използват. Ако не съществуват, дали трябва да се превеждат буквално или по смисъл?

г/ Буквалният превод може ли да бъде разбран от българите?

д/ Подходящ ли е преводът по смисъл?

е/ Може ли буквалният превод да се комбинира с превод по смисъл?

3. Китайските и българските текстови еквиваленти понякога не са абсолютни еквиваленти, затова не могат да бъде превеждани буквално. Например в следното изречение “外国人” и “чужденец“: Ако “他的保语说得真好，就像外国人一样。” се преведе на български „Той владее български добре като чужденец”. Тук модификаторът „като чужденец” означава, че не владее добре езика. Този превод изглежда много точен, а фактически ефектът е контрапродуктивен. Правилният превод трябва да бъде: „Той владее български толкова добре все едно му е роден език“.

Ние също не можем да преведем “素质教育” като “качествено образование”, защото правилният превод трябва да е „образование по фокусиран калибър”. “科学发展观” също не може да се преведе като „научно развитие”, а трябва да е „рационално развитие”.

4. Понякога на китайски език буквалното значение на израза не е достатъчно изразено, известна част от информацията е пропусната или скрита, но все пак тази пропусната информация трябва да се отрази в превода. Например “退耕还林” не е „връщане на земеделска земя в гора”(把耕地退还给森林)，а „рекултивация на обработваема земя от гората, за да се възстанови обратно за залесяване” (把从林地开垦出来的耕地还原成林地，即重新进行植树造林)。“春运” също не може да се преведе ”пролетен транспорт” (春季的运输), а „пиков сезон на пътническите превози по време на Пролетния празник”(春节期间的客运高峰)。

5. Трябва да се стремим да предадем, доколкото може, на чист и автентичен български изразите с китайски специфики. Например, ако “他们勉强维持生活” се преведе на български, по-добре да не е „Те едва поддържат живота си.” , а „Те едва свързват двата края“; “我攒了一大堆脏衣服，等着周末来洗.” по-добре да не е „Аз съм натрупал голямо количество мръсни дрехи. Очаквам да ги изпера в края на седмицата” , а да бъде „Имам много за пране в края на седмицата.”

6. В зависимост от ситуацията българският език може да има официален и неофициален стил на изказ. Например “禁止吸烟” (Пушенето забранено) ,“请勿吸烟” (Благодаря ви, че не пушите!), “为了您和他人的健康，请勿在此吸烟” („За Вашето здраве и здравето на другите, моля да се въздържите от пушенето в тази стая.“ Неофициални изрази са „Стига сте пушили/димили!“ или „Не пуши/пушете.“

7. Следва да се избират термини от различни сфери на живота. Например, “安居工程” според социалноикономическата терминология в българския език би трябвало да се преведе „проект за достъпни жилища”, а не „жилищен проект за жителите на градовете с ниски доходи”. Преводът на“外资企业” не е „предприятия, финансирани от чужбина”, а по терминология на българската външна търговия трябва да се преведе „предприятия с чуждестранни инвестиции”.

8. Трябва да се обръща внимание на културните различия между китайския и българския език. Например, когато “以外贸为龙头”се превежда на български, може ли да се преведе „с външна търговия като глава на дракон”? Такъв превод е неразбираем за българите, защото изразът “以……为龙头” е от китайския обичай “игра-танц на дракона”, а той вероятно е непознат за повечето българи. За да се получи добър ефект на превода, по-добре е да се пресекат културните бариери и да се преведе като „с външна търговия като локомотив / флагман”. Но не може механично да се отнасяме към всички подобни проблеми на превода. В нашето съзнание трябва да има малко диалектика. Например китайският израз “他的游泳像秤砣” означава „Той плува като теглилка”. На български има подобен израз: „Той плува като ютия.” Но понеже „Той плува като теглилка” е също разбираемо за българите, това няма да създаде пречки за междукултурно общуване, затова и можем да го използваме, за да запазим поне малко от китайската специфика.

9. Ако има скрито значение или съкращения, те трябва да са ясно преведени, за да бъдат по-лесно разбрани от чуждестранните читатели. Например “一带一路” – „Един пояс, един път”. Когато се преведе, е необходимо да се направят някои допълнителни обяснения – „Икономически пояс на Пътя на коприната” и”„Морският път на коприната в 21 век“ .

10. Китайският и българският език са много различни в синтаксиса, словореда и структурата на изречението. Ето защо, когато се правят преводи, трябва да се вземат предвид и промените в тези области.

1) Трансформиране на части на речта, за да съвпадат с български езикови правила:

a/“我**认为**需要全面**研究**这一问题。“ „Моята ***мисъл*** е, че тоя въпрос се нуждае от всестранно ***разглеждане***.” (глагол→съществително) ;

b/“**共同的**语言使他们更加接近。“ „***Сходността*** на езика ги сближава още повече.” (прилагателно→съществително) ;

c/“他闭眼躺着，不敢睁开**眼睛**。” „Той лежеше със затворени очи и се боеше да ***ги*** отвори.” (съществително→местоимение) ;

d/“他坐回到椅子上，**又**点了一支烟。” „Той седна отново на стола и запали ***нова*** цигара.” (наречие→прилагателно) .

2) Промяна на словореда. За да стане преводът по-гладък и да се избегнат недоразумения, трябва да се промени китайският словоред. Например “你们的援助具有重大意义。” „Голямо значение има вашата помощ.” (подлог ↔ допълнение) “**昨天，**在北京首都饭店的**一个大厅内**举行了时装展览。 **„В една от залите** на хотел „Столица” в Пекин **вчера** бе организирано модно ревю.“ (обстоятелство за време↔ обстоятелство за място)

3) Думи с отрицателно значение, използвани в положителен смисъл, и думи с положително значение, използвани в отрицателен смисъл：Например “吃一堑，长一智。” „Без да пати, човек не може да се научи.“ (положително значение в отрицателен смисъл.) ”我认为他不会做这种事。” „Не го смятам способен на такава постъпка.“ (положително значение в отрицателен смисъл.) “至于其余部分货物，我们不得不拒绝贵方的索赔。” „Що се отнася до останалата част от стоките, принудени сме да отклоним вашите искания.” (отрицателно значение в положителен смисъл)

4) Трансформиране на изречение от деятелен залог в страдателен залог и обратно. Дали преведеното изречение е в страдателен залог се определя въз основа на конкретния смисъл на изречението, а не само въз основа на това дали са налице „被“, „由“, „让“ и други думи, показващи страдателно значение. Например преводът на изречението “改革开放取得了巨大的成就。” би трябвало да е: „Велики постижения са достигнати в икономическата реформа и в нашите усилия за отваряне на Китай към външния свят.“ “巨大的成就” е като подлог, тогава деятелен залог се превръща в страдателен залог. “那里竖起了死难者纪念碑。” „Там е издигнат паметникът на загиналите.”

5) Трансформиране от единствено число в множествено и обратно：В китайския език показателните местоимения се използват във формата на множествено число, а в българския език събирателното съществително е в единствено число. Например “人民的意志就是这样，**他们**将为了和平而斗争” „Такава е волята на народа. **Той** ще се бори за мира.”

Заключението е следното: добрият преводач трябва да има обективна гледна точка, богато познание, разбиране същността на преводаческата работа. За да се подобри нивото на превода от китайски на български език, трябва да засилим подготовката и упражненията в тези аспекти. Трябва да развиваме навици на многослойно и всестранно мислене .

歌曲在对外汉语教学中的理与路

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THE THOUGHTS AND METHODS ABOUT SONGS IN SECOND LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LEARNING

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Abstract

We all love music, we all love beautiful songs around the world, so naturally and skillfully we can make them a part of language learning. Languages have a natural melody to them, especially lyrical languages like Chinese. Talented song writers exploit this and reveal the inner melody of their lyrics. Melodies are more memorable, and the language of songs is often poetic and showcases a broader grammatical range of expression than you might expect from everyday speech. If you learn this grammar it will give you lots more options when it comes to speaking. And, singers' pronunciation is usually very clear, which makes songs wonderful resources for getting your pronunciation spot on from the beginning. Reception should always come before production, and through repeated listening to a song you like, combined with a healthy dose of noticing, students can tune their ears into the sounds of the language, and will instinctively begin singing it to themselves. This can be a useful first step in speaking, and allows them to practice producing the language in a safe environment.

Keywords：music; songs; language teaching and learning strategy; positive impact

从1981年对外汉语专业在中国大学（北京语言学院）成立以来，到今天的蓬勃发展，对外汉语专业的教学内容和方法也越来越多元化。作为语言最美丽最生动的载体，中外文经典歌曲在对外汉语教学中所发挥的作用也越来越得到汉语教师的认可；各个国家语言的传播、推广与互相之间的交流，是可以“乘着歌声的翅膀”飞到远方，飞到人的心灵深处的。

音乐本身在人类精神世界的发展中从来都发挥着至关重要的作用。一些经典歌曲对人们学习生活乃至文化认同有着历久弥新、不可小觑的影响。在对外汉语教学中，选择合适的恰当的中外歌曲作为学习材料，不仅可以为教学补充一些娱乐因素，让学生在相对轻松自由的环境中自然而然地掌握了一些词和句子的应用，培养学生的语感，丰富他们的表达内容，增强语言能力，也可以让学生们在优美动听的歌声里得到音乐的熏陶，对不同的语言所承载的不同文化也会产生融入感和亲近感。

文章里，首先介绍了从古至今的几位思想家、教育家关于音乐教育的理念，为我们把歌曲应用与语言教学提供了精神依据和一些思路；然后，从第二语言教学方法的角度，探讨了发挥歌曲在语言教学中作用的可操作性和一些技巧。

一、 歌曲（音乐）教育作用的思想依据

音乐对人心的教化作用，自古就受到思想家、政治家的重视。孔子闻韶乐三月不知肉味，就是著名的例子。孔子十分注重音乐的社会效果，认为音乐具有谐和人的情感的作用，能够“移风易俗”：“孔子曰：‘六艺于治一也，礼以节人，乐以发和’”（《史记•滑稽列传》），“兴于诗、立于礼、成于乐”（ 《论语. 泰伯》）；《舜典》中说：“诗言志，歌咏言”。《诗 • 大序》曰：“诗者，志之所之也。在心为志，发言为诗，情动于中而形于言。言之不足，故嗟叹之。嗟叹之不足，故咏歌之。咏歌之不足，不知手之舞之足之蹈之也。”这都说明，歌唱是与人的情感和语言天然联系在一起并且自然延伸开来的，通过歌唱，可以对人内心的情感和语言进行一定的整理和疏导，这种有益的积极的疏导，是有利于人的身心健康的。我国古代名医朱震亨说：“乐者，亦为药也”。马克思也说过：“一种美好的心情比十副良药更能解除生理上的疲惫和痛楚”。我们平时所谓“音乐的熏陶”，也是包括这一部分的吧。

伟大的人民教育家陶行知，也是著名的音乐教育家。他一生办了很多学校,都重视音乐艺术教育;他普及大众教育,也重视音乐的普及;他培养了很多音乐专门人才。在其一生中,不论办学或进行社会教育,他都把艺术作为教育的重要内容,进行实施,培养或提高人的艺术才能和兴趣,进而进行专门的培养。陶行知为什么这样重视艺术教育,重视音乐等专门人才的培养?首先,作为教育家,他要培养的是整

个的人,是要“创造真善美之人格”;作为整个的人,要有“真善美之人格”,就不能没有美育,没有艺术,就不能不实施艺术教育；其次,陶行知主张生活教育,认为“生活即教育”。生活是艺术,艺术寓于生活,要过艺术的生活,受艺术的教育；晚年他曾提出构建“健康、科学、艺术、劳动与民主织成之和谐的生活,即和谐的教育”。这种“和谐的生活”和“和谐的教育”,就包括艺术、音乐;艺术和音乐是构成和谐社会生活不可缺少的一部分；就音乐而言,他认为“音乐是大众心灵的呼声”,“每一个大众的心灵里都潜伏着音乐的种子”,人人都爱唱歌,人人都有音乐的爱好,学校，教师，特别是艺术教师、语言教师，应该给予指导。

美学家朱光潜在其《音乐与教育》一文中，也说道“没有一个原始民族不欢喜歌舞，小孩在个人生命史上相当于原始民族在种族生命史上，欢喜歌舞仍然是天性。”；“音乐不仅是最原始最普遍的艺术，而且是最完美的艺术，可以普及深入一般民众，从根本上陶冶人的性格。”；“一个民族的性格常表现于音乐，最显著的是中西音乐的分别。西方音乐偏于阳刚，使听者发扬蹈厉；中国音乐偏于阴柔，使听者沉潜肃穆。”在学习一门外语的开始，学生从某种意义上，又回到了童年状态，在语言课上，或者在自己的学习中，加入歌曲和音乐的内容，可以避免生硬教学模式的枯燥乏味，发挥他们内在的潜能，也能更主动更自然地融入到目的语的文化环境中。

所以，在语言教与学中，适当加入一些歌曲的学习和分析，成为教学内容里有机的一部分，是一种很自然的补充，也是让学习内容更生动活泼的重要方法；学习汉语的外国学生通过学唱中文歌，或者把自己国家的歌曲试着翻译成汉语，以及把不同国家的歌曲进行一番比较分析，不仅对语言的进步大有益处，对人的精神世界的开阔也是很有积极意义的。

二． 歌曲教学的教学法理论依据与实际应用

从第二语言的教学方法来讲，歌曲的教授和学习不愧是一个最有效、又最寓教于乐的贴近现实生活的教学方法。它的作用不仅立竿见影又能活灵活现的体现语言的魅力。它也综合运用了第二语言教学法不同主要流派的多种方法：

1. 认知派与经验派教学法

a. 语法翻译法（Grammar-Translation Method）

现在网络资源非常方便，不少中外经典歌曲，都可以找到中英翻译，或者多种语言的翻译，学生通过歌词不同的翻译版本，或者通过自己的翻译练习，就可以一边听歌曲，一边学习语言。比如，舒伯特的声乐套曲《冬之旅(Winterreise / Winter journey)》是古典音乐爱好者耳熟能详的作品，对于德语母语者或者熟练者来说，通过找到德汉对照的歌词译本，可以学到很多汉语词汇和表达方法，也可以自己努力翻译出新的版本。

以《冬之旅》第24首为例：

24. Der Leiermann（风琴师）

Drüben hinterm Dorfe	有一位风琴师，
Steht ein Leiermann	他站在村口，
Und mit starren Fingern	努力地在琴键上，
Dreht er was er kann.	摆弄着冻僵的指头。
Barfuß auf dem Eise	他没穿鞋，
Wankt er hin und her	深一脚浅一脚地踩着冰雪，
Und sein kleiner Teller	他跟前的盘子
Bleibt ihm immer leer.	还是空空如也。
Keiner mag ihn hören,	没有人听他的，
Keiner sieht ihn an,	也没有人看他一眼，
Und die Hunde knurren	狼狗们
Um den alten Mann.	还向他咆哮。
Und er läßt es gehen,	可是他全不在乎，
Alles wie es will,	任之泰然，
Dreht, und seine Leier	他奏着琴，
Steht ihm nimmer still.	不会有停下的一天。
Wunderlicher Alter !	陌生的老人，
Soll ich mit dir geh’n ?	我能否随你而去？
Willst zu meinen Liedern	在你的风琴上
Deine Leier dreh’n ?	唱出我的歌曲？

通过学习这个译本，学生可以学到“风琴师”、“冻僵”、“咆哮”以及“深一脚浅一脚地踩着冰雪”、“全不在乎”、“任之泰然”、“随你而去”等词汇和短语，久而久之，如果可以用在他们自己的汉语写作上，一定会让他们的表达丰富许多，深刻许多。一边听着优美的艺术歌曲，一边可以学习汉语，真是一举多得。有志于学的同学还可以拓展开去，找到巴赫的《马太受难曲》译本，学习其中跟宗教有关的词汇和表达。

b. 听说法

歌曲的风格是各种各样的，有些歌词比较艺术化，有些现代歌曲则是比较口语化的，比如很多外国学生比较熟悉的《对面的女孩看过来》，学生们学到歌词，很快就可以应用到自己的实际对话里去，像“左看右看上看下看，原来每个女孩都不简单”，“想了又想猜了又猜，女孩们的心事还真奇怪”，从这些歌词里，学生们可以很自然地学到比较生动的一些表达方法。

c. 视听法

现在的很多歌曲也做成了很有画面感的MV，学生们可以一边看视频，一边跟老师一起学歌词，通过视频里的场景和表演，学生也更容易领会歌词所表达的含义和应用的场合。

d. 自觉实践法

外国学生学了中国歌曲，在跟中国朋友交往的过程中，比如一起去卡拉OK，或者一个人的时候，都会自觉不自觉地唱出来，慢慢地，这些歌词就变得不像外语，而成为他们脑子里自然语言的一部分了。很多外国学生对《月亮代表我的心》、《甜蜜蜜》、《童话》、《北京欢迎你》等歌曲的歌词都不陌生，甚至可以用里面的句子来回答问题或者跟朋友开玩笑，这就是因为通过反复记忆，他们已经可以“自觉实践”了。

我现在在保加利亚任汉语教师，我在平时也有意学会了几首保加利亚经典歌曲，比如《Една българска роза /Edna bulgarska roza（一朵保加利亚玫瑰花）》、《Я кажи ми облаче ле бяло（小白云，请告诉我）》、《Хубава си, моя горо/ Hubava si moia goro（我美丽的森林）》、《Девойко, мари, хубава/Devoiko, mari, hubava（美丽的姑娘）》等，在教课的时候，比如讲到“花”的量词“朵”，讲到动词“告诉”，讲到形容词“美丽”等等，我都会用这些歌里的歌词作例子，这很容易让学生们印象深刻，趣味大增。

2. 人本派与功能派教学法

a. 团体语言学习法

课堂教学是一个集体的环境，大家一起唱一首优美的歌，有助于克服一些学生的羞涩心理，可以让学生们更容易有融入感，互相之间也是一种鼓励和互动，从而更容易理解、学会歌词内容，体会其中传递的情感。

b. 默教法

充分发挥学生的主观能动性，减少老师的参与，学生可以自己演唱歌曲，也可以互相讨论歌词，试着做歌词的翻译练习，或者做关于歌曲听后的心得报告。 比如，电影《这个杀手不太冷》里的片尾曲《Shape of My Heart》是一首很优美的英文歌曲，歌词及译文如下：

Shape of My Heart 吾心之状
Sting

He deals the cards as a meditation
他玩纸牌 如深深冥想
And those he plays never suspect
并不在游戏间徘徊流连
He doesn’t play for the money he wins
他总是赢家 却漠视金钱
He doesn’t play for respect
亦无视他人的尊谗
He deals the cards to find the answer
他玩纸牌 为寻觅答案
The sacred geometry of chance
那神秘几何中的偶然
The hidden law of a probable outcome
还有那飘忽结局的背后的隐匿之弦
The numbers lead a dance 数字昂首领舞 翩然
I know that the spades are swords of a soldier
黑桃如士兵手握的利剑
I know that the clubs are weapons of war
梅花似战场轰鸣的炮枪
I know that diamonds mean money for this art
这艺术般游戏里 方块便若到手的银钱
But that’s not the shape of my heart
皆非吾心之状
He may play the jack of diamonds
或许 他会出牌方块J
He may lay the queen of spades
或许 他会下注黑桃Q

He may conceal a king in his hand
亦或匿藏手中的王
While the memory of it fades
但这些记忆呵 终将褪色
I know that the spades are swords of a soldier
黑桃如士兵手握的利剑
I know that the clubs are weapons of war
梅花似战场轰鸣的炮枪
I know that diamonds mean money for this art
这艺术般游戏里 方块便若到手的银钱
But that's not the shape of my heart
皆非吾心之状
And if I told you that I loved you
若是我说 爱你
You'd maybe think there's something wrong
你会些许困惑
I'm not a man of too many faces
我非善变多面的男人
The mask I wear is one
我的面具 始终如一
Those who speak know nothing
那些多言而无知的人们啊
And find out to their cost
终将背负代价
Like those who curse their luck in too many places
如同 四处充斥的诅咒自己命运者
And those who fear are lost
还有那些 深深恐惧 却难逃失落的人
I know that the spades are swords of a soldier
黑桃如士兵手握的利剑
I know that the clubs are weapons of war
梅花似战场轰鸣的炮枪
I know that diamonds mean money for this art
这艺术般游戏里 方块便若到手的银钱
But that's not the shape of my heart
皆非吾心之状

对于水平较高的学生，可以安排一次这首歌的听赏活动，学生可以一边学习译文里的生词，一边讨论歌词里所出现的许多主题－－“金钱”、“他人”、“利剑、炮枪”、“吾心之状”，教师在跟学生一起欣赏歌曲的同时，只是偶尔回答学生的提问，就可以了。

c. 全身反应法

对于年龄比较小的孩子，特别是学比较有动感的歌曲时，老师和学生都最好是边唱边跳，制造一种活泼轻松的气氛，让学生们在运动中学习。一年前到处流行的《小苹果》，是一个很好的例子。

d. 暗示法、自然法

暗示法和自然法，都强调比较轻松浪漫的环境，克服生硬、紧张的学习带来的焦虑和恐惧，也常常辅以音乐对人的精神的作用。有条件的学校，或者是学生自己在安静的家里、环境优雅的咖啡馆里，一个人或者几个学生一起，听听歌，学习一下歌词内容，也是一种很自然放松的学习。

20世纪60年代以来，第二语言教学不同教学法流派在保持自己特色的同时，出现综合化趋向；应用于外语歌曲教学，也可以是各种教学方法相互综合，互相补充，互为增益，让学生在掌握语言、喜欢歌唱的同时，身心健康也得到有益的养分。

三．结论

歌曲是每一种语言里自然的一部分，也是最优美最艺术化的一部分，作为音乐，历来受到思想家教育家的重视。语言教师在教学实践中，有意识地把一些经典、优美的歌曲融入到教学内容之中，可以帮助学生增长词汇，熟悉语法，培养语感，还可以让他们更容易融入新的文化环境，视野更开阔，精神也得到熏陶。

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浅谈“聪明”一词

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BRIEF TALK ABOUT THE CHINESE WORD “聪明”/ “SMART”

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Abstract

This paper is focused on the history of the lexicalization process of the Chinese word “聪明”. The writer believes that “聪明”origins from a two-syllable coordinate phrase, and its meaning, accompanied with metaphor function, changes from the phrase meaning “sensitive to hearing and vision” to “perceivable and wise”, and finally formed the lexical meaning “talented and intelligent”. The writer also observes that the word “聪明” firstly appeared in the Northern and Southern Dynasties and finished its lexicalization process in the Ming Dynasty.

Keywords: smart; lexicalization; metaphor

近年来，从历时角度考察汉语的语法化研究得到了越来越多学者的关注。本文将以历时语料为基础，分析汉语“聪明”一词的词汇化过程。同时，笔者还将从认知语言学的角度分析“聪明”一词词义的隐喻机制。

一、“聪明”词汇化的历时考察

词汇化是指一个从句法层面的自由组合到固定的词汇单位的演变过程[1]。董秀芳在《词汇化：汉语双音词的衍生和发展》一书中曾提出：“双音词有三类主要历史来源，一是从短语降格而来，二是从由语法性成分参与形成的句法结构中衍生出来，三是从本来不在同一个句法层次上的跨层结构中脱胎出来。其中，从短语降格而来的双音词最多”[2]。经考察，“聪明”一词是从短语降格而来的双音节词。

现代汉语中，“聪明”指智力发达，记忆和理解能力强[3]，是形容词，可做定语修饰名词，或做谓语说明主语的性质。如：

① 我一直觉得自己是个聪明的女人，我的成功便证明了我的智商很高。

② 在动物中，狗、海狮、熊等都很聪明，通过人们的精心训练，它们的智能可以不断提高，可以做各种杂技表演。

句① “聪明”作定语，修饰名词“女人”，句②“聪明”作谓语，说明主语“狗、海狮、熊”的性质。

词义简单且单一的“聪明”一词是怎样形成的？又是在何时形成的？笔者将通过考察不同时期“聪明”的使用情况来回答上述问题。

㈠ 先秦时期：

先秦时期，“聪”和“明”是两个独立的词。两词可以分别处于两个短句或中间有其他词，也可并列连用，两词并列连用时，构成并列短语。通过考察语料，我们发现，这一时期“聪”有两义，即“听觉灵敏”义和“聪察”义。“明”亦有两义，即 “视觉灵敏”义和“明智”义。这使得并列短语“聪明”也同时具有“听觉和视觉灵敏”和“聪察、明智”两义。笔者将分别考察两种意义在先秦时期的使用情况。

1. “聪明”之“听觉和视觉灵敏”义

1) “聪”和“明”分处两个短句或中间有其他词

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[1] 董秀芳：《词汇化：汉语双音词的衍生和发展》，四川民族出版社, 2002年，第329页。
[2] 董秀芳：《词汇化：汉语双音词的衍生和发展》，四川民族出版社, 2002年，第329页。
[3] 中国社会科学院语言研究所词典编辑室：《现代汉语词典（第5版）》，商务印书馆，2005年，第227页。

① 今有药此。食之。则耳加聪。目加明。则吾必说而强食之。《墨子》

② 子墨子曰：鬼神之明智于圣人。犹聪耳明目。之与聋瞽也。《墨子》

③ 今吾将正求与天下之利而取之。以兼为正。是以聪耳明目。相与视听乎。是以股肱毕强。相为动宰乎。《墨子》

④ 其乡里。未之均闻见也。圣王得而罚之。故唯毋以圣王为聪耳明目与。岂能一视而通见千里之外哉。一听而通闻千里之外哉。《墨子》

⑤ 使夫资朴之於美，心意之於善，若夫可以见之明不离目，可以听之聪不离耳，故曰：目明而耳聪也。《荀子》

⑥ 若夫充虚之相施易也，“坚白”“同异”之分隔也，是聪耳之所不能听也，明目之所不能见也，辩士之所不能言也 。《荀子》

⑦ 行衢道者不至，事两君者不容。目不能两视而明，耳不能两听而聪。《荀子》

⑧ 人主以一国目视，故视莫明焉；以一国耳听，故听莫聪焉。今知而弗言，则人主尚安假借矣？《韩非子》

⑨ 嫫母、力父，是之喜也。以盲为明，以聋为聪，以危为安，以吉为凶。呜呼！上天！曷维其同！《荀子》

⑩ 孟子曰：离娄之明，公输子之巧，不以规矩，不能成方员。师旷之聪，不以六律，不能正五音。尧舜之道，不以仁政，不能平治天下。《孟子》

上例①⑤⑦“聪”和“明”分别作“耳”和“目”的谓语，说明主语“耳”和“目”的性质；例⑩“聪”和“明”在主谓短语作主语，其中“聪”和“明”也是用来说明性质的。例②③④⑥中，“聪”和“明”分别作“耳”和“目”的作定语来修饰“耳”和“目”。“聪”和“明”常做谓语或定语，为“聪明”一词形成后的语法功能奠定了基础。

例⑨通过对举“明”和“聪”的反义词“盲”和“聋”，凸显了“聪”的“听觉灵敏”义和“明”的“视觉灵敏”义。同时，笔者还发现，先秦时期“聪”与“耳”、“明”与“目”经常搭配使用且常同时并举，距离不远，但顺序不定。正是由于这种搭配地频繁使用使得“聪”和“明”分别承担了“耳”和“目”的语义，进而产生了“听觉灵敏”和“视觉灵敏”的意义。

2）“聪”和“明”并列连用

同一时期，“聪”和“明”也有并列连用的情况，构成了并列短语“聪明”，具有“听觉和视觉灵敏”义。如：

① 故乐行而志清，礼修而行成，耳目聪明，血气和平，移风易俗，天下皆宁，美善相乐。《荀子》

② 去朝吴，出蔡侯朱，丧太子建，杀连尹奢，屏王之耳目，使不聪明。不然，平王之温惠共俭，有过成、庄，无不及焉。《左传》

③ 吁！何君见之晚也。夫四时之序，成功者去。夫人生手足坚强，耳目聪明圣知，岂非士之所愿与？”应侯曰：“然。”《战国策》

“聪明”连用，在表“听觉和视觉灵敏”义时，仍常与“耳目”搭配。

2.“聪明”之“聪察、明智”义

1）“聪”和“明”分处两个短句或中间有其他词

① 孔子曰：君子有九思：视思明，听思聪，色思温，貌思恭，言思忠，事思敬，疑思问，忿思难，见得思义。 《论语》

② 申子曰:“独视者谓明，独听者为聪。能独断者，故可以为天下主。”《韩非子》

先秦时期，“聪”和“明”分处两个短句或中间有其他词时，表 “聪察”、“明智”义的用例较少，说明该用法在此时使用并不普遍。

2）“聪”和“明”并列连用

① 子路曰：“敢问持满有道乎？”孔子曰：“聪明圣知，守之以愚；功被天下，守之以让；勇力抚世，守之以怯……”《荀子》

② 用百里之国，则将有千里之听；用千里之国，则将有四海之听，必将聪明警戒和传而一。《荀子》

③ 虢其亡乎！吾闻之：国将兴，听於民；将亡，听於神。神，聪明正直而壹者也，依人而行。虢多凉德，其何土之能得？《左传》

④ 王今命之，臣固敢竭其愚忠。臣闻之，中国者，聪明睿知之所居也，万物财用之所聚也，贤圣之所教也，仁义之所施也。《战国策》

⑤ 不任典成之吏，不察参伍之政，不明度量，恃尽聪明，劳智虑，而以知奸，不亦无术乎?《韩非子》

⑥ 聪明睿智，天也；动静思虑，人也。《韩非子》

⑦ 之中而明照四海之内，而天下弗能蔽弗能欺者，何也?暗乱之道庆而聪明之势与也。故善任势者国安，不知因其势者国危。《韩非子》

上述“聪明”连用的例子，我们既可以理解为“听觉和视觉灵敏”义，也可以理解为“聪察、明智”义，处于两可状态。

通过分析先秦时期的语料，我们可以得出以下结论：

首先，先秦时期，“聪明”是并列短语而非词。一方面，先秦语料中有大量“聪”和“明”作为词单用的例子，即使“聪明”连用在意义上也是两词词义的简单相加，并没有出现专指义。另一方面，通过与“聪明”相对举的词，我们也可以判定此时“聪明”仍是并列短语。如“恃尽聪明，劳智虑”，“智虑”为并列短语，表“智慧和思虑”义，“聪”和“明”分别与“智”和“虑”对应，因而“聪明”尚未成词。

其次，“聪”的“聪察”义和“明”的“明智”义，应该是由“听觉灵敏”义和“视觉灵敏”义引申而来。虽然，从两种词义使用的时间来看，我们并不能确定孰先孰后。但从词义上来看，人的“听觉灵敏”会使其变得“聪察”，“视觉灵敏”会使其变得“明智”，两义在意义上有先后承接的关系。此外，先秦时期，“聪察、明智”义的使用明显少于“视觉和听觉灵敏”义，而且“聪明”连用的时，还出现了词义两可的情况。因此，我们认为“聪察、明智”义是由“视觉和听觉灵敏”义引申而来。

㈡ 两汉时期

两汉时期，“聪明”仍是并列短语，单用与连用共存，“视觉和听觉灵敏”义与“聪察、明智”义共存。如：

1 是以明君独断，故权不在臣也。然後能灭仁义之涂，掩驰说之口，困烈士之行，塞聪揜明，内独视听，故外不可倾以仁义烈士之行，而内不可夺以谏说忿争之辩。故能荦然独行恣睢之心而莫之敢逆。《史记•李斯列传》

2 养气自守，适时则酒。闭明塞聪，爱精自保。适辅服药引导，庶冀性命可延，斯须不老。《论衡》

3 故乐行而伦清，耳目聪明，血气和平，移风易俗，天下皆宁。《史记•乐书》

4 蔡泽曰：“吁，君何见之晚也！夫四时之序，成功者去。夫人生百体坚彊，手足便利，耳目聪明而心圣智，岂非士之原与？”《史记•范雎蔡泽列传》

5 聪明有蔽塞，推行有谬误，今以是者为贤，非者为佞，殆不得贤之实乎？《论衡》

6 五事：一曰貌，二曰言，三曰视，四曰听，五曰思。貌曰恭，言曰从，视曰明，听曰聪，思曰睿。恭作肃，从作治，明作智，聪作谋，睿作圣。《史记•宋微子世家》

7 赵良曰：“反听之谓聪，内视之谓明，自胜之谓彊。”《史记•商君列传》

8 臣闻聪者听於无声，明者见於未形，故圣人万举万全。《史记•淮南衡山列传》

9 儒者论圣人，以为前知千岁，後知万事，有独见之明，独听之聪，事来则名，不学自知，不问自晓。《论衡》

10 黄帝者，少典之子，姓公孙，名曰轩辕。生而神灵，弱而能言，幼而徇齐，长而敦敏，成而聪明。《史记•五帝本纪》

11 是故君子反情以和其志，比类以成其行。奸声乱色不留聪明，淫乐废礼不接於心术，惰慢邪辟之气不设於身体，使耳目鼻口心知百体皆由顺正，以行其义。《史记•乐书》

12 然圣人因神而存之，虽妙必效情，核其华道者明矣。非有圣心以乘聪明，孰能存天地之神而成形之情哉？《史记•律书》

13 臣闻中国者，盖聪明徇智之所居也，万物财用之所聚也，贤圣之所教也，仁义之所施也，诗书礼乐之所用也，异敏技能之所试也，远方之所观赴也，蛮夷之所义行也。《史记•赵世家》

14 至於大道之要，去健羡，绌聪明，释此而任术。夫神大用则竭，形大劳则敝。形神骚动，欲与天地长久，非所闻也。《史记•太史公自序》

15 人未生，无所知，其死，归无知之本，何能有知乎？人之所以聪明智惠者，以含五常之气也；五常之气所以在人者，以五藏在形中也。 《论衡》

表“听觉和视觉灵敏”义，例①②是“聪明”单用的例子，例③④⑤是连用的例子；表“聪察、明智”义，例6－9是单用的例子，例⑩－⒂是合用的例子。

此外，这一时期两可义也仍然存在。如：

① 高辛生而神灵，自言其名。普施利物，不於其身。聪以知远，明以察微。顺天之义，知民之急。《史记•五帝本纪》

② 以其视之明也。何以知其狂也？以其言之当也。夫言当视听聪明，而道家谓之狂而盲聋。今言天之谴告，是谓天狂而盲聋也。《论衡》

③ 先知之见，方来之事，无达视洞听之聪明，皆案兆察迹，推原事类。《论衡》

根据上述语料，我们发现“聪察、明智”义的例子开始多于“听觉和视觉灵敏”义的。因而，到两汉时期，“聪明”的“聪察、明智”义虽尚未完全取代“听觉和视觉灵敏”义，但已经开始较为普遍的使用了。“聪察、明智”义使用频率的提高，是“聪明”出现专指义，完成词汇化的基础。

㈢ 魏晋南北朝时期

魏晋南北朝时期，仍有“聪明”单用的例子，但数量已不多，其词义也延续旧义。“聪明”连用在这一时期开始出现词义的变化。

魏晋南北朝时期，“聪明”的“听觉和视觉灵敏”义已非常少见，只有部分“聪察、明智”义与“听觉和视觉灵敏”义两可的用例存在。如：

① 昔有古强者，服草木之方，又颇行容成玄素之法，年八十许，尚聪明不大羸老，时人便谓之为仙人，或谓之千载翁者。《抱朴子》

② 痒之何故，则彼天亦不能自知其体盈缩灾祥之所以，人不能使耳目常聪明，荣卫不辍门亥，则天亦不能使日月不薄蚀，四时不失序。《抱朴子》

③ 一代无有，智虑所及，非浅近人也，而犹谓不死可得者也。其聪明智用，非皆不逮世人，而曰吾将弃人间之事，以从赤松游耳。《抱朴子》

④ 凡弊之草，樊阿服之，得寿二百岁，而耳目聪明，犹能持针以治病，此近代之实事，良史所记注者也。《抱朴子》

⑤ 人道当食甘旨，服轻暖，通阴阳，处官秩，耳目聪明，骨节坚强，颜色悦怿，老而不衰，延年久视，出处任意，寒温风湿。《抱朴子》

魏晋南北朝时期，“明智、聪察”是“聪明”的主要意义，用例较多。如：

① 熠耀不能并表微之景，常才不能别逸伦之器。盖造化所假，聪明有本根也。《抱朴子》

② 故道业不足以相涉，聪明不足以相逮。理自不合，无所多怪。 《抱朴子》

③ 但共遣其私情，竭其聪明，不为利欲动，不为属托屈。《抱朴子》

④ 常如人君之治国，戎将之待敌，乃可为得长生之功也。以聪明大智，任经世济俗之器，而修此事，乃可必得耳。《抱朴子》

⑤ 或有性信而喜性人，其聪明不足以校练真伪，揣测深浅，所博涉素狭，不能赏物，后世顽浅趣得。《抱朴子》

⑥ 抱朴子曰：微妙难识，疑惑者众，吾聪明岂能过人哉？《抱朴子》

⑦ 是以世眩名实，而大乱滋甚也。若谓林宗不知，则无以称聪明；若谓知之而不改，则无以言忧道。《抱朴子》

⑧ 抱朴子曰：天居高而鉴卑，故其网虽疏而不漏；神聪明而正直，故其道赏真而伐伪。《抱朴子》

⑨ 宾客盈坐，敦知帝聪明，欲以不孝废之。《世说新语》

⑩ 舍明帝而立简文。时议者咸谓："舍长立少，既于理非伦，且明帝以聪明英断，益宜为储副。"《世说新语》

魏晋南北朝时期是"聪明"由并列短语发展成为词的初始时期。这一时期"聪明"开始出现"天资高，智力强"义，这一释义不再是两词义的简单相加，而是一个词的专指义。如：

① 洁百日已上，又当得闲解方书，意合者乃可为之。非浊秽之人，及不聪明人，希涉术数者所办作也。其中或有须口诀者，皆宜师授。《抱朴子》

② 吾每见俗儒碌碌，守株之不信至事者，皆病于颇有聪明，而偏枯拘系，以小黠自累，不肯为纯在乎极暗，而了不别菽麦者也。《抱朴子》

③ 安得掩翳聪明，历藏数息，长斋久洁，躬亲炉火，夙兴夜寐，以飞八石哉？《抱朴子》

此三例"聪明"既可以理解为"聪察、明智"，也可以理解为"天资高，智力强"。

"聪明"的"聪察、明智"义引申为人生来就具有的能力产生了"天资高，能力强"义。专指义的出现是词形成的标志，因此，至魏晋南北朝时期，"聪明"开始作为一个词来使用。但我们要注意，这一时期，"聪明"作为词的用例并不多，是词汇化的初始阶段。

㈣ 隋唐五代时期

隋唐五代时期，"聪明"的"天资高，智力强"义开始大量出现，并成为这一时期"聪明"的主要词义。如：

1 弟三女道：世尊！世尊！奴家年幼，父母偏怜，聪明少有，帝释梵王，频来问读，父母嫌伊门卑，令不交作新妇。《敦煌变文选》

2 只缘智惠过人解，为有聪明出众群。《敦煌变文集新书》

3 有一聪明智惠人，解与黄鹰解索绊。敦煌变文集新书》

4 病苦连绵枕席者，观音势至赐醍醐。更有怀胎难月人，愿诞聪明孝养子。若有三涂受苦者，铁床钉体数千般。《敦煌变文集新书》

5 舍利子聪明第一，陈情而若（苦）不堪任。迦叶是德行最尊，推辞而为年老迈。《敦煌变文集新书》

6 维摩见问，微笑点头，解能如此问吾，大是聪明童子。我适离处，别却道场，甚生富贵端严，可畏光花炽盛。《敦煌变文集新书》

7 有善比作，无恶不除。佛会之中，显汝名性。法教之内，汝独聪明。《敦煌变文集新书》

8 不于年腊人中选，直向聪明众里差。《敦煌变文集新书》

9 莫逞聪明夸计校，计校得成身已老。《敦煌变文集新书》

10 为人何处是聪明，莫若酬填养育情。《敦煌变文集新书》

11 官家遂发驿马走使，急追田章到来。问曰："比来闻君[聪明]广识，其（甚）事皆知。今问卿天下有大人不？"《敦煌变文集新书》

12 晏子对曰："齐国大臣七十二相，并是聪明智惠，故使向智量之国去；臣最无智，遣使无智国来〔也〕。"《敦煌变文集新书》

13 舌头上取办,记他了事言语有什摩用处?这个功课从无人边得,不由聪明强记。莫向闲处置功,一步不回,冥然累劫。《祖堂集》

14 师曰:"犹有纹彩在。"对曰:"无亦无。"师曰:"你大煞聪明。"《祖堂集》

上述语料中的"聪明"都是"天资高，智力强"义，隋唐五代时期此义使用频繁，促使"聪明"进一步词汇化。因此，我们可以认为隋唐五代时期是"聪明"词汇化的发展时期。

㈤ 宋元明时期

宋元明时期，"聪明"的词汇化过程基本完成，"天资高，智力强"取代"聪察、明智"成为"聪明"最主要的词义，"聪明"作为词的用例要远远多于作为并列短语的用例。

宋元时期，"聪明"作为词使用用例较多，本文列举部分，如下：

① 圣贤在上，则其气中和；不然，则其气偏行。故有得其气清，聪明而无福禄者；亦有得其气浊，有福禄而无知者，皆其气数使然。《朱子语类》

② 又云：“先生太极图解云：‘动静者，所乘之机也。’蔡季通聪明，看得这般处出，谓先生下此语最精。《朱子语类》

③ 如颜子高明，不过闻一知十，亦是大段聪明了。学问却有渐，无急迫之理。《朱子语类》

④ 颜子聪明，事事了了。子贡聪明，工夫粗，故有阙处。《朱子语类》

⑤ 颜子闻一知十，又不是个不聪明底人。而今须是独自做工夫，说要自家己身见得。《朱子语类》

到明时，“聪明”已经完全成为一个词，几乎不再作为短语来使用。如《金瓶梅》中共出现8个“聪明”，都是作为词表“天资高，智力强”义。

① 晚夕教玉箫伴他睡，慢慢将言词劝他，说道：“宋大姐，你是个聪明的，趁恁妙龄之时，一朵花初开，主子爱你，也是缘法相投。《金瓶梅》

② 西门庆听见他说话儿聪明乖觉，越发满心欢喜。《金瓶梅》

③ 所以主为人聪明机变，得人之宠。只有一件，今岁流年甲辰，岁运并临，灾殃立至。《金瓶梅》

④ 一手搂过妇人粉颈来，就亲了个嘴，称夸道：“谁知姐姐有这段儿聪明！就是小人在构栏三街两巷相交唱的，也没你这手好弹唱！”《 金瓶梅》

⑤ 妇人一手推开酒盏，一直跑下楼来，走到在胡梯上发话道：“既是你聪明伶俐，恰不道长嫂为母。《金瓶梅》

⑥ 月娘把手接着，抱起道：“我的儿，恁的乖觉，长大来，定是聪明伶俐的。”又向那孩子说：“儿，长大起来，恁地奉养老娘哩！”《金瓶梅》

⑦ 先生曾道：“应家学生子和水学生子一般的聪明伶俐，后来一定长进。《金瓶梅》

⑧ 婆子道：“怎的恁般说！你们姐姐，比那个不聪明伶俐，愁针指女工不会？各人裙带衣食，你替他愁！”《金瓶梅》

到明时，“聪明”的词汇化进程结束，完全成为了一个词。

二、“聪明”一词词义的隐喻机制

传统上认为，隐喻是一种修辞格，形象地表示不同领域的事物在某方面，特别是在本质特征方面的共同点。但是，随着认知语言学的兴起和发展，人们发现隐喻不仅仅是一种修辞格，而是一种认知模式。Lakoff和Johnson指出“隐喻的本质是通过另一类事体来理解和经历某一类事体”[4]。“聪明”一词词汇化过程中词义的发展就是通过隐喻。

许慎的《说文解字》从造字角度分析了“聪”和“明”的本义：“聰，察也。从耳忽聲。”[5]“朙，照也。从月从囧。凡朙之屬皆從朙。”[6] 先秦时期，“聪”和“明”开始频繁地与“耳”和“目”搭配使用，隐喻义“听觉灵敏”和“视觉灵敏”因此产生。

耳　　聪

目　　明

概念域A　概念域B

理解概念域B是基于理解概念域A之上的，通过认知和推理，概念域A“耳”的“听觉”特征和“目”的“视觉”特征通过映射被作用到了“聪”和“明”上，使得“聪”和“明”分别获得了“听觉灵敏”和“视觉灵敏”的隐喻义。

随后，概念域B“聪”和“明”的部分特征又反过来映射到隐喻义上，并使其产生了新的隐喻义“聪察”和“明智”。

从魏晋南北朝时期开始，“聪明”的连用逐渐地取代了单用，“聪”和“明”的意义也开始融合，最终出现了专指义“天资高，智力强”。至此，“聪明“开始作为一个词来使用，完成了词汇化。

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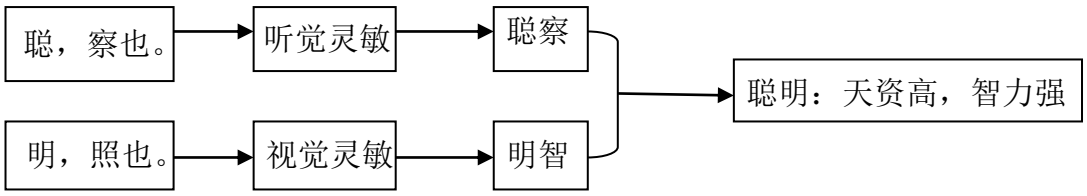
[4] 王寅：《认知语言学》，上海外语教育出版社，2007年，第403页。
[5] 许慎撰 徐铉校定：《说文解字》，中华书局影印，1963年，第250页。
[6] 许慎撰 徐铉校定：《说文解字》，中华书局影印，1963年，第141页。

下图为“聪明”一词的隐喻过程：



三、余论

通过分析语料，我们可以从三方面归纳“聪明”的词汇化过程。从意义方面，“聪明”经历由“听觉和视觉灵敏”义到“聪察、明智”义，再到“天资高，智力强”义。其中从“听觉和视觉灵敏”义到“聪察、明智”义，开始于先秦时期，完成于魏晋南北朝时期；从“聪察、明智”义到“天资高，智力强”义，开始于魏晋南北朝时期，完成于明代。“聪明”的词义发展是通过隐喻实现的。从位置方面，“聪明”经历了由“聪”和“明”分处两个短句或中间有其他词到“聪明”连用的过程。从形式方面，“聪明”经历了由并列式双音节短语到双音节词的过程。

通过分析“聪明”一词的词汇化，我们可以看出，汉语双音节短语发展为词要具备三个必要条件：一是生成专指义，即意义由两词义的简单相加变为一个不可拆分的词义；二是两词单用时经常同时出现且位置较近；三是两词长期频繁连用。

从历时角度探讨汉语双音节词的形成过程，能够让我们更好地了解汉语词汇形成的一般规律。因而，对汉语词汇进行词汇化研究具有重要的学术意义。

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语料来源于北大语料库，主要涉及《论语》、《墨子》、《孟子》、《荀子》、《左传》、《战国策》、《韩非子》、《史记》、《论衡》、《抱朴子》、《世说新语》、敦煌变文、《祖堂集》、《朱子语类》、《金瓶梅》

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保加利亚汉语教学现状初探

刘明，索非亚孔子学院，保加利亚

THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE TEACHING IN BULGARIA

Liu Ming, Confucius Institute in Sofia, Bulgaria

Abstract

With the development of Chinese learning around the world, there are more and more researches on Chinese language teaching , especially from the increasing number of overseas scholars. On one hand, it enhances the research in theory of international Chinese teaching, on the other hand, this scenario renders valuable methodology to all researchers and teachers. There is a long history in Chinese teaching in Bulgaria. In recent years, even more students from elementary schools, middle schools, high schools and universities are willing to learn Chinese. This new trend inspires us to do more thorough and comprehensive investigations. As Chinese teachers in Bulgaria, we have compiled much first hand statistics and analyzed the current situation of Chinese teaching, and finally we have offered some suggestions on how to make a steady progress of Chinese language teaching in Bulgaria.

Keywords： Bulgaria, Chinese teaching, researches of current situation

随着汉语国际推广事业的不断发展，保加利亚的汉语教学出现了一股热潮，新的汉语教学点不断涌现，很多大中小学相继开设了汉语课程，学习汉语的人数大幅度增加，汉语教学呈现出繁荣的态势。为了全面深入地探究保加利亚汉语教学情况，了解当前保加利亚汉语教学的现状和面临的挑战，更好地服务于保加利亚汉语教学，本文针对保加利亚汉语教学的现状进行了较为深入且全面的调查研究，旨在介绍保加利亚大中小学和孔子学院的汉语教学现状，并在此基础上提出一些解决思路，目的是探讨问题，找出制约保加利亚汉语教学的瓶颈，促进保加利亚汉语教学水平的提高。

大学汉语教学发展现状

保加利亚现有8所高校以不同的教学模式开展汉语教学，它们是索非亚大学、大特尔诺沃大学、普罗夫迪夫大学、鲁塞大学、西南大学、索非亚金融商业大学、舒门大学和瓦尔纳经济大学。

索非亚大学　索非亚大学全称“索非亚圣克莱门特奥赫里德大学”，是保加利亚历史最长、规模最大的高等学府，建于1888年，是保加利亚最先开展汉语教学的机构，已有60多年的汉语教学历史。1952年，中国著名语言学家、北京大学教授朱德熙先生和中国学者张荪芬女士在该校开始了保加利亚汉语教学，为保加利亚的汉学研究奠定了基础。

1991年，索非亚大学的古典和现代语文系东方语言文化中心东亚语言文化教研室正式开设“中国语言文学”专业。经过多年的发展，索非亚大学汉学专业已经建立起了本科、硕士和博士多层次的汉语人才培养体系。索非亚大学本科专业开设的课程有：语言技能课程，包括精读、口语、听力、阅读、汉字、报刊、写作等；语言学、文学知识课程，包括语言学入门、文学入门；文化国情课程，包括中国概况课、中国古代史、中国现代史以及一些选修课。涵盖了听、说、读、写四项技能训练课和中国语言学、文学、历史、地理和国情、哲学等专业知识。索非亚大学“汉学”硕士课程有：“东亚文化”，主要讲授中国、日本、韩国等三国的传统文化和现代文化等理论。“东方应用语言学”即“东方语言翻译学”，设置书面和口头翻译综合理论课以及国别语言和翻译实践课，包括同声传译等翻译应用技能的训练。索非亚大学的“汉学”博士生研究方向有：中国语言研究和中国文学研究。已有4人获得博士学位。索非亚大学的汉学教师都有自己的研究课题和方向，涉及汉语语言学、中国文学、中国宗教、中国历史、中国哲学等领域。

大特尔诺沃大学　大特尔诺沃大学全称“大特尔诺沃圣　•基里尔和麦托迪大学”，是保加利亚仅次于索非亚大学的一所著名的综合性大学，建于1962年。1993年，该校正式开设汉语专业，隶属

于该校现代语言学系，同年秋季招收了第一批“俄汉应用语言学”、“法汉应用语言学”双语学生。1994年又增设了“英汉应用语言学”、“德汉应用语言学”专业。1993年至1996年，按照保加利亚当时的教育体制，汉语专业招收的学生为硕士生，学制五年，毕业获得硕士学位；1997年，保加利亚高等教育体制改革后，汉语专业改为独立学科，学制四年，毕业后获得学士学位和翻译资格证书。2004年起，大特尔诺沃大学汉语专业开始招收“汉语言文学”专业博士生，研究方向是“中国文学”。2014年，大特尔诺沃大学建立了汉语专业的两个新学科“汉语作为第一语言及应用语言学”和“汉语翻译硕士”。

普罗夫迪夫大学　2012年，普罗夫迪夫大学将汉语列为本科专业必修课，开设的汉语课程分别为“应用语言学”和“保汉比较”，该课程贯穿于本科四年教学当中。

鲁塞大学、索非亚金融商业大学和舒门大学　2013年，鲁塞大学、索非亚金融商业大学和舒门大学面向本科生开设汉语必修课，课程名称为“汉语和中国文化”。同年舒门大学以汉语兴趣班的形式面向全校开设汉语课程。

西南大学和瓦尔纳经济大学　2014年，西南大学和瓦尔纳经济大学采用选修课和兴趣班两种教学模式面向全校开设汉语课程。

表1 2014 / 2015年各大学教学情况表

No	学校名称	学生人数	课程类别	使用教材	开设汉语时间	中国教师	本土教师
1	索非亚大学汉学专业 Sofia University “St.Kliment Ohridski”	45	专业课	汉语教程	1991.9	1	12
2	大特尔诺沃大学 University of Veliko Tarnovo “St.Cyril and Methodius”	55	专业课	当代中文	1993.10	1	6
3	普鲁夫迪夫大学 University of Plovdiv “Paisii Hilendarski”	80	专业课	新实用汉语课本	2012.9	1	4
4	鲁塞大学 University of Rousse “Angel Kantchev”	27	必修课	跟我学汉语	2013.10	1	无
5	索非亚金融商业大学 University of Finance,Business and Entrepreneurship,Sofia	22	必修课	当代中文	2013.10	无	2
6	舒门大学 University Of Shumen“Konstantin Preslavsky”	15	兴趣课	新实用汉语课本	2013.11	1	无
7	布拉戈耶夫格勒西南大学 University Of South West “Neofit Rilski”	53	选修课	当代中文	2014.9	1	无
8	瓦尔纳经济大学 University Of Varna Economics	20	兴趣课	商务汉语	2014.9	1	无
	学员总数 / Total number of students	**316人**				**7**	**24**

保加利亚大学汉语教学点，教师数量和学生人数分布图如下：

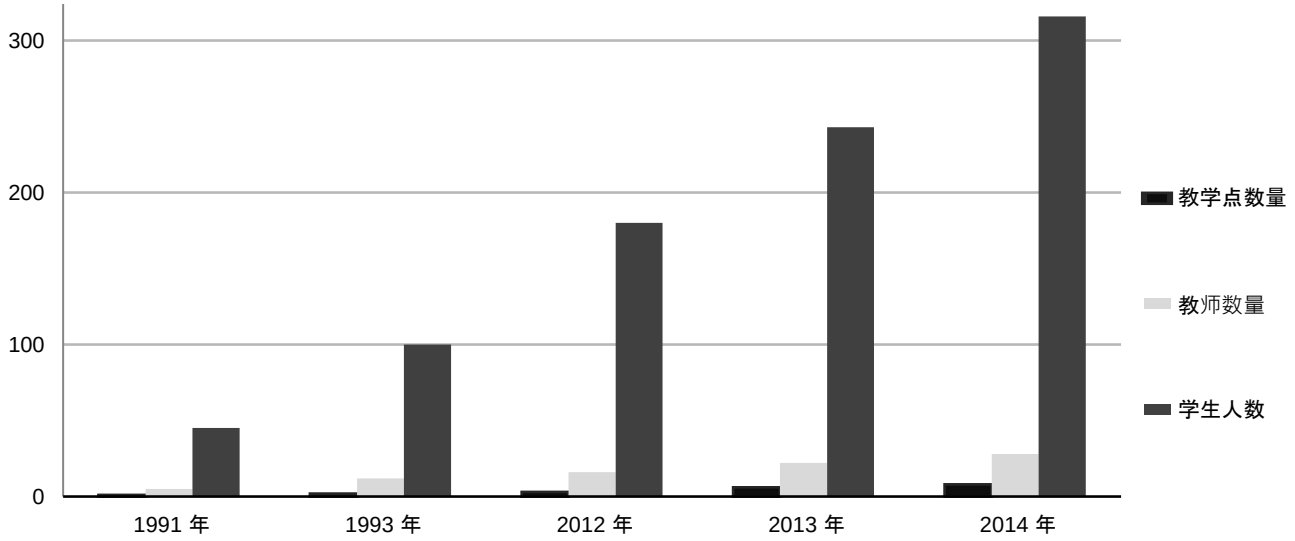

图1 保加利亚大学汉语教学点，教师数量和学生人数分布图

孔子学院的汉语教学现状

保加利亚现有两所孔子学院，分别是索非亚孔子学院和大特尔诺沃孔子学院，它们已成为当地汉语教学和中国文化传播的重要机构。截止到2015年6月，保加利亚大中小学汉语教学点已发展到22所，遍布保加利亚全国，学生总人数达1742人。

图2 保加利亚大中小学汉语教学点分布图

1.孔子学院本部汉语教学

索非亚孔子学院　索非亚孔子学院是巴尔干半岛地区最早建立的孔子学院，由保加利亚索非亚大学与北京外国语大学合作建设，2006年6月，中国国家汉办和索非亚大学签署建设孔子学院的合作协议。索非亚孔子学院现有院长两名，行政人员三名，中国汉语教师和志愿者17名。汉语教学点12所，学生人数1074人。

索非亚孔子学面向保加利亚社会各个阶层开设汉语初级班、中级班、提高班、长城汉语远程教学班等。经过不断的努力发展，索非亚孔子学院已经建立了从儿童班到成人班层次齐全的教学班。同时为本土教师开设了初级汉语教师培训班和高级汉语教师培训班。

索非亚孔子学院下属中学教学点包括：索非亚第18综合学校、索非亚第138综合学校、索非亚51中学、索非亚亨利职业中学、瓦尔纳市数学中学、维丁市中学、普罗夫迪夫市示范数学中学、上奥里亚霍维察技术学校、普罗夫迪夫法语中学、旧扎戈拉市高尔基综合学校。

2007年到2015年索非亚孔子学院教学点、汉语教师和学员人数发展情况图：

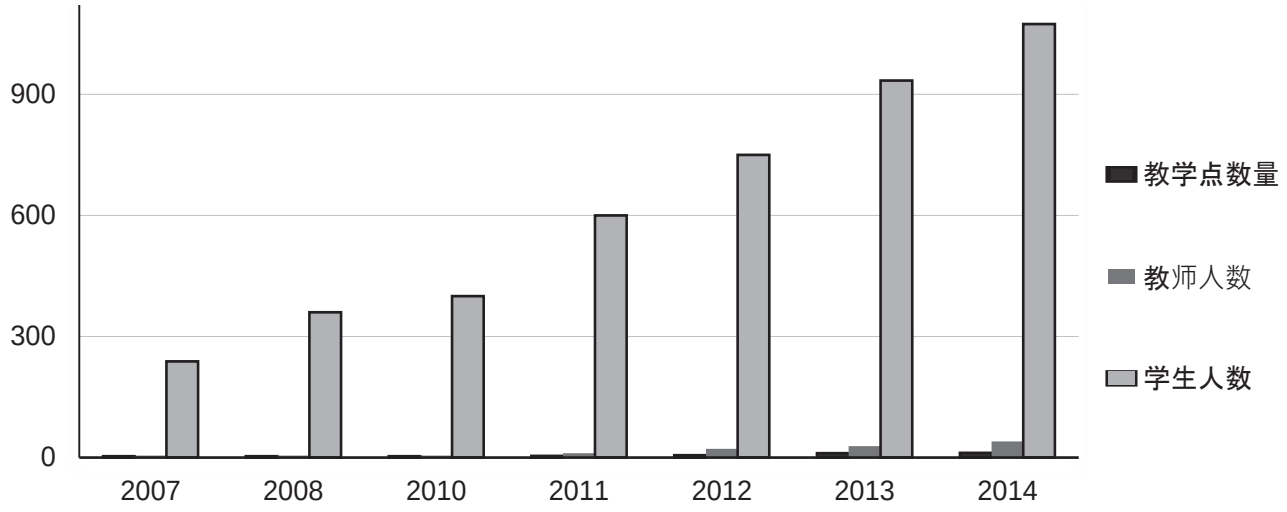

图3 保加利亚2007－2014索非亚孔子学院基本情况图

大特尔诺沃孔子学院　大特尔诺沃孔子学院创办于2012年,由大特尔诺沃大学和武汉地质大学合作建设。2014到2015学年里,在国家汉办的大力支持下,该孔子学院人员组织构成已趋于完善。大特尔诺沃大学孔子学院汉语教学点5所，学生人数668人。

大特尔诺沃孔子学院面向社会招生，开设语言培训课程,培养对象为儿童和成人,2014年针对成年人汉语初学者的开设了三门课程,分别为初级一、初级二和初级三。

2012年到2015年大特孔子学院教学点、汉语教师和学员人数发展情况图：

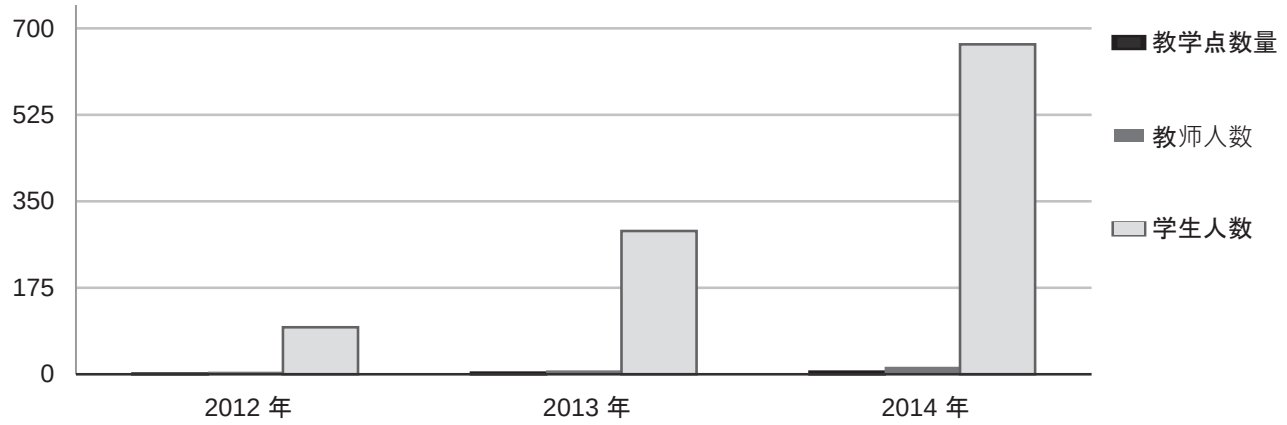

图4 大特尔诺沃孔子学院2012－2014基本情况图

统计数据显示，保加利亚的汉语教学事业在教学点数量、教师和学员人数上均有很明显的上升趋势，两所孔子学院在汉语教学和师资培训水平方面不断地提升，改进教学质量和创新教学模式，不断加强文化交流与互动，丰富拓展渠道，积极推动自身的可持续发展。

2.孔子学院中小学教学点汉语教学现状

1992年，索非亚第18中学开始开设汉语必修课，成为保加利亚第一所开设汉语教学的综合学校。[1]汉语教学是该校八年级到十二年级学生的任选必修课。汉语课程的安排：八年级周课时达到19课时；九至十二年级，汉语课时减少为每周6课时，同时增加英语、保加利亚语言文学、历史等课程。2014年开设儿童班，主要教学对象是一年级学生，每周两课时。

[1]董淑慧：《保加利亚汉语教学五十年》，索菲亚玉石出版公司，2005年6月

2005年，鲁塞市瓦塞尔·列夫斯基学校开始开设汉语课。从小学一年级到高中十二年级均开设汉语课，一年级到四年级为汉语教师根据课堂主题自行选择参考材料，没有固定的教材，每周两个课时；五年级到十二年级，每周14课时。

2011年，瓦尔纳市数学中学和瓦尔纳市第一语言学校以兴趣课的形式开设汉语课程，首次开设汉语课就有120余名学生报名参加。

2012年，索非亚市138中学开始开设汉语课，从小学到高中开设兴趣班及必修班深受学生们的欢迎。以必修课的形式组建两个班级教授汉语，每周20节课。经过三年的发展，已经有四个年级的学生学习汉语。其中，一年级和三年级是兴趣课，汉语教师根据课堂自行选择教材；八、九年级列入重要的必修课。

2013年，旧扎戈拉市高尔基综合学校开始以必修课和兴趣课两种形式开设汉语，学生来自2年级到12年级的各个班次。同年，还有不同地区的6所中小学同时以兴趣班和选修课的形式开设了汉语课，他们分别是索非亚市第51中学，普罗夫迪夫的数学示范学校，维丁市中学，上奥技术学校 ，特尔戈维什特第一综合学校和特尔戈维什特外国语学校。

2014年，普罗夫迪夫法语中学开设汉语必修课。同年， 不同地区的9所学校同时以兴趣课的形式开设汉语课。它们是索非亚亨利职业中学和季米特洛夫格勒市的8所学校。

表2 2014 / 2015年中小学汉语教学情况表

No	学校名称	学生人数	课程类别	使用教材	开设时间	中国教师	本土教师
1	索非亚第18综合学校 18th Comprehensive School “William Gladston”, Sofia	142	必修课	跟我学汉语	1992.10	2	2
2	鲁塞中学 Comprehensive School “Vasil Levski” Ruse	378	必修课	跟我学汉语汉语教程	2005.9	2	3
3	索非亚138综合学校 138th Comprehensive School “Prof.Vasil Zlatarsky”,Sofia	78	必修课兴趣课	跟我学汉语	2012.9	1	2
4	索非亚51综合学校 51th Comprehensive School “Elisaveta Bagryana”,-Sofia	108	兴趣课	汉语乐园快乐汉语	2013.9	1	无
5	索非亚汽车修理职业高中 Henry Ford Professional High School	12	兴趣课	快乐汉语	2014.10		
6	维丁综合学校 Comprehensive School “Tsar Simeon Veliki”,Vidin	42	兴趣课	快乐汉语	2013.10	1	无
7	普罗夫迪夫法语中学“Antonie de Saint-Exupery” French High School Plovdiv	23	必修课	汉语教程	2014.9	无	1
8	普罗夫迪夫数学示范学校 Model High School of Mathematics “Academician Kiril Popov”,Plovdiv	95	兴趣课	跟我学汉语	2013.10	1	无
9	瓦尔纳数学中学High School of Mathematics“D-r petar Beron”,Varna	47	兴趣课	跟我学汉语	2011.9	1	无

No	学校名称	学生人数	课程类别	使用教材	开设时间	中国教师	本土教师
10	上奥电子技术学校 Technical School“M.Lomonosov”, Gorna Oriahovitsa	35	兴趣课	快乐汉语	2013.9	1	无
11	旧扎戈拉市高尔基综合学校 Comprehensive School“-Maksim Gorki”, Stara Zagora	79	必修课 兴趣课	快乐汉语	2013.11	2	1
12	特尔戈维什特第一综合学校 1st Comprehensive School,Targovishte	69	兴趣课	快乐汉语	2013.11	1	无
13	特尔戈维什特外国语学校 Foreign Language School,Targovishte	21	兴趣课	快乐汉语	2013.11		
14	季米特洛夫格勒市 Dimitrovgard 8所中小学 Professional High School， Lyuben Karavelov Secondary school， Ivan Vazov High School， Pencho Slaveykov Primary School，Language High School，Aleko Konstantionov Primary School， Vasil Levski Secondary School，8 Mart Kindergarten School	110	兴趣课	快乐汉语 汉语乐园 跟我学汉语	2014.11	1	无
	学员总数 / Total number of students	**1239人**				**14**	**9**

随着保加利亚汉语教学的不断发展，汉语教学机构的增加，汉语教师人数也逐年递增，保加利亚的汉语教师队伍正持续壮大中。汉语教师的构成也有所变化，2015年汉语教师达到59名。其中10名公派教师，33名本土教师，而汉语志愿者教师则增长到16名。教学点的增长，教师人数的增加与学生的汉语学习需求是密不可分的。

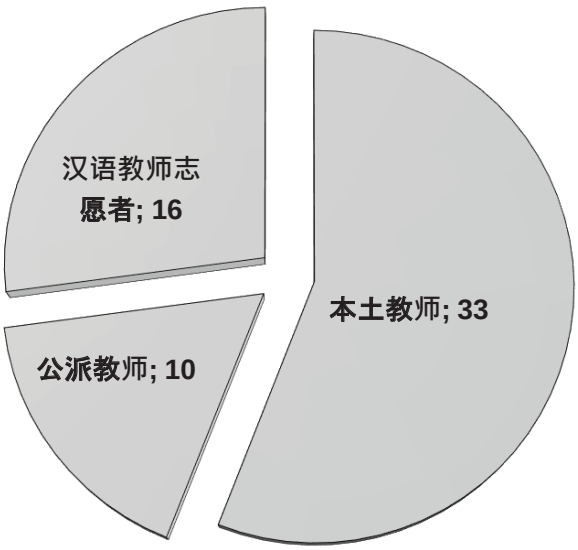

图5 保加利亚2015年汉语教师构成情况图

关于保加利亚汉语教学现状的思考和建议

随着国际汉语推广工作的深入发展，保加利亚广大社会人士近距离地接触到了中国和中国文化，对汉语的学习持续升温。根据笔者对整个保加利亚汉语教学现状的调查，尽管成绩很大，但是也存在着很多问题需要商榷和探讨，这些问题既有教育制度、教学体系和教学模式方面的，也有教师、教材方面的，还有学生方面的。

1.教材方面

教材是连接教师和学生、教与学的纽带，教材的创新发展一直受到汉语教学界的广泛关注。对保加利亚大中小学教学点的调研结果显示，保加利亚大中小学主要教材使用如下：《汉语教程》、《快乐汉语》、《汉语乐园》、《跟我学汉语》、《当代中文》、《新实用汉语课本》、《初级汉语课本》。其中大部分教材为国家汉语推广小组办公室赠送的，而且这些教材初级部分均有保语翻译及注释，中高级部分尚未开发出具有保语翻译的教材。汉语教师在教学时通常以几本书为参考，自行安排教学内容。小学生汉语零起点居多，而不同年级的学生认知水平有较大差别，因此很难找到一本真正合适的教材。中学生的教材选择也同样面临类似的问题，上述教材均由中国人编写，即使有保语翻译注释，也只是直接翻译而并非依据该国学生特点有所改变，所以教材中的很多问题不符合实际情况无法激发学生的学习兴趣。汉语本土教材缺乏并且教材单一，缺乏完善的适合保加利亚学习者的汉语教学方法，而且部分教学点教材的匮乏，学生手中没有教材，这不仅降低了课堂教学的效率，而且不利于学生对所学知识的及时复习和整体回顾。

有关保加利亚本土汉语教材的书籍甚少，汉语教材研究比较滞后，这种状况需要有所改观才行。笔者认为：第一，应该加大力度翻译已有教材的中高级部分，使现有教学能够连续有效的进行；第二，针对保加利亚学生特点，由本土教师编写适合于保加利亚学生的本土教材，同时丰富汉语本土教材的门类，开发听说读写多项技能的训练教材，研发种类丰富的适合保加利亚学生的本土教材。另外，目前保加利亚的辅助教材已经有《保汉词典》，该词典适合于中国人学习保加利亚语。但仍然没有能够帮助保加利亚人学习汉语的《汉保词典》，保加利亚本土教师正致力于编写这本词典，但由于资金缺乏，尚未完成，考虑到保加利亚经济情况和客观原因，希望中国方面资助《汉保词典》的编写。

2.教师方面

保加利亚汉语教师的构成主要有三部分：本土教师、公派教师和汉语教师志愿者，截止到2015年6月共59名教师，其中中国教师26人，本土教师33人。大部分本土教师任教于开设汉语教学较早的大学里。中小学本土教师数量少且分布过于集中，在22所中小学汉语教学点中只有5所学校有本土教师，其余的17所学校都是由汉语教师志愿者单独承担教学任务。

针对保加利亚汉语教师情况，笔者认为：第一，应加强汉语教师数量，我们可以从中国留学归国人员和当地大学中选拔优秀人才充实汉语教师队伍；第二，提高汉语教师质量：加强本土教师的培养力度，定期邀请国内汉语教学方面的专家来保给本土教师进行培训和讲座，鼓励本土教师参加汉语方面的培训，同时创造条件派本土教师到中国进修学习；第三，加强汉语教师之间的交流，有助于汉语教师自身素质的提升及职业的发展。因为汉语教师志愿者、本土教师、公派教师在教学方面都拥有自己的特色，汉语志愿者教师掌握丰富的文化知识与技能，对国内汉语教学界最新的研究成果有所了解；本土教师精通保加利亚语言，更加了解本国学生，容易总结出保加利亚汉语教学的重难点；公派教师大部分有丰富的海外教学经历，由实践总结出自己的一套教学方法。第四，孔子学院应定期组织行业会议，探讨教学和发展中遇到的问题，并定期举办学术交流活动，如教学示范课的演示，教学技能的评比，教学风采的展示等。为保加利亚汉语教师提供一个平台，相互交流经验，共同解决教学中遇到的问题，也为未来保加利亚的汉语教学以及世界汉语教学界的相关研究提供参考和借鉴。

3. 汉语教学资源

第一、制定教学大纲：保加利亚中小学不同类别的汉语课程还没有完全设定，汉语教学大纲、汉语教学标准水平和教学水平测试方案也没有完全通过保加利亚教育部认证。为适应保加利亚汉语教学的需求，笔者建议当地孔子学院应组织汉语教学大纲制定团队，把制定统一的汉语教学大纲作为工作的重点，积极与其他汉语教学机构联合编写适应保加利亚学生的汉语教学大纲，并不断改进汉语教学模式和教学方法，在缺乏实际汉语语言环境情况下，有效的开展汉语教学，在汉语教学实践中更多地引进和采用旨在培养汉语交际能力的练习和方法，并为此举办汉语专家研讨会和交流会。

第二、教学资源共享：应加强孔子学院、各个大学的汉语专业和中小学汉语教学点之间的交流，共同建立一个全国性的汉语资源库。每个学校的汉语资源是有限的，但是当一个国家的所有汉语资

源整合在一起就会形成一个巨大的资源库，每个汉语机构都是其中的成员，他们提供自己的资源并免费享用国内其他的汉语资源。汉语教学资源库可以依托互联网建立，分为两部分，一部分是各个教学机构的实物资源，如，图书资源、教学工具、文化材料等。每个机构提供自己拥有实物资源的明确清单，并表明是不是可以租借或是共享。另一部分则是电子资源，如，电子图书、汉语教学音像资源、示范课视频、教学方法等。各教学机构也可以自行组织教师更新资源，撰写教学心得，分享教学经验。

4.孔子学院总部下属孔子课堂的建设

2015年， 保加利亚的6所汉语教学点提升为孔子课堂，它们是普鲁夫迪夫大学、索非亚18中学、索非亚138中学、旧扎戈拉市高尔基综合学校、特尔戈维什特综合学校和鲁塞中学。孔子学院总部将为孔子课堂提供相应的汉语文化与教学活动资金上的支持，提供网络课程等汉语教学资源的共享。把条件成熟的汉语教学点向孔子课堂过渡，这样不仅可以促进国家汉办汉语教学机构的规范化管理，而且也保证了保加利亚汉语教学事业长期稳定的发展。随着汉语教学事业的不断发展，未来会有更多教学点申请提升为孔子课堂。

5.把汉语教学纳入当地国民教育体系

教育政策的颁布与实施是影响教学最重要的因素之一。保加利亚汉语教学存在着初中级阶段的汉语教学与高级阶段汉语教学衔接不当，汉语教育与学习者就业之间存在鸿沟等问题。对于初中级阶段的汉语教学与大学阶段的汉语教学严重脱节的问题，保加利亚应出台相应的政策鼓励汉语学习者从事汉语教育事业，从而在保加利亚国内实现汉语学习阶段的对接，教育体系与就业制度的良性循环，保证汉语教学事业的可持续发展。

根据笔者对保加利亚汉语教学情况的调研，并结合对中国驻保加利亚大使馆教育组领导和汉语教师的访谈，将汉语纳入国民教育体系已经成为了汉语在一个国家发展的必然趋势。纳入国民教育体系就意味着获得国家层面的支持和认可。从国家层面推动汉语教学发展，学生学习汉语的成绩将纳入国家承认的学分制度，可以进一步增加汉语学习者的人数。初、中、高级汉语教育能够形成完备的体系，良性发展。而且开设汉语的学校在教材、教师等方面能够获得更多支持，政府将加大人力、物力、财力的投入，开设汉语教学的学校将不断增加。

当然，将汉语教学纳入保加利亚国民教育体系，是一项势在必行但十分艰巨的任务。这需要中国政府、中国国家汉办、孔子学院和开设汉语教学的各个教学机构的积极努力与共同协作。汉语教学成功纳入保加利亚国民教育发展体系，将成为保加利亚汉语教学发展中的一座新的里程碑。

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THE TEMPORAL AND SPECIFIC MEANINGS OF THE FUNCTION WORD "CENG" AND ITS NEGATIVE FORM "BU CENG"/ "WEI CENG" IN THE MIDDLE CHINESE LANGUAGE

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Abstract

The objective of the paper is to determine the temporal and specific meanings of the function word "ceng" and its negative form "bu ceng"/"wei ceng" in the Late Middle Chinese language. The study includes the conditions of use, functional characteristics and ways of translation of the phrases "ceng", "bu ceng", and "wei ceng". The work is based on examples from "Shuihuzhuan" and "Jingben tongsu xiaoshuo".

Keywords: Middle Chinese language, function words, temporality, "ceng", "bu ceng", "wei ceng"

The objective of this work is to determine the temporal and other specific meanings of the function word "曾", as well as the corresponding negative forms ("不曾", "未曾") in the Late Middle Chinese Language. The study is based on a material from the storybook "京本通俗小說" (京本通俗小說, 上海, 1954 年) and the novel "水滸傳" (施耐庵, 水滸傳, 北京, 1954 年, 上). [1]

When describing the meanings of 曾, 不曾, 未曾, we should take into account the following characteristic semantic features:

I. According to whether the time of action is definite or indefinite, finished or unfinished:

1.1. It is used for events with a definite time of action. The exact time of action can be specified by itself, by another (previous) action, or at least it can be derived from the context. For example:

我去之時,也曾央朱三老對我丈夫說: ... (J, 83)

"When I went there, I also asked old Yang Zhusan to tell my husband…"

一夜不曾合眼 (J, 96)

"Didn't sleep a wink all night."

1.2. In other cases, the exact time is unknown, and we cannot set any specific time of the action or even a period of time when it occurred. In such sentences there can be an adverb such as 舊時 "once", 日前 "before", 從來 "never", etc. For example:

我舊時曾許他一具 棺材 (Sh, 238) "Once I had promised him an old coffin."

In some cases there might not be any words indicating time, but in the translation you can add adverbs like "once", "somehow", "occasionally", etc. without any noticeable change in the general meaning. For example:

我曾許下剃度一僧在寺裏. (Sh, 48)

"**Once** I had promised to find someone that would become a monk at the temple."

Sentences with 不曾 / 未曾 can be translated using the word "never", or in other cases such words can be added in the translation without affecting the general meaning. For example:

我的哥哥從來不曾有這般病. (Sh, 306) "My brother **never** had such a disease."

有眼不曾見這寶物！(J, 52) "**Never** had I seen such a beauty!"

II. According to whether the time interval is completed or continuing at the time of speech or the reference time described.

2.1. The period of time is completed:

曾見大蟲麼? (Sh, 262) "Have you seen the Beast (Tiger)?"

[1] For comments on the example, see above.

The person to whom the question is addressed just moved over the hill, on which it is known that the tiger had appeared. Consequently, the meaning is not "Have you ever seen a tiger?", the question is "Have you seen the tiger when it passed over the hill?"

2.2. The period in question continues at the time of speaking:

員外曾管顧你麼？ (J, 47) "Has the Lord been treating you well through all this time?"

The person to whom the question is addressed has been working for that Lord for more than 10 years, and continues to work for him at the time of speaking.

III. According to whether there has been a result of the action.

3.1. The action could have a result – a state that has been preserved at the time of speech or the reference time of the story. For example:

…曾獲一官家女，納之爲妻. (J, 103) "... I met a daughter of a clerk and married her."

The same applies to verbs with 不曾/未曾:

因此不曾燒得. (Sh, 238) "Therefore I haven't burned it [a letter]."

In some cases, the only result retained after the action can be a kind of impression, memory or knowledge. For example:

小人也曾聽... (Sh, 173) "I have also heard ..."

The same applies to verbs with 不曾/未曾:

未曾洩之他人 (J, 103) "I haven't told that to anyone."

3.2. In other cases the action has no result. For example:

那曾有公人伏侍罪人!(Sh, 102)

"How could it be that the guards would serve to the criminals?"

… 又不曾宿 歇 …"(J, 23)

"... besides, I have never spent a night there ..."

The cases of appearance of the function word "ceng" the following types of usage can be classified:

Group I

Indefinite time of action; circumstances of time are absent in the phrase; the action was not a resultative case (or the result was very uncertain). For example:

只見罪人付待公人，那曾有公人伏待罪人！ (Sh, 102)

"I have only seen criminals serving to the guards, how could it be that the guards would serve to the criminals."

小人也聽得上年已被賊人劫走，至今年未獲"(Sh, 173)

"I just heard that last year (the gifts) were captured by robbers, and they haven't been caught yet."

Group II

Indefinite time of action (or uncertain period of time); the result of the action is retained. For example:

王公，我日前曾許你一具棺木錢. (Sh, 238)

"Venerable Wang, once I promised to give you money for a coffin."

我舊時曾許他一具棺材。。。(Sh, 238)

"Long ago I promised [to give] him a coffin…"

Group III

The action takes place for a certain period of time. The result of the action cannot be extended.

曾見大蟲麼？(Sh, 262) "Have you seen the Beast (Tiger)?"[2]

前頃他也曾來與頭作慶 (Sh, 307)

[2] For comments on the example, see above.

“The last time he had come to congratulate the security chief.”

Negative combinations 不曾／未曾

Group I

The action is performed in an indefinite or a long period of time. There may also be circumstances of time.

十年來，未曾洩之他人. (J, 103)

“Ten years I did not tell anyone about it.”

我的哥哥從來不曾有這般病. (Sh, 306)

“My brother never had such a disease.”

Group II

The action is performed in an indefinite or a long period of time. If the action happened, the result would be retained.

未曾娶妻 (J, 103) ‘He’s still not married.’

只不曾有個心腹之人了這條願心.(Sh, 48)

‘The only thing is that there is still no man devoted to this vow.’

Group III

The action is performed in a short period of time. In most of the cases, the period of time has finished, it is not continued. For example:

我不曾收得！ (Sh, 240)

“I didn’t take anything!” (the hero suspects her that while he was gone, the heroine took his purse)

我們須不曾說你. (Sh, 179)

“We haven’t said anything (wrong) about you.”

Group IV

The action is performed in a short period of time or in a specific time. The result would be preserved if the action had occured. The object of negation is rather the result pertained in the present than the action in the past. This meaning corresponds to the English Perfect tense. For example:

我又不曾做了歹！ (Sh, 233) “I have not done anything bad!”

正不曾問得你多少價錢? (Sh, 180)

“…have not asked how much pay you?”

Conclusion

According to this classification, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. The time of action of the predicates with 曾，不曾／未曾 is always past. But it will never mean that the action takes place at some point in the past and has not finished, like the ordinary meaning of the past imperfective tense in Russian and Bulgarian languages.

2. In the examples with 曾, there is no Perfect tense meaning, unlike examples with 不曾／未曾 (Group IV).

3. In most of the examples with 曾, the action takes place in an indefinite time. In most of the examples with 不曾／未曾, the time interval is limited to some actions, which is clear from the context.

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SECTION

文學

LITERATURE

INTERNATIONALISM OF THE CHINESE NATIONALIST LITERARY PERIODICALS IN THE BEGINNING OF 1930S

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Abstract

In the early 1930s the movement for nationalist literature, launched by Guomindang in an effort to cope with the proletariat literature, gave birth to a number of nationalist literary journals. Among the most significant were the Shanghai periodicals "Vanguard Weekly" (1930–1931) and "Vanguard Monthly" (1930–1931), published by the Shanghai "Vanguard" society ("Qianfeng she").

Though short-lived, "Vanguard Weekly" and "Vanguard Monthly" made a major contribution to the theoretical development of nationalist literature. However, just like the concept of nationalism itself, their understanding of nationalist literature was in many aspects borrowed from abroad. The manifesto of the movement for nationalist literature obviously looks for the theoretical grounds in the experience of foreign literatures, especially in the literatures of nation-states, that have emerged in the 19th century (Italy, Germany, etc.) or of countries with a strong nationalist movement (India, Scotland, Vietnam, etc.). In fact, more than half of the content of "Vanguard Monthly" is either a review of foreign literature, or translation, or deals with things from abroad. The literary geography of the publications covers 31 countries – from Bulgaria to New Zealand. It must be admitted, however, that the nationalist zeal caused a much-distorted presentation of foreign literatures.

Apart from processing ideas of Western literary nationalism, arguing with communism and proletariat literature provides another international dimension of the periodicals' activities.

Keywords: Nationalism, Internationalism, Chinese Literature, Literary Periodicals, Guomindang, Vanguard Society

Nationalism has become a very popular ideology in China since the end of the 19th century. A number of important thinkers and politicians of the late-Qing and early Republican periods like Liang Qichao, Zhang Binglin, and Sun Yatsen, developed their own concepts of nationalism, though the initial theoretical basis has been borrowed from abroad, especially from the works of Johann Kaspar Bluntschli (Moskalev 2005: 20–23; Yang Sixin, 2003: 68–76). However, the analysis of the evolution of their nationalist concepts as well as the obvious social impact of nationalism is not the task of the present paper. It concentrates on the literary nationalism of the early 1930s, represented in the right-wing periodicals "Qianfeng zhoubao" ("Vanguard Weekly" 1930–1931) and "Qianfeng yuekan" ("Vanguard Monthly" 1930–1931). These Shanghai journals along with Nanjing monthlies "Wenyi yuekan" ("Monthly of Literature and Art" 1930–1941) and "Maodun yuekan" ("Contradiction", 1932–1934), as well as Hangzhou journal "Huang zhong" ("The Yellow Bell", 1932–1937) were part of the movement for nationalist literature, launched by Guomindang in an effort to cope with the proletariat literature.

Unlike the kaleidoscopic governments of Chinese militarists in the 1910–1920s, the Nanjing government of Guomindang had a clear ideology – nationalism of Sun Yatsen, formulated in his works of 1920s. At the period of military struggle for power, the literature was not of top priority for Guomindang. However, after the split with communists and following the fast spread of leftist ideas in the minds of Chinese intellectuals and on the literary arena, Guomindang in 1928–1929 took a series of repressive measures in order to subdue the opposition. Obviously, it was not enough; Guomindang had to offer some positive ideology to dominate in the literary sphere. The necessity became obvious after the unification of the Marxist literary forces into the League of the Leftist Writers in March 1930. The idea of building the party literature of "3 principles" was voiced on the National propaganda meeting in June, 1929, but the "Manifesto of Movement for Nationalist Literature and Art" was proclaimed one year later in June 1930. The "Manifesto" played very important role in the development of the nationalist literature. It is widely cited in almost all other theoretical articles of the Chinese nationalist literati.

The anonymous authors of the "Manifesto" were the founders of the literary society "Vanguard", which existed in Shanghai from June 1930 until June 1931. According to Fudan scholar Ni Wei, the basic ideas of the document are based upon the earlier works of Fu Yanchang – a key member of the "Vanguard" society (Ni

Wei 2003: 53). However, one can also trace direct and indirect influence of the Sun Yatsen's ideas. The society, on the one hand, was closely connected to Guomindang (its leaders Fan Zhengbo and Zhu Yingpeng were the members of the Shanghai executive committee of Guomindang), but on the other hand, with Shanghai literature circles too, because Zhu Yingpeng was an editor of "Shenbao". There were also direct links to the academic circles, because Fu Yanchang was a professor of Tongji University. Many of the members were young officers of the Guomindang army, like Wan Guoan or Huang Zhenxia. The society became famous due to the publication of "Vanguard Weekly" and "Vanguard Monthly", which not only became very popular among the public, but also attracted fierce criticism of the liberal and leftist critics. Among the latter are Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Qu Qiubo and others. In May 1931, the indignation over the activities of "Vanguard" society provoked several dozens of leftist activists to attack and mess the office of the "Xiandai Publishers", which circulated the nationalist journals. Though very successful in the aspects of ideology, popularity and even finance, the "Vanguard" society turned out to be short-lived. Being a group of people who shared common views and whose relationship was cemented by personal ties, it disintegrated in June 1931 after the key figures had left Shanghai. This also led to the end of its journals (Ni Wei 2003: 51–58).

Nevertheless, "Vanguard Weekly" and "Vanguard Monthly" made a major contribution to the theoretical development of the nationalist literature. The weekly periodical was the first of the "Vanguard" society. There were 46 issues published between the 22nd of June, 1930 and the 31st of May, 1931 (Liu Zengren 2005: 293). Although only 36 issues have survived until today, I have in my possession 25 issues of the weekly periodical. It's a thin black-and-white bulletin of 8 pages without illustrations. It was edited by Li Jinxuan, printed by Shanghai "Guangming Publishers" and circulated by "Xiandai Publishers". The success of the weekly inspired the "Vanguard" society to announce in August 1930 their plans of establishing a big literary monthly, which was edited by the same group of people (by Zhu Yingpeng and Fu Yanchang, presumably). Its publication was arranged with the help of the "Xiandai publishers". The first of the 7 issues appeared on the 10th of October, 1930 and the last on the 10th of April, 2010 (Liu Zengren 2005: 297). It was a literary journal of around 300 pages with colored illustrations. After the establishment of the "Vanguard Monthly", the weekly concentrated on the short stories and prompt literary critique, while the monthly published novels, plays, poems and all sorts of lengthy materials on the nationalist literatures and movements in China and abroad. Unlike other nationalist journals, e.g. Nanjing "Monthly of Literature and Art", the periodicals of the "Vanguard" society put special stress on publishing only those materials which served the cause of nationalism.

On the basis of the "Manifesto" as well as the other articles in both periodicals, e.g. "The Theoretical Basis of the Nationalist Art and Literature" by Ye Qiuyuan (Vanguard Monthly 1930: N 8–10), "Notes of the Editor" by Li Jinxuan (Vanguard Monthly 1930: N 10), one can see that just like the concept of nationalism itself, their understanding of the nationalist literature was in many aspects borrowed from abroad. The manifesto of the movement for nationalist literature obviously looks for the theoretical grounds in the experience of foreign literatures, especially in the literatures of nation-states emerged in the 19th century (Germany, etc.) or of countries with a strong nationalist movement (India, Ireland, etc.). In other words, its nationalism was extremely international.

The theoretical articles on the various aspects of nationalism and its representation in the works of literature and art can be found in all issues of both periodicals, where "Vanguard Monthly" pays more attention to issues from abroad. The major authors of the materials are Ye Qiuyuan, Li Jinxuan, Zhang Jiping, Yi Kang, Tang Bingruo and Wang Tiran. All of them now are obscure figures in the history of modern Chinese literature, but were prolific critics and writers in the 1930s.

As for the concept of nationalism itself, Ye Qiuyuan acknowledged that "nation" is a relatively new word in the Chinese language, which often causes embarrassment, because the people do not understand clearly the relationship between race, nation and state (Ye Qiuyuan, 1930: 57). Thus, he indulges into explanation of different criteria of the nation. Among these, the most important for him is the national consciousness, which is quite natural since his article concerns literature. Though "nation" is a notion imported from abroad at the turn of the 20th century, nationalism itself is regarded as something which had existed in China, but was lost under the influence of Taoism and Buddhism. Actually, here he follows Sun Yatsen's understanding of nationalism. The major ideas of the latter are described as: self-liberation of the Chinese nation, equality of all people in China, liberation of all oppressed nations of the world. However, the main concern is the first point that is aspiration for independent and strong China. Ye Qiuyuan writes that China is a semi-colony. On the one hand, it's suffering political and economical aggression of the foreign imperialism. On the other hand, China is exploited by remnants of feudalism. Nationalism is seen as the only force which can unite China and guarantee its existence forever in the future (Ye Qiuyuan 1930: 57-58).

However, in the circumstances when nationalist feelings are not strong enough, effective actions should be taken to awaken the "spirit of the nation". Nationalist literature and art can be extremely useful in this regard, as they are "capable of giving new life to the nation". For that purpose nationalism should become the "central idea", the "ultimate sense" of Chinese literature, which in the beginning of the 1930s was "in a pathological situation". To fulfill the high goals, nationalist literature should reflect the history of a nation's struggles for survival both ancient and contemporary, the real life of common people, the local flavor and customs. It should struggle against everything detrimental to the development of the nation, including communism. Though literature by nature is regarded a product of a nation, still the nationalist literature is only the one which combines the "national consciousness" and the "spirit of the epoch". It's proclaimed that the nationalist literature is a literature "of the people, by the people, for the people" (Manifesto 1930: 17) – a clear trace of the Gettysburg Address of Abraham Lincoln, which was also once cited by Sun Yatsen. As a matter of fact, this comparison between the revolution in China and the Civil War in the US was very popular in the circles of Guomindang literati.

What made the nationalist literati so confident in their cause was the history of European literature and its role in the creation of new nation-states in the 19th–20th centuries. They were greatly impressed by the direct influence of literature and art on the development of political nationalism. The example of Germany, France, Italy and the former Russian Empire were touched upon especially often. All this has driven them to the conclusion that "the movement for the nationalist literature and art first of all corresponds to the tendencies of the world literature and art, but more importantly, it exactly fits the urgent needs of our nation" (Li Jinxuan 1930: 79)

However, their nationalist zeal caused a much-distorted presentation of foreign literatures. For example, the true spirit of the modern French literature and art was said to be fauvism and purism, for Germany – expressionism, for Italy – futurism (Manifesto 1930: 18). These trends were seen as deeply rooted in the national consciousness of the nations. In the article of Yi Kang devoted to Russia, the author describes the genuine essence of Russian literature and art as primitivism or archaism, thus he discusses only the writers famous for their obsession with the glory of Russia – Block, Yesenin, Klyuev, Oreshin (Yi Kang 1930: 106-107). The same goes for German literature, which is mainly represented by writers with strong nationalist sentiment, like Hermann Sudermann (1857–1928) and Gustav Frenssen (1863–1945).

Another international dimension of "Vanguard Weekly" and "Vanguard Monthly" is a constant critique of Chinese communists and proletariat literature, which were regarded as a major internal threat to Guomindang and Chinese nationalist literature.

It is very meaningful that we have found neither the articles, which state the superiority of Chinese culture over the foreign, nor the reverse. What can be found is political motivation of the choice, which is expressed in the interest towards the literatures of the oppressed nations, or certain restraint, at least proclaimed, in regard to the literatures of great powers, or the anticommunist drive, which has been mentioned earlier. In the "Notes of the Editor" Li Jinxuan indicates that: "when introducing foreign literary works, we'll chose only those which canbe useful to the progress of our nation. We do not ignore the foreign culture, but are not going to blindly accept the culture of the countries which harm our nation" (Li Jinxuan 1930: 80).

As for the consistency of literary practice with the theoretical declarations, the following statistics on the content of both periodicals present their interest toward foreign literature.

"Vanguard Weekly"

Publications devoted exclusively to foreign countries

Country	**Overall number of publications**	**Number of translations**
France	1	1
Japan	1	0
England	1	0
Russia	1	0
Total	**4**	1
Number of represented countries	**4**	
Number of all publications, regardless of the content	**123 (in 36 survived issues)**	

The statistics for “Vanguard Weekly” reveal that only 4 publications out of 123 were devoted to foreign literature. It’s explained by the fact that the weekly being the first periodical of the movement for the nationalist literature was more keen on introducing the basic ideas of Chinese nationalist literature, in attacks on the proletariat literature. Besides, due to its size, it could not publish many literary works; instead it concentrated on the literary critique. Nevertheless, foreign literature is still discussed in all articles devoted to nationalism, though it’s not a main focus there.

The statistics for the monthly are much more eloquent.

“Vanguard Monthly”

Rating	Country / region / nation	Overall number of publications	Translations	Illustrations
1.	Germany	11	1	4
1.	France	11	3	2
2.	England	9	1	0
2.	USA	9	4	0
3.	India	7	0	4
3.	Russia	7	0	6
4.	Ireland	6	0	0
4.	Japan	6	5	0
5.	Norway	3	0	0
5.	Holland	3	0	0
5.	Jews	3	1	0
5.	Italy	3	0	0
6.	Scotland	2	0	0
6.	Belgium	2	0	0
7.	Turkey	1	0	0
7.	Isle of Man	1	0	0
7.	Bulgaria	1	1	0
7.	Poland	1	0	0
7.	Vietnam	1	0	0
7.	South America	1	0	0
7.	Denmark	1	0	0
7.	New Zealand	1	0	0
7.	Austria	1	0	0
7.	Canada	1	0	0
7.	Greece	1	0	1
7.	Romania	1	0	0
7.	Australia	1	0	0
7.	Spain	1	0	0
7.	Iceland	1	0	0
7.	Hungary	1	0	0
7.	Finland	1	0	0
7.	Armenia	1	1	0
	Total	**100**	**17**	**17**
Number of represented countries, regions and nations		**31**		
Number of all publications, regardless of the content		**185**		

The monthly periodicals set a special section devoted to foreign developments and regularly published translations. We see that out of 185 publications, 100 – more than a half – were about issues from abroad. The geography of the publications covers 31 countries, regions or peoples across the world – from the Isle of Man and Iceland to New Zealand and Vietnam. They should have a clear intention in order to introduce so many diverse literatures in just 7 issues of the monthly. It was very important for the "Vanguard Monthly" to show that nationalism dominated the world literary arena. Needless to say, most of the reports were quite superficial and biased. It must be noted that the countries whose literatures and cultures attracted the strongest interest of Chinese nationalists – from 6 to 11 publications in just 7 issues of the journal, were Germany, France, England, USA, India, Russia, Ireland and Japan. Chinese nationalists were extremely fascinated with the German consolidation under Prussia in the 19th century. For them it was a successful story of "national consciousness" that united the country and made it strong in a very short time. France was also a common reference for Chinese nationalists, mainly as an example of strong "national spirit". India and Ireland too were a very national choice. As for the popularity of UK, US and Japan, most likely, it was due to the language. English and Japanese were the most popular foreign languages among intellectuals, which facilitated translations and access to necessary information. Russia actually was not of priority, but by coincidence, there were many Russian illustrations to a poetic play "Blood of the Yellow race" by Huang Zhenxia.

To sum up, Chinese nationalism and nationalist literature, represented on the pages of "Vanguard Weekly" and "Vanguard Monthly", were extremely internationalized almost in all senses. However, it did not last long: just one year later Jiang Jieshi and Guomindang started to shift to a much more aboriginal concept of nationalism (See Yang Sixin 2003: 390; Moskalev 2005: 118–123).

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THE IMAGE OF THE INDIVIDUAL'S INNER WORLD IN THE WORKS OF HUANG TING-JIAN (1045–1105): TRADITION AND INNOVATION

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Abstract

The author studies the role of emotions and senses of the poet's soul as well as peculiarities of their depiction in the poems of ci genre (unlike the poetry of shi). The detailed analysis of some Huang Ting-jian's poems has been offered. Special attention is paid to the usage of allusions to the predecessors' works, as well as traditional and individual images. The polysemy of ancient Chinese (wenyan) determines the multiplicity of poetic interpretations that intentionally take a multivalent and unusual word for ci (the certain range of "high" vocabulary has been traditionally used). The poet creates a convex, multidimensional artistic image, the interpretation of which provides a broad field of associations. The article also elucidates the manifestation of Taoist principles of "naturalness" (ziran) and inaction (wuwei) as well as "simplicity", "clumsiness" and "rude" (zhongzhuo) of Huang Ting-jian's poems that indicate his proximity to the common people. Using the technique "to insert a character with a soul", Huang Ting-jian avoids the tendency of "ageing" of the artistic images that Song poetry inherited from the Tang one.

Keywords: *ci* and *shi* poems, Taoism, naturalness (*ziran*), inaction (*wuwei*), "gently-veiled" *ci* style (*wanyue cipai*), "free" style (*haofang cipai*), polysemy.

Huang Ting-jian (黄庭坚, 1045–1105) is the famous poet, calligrapher and statesman of the North Song dynasty (960–1127); he is also the prominent representative of Jiangxi school of poetry *ci* (江西词派). At the same time, he is considered to be the founder of Jiangxi school of poetry *shi* (江西诗派), and developing his own position on the principles of *ci* writing, the poet relied precisely on the rules of *shi* versification. His theory of *ci* is a sort of bridge between the traditional view of this genre and a new theory of *ci* introduced by Su Shi (苏 轼, 1037–1101). Huang Ting-jian tried to preserve a primary, traditional essence of *ci* and at the same time pave the new way for a development of this genre, preventing its stagnation and necrosis (which, incidentally, happened in the 13th century at the end of Song).

Life and works of Huang Ting-jian were influenced by all three religious-philosophical studies of old China (Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism), but the deepest penetration was into the Taoist study; this determined the poet's philosophical and political views, literary creation, and even his art of calligraphy.

In the "Complete Collection of Books in Four Sections" («四库全书总目提要»), drawn up in Qing era in the late 18th c., it is said about Huang Ting-jian's *ci*: they are "disrespectful and mocking, do not have any form" (亵诨不可名状; the quotes are given from the chapter 198 "On *Ci* and *Qu* (Part I)", «词曲类一» (Complete Collection)). The poet, however, also has *ci* that 妙脱蹊径， 迥出慧心 *are excellently copying strange paths, overcoming wisdom*. In general, a striking contrast of Huang Ting-jian's style from other *ci* poets suggests not only the exclusivity of his thoughts, but also his innovation in the practice of *ci* versification. In his poetry, elegant and vulgar notes, beauty and ugliness have been harmoniously combined. The reason is the following: "in that time he was glorious in his name, and if to collect the fragments of his works, the beautiful and ugly things will stand side by side in them" (当时以其名重， 片纸只字， 皆一概收， 美恶杂陈， 故至于是).

In youth, the poet had an uncontrollable thirst of wanderings and various entertainments (wine, beauties etc.), that caused a quite frivolous "tone" of his early *ci*. The splendor of rich life, pleasure of communication with friends and carefree life of the provided man is represented. Besides, being fond since the childhood of Taoism, the poet described his travels to the celestials and feelings in an intoxicated state – in it, as Taoists deeply believed, one could approach *Tao*.

Unlike the majority of *ci* poets creating in "delicate and veiled" style *wanyue* (婉约词派), Huang Ting-jian wrote in a direct and natural way, he didn't hide the feelings, accurately and clearly poured out his soul. The artist did not decorate his poems, neither unduly burdened them. The poet's inner world is the basic in the poem. Unlike traditional *ci*-writing, when in the first part there was represented nature, and in the second –

the author's inner world, with Huang Ting-jian, the main place allocates for feelings (nature can even be left out). If it is represented nonetheless, then it is done so only in close connection with the subjective principle, and not the other way around.

The fact that Huang Ting-jian's *ci* poems are simple and natural does not mean at all that they are deprived of inherent medieval Chinese poetic depth and aesthetic taste. The simplicity or even roughness of expression in the poet's *ci* is transferred by lexeme 重拙 *1) incapable, stupid, silly, limited; 2) clumsy, slow* (Bolshoi…); in such a way, they were determined in the "Critics of Shan-gu's *ci"*[1] *(«*手批山谷词») by Xia Jing-guan (夏敬观, 1875–1953), an artist and *shi* and *ci* poet of Jiangxi school). The researcher compares Huang Ting-jian's *ci* to that of his contemporary Qin Guan (秦观, 1049–1100): 少游清丽，山谷重拙，自是一时敌手。*Shao-yu's [style]* (the second name of Qin Guan – *Ia. Sh.*) *is graceful and easy, Shan-gu's [style] is clumsy and rough, [so they] naturally were rivals for some time* (Long Yu-sheng). The similar characteristic, however, does not at all belittle the importance of Huang Ting-jian's *ci* – on the contrary, it raises them on higher artistic level. The character 拙 designated an important value category of traditional Chinese philosophy – naturalness (synonym to 自然 *ziran*), and consequently not artificiality (unlike 巧 *skillful, inventive; cunning; quick-witted*). In this regard let's recall landscape poets' traditional love of depicting chimerical mountains, uneven and bent trees, all the strange and unusual, and that was the testimony of naturalness and the verity of everything existing. For example, Tao Yuan-ming (陶渊明, 365–427) was much respected by Huang Ting-jian (his early poems stayed under Tao's influence and were written in the romantic manner) and had the life principle of 拙. Tao Yuan-ming once wrote such a line: 守拙归园田。*Cherishing awkwardness, I come back to gardens and fields* (from the first poem of a cycle "I come back to live in gardens and fields", «归园田居»). The artist accents on his own natural origin and comprehends his essence, rejecting the fetters of Confucian morals – the poet in the pure and natural state wants to become part of Nature, so he gets rid of the dirt of society.

So, the above-described feature of Huang Ting-jian's *ci* poetry is, in particular, his innovation and contribution to development of this genre in Northern Song, that is his withdrawal from already taken shape at that time "delicate and veiled" style. It should be noticed that in opposition to the mentioned one there was also "free", *haofang ci* style (豪放词派) – named so by Su Shi; in this manner, however, poets created long before the 11th c. (e.g., Tang Li Po wrote "free *ci* in a big way"). Huang Ting-jian accented on necessity of writing *haofang ci*, insisting on free expression of the author's identity and poetizing feelings (first of all sad); thus the poet struggled for the using of "high" lexicon, instead of common language.

In aesthetic thought of medieval China it was traditionally considered that poems *ci* depicted what poems *shi* could not: *ci* expressed feelings of gaiety and grief storming in the poet's soul. As modern Chinese researchers consider, for Huang Ting-jian the very presence of feelings, moreover – first of all sad (Wang 2011: 60), was an obligatory feature of the good *ci*. After all it is known (and it concerns, to our deep belief, poetic creativity of all times and all nations) that about the joyful events causing positive emotions, about favorable for life and creativity circumstances the poets did not manage to write in such exciting and penetrating way, as about pain, grief and sufferings. The reason lies in the very nature of human creation: grief and sufferings poured out on paper and entrusted to it are transmitted easier; the very fact of pleasure and happiness usually does not induce the artist to creation.

One more characteristic feature of Huang Ting-jian's works is that the poet skillfully inserts into *ci* new, uncommon for this genre lexemes and expressions; besides, he gives them the key role in the poem, introducing a certain highlight. As an example, let's analyze the *ci* written on the melody "Reduced Mulan hua" («减字木兰花»)[2]:

中秋无雨。醉送月衔西岭去。笑口须开。几度中秋见月来。

前年江外。儿女传杯兄弟会。此夜登楼。小谢清吟慰白头。

On the Middle of autumn [holiday] there is no rain.

[I] got drunk and see off the Moon setting behind the western ridge.

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[1] Shan-gu (the full name is 山谷道人 *Taoist from the mountain valley*) – Huang Ting-jian's nickname.

[2] During the Tang and Song dynasties, in melodies for *ci* poets sometimes reduced the quantity of characters (减字). The melody of "Mulan hua" initially provided eight equal seven-word lines, however Song poets "truncated" all odd lines, taking away three last characters.

The laughing mouth should be opened.

How many times on Middle of autumn [holiday] will I see the Moon else?

In a year before last [I] flew down along the river.

The youth passed goblets [to each other], brothers gathered.

This night [I] ascend the tower.

Savouring, [I] recite Younger Xie's [poem and] calm down [my] gray-haired head.

This poem was written in 1096, on the holiday of the Middle of Autumn (中秋节, the 15th day of the eighth month, according to the lunar calendar), when the poet was exiled in Qianzhou and recollected passed events of his life. Having left the homeland in the sixth month of 1094, soon he met his brothers Da-lin (大临) and Shu-da (叔达) – in the poem Huang Ting-jian recollects a joyful feast arranged in honor of this meeting.

In the second line of the *ci* under analysis, Huang Ting-jian used the polysemantic lexeme 衔 *horse bit; to hold in a mouth, to cherish in soul, to hide, to conceal; to receive, to accept; to be combined with each other, to connect; rank, status* (Big Chinese-Russian Dictionary), and this very character is considered to be "a poem eye" (诗眼). As the 16th chapter of "Shan-gu's internal collection" («山谷内集») writes, the poet uses the method "to insert one character wholeheartedly" (安排一字有神) – this "elegance" of any one line or the full *ci* can be either a specific lexeme from predecessors' works or actually an extraordinary word or expression. Literary critics named this method "there is an eye in the line" (句中有眼) (Zhan 1992: 489); the term 诗眼 *a poem eye* was firstly used by Su Shi to designate this very phenomenon. Using this method, Huang Ting-jian, in particular, avoids a tendency of the "aging" of artistic images existing in the Tang era, and this is also his innovation.

The drunken lyrical hero of the analyzed *ci* poem, who is spending in loneliness the eve of the Middle of Autumn holiday, sees the Moon off to the western ridge. The given connotations of 衔 character create a many-sided image: in the author's mind, the Moon is visually "combined" with the mountains, and the initial meaning of 衔 character ("a horse bit") generates additional association that the Moon – as it possibly seems to the author – promptly slides to mountains, as if it were galloping on a horse. The meaning "to receive" draws an association that the Moon "accepts" the mountains, "swallows" and holds them "in a mouth" (we can also interpret in a reverse way – the mountains hold the Moon "in a mouth", – but this interpretation is incorrect taking into consideration the direct word order of the original). Chinese commentators interpret this line as "the Moon set behind mountains in the West" (月落西山) (Huang Ting-jian). As we can see, intentionally using a polysemantic and unusual lexeme, Huang Ting-jian creates a rich and multi-facetted artistic image, and its interpretation provides a wide range of associations[3]. It should be noted that the poet does not casually write about the Western mountains – the West was traditionally considered as the country of death (according to the system of five elements *wuxing*, 五行) and at the same time as the source of immortality (Taoist ideas of the immortal soul's travel to the sky and celestials, 仙). Undoubtedly, Huang Ting-jian foresees the end of his own life (the poem is written at the age of 52), by what is said in the last line of the *ci*'s first part: 几度中秋见月来。*How many times on Middle of Autumn [holiday] will I see the Moon else?*; the phrase "gray-haired head" (白头) also testifies to this fact.

In the last line of this poem, the famous poet of the Southern dynasties period Xie Tiao (谢眺, 464–499, native of the country Qi) is mentioned; in the history of literature he is called 小谢 *Younger Xie* – unlike Elder Xie (大谢) as people called the founder of landscape lyrics' school (山水诗) Xie Lin-yun (谢灵运, 385–433). Huang Ting-jian writes, obviously, about his own recitation of Xie Tiao's poetry (it is improbable that he imagined the poet nearby or on some tower reciting poetry); however we can't unequivocally interpret the poem's last line, because of the direct word order in the sentence: it is not clear whether Huang Ting-jian used inversion placing object before the predicate or not. Anyway, mentioning of Xie Tiao testifies to author's special respect of this poet as well as lyrical hero's anxiety in the evening of life which must be harmonized by the works of the well-known predecessor.

[3] In this regard let's recollect famous American poets E. Fenolloza and E. Paund (19th–20th c.) who considered that the Chinese character is image by itself, at the same time it is the creator of some aspect of a picture of the world; each graphic representation, certainly, has its motivation. The basic principle of imagism contacted to that: not to use the words that don't transfer a visual image, and to create only the images having real applied being.

Inherent for Huang Ting-jian's poetry are unusual turning-points in writing poems, a withdrawal from norms of "delicate and veiled" style (refusal of a superfluous covertness and a prettiness), using of historical and literary reminiscences testify to the poet's unusual courage (he was the first to move apart the framework of *wanyue* style) and his innovation in poetic circles of Northern Song. Only having started to destroy the fetters of old, traditional style, Huang Ting-jian, however, did not create the new one – that was done by the poets Su Shi and Xin Qi-ji (Southern Song). An originality of Huang Ting-jian's individual style and his attempts to change the traditional norms testify that he put tremendously hard tasks before himself, and to fulfill it up to the end in those days was impossible. As we can see, the poet only put the strong beginning to the poetic reform of medieval China.

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„ЛИСАО“ ПРЕЗ ПРИЗМАТА НА ВЪЛШЕБНАТА ПРИКАЗКА

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“LISAO” THROUGH THE PRISM OF THE MAGICAL STORY

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Abstract

The tale of the protagonist from “Lisao” gradually becomes a story for overcoming obstacles, similar to those in the fairytales. The shamanism, the magical items, the birds, herbs and the places filled with enchantment are just part of the poem. The work uses a large variety of metaphors, derived from the culture of Chu. It is tightly related to the concept of shamanism. The poem „The Lament” is crucial for the creation of “Chuci”. Each piece of this puzzle builds the shape of the magic tale told in verse and describing the personal fate of one of the most prominent Chinese intellectuals of the period of The Warring States.

Keywords: Lisao, Qu Yuan, Chuci, The Warring States, poem, story

„Лисао“, или „Воплите на изгнаника“, е поема от Цю Юен (屈原), която датира от Периода на воюващите царства в Древен Китай. Написана е в края на живота му, съставена е от над 370 строфи и 2400 йероглифа. В първоначалния си вид „Лисао“ (离骚) е била шаманска песен, по-късно Цю Юен 屈原 я преработва, като прави от нея автобиографична изповед. Поемата е пълна с метафори и символи. Смислово може да бъде разделена на две части: първата е за живота на човека в двореца, а втората навлиза в митичната сфера – на нефритените дракони и фениксі. Произведението много напомня сюжета на вълшебната приказка. Настоящото изследване цели да докаже именно тази връзка.

Между приказките има една особена категория, наречени вълшебни. В тях се разказва за крилати коне, огнени змейове, фантастични царе и принцеси (Проп 1999: 25). Отдавна е отбелязана връзката на приказката с култовете и религиите. Същността на религията е формулирана много точно от Енгелс в „Анти-Дюринг“: „Всяка религия не е нищо друго освен фантастично отражение в главите на хората на ония външни сили, които господстват в техния всекидневен живот – отражение, в което земните сили вземат формата на неземни.“ (Engels: 1877)

Началото на приказката обикновено е някаква изходна ситуация. Изброяват се членовете на семейството или се описва бъдещият герой чрез споменаване на името му или социалното му положение. Да видим как стоят нещата в конкретния случай.

Началото на поемата „Лисао“ започва с речта на героя, с която разказва за миналото на семейството си. Продължава с описание на характера си, високия морал и желанието да помогне на владетеля на Чу да укрепи властта и направи страната по-силна и преустроена.

帝高阳之苗裔兮，朕皇考曰伯庸。[1]

Наследник съм на древния владетел Гао-Ян, моят мъртъв баща е Боюн.

Гао-Ян, или Джуансю, е митичен владетел на Древен Китай, повелителят на Севера. Джуансю (2513–2435 г. пр. н. е.) побеждава Гунгун в битката за трона.

Още в началото на поемата разбираме за желанието на героя да поеме на път. Неговото решение е категорично и бележи началото на пътешествието:

乘骐骥以驰骋兮

Ще се понеса върху благороден кон и ще избягам.

Стиховете представят функцията, при която един от членовете напуска дома. Биографичните данни сочат, че Цю Юен пише поемата по време на изгнаническия си период. Той става жертва на интри-

[1] Този и всички следващи цитати на „Лисао“ са взети от 刘向: 楚辞·离骚 www.gushiwen.org/wen_1050.aspx

ги в двора на царство Чу и през живота си е изпращан три пъти на заточение. Напускането на дома предвещава страшния път, който героят ще трябва да извърви до заветната си цел. Движението е вид инициация. Анализите на Проп водят до извода, че голяма част от мотивите в приказките отразяват именно акта на инициацията. Преходът е от изключителна важност за индивида, тъй като чрез него той се обвързва със социума и космоса.

Инициацията е свързана с изпитания, мъчения, излизане отвъд собствените граници, символично отделяне на душата от тялото, излагане на опасности, близки до смъртта. Справяйки се с трудностите, личността доказва, че е годна да се присъедини към обществото и да бъде в хармония с природата. Главната част от посвещението се извършва в дълбока тайна, на трудно достъпни места. Индивидът се отделя от близките, пребивава в тайно и непристъпно място, изложен е на много физически и психически изпитания. Такава е реконструкцията на обреда, който според Проп стои в основата на вълшебната приказка.

Втората функция е забраната – на героя се забранява да върши нещо желано. Заповедта понякога също играе роля на забрана. На лирическия герой не се разрешава да се връща в двореца, той е отлъчен от него.

Третата поред функция на действащото лице е нарушаване на забраната. Героят на няколко пъти се връща във владетелския двор с желание да разговаря с императора.

步余马於兰皋兮，驰椒丘且焉止息。

进不入以离尤兮，退将复修吾初服。

Оставих коня си да се разходи по реката с орхидеи,

да препуска по хълма и да остане там за малко.

Влязох в кралския двор, но не бях приет от владетеля.

Характерно за героя от вълшебната приказка е вътрешната му сила, дълбокото му прозрение за същността на нещата, но в него можем да открием и отчуждението от света, сякаш иска да преоткрие един друг свят, в хармония с вътрешното му „аз“. Този вътрешен свят е представен на читателите посредством „необичайните“ действия, които извършва, отношението към обкръжаващата го действителност. Героят е едно цяло с природата:

朝饮木兰之坠露兮，夕餐秋菊之落英。

Сутрин пия капки роса от лилия магнолия,

вечер ям паднали цветя от есенните хризантеми.

Освен с многобройните видове растителност авторът си служи умело и с животинските образи. Особено впечатление прави подборът на птиците: орел, мъжка гургулица, различни митични създания, чиято цел е да помагат по различен начин в трудни моменти. Това са т. нар. помощници на героя. Сред тях най-открояващ се е образът на орела. Според Проп птицата винаги има само една функция – да пренася героя в друго царство (Проп 1999:164).

Орелът е шамански символ. У телеутите се нарича „птицата – господар на небето“, задължителен спътник и помощник на шамана. „Той го придружава в неговите пътешествия на небето и в подземния свят по време на шаманството му, като го пази от нещастията по пътя, а също изпраща жертвените животни по предназначение на различните божества.“ (Проп 1999: 166)

В поемата се появява още едно животно, което често намира място във вълшебните приказки – конят. Понякога той също приема птичи облик и по този начин се създава образът на крилатия кон, който наследява не само атрибутите (крилата), но и функцията на птицата. Храната дава на коня вълшебна сила. Тук прави впечатление, че двамата минават през „специална“ вода:

朝吾将济于白水兮，登阆风而绁马。

Прекосих магическата река Байшуей,

изкачих планината Ланфън, където завързах коня си.

Водата от реката Байшуей е магическа. Тя извира от планината Кунлун. Поверието гласи, че който пие от нея, става безсмъртен.

Основната форма на завръзката в приказката е някаква беда. Сюжетът се създава от бедата и противодействието срещу нея. Формите на тази беда са изключително разнообразни, но следвайки фабулата на поемата, ще кажем, че бедата тук е набеждаването на героя за изменник. Именно благодарение на накърненото му достойнство и чест тази творба е създадена. Лирическият говорител не може да си обясни презрението и злобата на хората от владетелския двор. Той търси начин за утеха. И го намира сред природата.

Част от противодействието на бедата е тръгването на героя на път. Пространството е изключително важен композиционен елемент от вълшебната приказка. То играе двойствена роля: от една страна, съществува, но от друга, сякаш изобщо го няма, тъй като повествованието се развива на отделни откъси, чрез прекъсвания, които са представени детайлно.

Цялото пътешествие на героя е съпроводено със срещи с различни божества и магически животни: феникси, богове – на вятъра, на светкавиците, нефритени дървета, персонификация на луната, слънцето, вятъра и др. По пътя той събира и използва различни атрибути, които играят ролята на вълшебни предмети.

折琼枝以继佩

Счупих клонка от нефритено дърво и се закичих с нея.

折琼枝以为羞兮，精琼靡以为粮。

Счупих клонка от нефритено дърво и го превърнах във варено ястие,
нефритен воденичен камък направих в провизия за пътуването си.

Пръчицата като че ли е най-честотният атрибут в поемата. Тя възниква в резултат от общуването между човека и земята. Нейната магия се пренася върху онзи, който я докосне.

В задачите за търсене най-голяма част е свързана с изпращането на героя в отвъдното царство (Проп 1999: 300). Преминаването отвъд е оста на приказката, но и същевременно нейн център. То е мотивирано от търсенето на спасение, на друг свят и извличане на познание за него. Достигането му е равно на инициацията.

跪敷衽以陈辞兮

Изведнъж напуснах земята и се понесох към небето.

览相观于四极兮，周流乎天余乃下。

Разгледах навсякъде и след като попътувах,
слязох от Небето обратно към Земята.

Интересен е начинът, чрез който героят пътува в пространството:

为余驾飞龙兮，杂瑶象以为车。

何离心之可同兮，吾将远逝以自疏。

遭吾道夫昆仑兮，路修远以周流。

扬云霓之晻蔼兮，鸣玉鸾之啾啾。

朝发轫于天津兮，夕余至乎西极。

忽吾行此流沙兮，遵赤水而容与。

麾蛟龙使梁津兮，诏西皇使涉予。

路修远以多艰兮，腾众车使径待。

路不周以左转兮，指西海以为期。

屯余车其千乘兮，齐玉轪而并驰。

驾八龙之婉婉兮，载云旗之委蛇。

Летящият дракон ми донесе каретата,
украсена с нефрит и слонова кост.
Не мога да си сътруднича с различния от мен,
ще го изоставя и ще тръгна надалеч,
поемам по пътя към планината Кунлун,
пътят е безкраен.
Облаците летяха, закриваха слънцето,
звънците на каретата звъняха навред.
Сутринта започна от прекосяването на Млечния път,
вечерта стигнах до далечния Запад.
Изведнъж се озовах в пустиня,
през Пурпурната река се понасях бавно.
Заповядах на водния дракон да построи мост,
наредих на Владетеля на Запада да ме отнесе до другия бряг.
Пътят е дълъг и изпълнен с опасности,
обърнах се към своя екипаж и му заръчах да ме охранява от двете страни.
Минах през планината Буджоу и тръгнах наляво,
моята цел бе да достигна Западното море и чак тогава Небесното царство.
Отпред летяха осем дракона и се извиваха като змии,
знамената на каретата се вееха от вятъра.

В края на приказката героят се спасява. Той може да се понесе по въздуха или да се върне в родния дом. В конкретния случай потегля на дълго пътешествие извън пределите на реалния свят, за да постигне съединението с праотците, на които подражава през целия си житейски път.

謇吾法夫前修兮，非世俗之所服。
虽不周于今之人兮，愿依彭咸之遗则。

Докато никой не следва моят политически идеал,
аз ще следвам древния пример на Пънсиен.

Пътешествието е изпълнено с чудновати случки: минаване през магически земи, търсене на единение с божества, използване на вълшебни предмети, преминаване отвъд време-пространството, странстване с колесница, дракони, птици, цветя и др.

Всяко парче от този пъзел изгражда формата на магическа приказка, разказана в стихове и описваща личната съдба на един от най-видните китайски интелектуалци от Периода на воюващите царства.

Първият китайски литературен критик – Лиу Сие, в „Извайване на дракон в сърцето на литературното произведение“ (《文心雕龙》) определя творбата като шедьовър – първата за Китай естетическа и литературна теория, повлияна както от нумерологичните модели на „Книга на промените“, така и от будизма. Той казва: „自风雅寝声，莫或抽绪，奇文郁起，其离骚哉“《文心雕龍》, „Ако го нямаше Цю Юен с неговия покъртителен (впечатляващ) талант, несъизмерим елегантен стил и непречупваща се воля, как щяхме да имаме „Лисао“?

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(НЕ)ПРЕВОДИМА ЛИ Е КИТАЙСКАТА КЛАСИЧЕСКА ПОЕЗИЯ

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IS CHINESE CLASSICAL POETRY (UN)TRANSLATABLE: SOME PECULIARITIES AND PROBLEMS OF POETIC TRANSLATION OF CHINESE CLASSICAL VERSE IN BULGARIAN

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Abstract:

Do the visibility and veracity of Chinese-ness in poetic translation matter more than poetic beauty in a non-Chinese sense? Are truthfulness and beauty contradictory in a poetic translation? Which are the phases and mental rituals, which condition a "successful" translation from an enigmatic language such as the language of classical Chinese poetry? Are there invariable rules or is the translator free to break from the bonds which hold a Chinese poet within the realm of what is considered as "correct" classical verse in old China? Some attempted answers to these questions, along with a practical demonstration of the principles of poetic translation, are offered in this consciously contradictory essay on a subject well worth a more-than-a-single-volume exploration.

Keywords: poetic translation, translatability, classical Chinese poetry, rhymed verse, blank verse, art of translation, poetic art, translation artistry

Още с поставянето на темата „(не)преводимост на поезията“ аз навлизам в полето на условността при опита си да теоретизирам нещо така неуловимо като личното проникване в поетичния текст и да разсъждавам върху онази надсубстанциална неназовимост, която китайците наричат „смисъл отвъд словото“ и която изчезва още преди да бъде записана. Причината за това е, че преводът на поезия, също като създаването на поезия, е тайнство. Тайнствата не могат да бъдат обяснени именно защото не може да се създаде „екстракт“ на красотата и общовалидно определение на красивото. „Теории съществуват в точните и приложните науки. Те са длъжни да дават прогнози, могат да бъдат подлагани на решаващи проверки и са податливи на фалшификация. Никой от тези критерии не важи в хуманитаристиката. Не съществува смислено експериментално доказателство или опровержение на естетическо или философско съждение. В дисциплините на интуицията и трептящите реакции на чувствителността, в изкуството на разбирането и отклика, които съставят хуманитаристиката, никоя парадигма или школа не отменя друга“ (Стайнър 2014: 22). Според Стайнър под „теории на литературата“, на критиката и на превода разбираме единствено „аргументирани описания на процеси“. Ето защо моят подход към темата е не толкова теоретичен, колкото есеистично-прагматичен – най-доброто, което може да се каже за поезията в превод, трябва да се изрече чрез поезия в проза.

1. Поетичният превод въобще

Неведнъж мои колеги китайци са изказвали пред мен, (не)предпазливо и с привкус на национална гордост, че превеждането на класическа китайска поезия е невъзможно. Разбира се, като читатели на родния си език те навярно са имали предвид непредаваемостта на формата на тази поезия с наличните в другите езици поетични средства, навярно са говорели за крайната сбитост, недоизказаност и дълбока многопластовост на класическата китайска поезия.

Сега ми се струва, че такъв въпрос не може дори да бъде поставен, преди да бъде отговорено на един друг въпрос: в каква степен е възможен прочитът на класическа китайска поезия „отвъд пределите на историческия период, социалната класа и различната културна и професионална нагласа“ (пак там: 18)? Кои са предусловията за такъв прочит? От отговора на този въпрос зависи и отговорът на първия, тъй като прочитът е основа на превода.

„Да чуваш смисъла, значи да превеждаш“ (пак там). Ако човек не може да чете в дълбочина старокитайска проза или поезия (това не изключва прочит през коментари на китайски изследователи), той никога не би могъл да я превежда. Разбирането е превод и на това Джордж Стайнър е посветил първата глава в монументалния си труд за езика и превода „След Вавилон“. Превеждането включва вникване, т.е. тълкуване. Но тълкуване не на самото произведение, а на собствения прочит на това произведение. „Всеки задълбочен прочит на някакъв текст от миналото на собствения ни език и литература е многопосочен акт на интерпретация“ (пак там: 51). В този смисъл не само старокитайската поезия, но поезията въобще не е преводима именно поради свойствата, които я правят поезия. „Невъзможността на превода е в някакъв смисъл безспорна. Това съждение не се отнася до преводимостта на поезията, то е съждение за преводимостта въобще“ (Raffel 1988: 11). „Поезията е това, което се губи при превода“ на поезия, цитира Л. Левчев френски поет в книгата си за поетическото изкуство. Преводимостта на поезията е въпрос от областта на поетическата метафизика и той няма разрешение на равнище език. Поезията не е преводима, а превъплътима. Защото изкованото в стих слово е битие. То е вечност, очакваща възкресение в умовете на читателите си. Всеки прочит резонира „с цялата предишна история“ на овековеченото в стих слово (Стайнър 2014: 58). Бидейки самото себе си, това слово вече не е възможно да се пре-веде, пре-изкаже. Всяко „преизказване“ е обречено на провал именно по силата на оная екзистенциална неповторимост, която е качествена характеристика на всяко стойностно произведение на изкуството. Поезията е единствено превъплътима.

Преводачът на старокитайска поезия трябва е ерудит дори само като читател, тъй като „да четеш цялостно, означава да възстановиш всичко, което можеш, за значенията и интенциите на непосредствената среда, сред която реално възниква речта. … Истинският читател е пристрастен към речниците“ (пак там). „Осведоменото, жадно съзнание за историята на съответния език, за преобразуващите енергии на чувството, които превръщат синтаксиса в летопис на социалното битие, е задължително. … Но нито ерудицията, нито усърдието са достатъчни за цялостното прозрение, за интуитивното проникване до центъра“ (пак там: 60). Преводачът на поезия трябва сам да е творец на поезия и то поезия в някаква степен сродна с превежданата: и дух, и по стил, а и по качество[1]. „И в двата случая средствата за проникване са сложна съвкупност от знания, добра осведоменост и пресъздаваща интуиция“ (пак там: 60; подч. мое). По принцип поетите преводачи – по силата на някакви неписани закони – намират през пространството и времето сродни души и за тях превеждането е не толкова професионално занимание, колкото сърдечно общуване с тези сродни души, отдалечаване от всичко в космоса на това общуване. Вещите преводачи на поезия се отдават на поета (поетесата), когото превеждат, стремят се да станат него (нея), да изчезнат от себе си и от своето време. Автентичността на превода-изкуство се дължи в най-голяма степен на дълбокия му мотив: любовта. Никой не може да превежда автор, когото не разбира, защото не обича. Точно в този смисъл дори изкусният преводач и познавач на китайски език не може да превежда всичко не поради недостиг на професионализъм, но поради невъзможност да въплъти в себе си всяко слово, да въведе в душата си всяка душа. „Да помниш всичко, е състояние на лудост. … да се постигне такова дълбоко съзвучие с битието на“ превеждания от нас автор, „с неговата отнологична форма, че да пресъздаде неизбежно точната съвкупност от неговите прозрения и изказвания“ е задача, чиято изтощителност е умопомрачителна (пак там: 60, 114).

След всички тези наблюдения над естеството на превода, за мен дори въпросът за превод от превода е проява на безотговорност както спрямо автора на произведението, така и по отношение на собственото читателско достойнство. За жалост немалко китайски автори вместо от оригиналния език се превеждат и издават в България било от руски език, било от западни езици. Не знам поради какви причини или с какви цели се стига до тази практика – какво липсва и какво се търси чрез тези пре-преводи. Смея да твърдя, че всъщност такъв текст не може да се нарече превод на китайска литература. Той е тълкувание на тълкуванието на чужденеца преводач. Неведнъж съм бил разочарован от руски или от английски преводи на китайски книги: едно, че не всичко се превежда, друго, че върху автора се нанася било художествен, било идеологически емайл, а понякога се явяват и груби грешки в тълкуванията на отделни пасажи (това може да се илюстрира с руския превод на поезията в романа „Сън в алени покои“, чиито художествени достойнства са високи, но чиято приемственост с оригинала на

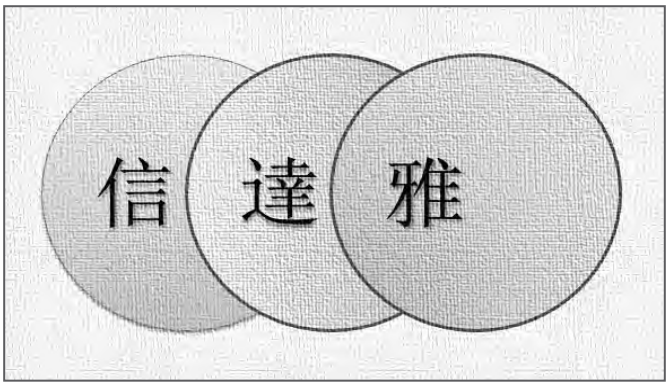
[1] Сравни у Burton: „Преводачът на поезия трябва сам да е поет, а най-добрият преводач на художествена проза работи както подобава, когато сам е писател на художествена проза (като противопоставена на академичните или критични текстове). При това обаче преводачът трябва да притежава и известни качества на учен.“ (p. vii) Основополагащите езикови факти за всеки добър превод на поезия са факти на езика, на който човек превежда, а не на езика, от който превежда. (p. 11)

места просто е изчезнала, при което преводачът/редакторът не е пощадил дори китайските тълкуватели на текста, чиито обяснения е ползвал и дори цитирал).

Част 2. Задкулисието на поетичния превод

Качественият поетичен превод се обуславя от своеобразна умствена „аскеза“, която преводачът си налага в името на правдата, тоест красотата, – в поезията двете би трябвало да са в органична хармония. Спазването на аскетичните правила, които ще опиша по-долу, е съдбоносно за раждането на поезия в превод.

А. Принцип на тройствеността



Всеки художествен превод се състои от най-малко три етапа, съчетани чрез и произтичащи от законите на психодинамиката на човешкото мислене. Тази тройственост или нейната накърненост при превода е пряка причина за достойнствата или недостатъците на превода.

Колкото по-изкусен е преводачът, толкова повече тези три етапа се доближават плътно в хода на работата и сякаш се стремят да се припокрият, но според мен те никога не могат да се слеят и да преминат в два или един. Познавам преводи, чиито преводачи са се опитвали да прескочат някой от тези етапи, дори всичките. Казвам познавам, защото един от критичните белези за външно езиково влияние – синтаксисът – в случая на оригинала – лесно прозира в преведения текст. Предполагам са ви попадали български книги с изречения, написани сякаш на руски, английски или друг език, но с български думи и изрази? Неумелият преводач си личи по самоувереността, че може да надхвърли тези три етапа, да убие трите птички с един камък, да преодолее това, което по самата си природа нашият ум е безсилен да постигне, компресирайки три-в-едно психодинамичния процес на превода.

Преводът, също като писателския акт, е сътворяване на текст и преводачът никога не бива да приема като догма идеята, че преводът се дели на оригинала без остатък. В психологията на превода тази идея може да се нарече „химера на точното съответствие“.

Изтънчеността на преводаческото изкуство е в това „как“ казваш „какво“-то, казано от автора, и в определен смисъл нашето „как“ става „какво“, ето защо над това „как“ трябва да се внимава изключително съвестно, тъй като за съжаление в невидимото царство на превода съществуват клопки и отляво – при „освободените творци“, и отдясно – при закалените майстори на „точността“. А именно поради особеностите на езика на класическата китайска поезия – изменени граматични функции на думите, синтактични обрати, нетипични за прозаичния китайски език, подмамваща простота на повърхността на думите при скрита в дълбоките семантични слоеве мощ на внушението, препратките и алюзиите, и многопластовост на прочитите – психодинамиката на превеждането на старинна китайска поезия е с най-голям „механичен момент“, поради което трите му етапа са най-раздалечени в сравнение с, да речем, превода на един научен и нелитературен текст между съвременни европейски езици.

信 – Вярност

Първият етап на поетичния превод е т. нар. подзнаков превод (от рус. подстрочный). Основната му цел е строго и точно предаване на авторските мисли, без непременно прилагане не само на стихотворчески похвати и естетизация, но дори без влагане на собствени тълкувания. С това изречение вече навлязох във вътрешно противоречие. Нека наречем подзнаковия превод отражателен. Вл. Набоков е смятал за измама всички поетични преводи освен най-елементарните подзнакови, но с това дълбоко се е заблуждавал. Причината според мен е в избора на „семантичен двойник“ – всеки, който е чел

различни издания на отделен класически китайски поет или е сравнявал схолите на тълкувателите на едно и също произведение, неизбежно се е натъкнал на типичното за повечето класически текстове разночетене: явление, съпътстващо всяка класическа филология на света. В този смисъл създаването на подзнаков превод е особено критично и отговорно – класическият китайски поет е най-опасният враг на своя преводач, във всеки йероглиф той е поставил две или повече примки, много често самите китайци спорят дали даден йероглиф е „празнозначен“ (служебен) или „пълнозначен“ (虛–實), ако пък е служебен, дали наистина служи или просто е на „синекурна длъжност“ – запълва ритмична дупка, за да запази благообразието на „поетичната институция“. За пример могат да послужат редица йероглифи от „Книга на песните“, от Чуските строфи на Цю Юан и др. На този етап в ума на преводача трябва да звучат като симфония гласовете на достъпните и надеждни прочити (схоли) от предишните епохи.

За да илюстрирам ставащото на тези три етапа, ще използвам свои преводи на петсловното стихотворение на Мън Хаожан „Пролетно утро“ (孟浩然《春曉》– цезурата отбелязвам с табулация за I и II и с новоредие за III):

春眠不覺曉，

處處聞啼鳥。

夜來風雨聲，

花落知多少？

I.

Пролетен сън.	Не усетих зората.
Отвред	чувам песен на птици.
Нощта донесе	шум на вятър и дъжд.
Цветчета окапаха	(кой) знае колко?

Както се вижда, тук в превода липсват римите, ритмически това все още е разположена на отделни редове проза, цезурите на оригиналното четиристишие са „изобразени“ с отстъпи навътре в редовете. С разочарование съм чел английски преводи на китайска поезия, застинали на този етап сякаш в „благоговеен страх“ пред по-нататъшна трансформация на стиха и превъзнасящи аморфните „стихове“ на етап Вярност (信) едва ли не като огледален образ на старинната поезия. Този неприемлив за мен подход е свързан с определени философски и индивидуалистични нагласи, които по моему провалят начинанието да се преведе поезия с поезия още в самото му начало[2]. Според мен подобен опит да се „китаизира“ некитайски, нейероглифен текст, да се трансплантира идеопиктографска знаковост, непредаваема с линейните средства на фонетичната азбука, е едновременно причина за и следствие на отчуждаването от регистъра „класически стих“, който има ясно зададени параметри в европейската литература. Преводът по-горе е и си остава само (не)обработена чернова, тъй като подобни откъслечни мисли-знаци не встъпват помежду си в същите сложни синтактични и семантични отношения, както китайските йероглифи на оригинала. James J. Y. Liu проникновено отбелязва: „… граматична особеност на поетичния [китайски] език, тясно свързана със синтаксиса, е флуидността на „частите на речта“. Дори в китайската проза думите се радват на огромна свобода в това отношение, свобода, която е още по-голяма в поезията… Китайската граматика е флуидна, а не архитектурна. Ако в език като латинския [и повечето европейски езици] думите са солидни тухли, с които се строят сложни здания от изречения и параграфи, то в китайския те са химични елементи, които встъпват в нови съединения със завидна лекота“ (цит. по: Raffel 1988: 7–8).

На какво основание в такъв случай се избира кой йероглиф в кое свое значение ще „звучи“ и как ще „съзвучи“ на останалите йероглифи в тая лаконична вселена? Дори в прости по външност стихове като горното „химичните“ синтактични връзки са много повече от тези в превода на етап Вярност. Раз-

[2] Като пример може да се посочи опитът на блестящия китаист Дейвид Хокс да преведе стихотворението на Ду Фу „Лунна нощ“ (《月夜》) без последваща поетична обработка. „Макар да е един от най-добрите западни синолози, блестящ критик и изумителен преводач на проза, неговият ясен и прям превод [на това стихотворение] отстъпва по качество на всички останали поетични преводи независимо от качествата им. Ако се прочете само преводът на Хокс, няма да е възможно да се установи, че стихотворението на Ду Фу всъщност е стихотворение“ (Raffel 1988: 36).

бирам пленителността на тази простота на изказа, но чрез този подход се постига нещо парадоксално: простота, за която има история, се превежда с простота, зад която няма история. Нищо в семантичната история на думите от нашите западни езици не може да се оприличи на семантичната история на един йероглиф. Записаните с фонетична азбука думи предават смисъла монохронно и почти винаги са етимологично едновалентни, докато записаните с йероглиф смисли звучат диахронно и в класическата китайска поезия почти винаги са етимологично многовалентни. В историческия си развой значенията на фонетично записаните думи потъват пласт подир пласт надолу в паметта, докато се изгубят от нея подир едно, две, няколко поколения. Значенията на йероглифите не потъват, а се напластяват едно до друго и остават завинаги в този йероглиф, независимо как се е произнасял той в древноста, в средновековието и сега. Това се използва от богато надарените китайски поети и ако човек чете поезията на Цао Сюецин в „Сън в алени покои“, без да има предвид казаното в „Книга на песните“, в „Исторически записки“ на Съма Циен или дори в някой анекдот от неофициална история (в действителност алюзиите в този роман са много повече от изброените), той не би могъл изобщо да разбере за какво си говорят героите в романа чрез написаните от тях стихове. В обобщен план, сборниците от коментари към класическите поетични произведения далеч надвишават обема на самите произведения. Това се дължи на споменатите от мен неизразими черти на китайската класическа поезия: криене в гънките на алюзии и символи и в самата природа на йероглифа като въплътител на смислите, носител на китайската мисловност.

達 – Достигане

Вторият етап на превода е именно преодоляването на влиянието на оригинала, преведеният текст вече е достигнал родината на своя език и се опитва да изкаже мислите на оригинала с присъщата на родния език естественост. Това означава, че надеждността на първата чернова е вече достатъчна, за да се облегне преводачът върху нея и да продължи работата само над нея. Вторият етап на превода завършва, когато текстът, прочетен на глас, звучи също тъй естествено както всеки друг текст, написан на родния език на преводача, независимо дали е достигнато поетично майсторство. Бих нарекъл 達 – заличаване на следите от оригинала, **„**сваляне на скелето**“**, етап на естествеността. При поетичния превод на този етап може да се работи примерно над ритмизацията на прозаичния текст от етап „Вярност“, да се определи поетичната стъпка, да се изравни (във възможната степен) броят стъпки до и след цезурата, дори да се помисли за римуване (по-долу римите на превода не са съобразени с римуването в оригинала, но отразяват класическия тип: AABB).

II.

Не усетих как съмна в моя пролетен сън:

чуруликаха птички навсякъде вън.

Толкоз шум вдигна нощната хала,

на цветчетата паднали броя кой би узнал!

雅 – Изисканост, красота

На този етап се извършва възвисяването на превода до възможно най-близка художествена прилика с оригинала, не като съпоставимост по стил (това не е възможно и не бива да се търси), но като самостоятелно художествено произведение, което звучи тъй, сякаш е написано на езика, на който се чете. Този етап си има свои тънкости, които се коренят в доброто познаване на стихознанието и генетиката на поезиса, както и в музикалния усет на преводача. Според мен това е целта на поетичния превод. Всъщност точният превод е не преводът, закотвен на равнище „скеле“ (信), а преводът, достигнал равнище на поетична достоверност и художествено изящество (雅). Същата мисъл е изразена и в предговора към „Книга на песните“: 雅者, 正也《毛詩序》. При поетичния превод „верен“ е не „дословният“, структурно-огледален превод, а преводът, предаващ въсловесената поетична душевност на първия поет във възможната за красотата вярност. Некрасивият превод на поезия може да бъде само преразказ, но не и поетично произведение. Този етап е огледало на литературните дарби на самия преводач. Разбира се, това включва неизброимо много начини на предаване на поетичността (и за мен лично неспазването на римата е по-малка беда от бягството от ритъма, който пресъздава песенността, танцувалността, присъща на китайския поетичен език – от „Шидзин“ до почти съвременната „строга“ класическа поезия на Китай [格律詩詞]):

А.
Сън пролетта ми изпрати:
Утрото чак не усетих.
Птича гълчава отвред
върна ме в светлия ден.
Вятър и дъжд тая нощ
с шум тишината смутиха
колко цветчета, не зная,
от дървесата сломиха…
Б.
Зората не сетих, унесен във пролетен сън,
птичата песен заливаше всичко навън.
Нощес под прозореца виеха вятър и дъжд,
цветчета ороиха… колко… не зная и сам.

Бих искал да дам още един пример с мой превод от три етапа на седемсловното стихотворение „Прощаване с Юан-ър, отиващ като посланик в Анси“ от Уан Уей (王維《送元二使安西唐》):

渭城朝雨浥輕塵，
客舍青青柳色新。
勸君更盡一杯酒，
西出陽關無故人。

I. Проза – отражение – неримувано

Град Уей. Утрин. Дъжд. Мокър лекият прах.
Гостилницата. Зелените върби. Цветът (им) свеж е.
Настойчиво Ви каня пак да пресушите чаша вино.
Отивате на запад. В Ян-гуан нямате стар приятел.

II. Ритмувано с цезури – римувано ААББ

В град Уей дъждът тази сутрин ситния прах ороси
Върбите зелени пред хана разпускат злачни коси
Моля Ви, пак пресушете чашата с вино. На запад
скоро поемате, в Ян-гуан предан другар не ви чака!

III. Ритмувано с цезури – римувано по китайския оригинал ААБА

Утринен дъжд пробуди град Уей
и ситния прах ороси.
Пред хана върбите зелени блестят и
окъпани спускат коси.
Остава ни малко, я пак пресуши
стакана със вино – на запад
към Ян-гуан отвежда те пътят, но там
приятел стар нямаш самсѝ.

Към трите класически „изисквания“ към превода (вярност, естественост и красота) бих добавил и едно ново, по моему нужно на съвременния български преводач и творец измерение, а именно

新 – Словотворчеството

Превръщането на превеждането от харизма в занаят ни е докарало една истинска фобия от богатството на българския език – да, българският език е изключително богат, ако ние не изключваме свенливо от него архаизмите, диалектните думи и форми, литературното му наследство от далечно и недалечно минало (включително и старобългарския език) и най-вече вечномладата му словообразувателна способност. Един език започва да умира тогава, когато носителите му престанат да творят нови думи. Ꙗзъїкъ на старобългарски означава „народ“.

По отношение на преводите от китайски и най-вече от средно- и старокитайски език тази жива дарба е особено нужна на преводачите. Тях не бива да ги сковава насаденият от псевдоакадемичния педантизъм страх от словотворчество, не бива да ги смущава мнението на хора, които сами не са творци на литература, а „оценители“ отстрани[3], че те са дръзнали да въвеждат в езика ни реалии, непознати на „дедите и отците“ ни. Човек започва да се бои от „нововъведения“ едва тогава, когато загуби живото си, вроденото си умение да твори слово. Да се превежда от старокитайски и китайски език без словотворчество е невъзможно. Ако се боим да останем неразбрани поради липсата на културна среда и възприятие, на литературна херменевтика на културното равнище на произведенията, които превеждаме, тогава ние изобщо не трябва да превеждаме от старокитайски, защото в контекста на „средностатистическата“ ни съвременна езикова култура една култура като китайската е генетично неусвоима, тя е чуждо тяло, което е обречено на отхвърляне от имунната система на сведения до физическо съществуване народ.

Част 3. Проблеми на поетичния превод

Поради ограниченото пространство на дадения формат тук няма да се занимавам с особеностите на китайската поетика и стихосложение, които би трябвало да са познати на всеки читател на класическите китайски поети в оригинал. Само ще уточня, че в статията си разглеждам изключително проблемите на превода на строгите форми на класическата китайска поезия (格律詩詞), които са стриктно съобразени с принципите: тоналност (平仄), римуване (押韻) и паралелизъм или антитеза (對仗), условно изключвайки древните (古風，古體詩，樂府).

Тук отново неизбежно се навлиза в обширните поля на китайското стихознание и дори при най-сдържан минимализъм е невъзможно да се избегнат въпросите на ритъма и римата в китайското стихотворение. Както може да се очаква, тук съществуват две крайности – едната, която вече споменах, е стремежът към интерпретиращо, смислово поетизиране при почти пълно пренебрегване на задължителните изисквания на класическата поетика; другата е увлечение по намиране на „точно съответствие“ – в броя думи и обрамчването с рими, един формалистичен поезис, неангажиран с етиката на поетичната дарба и въображение. Във втория случай, да се запазят римите именно по начина, по който са подредени там, без да се наруши синтактичната структура на стихотворението и неговият ритъм, е практически невъзможно. На руски език съществуват прекрасни сами по себе си преводи на класическа китайска поезия, които обаче, вкопчени в точното обрамчване с рими, са се отдалечили не само от немногословието на оригиналните пет- или седемсловни стихове с постоянна цезура, но най-вече от образността и смисловата неприкосновеност на оригиналите. От това съм извлякъл поуката, че при превода на поезия трябва да се търси златната среда и да не се проявява нито излишен волунтаризъм, нито структурален педантизъм – строгото спазване на формата на оригинала е идеал, но не е олтар, пред който в името на „верността“ сме длъжни да жертваме красотата.

Да се превежда старокитайска поезия ***и с*** формата си, ***но и с*** дълбочината на образите и смислите в нея, е възможно *само теоретически,* и то за гении на поезията като Пушкин – съвършени музиканти на словото. Много трудно бих могъл да превеждам поетично, спазвайки формата педантично. Предполагам на повечето преводачи на поезия е известно, че римите също се износват и в един момент от поетични стават условно непоетични. Затова всяко ново поколение поети – и това се вижда от историята на родната ни поезия – се стреми към нови, неочаквани и свежи рими. Разбира се, всяка самоцел в името на „новостта“ е пагубна, защото красотата има своя метафизика и потребност от надчовешки прототипи. Ако в името на точността на броя срички или разположението на римите преводачът жерт-

[3] „Повечето академични учени са буквално безразлични към литературното качество на преводите, които са предназначени за студентите като христоматийни текстове; те не само виждат малка или никаква разлика между поезия, преведена в стих или в проза, но обикновено сякаш чувстват, че прозаичните преводи на поезия са по-добри („по-верни“)“, пише Raffel (op. cit., p. viii).

ва красотата на образа, в такъв случай той се отдалечава от „поетическата точност“, за която не са открити измервателни уреди. Дори да се получи привидно *точно отражение* на оригинала, в изграденото в собствен исторически контекст българско възприятие за класически стих такова „отражение“ би било извън-поезия.

Когато меко възразявам срещу „отражателността“ като подход при превода на старокитайска поезия, аз не подкрепям и „освободеността“ от „условности“ на другия тип превод – този на модерния интелектуализъм. Традицията е това, което споява крайните подходи и дава възможност да се намери пътят на умереността. Когато тя не е създадена, откъсването от склонността към крайности е винаги тревожно напрягащо, да не кажа мъчително. „Отражателната точност“ трябва да бъде разтворена в животворните сокове на неумиращ сърдечен туптеж, вечно търсещ нови и по-красиви изразности. Ние сме наследници на ***свой коренен*** древен език с изключителна жизнеспособност и скрита, далеч недокрай използвана творческа мощ. Началото на българската книжовност е свързано със смайваща дълбочина на словотворчеството: нека вземем само две думи, чиито славянски корени именно творчески, а не механистично отразяват потенциала на българския език: възкресение (вместо калкирания превод „востание“) и кръст. Признавам, преводачът на поезия е обречен на вечно плаване между Сцила и Харибда.

Превеждането е движение, понякога много бавно, в необозримия космос на смислите. Като всяко движение той има свои етапи, които трябва да се преминат и не могат да се прескочат. Когато е невъзможно на даден етап да „спася“ класическата форма, предпочитам да запазя образите и онова, което носи *китайскостта* в дълбочина, а не във формалноизразна точност. И тук отново остава уговорката: всеки превод (особено на поезия) не е завършеност, а врата към нов превод. Тази уговорка, заедно с уговорката преводачът постоянно да се връща към оригинала и винаги да е готов да гледа на книжовния си труд като на чернова е според мен най-безопасната основа за превода като изкуство. Човек не трябва да забравя, че той не е развит, а развиващ се, дори когато му се струва, че „има постижения“. Да забравя това, което е зад него, за да се стреми с чисто сърце към това, което все още не е постигнал.

Отговорността на преводача на поезия е ***особено голяма,*** защото именно в нея той ***метонимизира*** произведението на духа на една култура чрез текстуализацията му в духа на друга култура. Преводачът винаги стои на ръба на изкушението да *замени* нещо чуждо с нещо свое. Вместо *да заличи своето*, **каквото е неговото възвишено призвание**.

Китайската поезия е преводима, ако се превежда нейният дух – като се спазва духовната точност на оригинала, а формалната, строго класична форма се замени с това, което в представите на европейския читател съответства на класическо стихосложение, дори ако то не съответства точно на структурата на китайския стих. Не на структурата съпоставям структура, а на класичността – класичност. В старокитайската поезия, за разлика от прозата (без това да бъде абсолютно правило), не е нужно обаче за символа да се търси символ и за образа образ, за да се пресъздаде една мисловно-изразна традиция чрез средствата на друга. Поезията на древен Китай винаги ще натоварва своите преводи с нелек обяснителен апарат именно за да се запази *автентичността като мисъл*, а не като форма. Просто не е възможно да бъде създаден мост *без перила* между Изтока и Запада. Този мост ще бъде изгънат така нависоко, толкова ще е стръмен, че без перила читателят просто ще получи или главозамайване, или сърцебиене и ще поиска да избяга от този омразно тесен и главоломно стръмен мост. Този мост ще прилича на страховитите китайски мостове между две отсечени надолу като от гигантска ръка остроскални планини...

Много често поезията, най-високата поезия, не е задължително подчинена на структурата, наречена стих. Шекспир е най-яркият пример – макар това да не се отнася до сонетите му, – повечето стихове в драмите му са бели, неримувани, а ритъмът дори се губи в някои по-драматични моменти (например размишленията на Хамлет над черепа на Йорик). От друга страна, съществуват немалко скучни западни поети, които са оставили съвършени по форма стихове. Рядко са поетите като Пушкин, където и формата е изрядна, и духът е жив, и езикът е естествен, а не вкаран в прокрустовото ложе на формалните изисквания. Подобен пушкински класицизъм обладават и най-високите постижения на китайската поезия, с което добрият преводач неизбежно трябва да се съобразява.

Има и друго нещо – трябва да се отчита и функционалността на стила на произведението, което се превежда. Нещо, което се е пяло в оригинал*, трябва да може да се пее и след превода.* Нещо, което е родено от съзерцание и проникване в дълбини, трябва да кара читателя да съзерцава и тегне към

тайната на скрития в стиха смисъл. Невъзможността да се изпее преводът или да се запази тайната на оригинала в него до някаква степен накърнява авторския замисъл, което лично за мен е по-голяма намеса от страна на преводача в оригиналното произведение, отколкото механистичното „отстъпление“ от римата.

Част 4. Проблеми на поетичния превод, отразени в преводите на стихотворението „Тъга в тиха нощ“ (《靜夜思》)на Ли Бай

Ли Бай, наричан още Ли Бо, е един от най-именитите китайски поети. Едно от стихотворенията му, което в Китай неизменно се включва и в сборници, и в христоматии, и в учебници, и дори в красиво илюстрираните стихосбирки за деца и люлчините песни, е „Тъга в тиха нощ“. Спечелило славата на съвършено произведение на изящната простота и безизкуственост, това стихотворение същевременно е и едно от най-трудните за превод – благодарение на същите си качества. Изчистено докрай от символи и алюзии, от многопластови „подсказвания“ на смисли, надживели предишните епохи, то може да се назове с една дума: неподкупно. Каквото и да кажем, както и да го преведем, резултатът ще е „нещо в повече“, нещо, което класичната китайска простота свенливо е закрила от посредствеността на естетичните ни навици и от търсенето на свилени одежди, които се побират в приказна орехова черупка.

Но нека пристъпя направо към текста на стихотворението, а по-долу ще съпоставя някои руски и английски негови преводи. В моя превод предлагам варианта, отразяващ разбирането на думата 牀от съвременни китайски изследователи на творчеството на Ли Бай[4].

I. Подзнаков превод

牀前明月光，	Край кладенеца – ясна лунна светлина,
疑是地上霜。	като че ли (подозирам, че) е скреж по земята (пода).
舉頭望明月，	Вдигам глава – гледам ясната луна,
低頭思故鄉。	свеждам глава мисля (тъгувам) за родните места.

Поетичен превод:

Тъга[5] в тиха нощ
По перваза грее
лунна светлина
струва ми се – скреж
земята е застлал.
Вдигна чѐло – гледам
светлата луна,
Взор сведа – тъгувам
тихо по дома.

Пред мен са няколко руски превода, които ще е интересно да сравним:

1. Ли Бо. Думы тихой ночью. Перевод Леонида Сторча

Перед моим ***окном*** белеет,
Плывет луна
Как будто инеем покрыла
Весь пол она

[4] Интересни мисли от китайски литературоведи върху време-пространствените особености на творбата и върху смисъла на йероглифа 牀, превеждан по мисловен рефлекс като „легло“, „одър“ и пр. могат да се намерят в китайския интернет, от тях препоръчвам《从“静夜思”的意境创造，看“床”的字义选择—兼谈“静夜思”的时间地点》 от 王琪玖.

[5] Според китайското разбиране на стихотворението смисълът на 思 тук е: тъга по нещо, което ни липсва, носталгия, както в съвременния език често се употребява неговият синоним 想. Тъй като цялото стихотворение е пропито от носталгия по родния край, струва ми се, че „припомням си родния край“ като израз е по-отдалечен от поетично-емоционалния смисъл на 思 (в споменната поезия такава функция изпълнява 憶).

Я вверх смотрю на серебро,
На это небо
И вспоминаю дом, где я
Так долго не был.

2. Ли Бо. Думы тихой ночью. Еще один перевод Леонида Сторча

Пред моим ***убогим ложем*** –
Чистая луна,
Словно инеем покрыла
Старый пол она.
Вверх гляжу я на седые
Краски серебра.
Вниз гляжу и вспоминаю
Милый сердцу край.

Както се вижда от тези два варианта, преводачът също се е колебаел кое значение на 牀 да възприеме. Характерно за много от руските преводи на старокитайска поезия е „разкрасяването“ чрез добавяне на прилагателни и „разработването“ на глаголи. Това е белег на вид „техника“ на преводите в руската китаистика, срещу която възразяват например великолепни познавачи на китайската култура и поезия като В. М. Алексеев и Л. Ейдлин. Ето какво пише В. Алексеев:

„Не бива да се допускат фалшификати, отсебятини и лъжеживописни настроения при превода на китайските автори… Всичко това е непоследователна и главното – ненужна екзотика.“

Това, от една страна. Другата опасност, за която писах по-горе, е в приковаване на вниманието в „точността“, дословността, което води до особен вид негъвкавост, несъзерцателност, непластичност в превода. Ето какво пише по този повод Ейдлин:

„Дословен [точен, буквален] превод – този израз е евфемизъм, прикриващ просто лошия, необработен превод. Още по-смешно е пък да се говори за дословност при превода на йероглифен текст, когато преводачът разполага с арсенал от значения, понятия и представи, скрити зад „йероглифното“ слово, при което всяко от тях е и звук, и образ.“[6]

В този смисъл и „убого ложе“, и „белее-плава“, и „целия под“, и „стария под“, а още повече „сивите цветове на сребротo“ (?) и „сребротo на небето“ (вм. напълно недвусмисленото „ясна луна“ в оригинала), и „гледам и си спомням“, „родния край, където тъй дълго не съм бил“ попадат в категорията, наречена от акад. Алексеев „отсебятина“ (предпочитам да оставя тази сочна руска дума без превод).

Понякога, за да се постигне музикалност в превода, за да се избегне аритмията, която създава впечатление повече за преразказ, отколкото за преводно поетично произведение, е нужно и да се направи мека, дискретна, незабележима отстъпка в тази посока, но тя никога не бива да води до подобно раздипляне на въображението, което накърнява две от възвишените качества на старокитайската поезия: много-в-малкото, дълбочина-в-простотата.

За изкуството на превода на старокитайска поезия на руски Ейдлин е отделил цяла глава в посочената книга, която бих препоръчал на всеки китаист, събрал решимост да се катери по урвестите пътеки на поетичния превод от старокитайски[7].

Ето още няколко руски превода на стихотворението, оставям на читателите сами да преценят степента, в която е постигнато равновесието, златната среда, между опасностите на дословността и отсебятината.

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[6] Л. Эйдлин, Тао Юаньмин и его стихотворения, М., 1967, с. 137, 139.

[7] Поетичният превод, по моето скромно разбиране, не включва само и единствено превода на класическа поезия: книги като „Сън в алени покои“ (《紅樓夢》) например и произведенията в жанра сяопин (小品), например „Шест записки за мимолетния живот“ от Шън Фу (沈复《浮生六記》), са истински шедьоври на това, което в западните литератури се нарича „поезия в проза“.

3. Ли Бо. Размисли в тиха нощ**.** Превод на Александър Гитович[8]

У самой моей постели легла от луны дорожка
А может быть это иней я сам хорошо не знаю
Я голову поднимаю гляжу на луну в окошко
Я голову опускаю и родину вспоминаю

4. Ли Бо. Размисли в тиха нощ**.** Превод на Борис Мешчеряков[9]

Лёг у постели ясный ли лунный свет?
Иней ли белый – осени первый след?
Взор поднимаю – полной пленясь луной.
Взор опускаю – вспомнив про дом родной...

5. Ли Бо. Размисли в тиха нощ**.** Превод на Юлиан Шчуцки[10]

В изголовии ложа
Сияет, светлеет луна.
Показалась похожей
На иней упавший она.
Посмотрел на луну я,
Лицо к небесам обратив,
И припомнил родную
Страну я, лицо опустив.

Характерна черта на всички цитирани досега руски преводи е строгостта в римуването – дори там, където в оригинала няма рими (пред цезурата например). Това е своеобразна европеизация на поетическото съзнание, при която непълните рими и белите стихове се възприемат като „недостиг“ в поетичния превод.

По мои общи впечатления най-близки по смисъл до оригиналните произведения са преводите, направени от китайци, владеещи английски език, и обработени от англоезични автори (преводачи, редактори). Ето и няколко английски превода на стихотворението.

6. Li Bai. Brooding in the Still Night. Translated by Tony Barnstone, Willis Barnstone, and Chou Ping

Bright moonlight before my bed;
I think at first the floor has frost.
I lift my head to the mountain moon*,
then bow my head in a dream of home.

Тук тъгата в някаква степен сполучливо е оприличена на мечта или сън за родния дом, но третият стих е преведен от друг китайски вариант, където 明月 е 山月 (луна над планините) .

7. Li Bai. Still Night Thoughts. Translated by Burton Watson

Moonlight in front of my bed –
I took it for frost on the ground!
I lift my eyes to watch the mountain moon,
lower them and dream of home.

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[8] А. Гитович е съветски поет, който по стечение на обстоятелствата се оказал „официален“ преводач на китайска класическа поезия, въпреки че не знаел китайски език и превеждал от подзнаковия превод на забележителния китаист Виктор Петров.

[9] Б. Мешчеряков, без образование на китаист, е изучавал китайски език самостоятелно и е съставил уникална антология с превод на хиляда китайски стихотворения.

[10] Ю. Шчуцки е съветски китаист от довоенно време, прочут с пълния руски превод на „Книга на промените“. Превел е също „Антология на китайската лирика VII–IX в.“. Репресиран и разстрелян през 30-те години на XX век.

Един доста сполучлив превод по отношение на точността, при все че е в бял стих. Когато ритъмът е спазен и трябва да се избира между по-голяма точност на предаване на смисъла, изразено в бял стих, и непременното търсене на рими при *licensia poetica* спрямо авторовите мисли, аз лично бих предпочел белия стих.

8. Li Bai. Thoughts in a Tranquil Night. Translated by L. Cranmer-Byng

Athwart the bed
I watch the moonbeams cast a trail
So Bright, so cold, so frail,
That for a space it gleams
Like hoar-frost on the margin of my dreams.
I raise my head, –
The splendid moon I see:
Then droop my head,
And to dreams of thee –
My Fatherland, of thee.

Тук поетическата волност е довела до „байронизация“ на Ли Бай както по отношение на поетичния лексикон, тъй и по отношение на поетическата форма. Ако стихотворението се преведе отново от английски на китайски език, струва ми се, то би звучало като произведение на западната литература. Особено чужд на оригинала стилистично е последният стих: „Отечество мое!“.

Играта с китайската поезия е засегнала и последния английски превод, който тук цитирам и превеждам на български, откроявайки всички места, които според мен са внесени отвън „без уважителна причина“ от преводача.

9. Li Bo. Night Thoughts. Translated by H. Giles

I wake and moonbeams play around my bed
Glittering like hoarfroast to my wondering eyes
Upwards the glorious moon I raise my head
Then lay me down and thoughts of home arise

Събуждам се и лунните лъчи около леглото ми **играят,**
блещукайки като скреж **пред учудените ми очи.**
Нагоре към **великолепната** луна вдигам глава,
сетне си лягам пак и мисли за дома се появяват.

Нека направим една малка статистика – тук имаме 32 думи, от които 12–13 (т.е. около 40 %) са съчинени от преводача и не съответстват смислово на оригиналната творба, бидейки „творческо доизмисляне“. В такъв случай, какъв е допустимият процент „поетическа волност“, която преводачът може да си позволи при превод на класическа китайска поезия? И изобщо, допустимо ли е превръщането на преводаческото изкуство във „вариации по тема“? Вярно е, че всеки превод е и интерпретация, но тя е строго обозначена от неповторимото в оригинала и преобразеното „повторение“ на това неповторимо в поетическия превод. Убеждението ми е, че извън това „повторение“ преводът губи стойността си като превод в същата степен, в която го губи, ако остане само повторение, непреобразено от стихията на поетическото изкуство в родния език на преводача.

Бих искал да завърша тези мисли с превода на акад. В. М. Алексеев, който съчетава високите достойнства на поетична простота и смислово-интонационна вярност към оригинала (и също в бял стих):

Перед постелью вижу сиянье луны.
Кажется – это здесь иней лежит на полу.
Голову поднял – взираю на горный я месяц;
Голову вниз – я в думе о крае родном.

Вместо заключение

Попитах Тао Юанмин какво мисли за моя превод на стиховете му и той написа в отговор следния стих:

Сегашният ми стих когато
след хиляди години стане древен
как ли тогава ще звучи преведен
от някого, незнаещ мойте думи
на друг език и с други мисли
за други хора с други словеса
изгубили в отдавнашното бъдеще
вкуса на древното сегашно време?

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DISUNITY MAKES STRENGTH – ABOUT THE INNER BOUNDARIES OF THE CHINESE MODERN POETRY DURING THE 80S THE THE 20TH CENTURY

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Abtract

The paper is concentrated on the realms of the so-called ***misty poetry*** *(朦胧诗) that restores the modern tendency in the Chinese poetic art, straying away from the dominating politicized literature. Nevertheless, within the boundaries of the misty poetry, the are different territories between modern and official: in the texts of different authors as well as in between the poems of one and the same poet, and even in one and the same poem.*

Against this heterogeneity is set the poetics of the authors of the ***Third generation*** *(第三代诗人), defining clearly the inner boundaries of the modern poetry.*

Keywords: misty poetry, modern poetry, the Third generation

In the beginning of the Chinese modern poetry after the Cultural Revolution, what is notable at first sight is the antithesis intelligibility–unintelligibility. Exactly this method is fundamental for the literary critic Zhang Ming (张明), when in his famous article "The Despairing Poetry of the Veiled Moon" (令人气闷的朦胧诗) he defines some texts as "unintelligible despite the efforts of the reader to understand them". Observing the good manners (as is the euphemism) Zhang Ming refers to these poems as "poetry of the veiled Moon", or, shortly put "veiled poetry", and draws a line between them and the Chinese poetry per se. It can be said that this is the first demarcation line in the new Chinese literature. Till this moment, it is wholesome and undivided (统一) and, consequently – a monotonous, mono-scenaric product of the distorted and fanatically cherished old principle "The literature is an exponent of dao" (文以传道). During the period examined in this article, *dao* can only mean the official ideology and therefore all literary texts should be read and interpreted in its light. Once stated, the problem intelligibility–unintelligibility becomes a central theme in many articles, essays, pamphlets, etc. in the contemporary periodicals. With exceptional sharpness and subtlety it is taken up by Gu Gong （顾工）– a poet of the generation of the old-school revolutionaries. In the very beginning of his essay "Two generations" （两代人）, subtitled "About the Unintelligibility of Poetry"，is stated: "The more I read them, the less I understand the poems of my child Gu Cheng" (Xiao 1994: 109). It makes sense to look at this essay more closely. In it, through the fog of nostalgy, Gu Gong remembers how his ten years old son used to came back running from school and to throw his school-bag away with an enthusiastic cry: "Daddy, I composed a new poem today". After that with a trembling voice he recited verses like the following:

枯叶在街道上奔跑，

枯枝在寒风中哀嚎，

大地脱下彩色的秋衣，

换上银白色的雪袍

It is symptomatic how the father interprets this obviously descriptive poem: "Yes, the winter has come. The season of blooming is gone! And oh, great Cultural Revolution, how many leaves you have blown and how many branches you have reduced to bitter tears… I couldn't realize how it is possible a little child to create such allusions and implications" (Xiao 1994: 111). These words reveal the second, developed to extremity, characteristic of the Confucian (but not the Daoist, nor the Buddhist) poetical concept, namely – the allegoric understanding – as opposed to metaphoric and symbolic – of the poetic image. In the ancient Chinese collection of verses "Canon of Songs" (诗经，compiled around 6–5 century BC and canonized in the 1st century AD), the didactic function of poetry is specifically accentuated in the conceptual foreword （大序）: "The poem is instruction […] The high-born enlighten the low-born, while the low-born expose in rhymes [the mistakes] of the high-born". The concept of poetry as an allegoric allusion or a lesson with an unambiguous interpretation defines the entire composition of the "Canon of Songs", where each song is followed by a commentary that throws parabolic light upon the verse. In fact, an autumn landscape almost identical with the poem of the little Gu Cheng, is found in the "Canon of Songs":

蓬兮蓬兮，
风其吹女，
叔兮伯兮，
倡予和女。

蓬兮蓬兮，
风其漂女，
叔兮伯兮，
倡予要女。

The song is "overgrown" with the following commentary: "The lads and the heroes stand for officials of different ranks. They wait for the ruler to start singing and then take up the chant. The same way the dry branches and leaves are waiting for the wind to blow to start falling. The wind represents the orders of the ruler – autocrat and enlightener – while the officials are conduits of his authority". Almost two thousand years after this commentary, Gu Gong interprets on the same allegoric lines the verse of his young son. Is this interpretation coming closer to the poems or is going farther away from them? Rather, the situation is the same as in the relation between text and commentary in the prime source – "Canon of Songs".

So, in the dominating official literature/poetry we see an extreme, vulgar demonstration of the two above-mentioned tendencies. Such poetry could be defined as **"poetry for the ear"**, because it is inciting, declamatory and most of all – its figurative system is reduced to comparatively small number of comprehensible ideological symbols. As a result, these verses resemble poetic fables. In contradiction to this official concept, *the poetry of the veiled Moon* can be defined as **"poetry for the eye"**, because it exploits the figurative power of the images, depicting landscapes that are difficult to interpret and – first and foremost – it uses metaphoric language. Here the reader is the one "in whose imagination the whole artistic coherence of the theme is carried out" (Mukařovský 1993: 144). Therefore, the boundary between the two poetries of the beginning of the 80s does not actually depend on such arbitrary criterion as intelligibility/unintelligibility of the verses, but on the different foundations of the two poetics – in other words, this is the conflict between the (trivial) allegory and the (mysterious) metaphor. Obviously for Gu Gong and the likes, the gap between the two poetics is all-encompassing, perplexing and unexplainable. A non-reversible and a quickly growing crack has appeared on the monolith face of the literary unity. Does this mean that from one side of the precipice the all-seeing red Sun continues to shine on the inviolably monolith scenery, while from the other side the delicate Moon veils with ghostly shadows the unreadable pictures? According to critics like Zhang Dehou (张德厚), who claims that *the misty poetry* is a fresh new start of the Chinese modernism, the answer is more or less positive. But this concept is illusionary. A careful look into the veiled poetry reveals a surprising closeness with the official poetry.

First, one part of the figurative system of the veiled poetry continues to function as an allegory. For example, the poem of Mang Ke (芒克) "The sunflower under the Sun" （阳光中的向日葵，http://www.shigeku.org/xlib/xd/sgdq/mangke.htm):

你看到了吗
你看到阳光中的那颗向日葵了吗
你看它，它没有低下头
而是在把头转向身后
它把头转了过去
就好像是为了一口咬断
那套在它脖子上的
那牵在太阳手中的绳索
……

你看到那颗向日葵了吗
你应该走近它去看看
你走近它你便会发现
它脚下的那片泥土
你每抓起一把
都一定会攥出血来

The Sun is undoubtedly the familiar allegory of the rulers, loaded in the poem of Mang Ke with a negative sense, accusatory of the extreme leftist forces. The blood-soaked earth is also easily interpreted as a symbol of the consequences of the Cultural Revolution terror. Therefore, the difference with the so-called intelligible poetry is only in the pathos. One more illustration is the poem of 梁小斌 "I shot the Blue Sky" （我曾经向蓝色的天空开枪，www.365essay.com/poems/ee108.htm:

我曾经向蓝色的天空开枪，
为了我狂暴的激情，
我曾经向蓝色的天空开枪。

但，天空，
仍然倔强地保持着
她固有的色泽，
这蓝色是她的灵魂。

现在，
天的尽头流泻出一片红光，
蓝天的嘴唇，
流泻出一片红光，
这是美丽的云吗?

我知道，
这是血液在无声流淌
我曾经向蓝色的天空开枪，
她被杀害了吗?

只有现在
她才肯流露出巨大的痛苦，
和这玫瑰色的创伤。

中国天空，
你的创伤都是美丽的。
我的心胸如此沉痛，
我曾向蓝色的天空开枪。

In the beginning, the text is characterized by a spectacular display of images, which potentially could be saturated with complex shades of meaning, but in the end are developed to an encompassing allegory of the painful social climate in China after the Cultural Revolution. The poem begins and ends with a verse, which is also a title – "I shot the blue sky". In this way a transition from the unfulfilled metaphor to an interesting allegory is accomplished. Although intriguing, this allegory is of the familiar type, innate to the official poetry. In the collections with veiled poetry, this plot is frequently seen. And then most of the peculiar images are not

unintelligible any more. It is clear that the lyrical "I" is still the mouthpiece of a whole generation. And poetry continues to serve for the proclamation of some *dao*. This time the *dao* is the moral humanism, the belief in the freedom of man, the romantic emancipation form dogmatism etc., but the lyrical hero is again speaking form the name of an anonymous collective "I", as in the emblematic couplet of Gu Cheng "Generation" (一代人):

黑夜给了我黑色的眼睛，

我却用它寻找光明。

The black night gave me black eyes

To look for the light.

The romantic exaltation, staring again at an indefinite future, the mission to be a spokesman of the many (Bei Dao, the first lines of the poem "Denouement or a Beginning" – "I'm standing here in the place of another, who was killed") is the reason why the veiled poetry is so popular during the 80s. The so-called unintelligibility is fake – it doesn't deter the readability of the poems; just the opposite – it intensifies their appeal among an increasing circle of readers and plays the role of a conspiracy code between them. The doors of the official periodicals did not open readily in front of them – for the most part they open moaningly and hesitantly – the poems of Gu Cheng, Bei Dao, Shu Ting, Yan Li are not chanted as slogans (let's not forget that we called them **"poetry for the eye**"), but they are copied and passed from hand to hand. In passing it's worth mentioning the enormous role of the unofficial magazines and papers, the most legendary of which is "Today" (今天).

Not the veiled images, but the indefinite aesthetic positions of the poets, representing the poetry of the veiled Moon, is the reason why in the very beginning of the 80s – the heyday of their fame – they become the object of a ferocious attack by the next poetic generation, known as *Poets of The Third generation* （第三代诗人）. They attack the very core of the practice of "gluing" conceptual constructs to the poetic repertoire. It can be concluded that the tendency of the so called *anti-culturalism* (反文化) is characteristic for The *Poets of The Third Generation*. The *anti-culturalism* is understood as a revolt against the mainstream, the ideological interferences, the pathos and the bountiful usage of stale, standard poetical images, whose figurativeness serves the ideological propaganda. *The Poets of The Third Generation* are ready to reach to the end – in order to eliminate the outward ideological constructs they deconstruct the very images used by ideology (and culture). We have to admit that in this respect they achieve impressing results; and unsurprisingly, in fact, with a view to the enormity of traditional symbols, clichés and poetic reflexes in the Chinese poetic tradition. Nonetheless, some of their poems are shattering the foundations of the established poetic requisite. An excellent example is the poem of Han Dong （韩东） "About the Dayan pagoda" (大雁塔，literally "The big pagoda of the wild geese" in Xi-an, built in 652) (Tang, Wang 1987: 204). It seems that Han Dong has a very concrete target – the poem of the same name by the famous *misty* poet Yang Lian (杨炼), composed in 5 parts as a monologue of the tower, consisting of about 200 verses:

…我被固定在这里
已经千年
在中国
古老的都城
我象一个人那样站立着
粗壮的肩膀，昂起的头颅
面对无边无际的金黄色土地
我被固定在这里
山峰似的一动不动
墓碑似的一动不动
记寻下民族的痛苦和生命

沉默
岩石坚硬的心
孤独地思考…

We again see a text, product of the allegoric approach, built as a monologue of the famous pagoda, in which the multiple metaphors have only outward, decorative functions. The poem corresponds with an exalted, heroic consciousness, which restores the hopes in the future, that is why its form and content sound anachronistic to the next poetic generation. This is the reason why in the poem of Han Dong, devoted to the same pagoda, the exalted consciousness together with its formal requisite – the allegory and its subordinate figurativeness – are eliminated.

So, during the 80s of the 20th century, the poetic map of China changes essentially – in the initially monolith landscape forms a territory which restores the modern tendencies with a categorical imperative that confuses some of the readers. But a careful reading of the veiled verses reveals a lot of features, inherited form the previous poetic attitude, which in turn are purposefully and demonstratively attacked or ignored by the poets of The Third Generation. The modern poetic language of Chine originates in this process of rejection and accepting in the inner boundaries of the new poetry.

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SECTION

文化藝術

CULTURE AND ART

DRAGON KING AND HIS DAUGHTER IN CHINESE BELIEFS AND LITERATURE

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Abstract

Dragon King (龍王) is a name of a deity or a number of deities of the Chinese folksy religion. These deities are closely connected with the element of water and have emerged mainly in association with Buddhist and Taoist beliefs, which have strongly influenced the Dragon King's cult. Along with that, the basement of this cult – beliefs in the Dragon as a beneficial and favored creature – cannot be limited by the issues of one religious school and date back to the earliest beginnings of Chinese civilization.

The paper covers the main stages of development of Dragon King's worship, traces its main connections with orthodox Buddhist and Taoist concepts and illustrates the peculiarities of the final pattern with the samples from pieces of the classical Chinese literature.

As for the Dragon's Daughter, though the mainstream beliefs here have always been pure Buddhist, the final religious model also tends to be typical folksy and very far from the original content.

The paper concludes that owing to the multistage and intricate process of the cult's emergence, the practice of worship and literary descriptions of Dragon King and his daughter stray from the original Buddhist and Taoist ideas and make the two figures highly estimated and popular in the folksy pantheon with totally new functions, features and personalities.

Keywords: Chinese religion, folksy beliefs, dragons, Long-wang, Long-nü, novels, literature

Dragon King (龍王) is a name of a deity or a number of deities of the Chinese folksy religion. These deities are closely connected with the element of water and have emerged mainly in association with Buddhist and Taoist beliefs, which have strongly influenced the Dragon King's cult. Along with that, the basement of this cult – beliefs in the Dragon as a beneficial and favored creature – cannot be limited by the issues of one religious school and date back to the earliest beginnings of Chinese civilization.

Despite the common belief in the abundance of authentic ancient myths and legends about dragons, their kingdoms and all the like, the real number of reliable data of this kind is quite restricted and gives no detailed information about the matter. On the other hand, the most of the information is available in later sources, but it somehow largely bears the imprint of Buddhist influence. It is mainly concerned with the figure of Lung Wang – the Dragon King.

Although it is believed that the notion "the Dragon King" (龍王) appears in early antiquity and describes a grand and mighty dragon, real facts don't support this theory: the Dragon (龍) himself, having appeared in Shuowen Jiezi (說文解字), Zuo Zhuan (左轉) and plenty of other ancient texts and compendia, gains the title Wang (王, The King) only when Buddhist sutras started to appear in China. Those Buddhist texts somehow imparted the whole concept of "Dragon" with a great many features originally foreign to it. One of the reasons of this was the confusion of terms, when the original Indian Nagi – half human, half serpent creatures – started to be described with the Chinese word "long", i.e. "dragon". Thus not only the Buddhist Nagaraja – the Kings of Nagi – started to be a part of the Chinese Dragon tradition, but the symbolism of a snake found its new manifestation in this new context.

Buddhist Nagarajas are closely connected to the legends of Shakyamuni. One of them (Kala) knew in advance about the close appearance of Gautama and possessed vessels of the three preceding Buddhas. Another (Muchilinda) covered Gautama with his hood during the storm. There have been irascible Dragon Kings (such as Nandopananda) and a great many other Nagarajas of all kinds and fashions, with eight most distinguished ones – the so-called "Eight Naga Kings" present at the preaching of "Lotus Sutra", one of the main Mahayana texts. One of these "Eight Kings" is Sagara (沙伽羅龍王 or 娑竭羅龍王) – the Ocean Nagaraja, described in several sutras (for instance "Buddhabhashita Sagara Nagaraja Sutra", 佛説海龍王經) and honored with the personal homilies and explanations by Buddha.

One of Sagara's main functions is Dharmapala – the Guard of the Teaching. In later mythology, those Nagas who for their enlightenment and high merits obtained clemency and avoided extermination by Garudas became mighty defenders of Dharma. One of those defenders was namely Sagara. Although this function is rarely remembered at present, Sagara was not only fulfilling this guarding role but also had a special iconography requiring a flaming nimbus, sward and other militant attributes. Sometimes Nanda (難陀龍王) – the Naga King who has informed Mahamaya about the Buddhist future of her baby son – was also portrayed in this way.

In Taoist cosmology Dragon Kings are the supervisors of the mythical Four Seas surrounding the Celestial Empire. Different sources give us different names of these Kings; in the novel "The Investiture of the Gods" (封神演義), attributed to the Taoist mystic Lu Xixing (陸西星, 1520–1601), the Master of the Eastern Sea is called Ao-guang (敖光), Master of the Southern Sea – Ao-ming (敖明), Master of the Western Sea – Ao-shun (敖順), and Master of the Northern Sea – Ao-ji (敖吉). In other texts of the same period Long-Wang names can slightly differ.

In late Taoist church tradition the names of the Four Sea Masters are: Guang-de (廣德) – "Multiplying the Virtue" – Master of the Eastern Sea; Guang-li (廣利) – "Multiplying the Benefit" – Master of the Southern Sea; Guang-run (廣潤) – "Multiplying the Graces" – or Guang-shun (廣順) – "Multiplying the Luck" – Master of the Western Sea; and Guang-ze (廣澤) – "Multiplying the Bounties" – Master of the Northern Sea. Of the four, Gaung-de – Master of the Eastern Sea – is considered head of all and can also embody the very idea of the Dragon King.

In a number of local cults Guang-li also plays a very special role. Sometimes it is explained with obscure quotations from the "Book of Ritual" (禮記) speaking about "spirits of four seas" and Tang and Sung texts, proclaiming the spirit of the southern sea the head of all sea spirits. Actually "Book of Ritual" didn't and couldn't mention Long-Wangs, but in later times the ancient cult was reinterpreted. Naturally, a god named "Multiplying the Benefit" couldn't help being popular; Guang-li is often worshiped for the benefit in commerce and is especially reverenced in Hainan.

Besides all that, in late Taoist beliefs Long-Wang is the head of one of the Heaven Departments, namely the Department of Rain Spirits.

Folksy beliefs have merged all the above-mentioned in one concept and supplemented it with a great deal of local traditions and ideas. Here Long-Wang regulates the rainfall rates, militates the droughts and floods, prevents different adversities, influences the crops and has a lot of other duties and functions, frequently duplicating the role of the earth deity Tu-di (土地神). Nevertheless, here one can find a number of distinctions: Long-Wang may not belong to a restricted area (Tu-di can never separate from the supervised territory), Long-Wang mostly regulates natural powers (Tu-di is mainly focused on the economic activities and defense), Long-Wang doesn't escort souls to the post-mortal trial; and Long-Wang can bestow with wealth (while Tu-di cannot).

The original iconographic tradition of Long-Wang ascends to Indian patterns: Nagaraja has a human head and torso, serpent lower body and a snake hood or hoods, forming a crown. Later Chinese tradition portrays Long-Wang as a fearsome ruler in the emperor's garment (sometimes with the Dragon symbols on it), with a Dragon or demonic head (red hair, blue eyes, and sometimes – dark skin), which may be the consequence of the Dharmapala origin.

The Masters of the Four Seas have their own iconography which may differ a lot in local traditions. In late beliefs, Long-Wang may appear in any look he prefers: as a human, as a dragon or as whatever creature or object he wishes.

Long-Wang dwells in a luxury palace filled with treasures, including magic wish-fulfillment pearls (如意珠). The palace is located on the Donting Mount (東庭山) near Taihu lake (太湖) and is guarded by more than 1000 dragons (story «Zhenze dong» (震澤洞), «Cave [on] Taihu [lake]» from the compendium "Liang Si Gong Ji" (梁四公記), "Records about four Liang Fellows" by Zhang Yue (張說, 667–730) [«Taiping Guang Ji» (太平廣記), juan 418] (Taiping guangji, 1559: 3404–3406, V. 5). Consequently, it comes as no wonder that the folksy beliefs invest Long Wang with the power of endowing with treasures and thus making the deity one of the mostly estimated Gods of Wealth.

By the way, Long-Wang's treasury is supervised by his daughter, and, perhaps, it's time to pay attention to this very important relative of his.

The emergence of Long-nü worship in China is connected with the popularization of "Sadharmapundarika sutra" (妙法蓮花經) which tells about Long-wang's daughter (precisely, daughter of Sagara Nagaraja) and her attainment of Annutara-samyak-samboddhi (The Utter and Final Enlightment). Long-nü once heard the preachment by Bodhisattva Manjushri (文書菩薩) and in spite of being only a young girl (she was just 8 at the time), she grasped the very essence of the sermon and headed to the mount Gridhrakuta (靈鷲山) to supplicate Buddha for permission to practice the way of salvation. It was then that a big dispute broke out between Manjushri and Prajnakuta (智積菩薩) Bodhisattvas over the issue whether a woman can become a Buddha or not. Manjushri asseverated that Long-nü has achieved the Enlightment ahead of her time and thus can become a Buddha, while Prajnakuta claimed Shalyamuni had suffered for many kalpas before achieving the state of Buddha. At that very moment Long-nü appeared before them, and arhat Shariputra (舍利弗) announced his hesitation in her achievements and moreover added that female incarnation is inappropriate for the state of Buddha. Then Long-nü showed them a precious pearl and handed it out to Buddha, who immediately took it. Long-nü explained that just as Buddha took the treasure in such a rapid, easy manner, one can achieve Enlightment; after that she turned into a boy and left for the southern "World Without Turbidities" (無垢世界) [妙法蓮花經, juan 5, chapter 12 «Devadatta» (提婆達多品)], (Taisho Tripitaka, 1924–1932: 35b – 35c, V. 9, N 0262).

In temples, Long-nü's statues are numerous since she is part of Bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara's entourage, always standing at her right hand. She appears there as a young girl without a hint of dragon origin. In spite of all the transformations depicted in the sutra, not only the temple tradition but also the succeeding numerous legends describe Dragon's Daughter not in male but in her original female hypostasis (that speaks for the synthesis of beliefs in Sagara-Nagaraja's daughter) and in numerous water spirits consanguine to local water supervisors – Long-wangs.

Factionary sources give us a lot of tales about Long-nü's marriage with a mortal. Usually these stories lack motivation for this conclusion. In some instances it may come as a reward for a petty favour as in the story by Li Chao-wei (李朝威, VIII–IX) named "Liu Yi" (柳毅), where the main character delivers Long-nü's letter to her father, the Dragon King of Dongtinghu, and as a prize, she marries him. Soon Long-nü takes her husband to the land of the immortal and his cousin obtains longevity pills [story was a part of the lost collection by Chen Han (陳翰, IX–X) named "Yi wen ji" (異聞集); 太平廣記, juan 419], (Taiping guangji, 1959: 3410–3417, V. 5).

Sometimes even this mere excuse doesn't exist: protagonist of the "Liu Zi-hua" (柳子華) story once is visited by a young beauty, who happens to be the daughter of Long-wang and who claims their destinies have been connected forever. After retirement Long-nü takes her husband to the Dragon Palace where he becomes a Water Immortal [Kang Pian's (康駢, IX) collection "Ju Tan Lu" (劇談錄); 太平廣記, juan 424], (Taiping guangji, 1959: 3450–3451, V. 5).

Long-nü can appear in a zoomorphic shape, for instanceas a big unusual snake that can mysteriously grow. Inflicting harm upon a snake like that is a sin subject to the severest punishment from Heaven [story "Fei Ji Shi" by Wei Xuan (韋絢, IX); 太平廣記, juan 424], (Taiping guangji, 1959: 3452–3453, V. 5).

Some stories tell us about Long-nü's Buddhist asceticism: she casts away her magic abilities, fasts, remains unarmed before the hunter attacking her and dreams of reincarnation into a human for practicing Dharma as Shakyamuni [story "Ju Ming Guo" (俱名國) from the "Fayuan Zhulin" (法苑珠林) collection; 太平廣記, juan 420], (Taiping guangji, 1959: 3418–3419, V. 5).

On the other hand, being part of the hierarchic structure of the Heaven Departments, Long-nü obeys the ritual – both state and cosmic. Having appeared in the dream of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong, she performs all the required ceremonies and requests the sovereign to bestow her and her people with the heavenly music which he masters with unparalleled proficiency. Xuabzong composes a new tune for her and calls it "Longbo song" (淩波曲) after the Lingbo Pond on whose bank the palace stands and in whose waters Long-nü lives. Having risen from his slumber, the Emperor puts all his effort into recollecting the dreamed melody and eventually he succeeds in playing it to a tee. During the ceremonial performance of the music Long-nü shows herself again, and in honor of the event the new temple is erected [story "Lingbo nu" (淩波女) from Lu Zhao's (盧肇, 818–?) collection "Yi shi" (逸史); 太平廣記, juan 420], (Taiping guangji, 1959: 3421, V. 5).

Long-wang's daughter is as beautiful as she is prudent and can be militant to villains: no wonder it is she, the seventh daughter of Long-wang, who supervises all the numberless treasures in his palace ["Zhenze

dong" (震澤洞) from the collection by Zheng Yue (張說, 667–730) "Liang si gong ji" (梁四公記); 太平廣記, juan 420], (Taiping guangji, 1959: 3404–3406, V. 5).

With all that said, one fact is to be marked: neither Long-wang nor his daughter is human, and sometimes their conduct can be hard to comprehend or accept by the earthborn. Thus the story "Xu Han-yang" (許漢陽) from the "Bo Yi-zhi" (博異志) collection by Zhen Huan-gu (鄭還古) tells about the travels of Long-wang and his daughter. With all their retinue, they arrange a feast and make wine from four fellows they meet on the way. Since the guests at the banquet turn out to be fewer than expected, and the amount of the wine needed also lessened, the last of the four happens to be redundant and after a series of magical manipulations, he manages to bring his soul back to the body [太平廣記, juan 422], (Taiping guangji, 1959: 3433–3435, V. 5). In truth, this menu is not quite typical for Long-wang. As all other dragons, he and his household prefer fried swallows for dinner. They also like having different extraordinary delicacies unheard of in the cooking of mortals. Those meals are exquisite and grant the body health and beauty, but if taken outside the palace and placed in a sunny spot, they immediately turn into stones and are no longer edible [story "Zhenze dong" (震澤洞) from the "Liang si gong ji" (梁四公記) collection by Zheng Yue (張說, 667–730); 太平廣記, juan 420], (Taiping guangji, 1959: 3404–3406, V. 5).

Ordinary dragons may be conquered with the means of wax, iron and some other substances, but Long-wangs and their families require totally different measures; the only tool that can overpower them is a special stone, Zhilongshi (制龍石), which only works when combined with different precious substances such as camphor tree ("The Fragrance of Dragon Brain", 龍腦香). Therefore, these artifacts are seldom used in combat but are bargained for Long-wang's or Long-nü's treasures.

It is important to note that some pieces of literature attempt to debunk myths about Long-wang and his daughter. Thus the story "Xiao Kuang" from the infamous "Chuan qi" (傳奇) collection by Pei Xing (裴鉶, IX) refutes all stereotypical descriptions of dragon conduct having appeared in Tang and earlier texts. Hence these examples have always been no more than the writer's personal opinion and have the slightest if any effect on beliefs in dragons and their representations in literature.

In temples, Long-wang is worshiped for rain regulation, good harvest, flood-defense and the like. He is the Master of Water lord of the five elements.

Traditionally Long-wang is worshipped by those whose life depends on water: sailors, fishermen, peasants, water boys, ferrymen, etc. Apart from that, Long-wang also is a God of Wealth and can be worshipped for military success. Besides, Long-wang temples are often used for divination.

one The Dragon Empress' statue can sometimes be found in the same sanctuary, but Long-nü can never be seen near Guan-yin. She is often said to have changed the whole ritual environment after becoming a deity of folksy beliefs and to have torn the connections with the original Buddhist idea of the primary religious character, but these claims seem to be erroneous. The fact that the main legend about Long-nü deals with the marriage with a mortal (these subjects ascending to the mentioned "Liu Yi" story are numerous) assures that either in orthodox Buddhist or in folksy traditions Long-nü embodies the trust in Good Transformation, in an unexpected luck awaiting any believer. That's why both religious and secular popularity of Long-nü hasn't faded over the centuries. Nevertheless, the philosophic essence of Long-nü figure in sutras and her worship in folksy temples of course belong to totally different cultural and religious streams.

The paper concludes that owing to the multistage and intricate process of the cult's emergence, the practice of worship and the literary descriptions of Dragon King and his daughter stray from the original Buddhist and Taoist ideas and make the two figures highly estimated and popular in the folksy pantheon with totally new functions, features and personalities.

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WU XING: THE ART OF BALANCE ACCORDING TO TRADITIONAL CHINESE MEDICINE

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Abstract

The Wu Xing, (五行 wǔ xíng), also known as the Five Elements, the Five Phases, the Five Movements, the Five Processes, and the Five Steps/Stages, is a fivefold conceptual scheme that many traditional Chinese fields used to explain a wide array of phenomena, from cosmic cycles to the interaction between internal organs, and from the succession of political regimes to the properties of medicinal drugs. The "Five Phases" are Wood (木 mù), Fire (火 huǒ), Earth (土 tǔ), Metal (金 jīn), and Water (水 shuǐ). The system of five phases was used to describe interactions and relationships between phenomena. The doctrine of five phases describes two cycles of interactions between the phases, a generating or creation (生, shēng) cycle, also known as "mother-son", and an overcoming or destruction (剋/克, kè) cycle, also known as "grandfather-nephew|. The interdependence of Zang Fu networks in the body was said to be a circle of five things, and so mapped by Chinese doctors onto the five phases.

Keywords: Chinese medicine, Wu Xing, Five Elements, vital energy.

The development of Chinese Medicine (CM) dates back to ancient times. It started much earlier than the establishment of the scientific traditions of the Occident, in a culture of unique outlook, which regarded dissections as absolutely impermissible. Ancient physicians had to rely on their own observation talents, on trial-and-error approach in order to create their own medical system and terminology. As a result, they developed perceptions of the human body and its possible diseases, quite different from the notions of the Western world.

What is specific about the Chinese medical philosophy is the fact that it sets great store primarily by the unity, harmony, and balance of opposites, unlike the European medical philosophy which focuses mainly on the struggle between opposites for predominance. This peculiar trait of CM has to do with traditional medical theories which interpret health and illness through the concepts of harmony and its disruption within the human body. CTM views disease as a destruction of the harmony of the whole organism rather than a problem in its separate organs or systems. This approach is based on the idea of unity, entity, and harmony, so very important in Chinese philosophy. (Marinova 2013: 161).

In ancient China, arts were nourished by that same natural Tao sensitivity that also enriches Chinese philosophy and medicine. Chinese art reflects the notions of balance, harmony, and change contained in the theory of yin and yang.

Chinese art represents the harmony of nature through depiction of scenes that depend on measures and proportions to create beauty. Pictures of traditional mountain landscape re-create the essence of nature – the combination of balance and constant change. Following that poetical logic, the Chinese regard a landscape as a microcosm of the universe. On the basis of the same principle, they regard each individual as a cosmos in miniature. The individual is represented in the same similes as the landscape or the universe. In each person, as in each landscape, there are indicators which, if balanced, determine beauty and health. When these indicators are out of balance, the person gets ill or the picture is worthless. A Chinese doctor regards his patient the way an artist regards a landscape, as a specific alignment of existence, behavior, interaction, and other features through which one can grasp the essence of the whole.

Here arises the question of whether CM is an art or a science. Actually, it is a pre-scientific tradition that has survived over the millennia to the present day and is, in effect, a different way of perceiving things. It resembles science in that it is based on lengthy observations of phenomena, inspired by logical and comprehensible mental processes. It has at its disposal a base of knowledge with measuring standards that give physicians the chance to describe, diagnose, and cure diseases. Its measures, however, are not linear, fixed as regards weight, number, time, volume, and the like, such as are used by modern science, but are flexible and mobile images of the macrocosm. Despite that, CM requires artistic sensitivity – we should never forget that the whole defines the part and the image can change the significance of the measure within itself. What is yin in one can well be yang in another.

The efforts of a CM doctor to distinguish the specific symptoms in each individual are really creative. But it is exactly in this that the artist and the doctor differ. The artist uses his experience and knowledge to draw and create an ideal balance and harmony. The doctor uses his experience and knowledge to detect the lack of harmony and then uses his art in order to try to return the balance and harmony in the human body. This balance is a dynamic equilibrium, which is suitable and specifically possible in the given circumstances and phase of life development of a particular individual. There are no standards or absoluteness here – what is health to one can well be ailment to another.

Chinese medicine can well be considered an art and, at the same time, it has the justifiable claim on being a science. CM regards health as a state of equilibrium. The image is balanced. CM's precision as regards details lies in its capacity to discern the lack of harmony, in its ability to detect an image in the symptoms which will later on serve as a basis of a possible cure. This theory of health is an attempt to give a practical explanation of the cure of diseases. For instance, while treating an edema, the Chinese formulated the theory of evenly balanced flow of fluids within the body. The Chinese did not have the practice to examine healthy individuals as a first step to cure, but progressed from the perception and treatment of the lack of harmony to the concept of harmony.

The theory of five elements or *wu xing*, was most likely conceived in or around the Warring States Period (476–221 BC) by someone named Zou Yen. Interestingly, many translators think that using the term ""elements" is almost wrong. Unschuld translates it as "phase" and this seems to me as the best translation yet, although it looks as if the term "elements" has stuck deeply in people's minds.

In the Wu Xing theory, the organs are always examined in relation to their functions and their bonds with the functional substances, with the rest of the organs and parts of the human body. In fact, it is only through these bonds that the organ can be defined. The organs are a group or an intertwining matrix of resonant human activity.

The ancient Chinese perceived human beings as a microcosm within the universe that surrounds them permeated by the same primordial forces which drive the macrocosm. Human beings are regarded as a part of an integral whole called Tao – continuum of bonds and relationships within and out of them. This way of thinking was the reason not to separate the spirit from the body or man from nature.

According to the theory of adjustment, for a system to be in equilibrium, each subsystem within its bounds should be in balance as well. The principle of harmony is the same regardless of the complexity level. The harmony of a particular system at once reflects and generates the harmony of other systems, regardless of their complexity. All events are interconnected, subject to the same forces, no matter what their position in time and space might be. The chi energy is the bond that unifies events, time, and space, since the cause of events lies outside of them.

Chinese Medicine asserts that if one changes the existing lack of harmony within the system of congenial bonds, the primary cause would disappear since the conditions in which it was created would no longer exist. CM observes conditions while Western medicine deals with causes.

According to CM, health is the capacity of the body to react to a great diversity of challenges in a way that would ensure equilibrium. Disease shows the inability to adapt to challenges, a disruption of the general balance and a gap within the organism's structure.

A source of ailment can be any challenge the body fails to handle, no matter whether it is a harmful substance or a bitter feeling. Each disease is a process of instability, a state of unevenly balanced bonds. When the capacity for resistance is diminished and the possible outcomes are exhausted, numerous factors can lead to the development of an illness. The precept asserting that "One does not feel bad because one is ill, but is ill because he feels bad" is actually the most accurate reflection of this standpoint.

The system of adjustment describes the parallelism and the simultaneity of events both in the outside world and the world within man. All events are related to the five phases or the five elements. This is the so-called U sin theory or the theory of the five phases, elements, or motions. This theory was systematized during the reign of the Chan Dynasty (3rd c. BC – 1st c. AD), when the ideas of their predecessors were compiled and processed in order to give a syncretic and systematic explanation of the universe, the changes within it, and the relations between the world of people, the physical, and the divine world.

The interaction of yin and yang generates the five primal elements which serve as the basis of all material things and natural phenomena. If just one of these primal elements is eliminated, life will become impossible.

The ancient Chinese borrow these elements from everyday life. The elements are Water, Fire, Wood, Earth, and Metal, and they comprise an idea much broader than these specific substances. They are characterized by the following specific features:

WOOD (Chinese: 木, pinyin: mù) – "growing upward". Everything that grows and develops freely has the characteristics of Wood. Zang-hepar and fu-gallbladder belong to the Wood element. Zang-hepar ensures the free circulation of chi energy within the body. Its function is to preserve the fluid substances, which is why it is called "a sea of blood".

FIRE (Chinese: 火, pinyin: huǒ) – "hot and bright" – it symbolizes everything that is hot and has the characteristics of a blaze. Zang-heart has the leading functions on the blood and the vessels; it affects the face and is the focal point of human psychic activity. Zang-heart symbolizes the primal element Fire, which is why its color is red.

EARTH (Chinese: 土, pinyin: tǔ) – it serves to sow seeds in and stimulate the growth of what has been put in it, that is why it forms the basis of flourishing and the process of nourishment. The main function of Zang-Spleen is to transform and transfer fluid substances, to control the muscles, tissues, and the locomotor activity of the limbs. It determines the constitution of an individual and his/her physical capacity.

METAL (Chinese: 金, pinyin: jīn) – it has the capacity to be melted and serves for cleansing and excretion. Zang-Lung and Fu-Large Intestine belong to this category. Zang-organ Lung regulates the circulation of the chi energy, as well as of all kinds of chi which disperse and move downward in the body. Zang-Lung keeps up the skin and all the hairs, directs the flow of fluids, and controls breathing.

WATER (Chinese: 水, pinyin: shuǐ) – "it moistens and flows downward", i.e. everything that moistens, cools, and flows downward corresponds to the Water element. Zang-organ Kidney and Fu-Small Intestine are the two organs of the Water element. Zang-Kidney secures the reproductive functions; it monitors the flow of liquid substances and the absorption of the chi energy entering the body, as well as the growth of marrow.

The above-listed characteristics are used for the classification of everything existing in the universe, the name expressing qualities by association, and not specific matter. The five elements are a metaphysical explanation of the changes in every single item and phenomenon in the universe (Wisemann 1995: 44).

Fig.1. Diagram of the interactions between the Wu Xing.

The sequence of mutual generation (generating, overcoming interaction) is as follows: Wood generates Fire; Fire generates Earth, Earth – Metal, Metal – Water, Water – Wood, and so on ad infinitum. As far as mutual overcoming goes, the cycle is as follows: Water overcomes Fire, Fire – Metal, Metal – Wood, Wood – Earth, and Earth – Water. The constructive cycle is external, while the destructive cycle is internal; these two cycles balance each other on the yin-yang principle. This defines the system of five elements as extremely stable. Each external impact may disrupt some element but due to the strong bonds within the system, it quickly recovers its balance. This system has no beginning or end. (Jing-Nuan 2002: 56).

These interrelated aspects of energy reveal the five evolutionary stages of change and correspond to the five organic networks, the five seasons, the five personality types. The ways in which an organism functions

are related to each of the seasonal cycles of birth, growth, ripening, harvest, and death. Each of the five organic networks carries out its functions within the framework of a specific cycle. Like the five kinds of climate and seasons in nature, the internal medium of the body is the result of each one of the organic networks. Functional disruptions can cause the liver to cause wind, the heart to become a source of heat, the spleen to generate humidity, the lungs to cause drought, and the kidneys to incur frost. (Moss 2010: 44).

As a combination of organs, tissues, channels, and physiological functions, this network is of great importance for sustenance of life. Each of its parts has responsibilities (or work to be done), strategy (or the exact manner in which its work is to be done), and character (or the manner of existence), which correspond to the capacity of the five phases.

The five phases interact with each other through their patterns of generating – Cheng (overwhelming cycle or Cheng) and suppression – Ke (the controlling, destructing cycle or Ke). Following the sequence, the Cheng phases originate, nourish and support each other, being balanced by Ke, which is in itself the dynamics of decline, suppression and control of processes. Balance is maintained through the opposite processes of flourishing and restriction.

These mutual relationships resemble the relationships between parents and children. In Cheng, one phase generates the next one, while in Ke, each phase is restricted and does not allow the other to overstep the bounds. This can best be grasped by the following metaphor. Water nurtures Wood by moistening it and preventing Fire from burning it down. Wood supports fire by providing it with fuel and preventing Earth from extinguishing it. Fire creates Earth by turning matter into ashes, thus forming soil. On the other hand, it hampers Metal by melting it. Earth helps Metal by forming minerals and raising them toward the surface, but also controls Water by obstructing its flow and soaking it up. Metal gives life to Water by enriching it with purified substances which in turn improve its life-saving qualities. Metal destroys or hampers the existence of Wood by cutting it up (Goranova 1995:26).

Similar to the way in which Water nurtures Wood, the function of kidneys is to enrich blood and to store it in the liver. As Wood in the human body feeds Fire, the blood from the liver feeds the heart and in this way stimulates the brain.

The way Fire creates Earth, the heart feeds the spleen providing it with heat and metabolic energy (blood saturated with oxygen) necessary for the transformation and ingestion of food. The way Earth helps Metal, the spleen helps the lungs by imbuing them with nutrients, so that they can mix with air and generate the chi energy in its pure form, to circulate along the channels. The way Metal gives life to Water, the lungs aid the kidneys by transferring moisture and the chi energy downward, to be stored in them. Cheng and Ke determine the interrelations between the organic networks. In accordance with Ke, Water controls the Fire stemming from the kidneys and balances the Yang Fire, stemming from the heart. The way Fire controls Metal, the capacity of the heart to direct the blood complements the capacity of the lungs to direct the chi energy. The way metal restricts Wood, the strength of the lungs to muster up the chi energy interacts with the strength of the liver in order to accumulate blood. The way Wood reigns over Earth, the activating power of the liver chi energy arouses the transforming functions of the spleen. And finally, the way Earth blocks the flow of Water, the capacity of the spleen to absorb and distribute moisture balances the capacity of the kidneys to dispose of liquids (Strittmatter 2003: 75)..

All organic networks are interconnected and interdependent. If the activity of one of them increases excessively, this invariably leads to the suppression of the activities of others. The excessively strong liver suppresses the activity of the kidneys, destabilizes the activity of the heart, affects the spleen in a negative way, and hampers the lungs. If the liver restricts its activity, the spleen and the lungs become hyperactive, the kidneys and the heart get exhausted and vulnerable.

The excess or shortage in some of the organic systems, which lasts too long, causes a complex and multilateral lack of harmony and disease. The diseases caused by excess migrate to Ke, while the diseases caused by shortage develop in Cheng. The evenly balanced pattern describes the prevailing organic network in relative equilibrium with the other networks. Different illnesses usually affect two or more organic networks besides the one that has been affected first. For instance, the organs which affect the liver are those which it controls (the spleen), and those which control it (the lungs, as well as the organ considered its parent (the kidneys). When the organ is weak, complaints are usually related to it or to another organ, affected by it, in Cheng. For example, if the liver is weak, and the lungs are strong, the patient will have symptoms connected with an

attack on the liver itself by the lungs, which will be manifested in depression or exhaustion. The symptoms stem from the lungs, which virtually suppress the chi in the liver, thus making it weak.

Since the lungs are in an uppermost position, they hamper the free flow of chi energy through the liver. When this happens, peristalsis is affected since the liver cannot regulate the constant flow of chi energy in the spleen and the stomach. There occur symptoms such as dyspepsia, meteorism, and constipation, since the strain in the stomach and the intestines causes their low activity (Xinnong 2010:29).

If the liver is healthy, and the spleen is in bad condition, there occur symptoms characteristic of anomalies in the functions of the stomach and the spleen – aches and spasms in the stomach and the intestines, bloating, lack of appetite, nausea, thin faeces, and the sensation of faintness in the limbs. This is due to the excess of energy in the liver, which prevails over the functions of the spleen and the stomach. If the liver is strong, and the lungs are weak, the symptoms are revealed in a disturbed function of the lungs, manifesting themselves in coughing, asthma, rashes, itching, and the like. These symptoms are a sign of increasing the heat in the liver, which hampers the moistening of the lungs and their proper functioning. When the strength of the liver becomes the cause of kidney deficiency, the natural connection between the child (the liver) and the parent (the kidneys) is disrupted. This can lead to pains in the lower part of the back, disc hernia, inflammatory conditions, and diseases of the reproductive organs, sterility, or impotence.

When an organ affects another in an excessive way, the latter suffers. Usually the Cheng sequence refers to the relation parent – child and it is steadier than the Ke sequence. Since the lungs are the children of the spleen, they suffer when their parent suffers. When the function of the spleen produces chi energy and blood from the processed nutrients, the liver is suppressed since the former is unable to feed the lungs. The capacity of the lungs to disperse and move the chi energy is disrupted. As a result of that, there occur symptoms of faintness, breathlessness, and colds. The heart is the parent of the spleen. If the spleen can't feed the blood sufficiently, the blood in the heart becomes insufficient which in turn leads to instability of the chi energy of the heart. This results in problems with sleep, emotions, blood circulation, and the pulse. The spleen can't regulate the activity of the kidneys, and the weak lungs can't feed them adequately. The symptoms in such cases are faintness in the back, knees and ankles, and tumefactions in the body (Veith 2002:37).

Chinese Medicine defines diseases as a disruption of interrelations and not as a single separate occurrence. If problems are diagnosed early, they can be treated successfully before becoming chronic. When a disease or trauma disrupts our true nature, the lack of harmony is manifested in deviations in the physiological functions of the body. This means that something in the U Sin system has gone wrong or it has collapsed, creating unstable vacuum. Harmony is preserved when by suitable therapeutic measures it is kept stable. The U Sin theory gives us the chance to overcome difficulties and foresee problems. This theory guides us in the proper use of therapies such as acupuncture, massage, herbs, and healthy nourishment to achieve better health.

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TRADITIONAL CHINESE EXPERIENCE IN CONTEMPORARY MUSIC PRACTICE

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Abstract

The visual element of the Scholar's rock Chinese art can be used for stimulating music activity, like building a connection between music and sculpture. The goal of this research is to reinforce the psychological phenomenon of music's influence on the mind and imagination, the creation of music , and to help humans understand themselves better. This poses an important problem in contemporary 21st-century society, whose lifestyle is intense and stressful. Ancient traditional Chinese art can help, if only be actualized.

This paper could prove useful and interesting in art therapy practice and for music teachers and psychologists, philosophers, and everyone who would want to educate themselves how to use art in every aspect of their lives, while at the same time staying happy and living comfortably using the exceptionally positive features of music.

Keywords: Music psychology, music perception and cognition, Music education, music imagination

Scholar's rock culture in China is over a thousand years old. It is an aesthetic art technique applied to increase the spiritual manifestation of the human soul, using sculptures with "virgin", abstract shapes. The ancient Chinese were inspired by the pieces of stones or wood which were not processed, thus their shapes could be perceived and analyzed as polysemantic – provoking mysterious and phantasm images, and stimulating the cognitive processes in the human conscious. They reduce stress and help to overcome unpleasant states of mind and to attain mental equilibrium. (Sweet 2006, Storozhuk 2010). *Gongshi* or Scholar's rocks are of a natural shape, which is selected according to the human aesthetic image.

Some of the shapes are very recognizable, well-defined, and some of them are ambiguous, furtive. These shapes could provoke our mind, inspiring our imagination. What is more, in the visual perceptive process, we begin to hesitate and during this time, to increase our creativity. From this point of view, a conflict arises – the shape can be everything, and in our mind it can activate our frustration, fear, or what we have repressed. The "virgin" shape however can help us free ourselves from this frustration.

The visual element of this art can be used for stimulating music activity, like building a connection between music and sculpture. This art might be a bridge between the traditional and the contemporary, because to people of the 21st century, inspiration is a condition of spiritual enrichment. So this approach is appropriate and important to the education in music.

To elaborate on the method, after the visual perception of the sculpture, the music starts playing. Then, the music image (provoked by the music) and the image of the sculpture (elicited from the visual perception) have to be compared.

Combining the traditional principles and the contemporary demands, we can increase the music psychology phenomena, and in this way we can help people understand themselves better and lead a happier and more spiritual lifestyle – to achieve a spiritual balance between the desired and the attainable. The stimulus created by the shape actualizes the memory, the mind, inspires the soul and activates the imagination.

This technique might help ignite a love and understanding of good music in the contemporary teenager, because art is a condition of homeostatic balance.

To inspire the physical process, the physical force and to learn it more fluently, to love it – this would be the power of this abstract theory.

The special features to the process through music perception and cognition is related to their biological and psychological roots. The features involve "multiplicity of the reference and meaning" (Cross 2003). In obvious researching "melodic contour", "the tuning", "harmonic", and "metric rhythms" have a biological basis for music, which provokes deep sensual feelings, rooted in the psychology (Trehub 2003:)13–15.

These features of music can be compared to sculpture lines. In Chinese philosophy there exists the ***qi*** 拼音 energy. The most important feature is movement, the flow, and the change of state. (Geiger 2015).

Music can evoke strong emotion. In previous research, the emotional power of music has been related to special responses when in contact with music activity. Petrushin's experiment (1982) gives other biological evidence. The frequency between different brain waves, music rhythm and the prosodic provokes identical emotional power: alpha wave – 8-12 Hz, and beta wave 13-30 Hz are related to positive emotion, and delta 2-3 Hz and theta 4-7 Hz wave are related to negative emotional musical power (Petroushkin 2006: 75–80). The temporal processing in music has a "universal nature" (DrakeBertrand 2003: 29). This organization has a regular periodic structure. The union of sounds provokes the senses and activates: 1.musical memory, 2. music peach and 3. music rhythm. These musical abilities stimulate the sensory and motor systems, which function in union (Nazaikinski 1975).

By visual perception, the sculpture takes one moment of eternity – a hard set twinkling, but during the long period of time, we become conscious of its elements – this feature is like music perception. Given these developments, M. Papousek [2003] involves in music perception and cognition tactile, kinesthetic and visual information, which are time synchronized (Papousek 1996: 100).

In his experiments, R. Zatorre (2003) analyses some of the biological evidence of the auditory cortical regions in the human brain. Music is a biological phenomenon, valid to all mankind. The most important music feature is the pith, which can be explained as an common cultural phenomen (Ibid: 231).

V. Manolova [1996] presents evidence by correlating the intonation of music and verbal pith. This research helps to use combined sound information for psychological influence. By music perception and cognition music has an universal nature. So "more generally, it is clear that both language and music are conveyed by sounds, are ubiquitous elements in all cultures, are specific to humans, and are cultural artifacts that do not correspond to natural objects". (Molino 2000). This attitude support back G. Kubik (1988) also supports this thesis about the composition techniques in Kiganda xylophone music (Kubik 1988: 22–72).

Music perception and cognition is a complex mental process, which integrates all music ability, "musical materials including perceptual invariance under transformation, categorization, recognition, and the sense of familiarity. It is analysis two musical system – tonal, related by pitch, and non tonal – by ton duration, rhythm and movement". All musical psychological processes are based on the basic and special music ability. This is a phenomenon connected to individual psychological special features, related with music perception and cognition. This is music mode, music rhythm, and music memory (Teplov 1961).

Music perception and cognition give information and stimulate every human activity and influence the quality of the process. So during engineering creation with simulator, music can help the mind make a decision.

This theoretical argument will be developed to the practical direction. Application of this theory can develop in the engineer practice. The music sounds would help to find the optimal level of the temperature, for example, or the pressure.

The aim of the research is to compose a specific piece of music, which can be provoked by the relevant emotional and cognitional sense. This is a mix of music phrase, sound effects and special verbal instruction about the level of parameters. It involves specific sounds of nature or machines. Potentianal benefit of this mix is simultaneously emotional and empathical.

Every day, our soul experiences more conflicts between desire and skills. We all want to have or to do something and we often do not have the opportunity to do this. So we make an effort to overcome this conflict – work more if we want to become rich, play the piano to be a good musician. But what is the consequence, if the result is not excellent? In other words, if the result is not satisfying?

So in these circumstances, there are two options – the first is to put up with the results. In this instance we surrender and find other challenges, which are possible to overcome. So the soul-conflict has been overcome by the strength of the conscious.

The second option is more interesting. When we don't overcome this conflict, one part of it goes into the unconscious. This means we begin not to realize it entirely. The human soul begins to repress this frustration (soul disease). As a result of this, we are often unhappy, our movements are full of difficulty and mistakes.

So instead of analyzing ourselves, we criticize or complain (Wild 1992: 54). This thesis is an unconscious help to the soul to get over the complex and to find and illuminate other ways to fight the disease.

The first step is to realize the conflict and to understand and admit that this desire is not so important. I think the way is not simply to stop criticizing. Having realized some parts of the soul conflict, we help ourselves to live free and happy. The book gives strategies to analyze development (Wild 1992).

West fiction often uses Chinese symbols. For example, Oscar Wild's story – animals, dragons, the seasons, mythical and imaginary beings like dwarves, etc. The goal is to explain and interpret the symbolism of the colors and their connection to other parts of the narrative.

In comparison to English fiction, "white" for example, combined with a "duck" or "pigeon", like a beneficent animal in human life, symbolizes destiny, dignity, wisdom, and love of calm, more stable life. This is connected with care for the young, advancing their skills and knowledge in the education process. So in the "Devoted Friend", "the Duck" symbolizes the intelligent mother teaching her children and telling them the story about friendship. The mother instinct is so intene. The price which has to be paid (if we imagine this is the victim with the body wound) is hidden in the red color. In this case eventually, a bloody leg, as a symbol, is described through subconscious impulses. Her character is strong – "parents cannot be too patient who was pure white and with real red legs" in combination are connected with love, put it down to the children in this case. The first scientist to analyze this idea is Sigmund Freud. He connects the red color with "blood" – it might be based on the castration anxiety, provoking fear, as a result of the past event, and exchanging the imagery with a future situation. The castration anxiety is often in the subconscious. So some of these impulses are represented in a fantastic figurativeness, which is, in essence, the human soul. To overcome this feeling – this mean to be aware of these impulses – is a sign for good education of the character. In many ways, art might be used as an instrument of this process, because the imaginary situation is like to consciousness.

So, in this relation, in Bulgarian culture, the red colour is an important feature of the attribute called "martenica" – the relation between blood, metaphorically presented with red. In a legend of Han Kubrat, he cut his leg and sent a red piece of thread to his sister – this feature epitomizes physical and psychical treatment (a conflict which provokes soul pressure). This soul pressure is projected to the animal – the pigeon (and the duck in our occasion), but this is a result of human emotions. So this conflict is overcome with a happy end to the myth – the sister was happy to receive her brother's "letter" – this is a lovely feeling and the relation with the pigeon is a result of human imagination. In this relation, Oscar Wilde's story and the myth analyzed might be connected: the "red legs" are a result of a conscious human effort – the conscious part of the human soul.

In my practice, some of the sculptures are made of glass, or plastic, or metal. The manner of producing is like the one used by Rorrschach – of projective test, combined with high temperature by the glass and metal. Some of the principles of the research are based of the theory by K. G. Jung and the subconscious background to every natural material –wood is defined like warm, evoking a deep, comfortable sense when in contact with the skin. The emotional influence of glass is just the opposite. Firstly, it is limpidn, so the light can go through it, changing its color and intensity and when moved, you can see some interesting effects of the light. Secondly, glass is connected with coldness and fear of cutting oneself on it. The associations which can be made are so different – for instance with water, ice and icicles. Plastic is fool-proof – you can cut, paint, grind, drill, fold or mend it, but it's a product of the chemistry industry and consequently it is not natural. (Hu 2014).

"Ghost" – abstract sculpture
in Chinese "Schollars' rock" style – wood.

Sculpture by
Dimitar Damyanov, 2015.

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COLLECTION OF OLD BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE FACULTY OF ASIAN AND AFRICAN STUDIES AT ST.PETERSBURG STATE UNIVERSITY (RUSSIA)

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Abstract

The paper describes some issues on the collections of Oriental (mainly Chinese) rare books, stored in the Oriental Department by the Library of St. Petersburg State University. After several years of his work in the funds of the Library, the author formulates the main features of the book fund, traces the history of its formation, and names the major collectors.

Keywords: St.-Petersburg, China, manuscripts, woodblocks, Ming, Qing

My paper is devoted to the Library of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies at SPbSU, exactly to its collection of old oriental books.

First of all, I should provide the reader with some basic historical information about the Library. The origin of the Library can be tracked back to the year of 1724. In that year, the Russian Emperor Peter the Great (1682–1725) ordered his government to establish the Russian Academy of Science. Peter I was preoccupied with formation of a high scientific organization in Russia, which could conduct investigations in many fields of studies, including not only natural, but also human studies. In this way, his special orders obliged Russian merchants and diplomats who visited different countries, to buy books on various of subjects, including history, religion, culture, literature, geography, political and economic systems, industry, crafts, botany, zoology, medicine, army organization and so on. These books were to be studied and translated. His purpose was to get as many information about different spheres of life in foreign countries as it was possible that time. The deepest interest was put on the Arab world and on the countries surrounding Russia. Because of Russia's specific geographical location, such countries included many oriental states – Turkey, Persia, Middle Asian countries, China, Mongolia. Turkey, Persia and China were the main targets of investigation. The Academy of Science regularly prepared lists of books on items they wanted to learn about, then gave the lists with public money to traders or diplomats who were instructed to buy books while visiting foreign countries. From time to time, the Academy sent students or scholars there for studying and buying books. In some cases, the books were coming to Russia as donations, given to Russian official missions or scholars. Purchase and donation are two basic sources of collecting oriental books in the Academy. In this way, the books were accumulated in the Academy until 1819.

In the year of 1819, part of the oriental books were transmitted from the Academy to the Library of St.Petersburg University (SPbU). They were put into a newly established Oriental Department of the Library of the University. Later, the Russian government made a decision on the base of this Department and of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies of the Kazan University to open in St.Petersburg University a special Centre for Oriental Studies. In 1855, after moving the Faculty of Asian and African Studies from Kazan to St.Petersburg, the Oriental Department of the St.Petersburg University's Library was subordinated to the Faculty and was supplemented with oriental books that were previously stored at the Kazan University. That is why many books today have a stamp of the Kazan University. After 1855, the Oriental Department of the University Library got its informal name – the name of the Library of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies at SPbU.

Since 1855 till today, the Library has had 160 years of development. Now about 300,000 books in oriental languages are stored in the Library. Of them, 60,000 books are rare books (or published before 1900). Among them, approximately 30,000 books are in Chinese, 7,500 – in Manchu, 3,700 – in Indian, 3,500 – in Japanese, 2,000 – in Tibetan, 1,000 – in Arab, 1,000 – in Mongolian, 600 – in Persian. Other books are in Turkish, Korean, Sanskrit, Armenian, Georgian, Kalmyk, Hebraic and so on.

The fund of old books is unique. Its uniqueness and originality is determined by several features.

Firstly, the formation of the collections since the beginning has been held under the direct observation and participation of scholars and orientalists, who wanted to know a lot about each sphere of life in the countries they studied. That's why the books in the Library generally cover a wide variety of themes.

Secondly, the books were tools of investigations (mainly in philology and history). That's why among them there are a lot of dictionaries, reference works, handbooks and encyclopedias.

Thirdly, while stored, the books were expected to be fit into the teaching process: teaching students languages and the same aspects of culture and life which were studied thoroughly by their teachers. At that time there were usually no special and modern teaching materials and textbooks, as there are available today. Lecturers and students used materials common in oriental countries or compiled by Russian teachers themselves. Such books are available today in a variety of copies.

Fourthly, part of the books is divided or could be divided into personal collections. Generally speaking, such books are not gathered in one place and can be distinguished only according to their stamps of owners, ex-librises and manmade marks on them. But many of the books were gathered and presented in whole collections by their owners to the Library. In several cases, the books were bought or obtained from private libraries of scholars after their death. Here I mean the Chinese and Manchu collections by academician Vasily Vasilyev (1818–1900), Pavel Popov (1843–1913), Viktor Uspenski (1845–?); Arab collections of Alexander Kazembek (1802–1870), sheikh Muhammad Ayyadh at-Tantawi (1808–1861), Anton Muchlinski (1808–1877), Vladimir Girgas (1835–1887) and baron Viktor Rosen (1849–1908); Japanese collection by Prince Arisugawa Taruhito (1835–1895), Iosibumi Kurono (1859–1918); Turkish collection by Platon Melioranski (1868–1906); etc. Many of these collections were described in catalogues, but the great part of them is still waiting to be filed.

But cataloging is fraught with great difficulties today. Here I should mention the fifth feature of the Library. The first half of the 20th century was a time of serious challenges for Russia and a tragic one for the Faculty's Library. The challenges came during the Civil War (1918–1920) that followed after the October Revolution (1917), during the reign of I. Stalin in 1930–50 and World War II. These years divided the history of the Library into "before" and "after". During these two decades many Russian institutions were reorganized several times, many scholars were repressed. And the Library of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies was not an exception. The situation in the country influenced the fate of the Library and the content of its funds. The Library and its books were often moved from one place to another. At the same time, many books were removed from Library, or destroyed, or sometimes transferred to other libraries. During this process, a lot of precious books were lost. This period of time is covered by a veil of secrecy. Inventory books and inventories reflecting revenue in previous decades were destroyed, transferred to unknown places; a description of the fund was started "from scratch". So chronologically the first inventory book in the Library dates back to the year of 1931. Actually, we can say that from that date, a new life of the Library began. And it is a "depersonalized" life. The names of the former owners who left them were permanently erased from the memory of the Library. The only indications of some books belonging to some private collection or the donor are possessory marks (stamps and bookplates), marginal writings or inscriptions. And it is a great task for our librarians and scholars to do cataloguing today.

Further, as a sinologist, I would like to add few words about the funds of old Chinese books, introduce some of my experience and results of cataloguing in the Library for the last several years.

The collection of old Chinese books is the largest one in the Library. It consists of 29,869 volumes and makes 50% of all old oriental books in the Library. The great part of the books is xylographs or block-prints. But there are also 120 manuscripts and handwritten albums. The books mainly belong to the Qing period (1644–1911), but some of them are of the Ming period (1369–1644).

Previously, the most famous and the oldest Chinese book kept in the Library was a part of the Yongle Encyclopedia. In China everybody knows the sad fate of the Encyclopedia. It was compiled in 1408, consisted of 23,000 manuscript rolls and was the world's largest known general encyclopedia at its time. The book existed only in 3 copies. All of these copies were destroyed during the foundation if the Qing Dinasty, during the Taiping Rebellion in Nanjing (1850–1864) and during the invasion of the troops of seven states into China during the Boxer Rebellion (1900). It is unknown how, but 11 volumes suddenly appeared at the Library of

the Faculty of Asian and African Studies at SPbU. In June 1951, all of them were returned by the University to Chinese Ministry of foreign affairs.

The oldest Chinese book in the Library today was printed in 1417 in woodcut block-print – "The Famous Sutras by the Buddha Tathagata and Various Arhats, Bodhisattvas, and Holy Monks." (book cipher: BY–177). It contains the essential Buddhist scriptures that had been translated from Pali or Sanscrit originals since the arrival of Buddhism in China at the end of the first century. It was a huge and complex canon that was also used in Korea, Japan and Vietnam.

The Chinese books of the Library were collected by Russian scholars N. Bichurin (1777–1853), P. Kafarov (1817–1878, academician V. Vasilyev (1818–1900), academician V. Alexeev (1881–1951) and other outstanding persons. The books are on many subjects: such as Confucius ideology, Buddhism, Taoism, philosophy, history, geography, literature, medicine, philology, lexicology, aesthetics, and many other subjects.

Between 2011 and 2012, my colleague Ekaterina Zavidovskaya and I were working in the Library with the collection of academician Vasily Vasilyev. Our result is a book with a description of his collection.

Vasily Vasilyev (03.20.1818–05.10.1900) was an outstanding Russian scientist and researcher of China. He was also an expert in Buddhism and Sanskrit studies, and he even held a position of a Professor at the Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1886). From 1878 to 1893, academician Vasilyev was the Head of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies in St. Petersburg University. V. P. Vasilyev laid the foundations of the Russian Academic School in Chinese Studies. He developed a number of sinological courses and taught students in Kazan and St. Petersburg universities. His contribution provided a solid foundation for Chinese Studies in Russia, and this initiative was followed by a great number of talented scholars.

V. P. Vasilyev began to collect books during his stay with the 12th Russian Orthodox mission in Beijing (1840–1850). His collection, stored in the Library of the Faculty of Asian and African Studies, is called "academic" because it was formed as a set of materials compiled as study materials for students. After moving the Faculty of Asian and African Studies in 1855 from the University of Kazan to the University of St.Petersburg, this collection, together with other scientific literature brought from China into Russia by Russian Orthodox missions, also found its new location at SPbU.

After studying in Beijing, V. P. Vasilyev didn't return to China, but in the second half of the 19th century his collection and the Library continued to grow with revenues from the newly published books in China. In 1895, his collection of Chinese books was officially transferred as the gift to the Library of the Faculty.

Currently Vasilyev's collection includes 207 titles with up to 2,045 old Chinese books. They are mostly in Chinese, with the exception of a few books in the Manchu language. The books in other languages have been transferred to other funds of the Library. The oldest book in the collection is supposedly from the beginning of the 15th century. Many editions are of the 18th and of the first half of the 19th centuries, but there are also books that date from the period after the return of Vasilyev from Beijing in 1849. Some of the books were from the beginning of the twentieth century and came out after the death of V. P. Vasilyev.

The books are of different contents. I divided them into:

1. Confucian classics and comments: 37 books;
2. Buddhist sutras, treatises and commentaries: 27 books;
3. Taoist treatises and books on medicine: 8 books;
4. Works related to Islam and Christianity: 16 books;
5. Literary works (poetry, prose, dramatic libretto, collection of quotations) and commentary: 47 books;
6. Historical and geographical works, calendars, chronology: 47 books;
7. Encyclopedia (leishu), catalogs (mostly directories to the "Assembly of the books into four sections" – "Siku quanshu"): 8 books;
8. Dictionaries and writings on linguistics: 7 books;
9. Collections of decrees, official documents, templates for drafting: 7 books;
10. Periodicals (newspapers): 2 books;

Such a quantitative composition not only characterizes the areas of scientific interest of V. P. Vasilyev, but also reflects the submission of the materials considered at that time to be the most suitable for the learning process. A significant number of Buddhist books indicate a deep scientific interest of V. P. Vasilyev in Mahayana Buddhism – in his time he was the best Russian expert in this field, as well as in Chinese, Mongolian and Tibetan Studies. He was the author of a number of fundamental works on Buddhism.

A significant amount of works on the history and geography can be found in the Chinese collection, as the scientists of the 19th century attached great importance to the study of the huge corpus of Chinese historical works. A large part of the geographical works is devoted to the regions adjacent to the borders of the Russian Empire. This fact indicates the practical use of these documents; it was considered that the graduates should have good knowledge of the situation in the region studied. So "Records of holy wars" by the Qing historian Wei Yuan (book cipher: BY–7) and "Notes on the Mongol encampments" by Qing scholar Zhang Mu (book cipher: BY–125) represented by a set of doublets with the student-made marks on them, which indicate their use as teaching aids. During his lessons V. P. Vasilyev devoted a lot of time to the studying of the official documents of the Qing China, and to developing practical skills in his students.

A number of works reflect the Confucian classics, because these works form the basis of Chinese culture, form the ideology of the state. Their study was necessary for the sinologist. This group includes many works of an educational nature (for example, "Canon of the three Characters" – "San Zi Jing" and "The Thousand Characters" – "Qian Zi Wen", cipher for both books: BY–262), which was used in schools in China. Russian scholars in Chinese Studies then considered these works suitable for teaching students and they did not yet compile training materials for foreigners. Nevertheless, Vasilyiev compiled one of the first Sino-Russian dictionaries for teaching purposes, although his students also used the traditional Chinese dictionaries.

The collection of Chinese books is comparatively large and it is still waiting to be investigated in more details.

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MUSIC ALONG THE SILK ROAD: *PIPA* AND THE STORY OF WANG ZHAOJUN

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Abstract

In my paper I follow the idea that Chinese music is a form of art which involves the encounters of many social and cultural spaces. The music of the Tang-Dynasty (618-907) will serve me as an example to explain that. I will focus on the fluidity of the processes behind it.

The music of the Silk Road and its impact on music of the Tang-Dynasty shows us that China is a culture with many cultural roots. At this very moment, we are looking forward to the new developments of Chinese music to come. Will it be again the great synthesis which we have seen during the Tang-Dynasty? Or will it be something unexpected and new, beyond or within the Great Wall? To deal with these questions, I will talk about Wang Zhaojun, a Chinese lady with a beautiful red dress and with a Pipa (pear-shaped lute) in her arms, starting a long journey into distant lands.

Keywords: history of Chinese music, China and the Silk Road, cultural identity.

"Chinese music": a broad topic that includes a wide variety of methodological premises, which music historians, ethnomusicologists, music theorists, and systematic musicologists can use for fruitful journeys of exploration. In my paper I will use a socio-historical approach.

According to my understanding, Chinese music is the product of dialectical encounters between different cultures. Studying the history of Chinese music I realized that motion and process should be stressed over stable containers. Of course, there are boundaries between cultures and we, as people of the modern world, tend to identify them with boundaries between nations. However, the encounter between cultures produces not only boundaries, but also contact zones, in which peoples, geographically and historically separated, come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations.

The history of Chinese music shows that contact zones existed in multifarious ways and, within them, at least two different concepts of the West:

• One is the concept we are used to when we hear for example "The Chinese Princess of Piano", Shanshan Yang in the concert hall of Berlin playing "western-eastern sounds: from Chopin to piano sonatas from China" (Philharmonie, Kammermusiksaal, 23.06.2013). It is the tradition starting at the end of the 19th century which shaped the curricula of all conservatories of music in China. Not only Shanshan Yang, but also Lang Lang, Li Yundi, Zhang Haiou a.s.o. are products of that line of tradition. I explained that in my book *Erblühende Zweige. Westliche klassische Musik in China* (*Flourishing branches. Western classical music in China*) (Geiger 2009).

• The other line of tradition is that one which takes its orientation from the idea of "the other West". "The other West", which is much closer to Chinese music because of historical reasons, means the cultural space of Central Asia reaching as far as Iran in the west and India in the south, as I explored in my book *Eine Reise in den anderen Westen. Die Musik der Seidenstraße und China* (*A journey into the other West. The music of the Silk Road and China* (Geiger 2014).

My explanations will focus on "The other West". Before I focus on the pear-shaped lute *Pipa* and the story of Wang Zhaojun, I will present some remarks on the term "contact zone", taking the "Golden Age" of the Tang-Dynasty as an example.

1. "Contact zones" and the Music of the Tang Dynasty

Mary Louise Pratt borrowed the term "contact zone" in her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London, 1992 from its use in linguistics, with reference to "contact languages". Talking about Tang-Music we could use the term "contact languages of music" to underline that "contact zones" enriched the musical tradition of China, beyond borders of ethnical and cultural homogeneity. It helped to shape a new cultural identity of China: Not in terms of ethnicity and separated physical, political and economic places, but in terms of cultural exchange and creating the possibility of continuity within a multicultural imperial setting.

I agree with the American Sinologist Arif Dirlik who wrote in his paper "Timespace, Social Space and the question of Chinese Culture" that

> "contact zones historically precede national and civilizational formations, or the formations of political economy, in the many and multi-faced encounters among humans that were crucial in generating new social and cultural practices; including, ultimately, nations and civilization." (Dirlik 2008: 134)

When I talk about "Music of the Tang-Dynasty", I will focus on the fluidity of processes behind. Old Chang'an, the Xi'an of today, was located at the crossroads between different cultures. In its special surrounding Tang-Dynasty music came into being through the encounters between epochs and regions along the Silk Road. "Fluidity" led to changes in forms of musical expression and perspective within the social, cultural, or compositional paradigms of the musical culture of Tang-China.

After 300 years of division and fragmentation following the collapse of the Eastern Han-Dynasty (25-220 AD), China was once again unified under the Sui-Dynasty (581-618). The political and governmental institutions established during this brief period set the foundation for the growth and prosperity of the succeeding Tang-Dynasty. Marked by strong and benevolent rule, successful diplomatic relationships, economic expansion, and a cultural efflorescence of cosmopolitan style, Tang-China emerged as one of the greatest empires in the medieval world. It welcomed other cultures and other people. Most of the foreigners who came to China during the Tang-Dynasty were Turks, Uighurs, Tocharians, Sogdians, and the Jews in the north compared to the Chams, Khmers, Javanese, and Singhalese who crowded the south. In both places, however, there were many Arabs, Persians, and Indians. The Iranian population must have been of great importance, since the Tang-Government even had an office "of the Sarthavak" (literally, "of the Caravan Leader") to watch over their interests.

Besides their local products, people from far away brought also their "barbaric" way of life to Chang'an. Against this background, Chinese life and Chinese art were touched by strong foreign influences. They were enriched by importation. During the 8th century, central Asiatic harpers and dancers were enormously popular in Chinese cities. Turkish folksongs were introduced. Musicians from Kucha in Central Asia probably exerted the strongest influence. Music from Kucha (*qiuci yue*), which was already known during Sui-Dynasty, was officially recognized during Tang-Dynasty and performed on the occasion of military parades.

The cultural flowering of the Tang, especially during the reign of Xuanzong (713-756), was characterized by the intermingling of Chinese culture with an infinite range of foreign cultures, religions and arts. It was a period of unparalleled cultural synthesis and fusion that saw the great expansion of poetry and music, and the unprecedented cultural sophistication of a larger part of the non-aristocratic Chinese people. To the great learning centre, called the National Academy, students came from Koguryo, Paekche, Silla, Japan, Turfan and Tibet to study Confucianism, Buddhism, literature, art and architecture. Some competed with the Chinese in civil service examinations. Some adopted Chinese names and served the Tang-Court.

Disaster struck in the later years of Xuanzong's reign: In 751 Tang armies were defeated in western Asia by the Turks, and in 755, An Lushan led a rebellion which devastated China's population. Xuanzong was himself a talented musician and great patron of music. He greatly expanded the imperial musical bureau, the *Jiaofang* ("House of Precepts", founded around 620), which employed and trained literally thousands of musicians, acrobats, dancers, writers and actors. He also founded the first Music Academy in China, the *Liyuan* (Pear Garden), which produced legions of musicians. The *Liyuan* was unique, however, for it had as its goal the development of new musical styles under the personal direction of Xuanzong. Together, the *Jiaofang* and the *Liyuan* produced a tremendous synthesis of Chinese arts, and producing spectacular banquet music (*yanyue*). This was a synthesis of elements from traditional ritual music, Chinese popular music and music from foreign cultures. During the cultural flowering of the Tang it was highly esteemed. At the same time the *daqu*, or "grand song and dance", was developed, which fused musical performance with poetry and dance in a large and spectacular format.

To conclude, a great variety of different musical styles and very different aesthetic conceptions about the character and the functions of music existed during the Tang-Dynasty. According to Prof. Zeng Jinshou, who teaches at the Xi'an Conservatory, "it is this great variety which is characteristic for the flowering period of the Tang-Dynasty, also on the field of musical life. In this very point, the rich musical tradition of China has its roots." (Zeng 2003: 115)

In general, Chinese and foreigners interacted peacefully until the 9th century when conflicts arose between Uighur traders and Han Chinese. The public resentment against foreigners became clear when a law was passed in 779 that compelled 1,000 Uighurs resident in Chang'an to wear their own native custom and forbade them to marry Chinese or to pass themselves off as Chinese in any way at all. Popular feeling against them mounted until finally in 836: Private intercourse with foreigners was prohibited. In 845 all foreign religions were persecuted.

The exchange between Han Chinese and foreign people had its peak from the middle of the 7th to the middle of the 8th century. After that period, foreign music cultures were not received anymore with such a warm welcome as they had been in the years before.

2. *Pipa* (Pear-shaped lute) and the story of Wang Zhaojun

Abb.19: Wang Zhaojun with a *Pipa* in her arms

The archetype of the modern *Pipa* is a four-stringed lute with a half-pear-shaped body. The immortal poetry "Song of the *Pipa*" by Tang Poet Bai Juyi (772-846) reveals the instrument's great popularity during the Tang- and Song- (960-1279) Period. Since that time, the *Pipa* has been one of the most popular Chinese instruments, and has maintained its appeal in solo as well as chamber genres. The *Pipa*-Technique is characterized by spectacular finger dexterity and virtuosi programmatic effects. Rolls, slaps, pizzicato, harmonics and noises are often combined into extensive tone poems vividly describing famous battles or other exciting scenes. The instrument is also capable of more lyrical effects in pieces inspired by poetry, landscapes and historical themes.

Pipa is an instrument with a strong impact from Central Asia. As this is the case, some of the songs played by the lute *Pipa* were conceived to give expression in a very special way to the feelings of Chinese officials who were sent by the Emperor to remote places along the borders of the Chinese empire. They used the *Pipa* to express their feelings of sadness and loneliness being far away from the centres of their beloved Chinese culture. As we will learn from a poem by Tang-Poet Du Fu (712-770), the "barbarian language" of the *Pipa*-Song has a double relevance concerning the foreign: *Pipa* as an at least partially "barbarian" instrument serves as a means of expression for deep feelings of homelessness and unrest, which are caused by the "barbarian" surrounding. Sentiments of officials who are Chinese in their hearts have found their expression in a "barbarian" way.

Let us read some lines of a cycle of five poems by Tang-Poet Du Fu (712-770). Like Li Taibo (701-762), Du Fu was not a product of the civil service examination. Li refused to take it, Du failed it. In 751, however, Du Fu was appointed to the imperial court on the strength of his poetry, but lost his post shortly after the death of Emperor Xuanzong. In his "Poetic Thoughts on Ancient Sites" we read in the translation of Hans H. Frankel:

Poem 1

Forlorn in the Northeast in wind and dust,/

Drifting in the Southwest between heaven and earth,/

In towers and terraces at the Three Gorges, lingering for days and months,/

With the costumes of the Five streams sharing clouds and mountains;/

The barbarian, serving the ruler, in the end could not be trusted,/

Thus wandering poet, lamenting the times, had no chance to return.

……..

Poem 3

Groups of mountains and thousands of streams run to Jing-men./
It's still there, the village where Mingfei was born and bred./
As soon as she left home the crimson terraces linked her to the northern desert./
All that remains is the green tomb facing the yellow dusk./
The painting showed imperfectly her spring-wind face,/
With tinkling pendants, in the moonlit night, her soul comes back in vain./
For a thousand years the lute, speaking its barbarian language,/
Has clearly expressed her sorrow in songs. (Frankel 1976: 116-118)

Hans H. Frankel mentions in his ingenious book *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady. Interpretations of Chinese Poetry* that the last two lines of the 3rd poem show the influence of a poem by Yu Xin (531-581). This ends as follows:

The barbarian wind is cold as it penetrates the bones,/
The evening moon is bright as it shines on the heart./
As soon as I play a tune on the zither/
It changes to barbarian flute music. (Frankel 1976: 122)

Du Fu's poetry is allusive, one which suggests possibilities and hides immediate experience under the veils of language rather than trying to communicate a phenomenal or emotional experience as directly as possible. One has to know that "crimson terraces" refer to the imperial palace and "green tomb" to a large man-made earthen mound, situated nine kilometres away from Hohhot, on the plain extending from the northern bank of the Dahei River. The "green tomb" was built to commemorate Wang Zhaojun, who in the poem is called Mingfei. During the Jin Dynasty (265-420), Wang Zhaojun was referred to as Mingfei (Concubine Ming) as the name Zhao could not be used by ordinary folk since the King Sima Zhao had the same surname. She sacrificed herself for the unity of China by marrying a Khan of the *Xiongnu* (Huns). The legendary "green tomb" is juxtaposed with the "yellow dusk" in the same line ("yellow" is a conventional attribute for "dusk") and also with the "crimson terraces" in the preceding line. This means a simultaneous use of parallelism within the line and in the couplet to express a desperate feeling of loneliness which a Chinese may have, finding him-/herself in the vast grasslands outside the Great Wall.

Du Fu's poetry is less permeated with the Buddhist notion of the brevity of life (Li Taibo). It is about the tragedy of human suffering and, in the case of this cycle of five poems, of Wang Zhaojun. Born to a prominent family of Zigui county, Nan county (now Xingshan county, Province Hubei) in the south of Western Han-Dynasty (206 BC–9 AC), she was famed as one of the Four Beauties of ancient China. Since the 3rd century, the story of Wang Zhaojun has been elaborated upon and she has been touted as a tragic heroine. In the People's Republic of China, she is venerated as a symbol of the integration of Han-Chinese and ethnic minorities of China. Wang Zahojun's tomb (the "green tomb") is now considered a symbol of China's national unity.

In the year 33 BC, the *Xiongnu* (Huns), a nomadic people of the north, wanted to establish friendly relations with the Han-Dynasty through marriage. When Huhanxie, the Khan of the *Xiongnu*, came to the Han-Capital to request a Han-Princess as a bride, the Chinese Emperor agreed. Wang Zhaojun saw it as a chance to leave the empty palace life and possibly play a more important role than she ever would. By deceiving the Emperor (the poem says: "The painting showed imperfectly her spring-wind face") she was selected as one of the ugly ones who easily could be given away and got the consort of the *Xiongnu* Khan Huhanye. Under the escort of Han and *Xiongnu* officials she set off from Chang'an for her long journey to the distant lands of the *Xiongnu*, wearing a beautiful red dress and with a *Pipa* in her arms.

Wang Zhaojun lived with the *Xiongnu* for the rest of her life. The Khan was so enamoured with her that peace with China was maintained for the next 60 years. When her husband Huhanye died in 31 BC, Wang Zhaojun requested to return to China. The Chinese Emperor, however, ordered that she should follow *Xiongnu* levirate custom and become the wife of the next Khan, the oldest brother of her husband.

Distant lands and the *Pipa*: Against the background of the story of Wang Zhaojun and *Pipa* we may see the dialectics of border between Chinese and foreign cultures. What is inside can become outside and, the other way round, what is outside can become inside at the same time. One has to add that it was an endangered dialectics of border as the military expansion of the Tang was followed by a slow contraction under the pressures of foreign countries. The Tang met these challenges by sending armies, which always succeeded in the short-run but failed to keep these foreign powers down for good. Although the Tang forged alliances with other foreigners and built up defensive works, none of these strategies really worked, and eventually the empire's borders slowly contracted back to the original Tang-Kingdom.

3. The light of the Golden Age. Past and present

The topic of "Chinese" music cannot be treated without a thorough reference to the question how musical cultures come into being in an intercultural setting as it had been in Chang'an at the time of Tang-Dynasty. Peace and prosperity prevailed during the Golden Age of Tang. Population tripled from 630s to 755, the year when nearly 9 million families and 53 million people were recorded. It was a century of economic stabilization and an age of migration, when settlers migrated in great number. As the Tang-Dynasty expanded to the north, west and south, different cultures were integrated in the Chinese empire on a very natural way. Tang-Dynasty China was like a magnet of culture to all the peoples around it, who came to learn all that a great civilization could offer. The most important foreign visitors to Tang were the envoys, the clerics, and the merchants, representing the great interests of politics, religion, and commerce. They came to Chang'an which was the centre of the largest empire on earth. While London was just a market town of a few thousand people, in Chang'an and its suburbs lived around two million people.

In the 8th century, the fashionable circles loved foreign clothing and hairstyles. And they had been listening to foreign music and dances while they were enjoying grape wine during their banquettes. Fashions in the two capitals, Chang'an and Luoyang, tended to follow Turkish and East Iranian styles and most men and women liked to wear "barbarian" hats when they went abroad or on horseback. Court ladies wore "Uighur chignons", or dresses like men. Men wore leopard skin hats with tight sleeves and fitted bodices in the Iranian styles. The most extreme enthusiasm for foreign customs was reported when the first Tang-Emperors (Taizong) son, prince Li, preferred to speak Turkish than Chinese. He erected a complete Turkish camp on the palace ground, where he lived and dressed like a Turk.

The very global setting of Tang Culture leads us to the question what a concept like "Chinese music" could mean. What is "essentially Chinese" when we talk about "Chinese" music? This question is not only of historical but also of present-day interest.

After 1978, the search for identity in music proved to be a new cultural phenomenon in the People's Republic of China. Inspired by the idea of re-opening China, it caused some radical changes within the concepts of music as art work and of what constitutes the cultural borders of music. The search for identity led not only to a valorisation of contacts with the outside in the formation of Chinese music, but also to a greater willingness to recognize difference internally. It encouraged Chinese composers and musicians to confront issues of cultural complexity, in comparison with foreign cultures and also own traditions. They realized that not a sedentary society but the meeting of different cultures was crucial for the formation of Chinese culture. As such, the light of the Golden Age of the Tang Dynasty also illuminates the present.

The historians and the cultural scientists of the late Qing (1644-1911) and Republican China (1912-1949) up to present-day China have tried to convince that cultures can be conceived as homogenous units. China in this paradigm was not just a nation, it was a civilization, with a "great tradition" continuous from the earliest times to the present. Chinese and non-Chinese historians shared in this common paradigm. To my mind, there is a search for identity, but nothing which could be conceived as an absolute answer or a "transcendental" essence. Music history of the Tang-Dynasty is a good example for that. Within this dynasty the development of music was not simply from the inside out. It was a product of interactions between the inside and the outside. And it took a wonderful form. Nowadays we would call it universal.

Going into the history of Tang-Music, we will understand the meaning of the concept of diversity in unity. Because of the globalized cultural setting in Chang'an at that time, a "contact zone" between different musical cultures came into being, through the many encounters between social spaces. A unified country, a strong central government, efficient communications and wide economic and cultural contacts made the Tang-Dynasty one of the most brilliant epochs in Chinese history. The first Tang-Emperor ruled an area larger

than that of the Han-Dynasty. He had its own vision concerning the different cultures of music, as the cycle of five poems "Poetic Thoughts on Ancient Sites" of Du Fu shows us: "For a thousand years the lute, speaking its barbarian language,/ Has clearly expressed her sorrow in songs."

The history of Chinese culture proves to be highly complex in intercultural terms. The different historical stages of Tang/ late Qing and the early Republican Era let us experience that difference is not like a real border. Instead, there is a dialectics of border between the inside and the outside, interacting in producing the cultural formations which are now known as "Chinese music". In the case of late Qing/ early Republican Era, it has been the West which has led Chinese music into a new direction. Because of the nationalistic movements of the last two centuries, it helped Chinese music to take a new shape.

The music of the Tang-Dynasty is different. We should not see it through the prism of our modern concept of music which developed in the course of the years from late Qing/ Republican Era to present China. As it is rooted in the nomadic societies of the North, it makes us understand that

> "to research the historical formation of present-day China, it is necessary to adopt two standpoints; one is that of the agricultural region with its North-South axis lying in the central plains, the other is the nomadic region of the Northern grasslands. To understand this history, it is necessary to plant one foot in the central plains, the other in the grasslands, with a trans-Great Wall perspective. It will not do to look South with one´s back to the Great Wall, and see only the agricultural regions of the Yellow River, the Yangtze, and the Pearl." (Cai 2000: 1-2; quoted after Dirlik 2008: 139)

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THE WEIQI BOARD AS A REFLECTION OF CHINESE COSMOGRAPHY

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Abstract

The Chinese game of Weiqi (aka Go) has a long history and deep roots in the traditions of Eastern Asia. The game was invented more than three thousand years ago. The Weiqi board (or weiqipan) has a square shape which symbolized the flat Earth and it itself reflects the ancient seeing of the world. For many centuries the court scholars and philosophers explored the problem of the structure and organization of space. One of the famous traditional concepts of the Universe is called "Round Heaven and square Earth" (Tian Yuan Di Fang). On this basis were developed in great detail the cosmographical and geopolitical thoughts, represented on the board of Weiqi, too. The square grid of the board is a geometrical and metaphysical model of All under Heaven (Tianxia, 天下).

Keywords: weiqi, gai tian cosmography, Flat Earth, Tianxia, Nine provinces, Nine domains

The classical board of the game of weiqi (aka *Go*) has a square grid of 19x19 lines which make 361 intersection points (fig.1). This game is played with black and white stones which are placed on the intersections. The goal of the game is surrounding territory. The player who controls more territory on the board is the winner. This short introduction of the game is enough – the rules of weiqi are widely accessible. But weiqi is not only a game, it's a model of the Universe and it's reflection of ancient philosophical and cosmographical concepts.

In "The Battles of Coxinga"" (1715) written by the Japanese dramatist Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653-1725), the minister Go Sankey climbed to the Mountain of Nine Immortals and over there met two sages who were playing weiqi. One sage explained to the minister Go Sankey: "If it looks like a go-board to you, it is a go-board, and for the eye that sees go-stones, they are merely go-stones. But the go-board is like the world. For those who see with their minds, the center of the Universe is here"[1]. This means that this ancient wise game is more than a game.

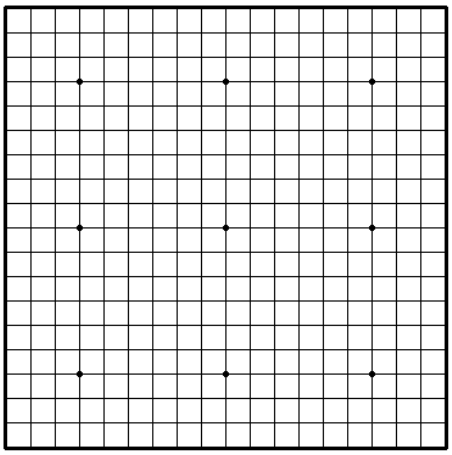

Figure 1. A diagram of an empty weiqi board 19x19 lines with marked nine star points. The central point is called Tian Yuan (天元 Origin of Heaven).

The sage of Chikamatsu's story in dialogue with Go Sankey continued to explain a symbolism of the game. Of course, this symbolism stems from Chinese literature and his explanations might be perceived as the quotation or reference to Chinese writer Zhang Ni (XI c.) who, in his famous Quijing Shisanpian (The classic of weiqi in thirteen chapters, c. 1049/1054), writes: „The number of the Ten Thousand Beings originates from the One. Therefore, the three hundred and sixty intersections of the weiqi board also have their One. The One is the generative principle of numbers and, considered as a pole (i.e. the central point or Tian Yuan), produces the four cardinal points. The three hundred and sixty intersections correspond to the number of days in a year. Divided into four parts (quadrants) like the four seasons, they have ninety intersections each, like the number

[1] Go in Chikamatsu's "The Battles of Coxinga", The Cambridge Go Society, http://cugosoc.soc.srcf.net/tesuji/chikamatsu.html.

of days in a season. There are seventy-two intersections on the sides, like the number of five-day weeks (hou) in a year. The three hundred and sixty pieces are equally divided between black and white, modeled on Yin-Yang." (Zanon 1996: 375-398).

Most modern explorers maintain that the original size of the weiqi board in ancient times was 17x17 lines and the one with 19x19 lines was invented after the 4th or 5th century, not earlyer. But it is also true that these hypotheses are based on sources and artifacts dated after the new era, not before. The ancient texts do not mention how many lines there were on the board in Confucius's time or even earlier. However, the absence of direct evidence about the existing weiqi boards with 19x19 lines during the Zhou dynasty (1046-256 BC) can be overcome.

One solution to this problem it are the numbers 360 and 361. In "The Doctrine of symbols and numbers of Chinese classical philosophy" the Russian sinologist A. Kobzev writes that the numerological equivalent of the days of the year was the number 360 which can be spatially illustrated as a square 19x19 (= 361) with a zero center. Based on it there can be constructed a topogram of the natural number of days – 365: square 19x19 with four additional outer positions on the middle of each side. This function of the number 19 is determined by the circumstance that 19 square approximates the numbers of days. But the number 19 is also associated with the Metonic cycle which (probably) is known in Shang-In China (1600-1046 BC) and called "zhan" (this term also means "strophe", "paragraph") (Kobzev 1994: 120). The author of these ideas doesn't write specifically about the weiqi board, but generally presents the calendar numbers. It reflects the concept of imperial kingship or state governance.

In Zhouli (The rites of Zhou) the ideal administration includes six offices: *Office of Heaven* (*Tianguan Zhongzai*) on government in general; *Office of Earth* (*Diguan situ*) on education; *Office of Spring* (*Chunguan zongbo*) on social and religious institutions; *Office of Summer* (*Xiaguan sima*) on the army; *Office of Autumn* (*Qiu guan sikou*) on justice; and *Office of Winter* (*Dongguan*) on population, territory, and agriculture[2]. Each office includes 60 clerks and their total number is 360 like the days of an ideal year. The center of this administrative model is the Zhou ruler, who is represented by the Polar star. *T*he ancient roots of the calendar thinking without doubt stem in the distant epochs when the size 19x19 of the weiqi board was considered as a symbolic representation of the astronomical time or the Heavenly laws.

But the board illustrates the Earth too. In traditional cosmography, the Earth is a square, and Heaven is a circle. Ancient sources use terms like "Round Heaven and Square Earth" (*Tian Yuan Di Fang,* 天圆地方) and "Umbrella-like Heaven and Square Earth" (*Gai Tian Di Fang,* 蓋天地方). The relationship between weiqi and Gai Tian cosmography suggests the name of the central point – *Tian Yuan* (天元 Origin of Heaven). In accordance with Gai Tian cosmography, Earth is flat and square like an island between the Four Seas. The terrestrial space within the Four Seas is Tianxia. It is a square divided in nine parts like a weiqi board. Its interesting how the square grid on the board reflects the sacral spatial geometry. According to Jin Shu (History of the Jin Dynasty, 635 AC) "The Heaven is round as an extended cover and the Earth is square as a game board" (Chen Cheng-Yih 1996: 152).

The square world is divided into nine parts: eight directions plus center. The division of space (or land) as 3x3 is typical for the Chinese culture. The space is divided thus at different scales. This geometrical model is frequently used in city planning and architecture. The capital city and the Luminous hall (or "ming tan" – the Enlightenment hall – the place for meeting between the Zhou ruler and his vassals) represent the Universe, too.

On the same principle, the well-field system (*jing tian,* 井田) is famous in the Zhou dynasty. According to Mencius (372-289 BC), each unit of the well-field system was divided between eight peasant families. Each family had its own outlying field around a central shared field, and all the families jointly cultivate a ninth central plot for their lord. The name for the system is derived from the Chinese character for "well" (*jing,* 井), which provides a graphical representation of the central shared field surrounded by eight outlying fields. Mencius says: "Humane governance always starts from the setting of land boundaries. If boundaries are not properly drawn, the division of land into nine-parcel 'wells' will be uneven, and stipends of public field grain will be unequal. This is why despotic rulers and corrupt officers invariably disrupt field boundaries. (…) A well field measures one *li*[3] square or nine hundred *mu*. The central plot is shared as 'common' land; the eight families each cultivate one of the outer hundred *mu* plots privately, and farm the common plot together. Only when the work on the common plot is done do they dare turn to their private duties. This is the distinctive character of the people who live on the land. (Mencius 3A.3; Eno 2010).

[2] The book "Rites of Zhou" (周礼 Zhou li) or "Officers of Zhou" (周官, Zhouguan) is divided into six parts; each part is dedicated to one office.

[3] Approx. 1 li = 400 (450) m.; 1 mu = 666 m^2

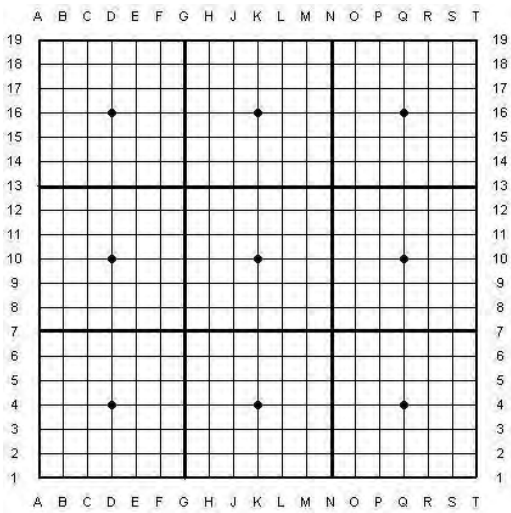

Figure 2. The weiqi board representing the Nine provinces.

The nine-cells square is a basic geometrical scheme for conceptualizing space. According to Shujing (Yu-gong, Tribute of Yu), in ancient times Yu the Great divides the Chinese lands into Nine provinces (九洲 *jiu zhou*) (fig.2). Mencius presents the Middle kingdom as nine cells in a 3x3square grid with a side of 3,000 *li*. He tells Qi's Xuan-wan: "Within all the Four Seas, there are only [civilized] nine regions of a thousand square *li* each, and your state of Qi commands altogether only one of these" (Mencius 1A, 7; Eno 2010). In Zhuangzi's (369-286 BC) of the same name, the spirit of Huanhe (*Hebo*) says: "I estimate all within the Four Seas, compared with the space between Heaven and Earth, to be not so large as that occupied by a pile of stones in a large marsh! I estimate our Middle States, compared with the space between the four seas, to be smaller than a single little grain of rice in a great granary! When we would set forth the number of things (in existence), we speak of them as myriads; and man is only one of them. Men occupy all the nine provinces; but of all whose life is maintained by grain-food, wherever boats and carriages reach, men form only one portion of all." (Zhuangzi, the Floods of Autumn)[4]. For Mencius and Zhuangzi, the Middle kingdom as a part of Tianxia is localized in its central area.

According to Sima Qian (145-86 BC), the thinker Zou Yan (305-240 BC) expands the model of the Nine provinces (*jiu zhou*) to the description of the whole World (*Tianxia*) which is divided into nine big regions (*da jiu zhou*) or continents. Each continent according to his model also is divided into nine areas. According to him, the nine regions in *Shujing* only form the Central Continent (*Zhong-zhou*). The Middle Kingdom (Zhong Guo; i.e. China) is 1/9 part of the Central Continent and 1/81 part of whole World[5] (Sima 1965: ch. 74, p. 169). This spatial conception can also be represented on the weiqipan. In this model. the Middle Kingdom is a four-cell square (2x2) in the board center, the Central continent is the middle area of 6x6 cells, and Tianxia is the whole board – 18x18 cells.

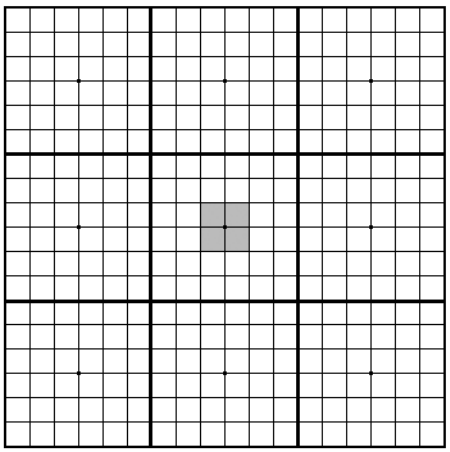

Figure 3. The weiqi board representig the Nine continents or Tianxia.

[4] Zhuangzi. English translation: James Legge. www.ctext.org
[5] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nine_Provinces_(China)

If the Middle kingdom is the central square with side of 3,000 li, then the Middle continent it is 9,000 *li*, and Tianxia – 27,000 *li*. Zou Yan doesn't refer to it with measure units for length (*li*), but explains it with proportions – 1/9, 1/81. Thanks to other sources like Luishi Chuqiu (XIII, 1) or Huainanzi (ch. 4) we know that for ancient shcolars the Earth is an oblong square of 28,000x26,000 *li*: the expanse within the Four seas measures 28,000 *li* from east to west and 26,000 *li* from south to north. (Huainanzi 4:2b:2; The treatise of topography, section II: Dimensions of the Earth; Major 1993: 147).

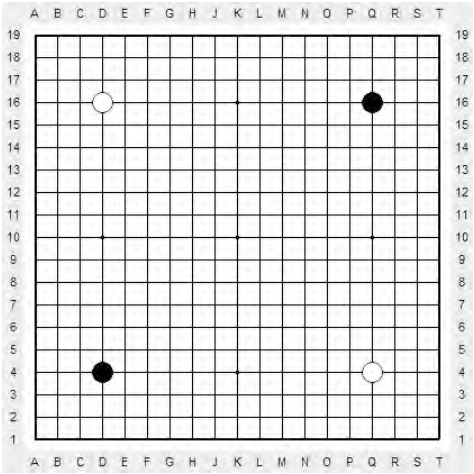

Figure 4. "Paired and set out in order, [black and white stones] represent the Heavens patterns" (Ban Gu, 32-92 AD).

In his short essay Yi Zhi (弈旨, The Essence of Yi) the Han historian Ban Gu (32-92 AD) writes: "The board must be square, for it represents Earth's laws. The lines (*dao*) must be straight for they embody the spirit of pure virtue (*de*). The pieces are white and black, and so are divided into the Yin and the Yang. Paired and set out in order, they represent the patterns of the Heavens (*tian wen*). Once these four symbols have been deployed, it is up to Man to use them to make the moves. In short, this is kingship" (Fairbairn 2000).

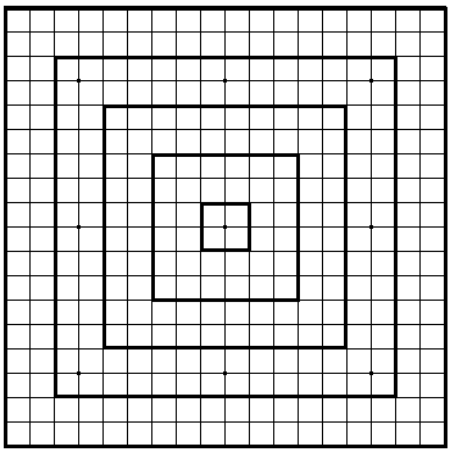

*Figure 5. The weiqi board as a representation of the Royal system (*wang ji*) mentioned in Shujing with five belts of concentric nested squares.*

The square board is the Earth, etc. but interesting and important here is the ending of this quote. The kingship or state governance, mentioned by Ban Gu, is related to the "royal system" (王制). The board is relevant to the two variants of the Zhou Royal system – five-belt and nine-belt models. As described in the Shujing (*Book of Documents)*, Chinese lands are a square of 4500 *li* with five nested squares spaced at 500 *li* to create five zones. Beginning at the center, there are the Royal Domain (500x500 *li*), Noble Domain, Domain of Peace-Securing, Domain of Restraint, and Wild Domain. Outside the fifth zone lived the barbarian tribes. It can be illustrated on the board as five belts. The Royal Domain is the central four-cell square.

The nine-belt system (jiu ji) is described in detail in *Zhouli* (*The rites of Zhou*). The author of *Zhouli* according to tradition is Zhou Gong, the younger brother of Wu Wang and regent of his nephew Cheng Wang. Zhou Gong laid the foundations of government and bureaucracy. Although the book *Zhouli* describes the political order of the Western Zhou (1046–771 BC), it did not originate in this period. The book appeared in

the middle of the 2nd century BC, its first editor was Liu Xin (50 BC – 23 AD) and it is based on lost ancient sources.

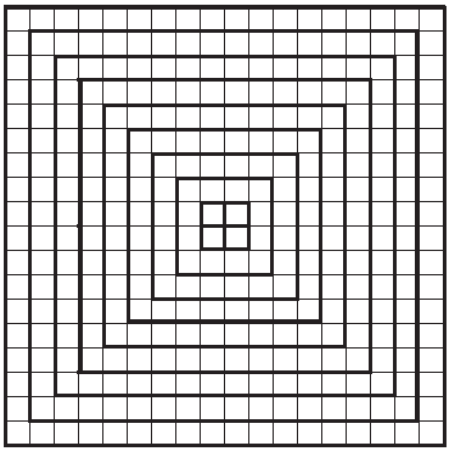

Figure 6. The weiqi board as a representation of the Royal system (wang ji) mentioned in Zhou with nine belts of concentric nested squares (jiu ji).

According to *Zhouli*, around the central domain of the Son of Heaven there are nine domains, or ”jiu fu” – lands with nine kinds of duties. The Royal domain of the Son of Heaven constitutes a square of 1000 *li*. It was called Wang-ji (wang domain) or Guo-ji (state domain). It is surrounded by nine belts spaced at 500 *li* with the following names: 1) *Hou-fu* – guard duties, providing security in the central area; 2) *Dien-fu* – cultivating agricultural fields; 3) *Nan-fu* – completing direct orders of the emperor; 4) *Cai-fu* – collecting rare artifacts and presenting interesting things in the Royal court; 5) *Wei-fu* – protecting the inside domains and emperor; 6) *Man-fu* – restraining the outside barbarian tribes; 7) *Yi-fu* – barbarian lands; 8) *Zheng-fu* – lands controlled with military power; 9) *Fang-fu* – ultimate frontier of the imperial influence (*Zhouli zhushu*, ch. 29, 33). According to this description, the Chinese lands are a square of 9000 *li* with nine nested concentric squares and this correspond to the Zou Yan and Huainanzi paradigms about the Central continent.

The historiographical book Guoyu (*The Discourses of the States*, V-IV BC) also describes this nine-belt system: “According to the royal system of former kings, inside the domain of Son of Heaven are situated the lands which have duties of cultivating of fields and outside it are the lands with guard duties. Next follow the domains – of guests (*bin-fu*), of restrain, of barbarians, of peaceful lands, of pacifying of barbarians, of outsiders.” (Guoyu, ch.I:1; Taskin 1987: 24).

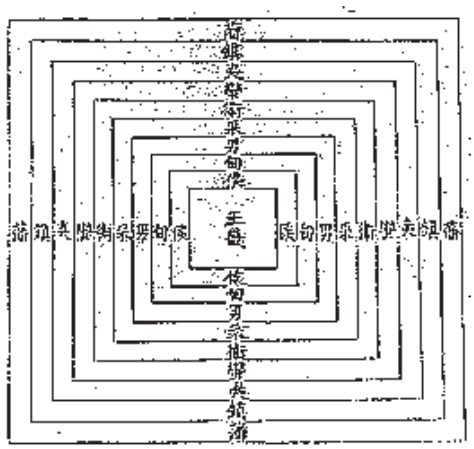

Figure 7. The geometrical improvisation of the Royal system of Zhouli *from Hu Wei (1633-1714). (Henderson 1995: 207).*

In the ancient times, the board lines were probably named thus. However, present-day admirers of weiqi explain what the board lines means from a pragmatic point of view. In the typical manual, the first four lines from the edge to the inside are known as follows: the first line is a line of death, the second is a line of defense, the third is a line of territory and the fourth is a line of influence[6]. This description corresponds to the game strategy. The main collisions, usually in the opening and middle phases of the game, take place at the periphery and the central area stays relatively peaceful. This strategy bears a resemblance to ancient geometrical concepts of spatial organization and governance. Zhan Ni writes: :Golden corners, silver sides and a straw center” – i.e. in the process of playing the corners have the highest priority, followed by the sides and finally there remains the weak “straw” central area. In reality, this central area represents the inner domains, directly controlled by Zhou rulers. In the modern understanding of the board grid, we can view two spatial conceptions mentioned in this work – Nine regions (*jiu zhou*) and a Royal system (*wang ji*). These conceptions overlap each other and precede the modern understanding of the board grid organization.

[6] The high move (4th line) for influence, the low move (3rd line) for territory.

The thinker Yang Xiong (53 BC–18 CE) in Yangzi Fayan (Master Yang's Exemplary Sayings or Model Sayings, Exemplary Figures) explains that in order to create a game board, one must have a model which has originated from the former kings (Yangzi Fayan, 2.8)[7]. The term "former kings" (*xian wang* 先王) is originally related to the founders and first rulers (*wangs*) of the Zhou dynasty (1046–256 BC). It means that the weiqi and the ideas of conceptualizing space originated from one source, probably the Kingdom of Western Zhou (1046–771 BC). The Country of Zhou in the times of the Shang dynasty (1600–1046 BC) was a western vassal of the Shang Kingdom. It is mentioned on the oracle bones with pictograms which illustrate four cells square with one vertical trace in each cell. The Zhou as an agricultural tribe is marked in this way. This is the first character which means "Zhou" – the cultivated field with sprouted grains. The early character "zhou" is like the character for field (*tian*). This has a deep symbolic meaning, because the square fields (*tian*) form the board grid. In his poem "The great game of weiqi" (XEM ĐẤU CỜ VÂY), the Vietnamese poet Nguyen Phi Khan (1355-1428) writes: "In the battle for rice fields, the game plays the role of a friendly meeting, not a fight between enemies" (Bayraktarov 2010: 41). Weiqi is a game for surrounding of territory. The thinker Ouyan Xiu (1007–1072) once said: "State governance is like playing weiqi. If you know how to put the stones at the good places, then surely you will be a winner". From an economic perspective, the territory as a source of goods and resources is the foundation of the state; and in order to survive and prosper, the state must have a policy and strategy. In ancient times. the board of weiqi was used to demonstration cosmographical and political ideas.

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[7] Yangzi said: Cutting wood to make chess pieces and scraping hides to make a ball, these kinds of activities all have a model. But as for those things that do not accord with the model of the former kings, the junzi does not take them as a model. (Yangzi Fayan, 2.8); Yangzi Fayan, English translation: Jeffrey S. Bullock. www.ctext.org

ЗАКАЧЛИВИ СЮЖЕТИ ПО ПЪТЯ НА КОПРИНАТА

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KIBYOSHI: UNFOLDING TALES ALONG THE SILK ROAD

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Abstract:

Woodblock printing was one of the most widely used imports brought to Japan along the Silk Road routes. A fine example of the achievements of this technology are the kibyoshi (yellow books). The article focuses on the appearance, production and consumption of the new type of media in Japan during the Edo period and its specific story-telling technique.

Keywords: pictorial storytelling, kibyoshi, media, dream bubble, visual-verbal narrative

Изображенията, които разказват и забавляват, имат своя история в Япония. Първите „смешни” картинки там се появяват през VIII век в храм в Нара под формата на графити. По-късно, през XII век, монахът Тоба (1053–1140) твори обемисти комични антропоморфични картинни истории върху монохромни свитъци изцяло под влиянието на популярната будистка фолклорна литература бианвен (bianwen). Възможностите да се запазват забавни повествования във времето и пространството чрез изображения и добавен текст постепенно се увеличават, като през XIV век с помощта на изрисувани текстове и изображения се разказват истории, които имат „решаваща роля за въвеждането на разказващите картинки емаки (emaki) и ехон (ehon) на всички обществени нива” (Рух 1977: 288–299).

Кибиоши (kibyoshi), или жълти книжки, са първите комикси за възрастни, които се появяват през XVIII век. Отличителен белег на добилите веднага популярност издания е не цветът на кориците, а използването на визуално-вербална форма на разказа, в която изображение и текст[1] са взаимосвързани, употребата на китайски йероглифи е сведена до минимум, а графемите – стандартизирани.

Кибиоши са книжки със закачливи сюжети, специално създадени като масов продукт за забавление на граждани, които разполагат с пари, като търговците и работещите класи, а създателите им принадлежат към две други, различни прослойки от обществото, а именно самураите и „градските люде” (Киини 1978: 396 –437).

Жълтите книжки се класифицират като поджанр на гесаку (gesaku), въпреки че жанровото разграничение през XVIII век се определя като аморфно, т.е. изданията са били категоризирани по повече от един признак, например цвят на корицата и/ли сложност на визуално-вербалния изказ (жълти корици/сини корици – издания за мъже на 20 и повече години/издания за деца и полуграмотни читатели).

Самото оцветяване на кориците, както и названието на книжките, предполага съдържание, твърде различно от това на сериозните издания като енциклопедии или поетични антологии. Кибиоши (黄表紙), преведено буквално, означава „жълта корица”. Предполага се, че етимологично книжките са свързани с печатани преди тях ауабон (aobon, 青本), брошури със сини корици, в които са разказвани пиеси, представящи военни подвизи и призрачни истории (Киини 1978: 400). Сюжетно жълтите книжки са коренно различни от тези със сините корици, тъй като са фокусирани върху всекидневието на жителите на Едо, включващо посещенията им и в кварталите на удоволствията. Стилът на монохромните изображения уподобява будистката техника на бързо скициране биоша (byosha). Важно е да се подчертае, че самите изображения са визуален парадокс – от една страна, те са относително сюрреалистични, тъй като са набързо скицирани, от друга, носят усещането за натрапчиво внимание

[1] Текстът е оформен в традиционната стихотворна, метрична форма, в която се редуват 5 и 7 срички.

към всекидневните, тривиални елементи, което ги трансформира в хиперреалистични[2]. Този визуален парадокс добавя нова, пъзелоподобна характеристика на жълтите книжки.

Жълтите книжки са продукт, който може да бъде дефиниран като визуално-вербален динамично-интегративен конгломерат, в който изображения и текст са взаимнопреплетени и преливащи, а взаимодействието между тях се осъществява на принципа на гещалта, т.е. значението на всяко поотделно не успява да представи цялото. Симбиозата между изображения и текст е динамична, като появата на всякакво несъответствие в пъзела е предизвикателство за въображението и възприятията на читателя. Ако се приеме, че изображенията в жълтите книжки имат вербално измерение, а текстът – визуално, то може да се твърди, че четенето на жълтите книжки е интегративен процес, който изисква съчетаване и координиране на визуално и вербално мислене. С други думи, четенето им е процес на синестезия, съвместно възприятие на визуално и вербално, а връзките между изображение и текст са в основата както на конструкцията, така и на деконструкцията на сюжета.

Основните функции на изображенията включват на първо място кодиране и трансформиране на данни в текст подобно на картинните ребуси; възможност за внасяне на допълнителна сюжетна линия, значение и посока на декодиране на историята; служат като тропи, като честата употреба на митате (mitate)[3] осигурява допълнителен пласт върху гещалт структурата на сюжета; удобни са за представяне на пряка и непряка реч на героите; позволяват насищане на въображаемите светове с подробности от реалното всекидневие, в този смисъл служат като антропологична платформа. В допълнение, използването на каньее (kagee)[4] и утцушиее (utsushie)[5] доказва, че изображенията са алюзии към всичко, дори и към други книжки от същия поджанр. Понякога могат да са изключително подвеждащи, защото пресъздават различна, съвсем несвързана с предлагания сюжет история. По-често обаче имат решаваща роля в декодиране на същинския разказ, тъй като читателите на тези книжки са били високо ниво на визуална грамотност и бързо са разпознавали сюжетната връзка с друга история с помощта само на една „възкресена" от там илюстрация.

Когато се разглеждат функциите на текста като изображение, трябва първо да се отбележи, че от гледна точка на лингвистиката думите са носители на изобразителен аспект, или т. нар. pictorial aspect, а калиграфската традиция в Япония предопределя спецификата на четене на текстовете и възприемането им като форма на изкуство. Разположението на текста върху страницата го прави част от изображението. Всичко, което е фиксирано в рамките на страницата, всъщност е изображение. Така текстът и изображенията се разтварят едни в други, а разграничението между тях става функционално, т.е., от една страна, думите функционират като образци на графичното изкуство, от друга, са носители на текстова иконичност, в рамките на която семантични особености като наличието на китайски йероглифи, така характерно за речта на разказвача, е признак за стилово по-висок изказ, а появата на латински букви предпоставя, че говорещият е чужденец.

Неотменна част от изследването на жълтите книжки е лейаутът/дизайнът на страницата. Една страница всъщност е един панел, в рамките на който сцена по сцена се разгръща сюжетът. Обичайно страницата е разделена на няколко части, като горният край е отделен за разказа. Четенето на страницата започва отгоре надолу и отдясно наляво, което предполага вниманието да се мести многократно между текст и изображение. От своя страна различното темпо на четене предполага различна скорост на възприятие на отделните слоеве на изобразителната и текстова плоскост в рамките на всеки отделен панел.

Своеобразна форма на минипанелизация са лексикалните балончета, чрез които се представят различни мигове от разказа и поради липсата на визуализация на физическо движение най-често тези мигове се асоциират с преминаване на действието в друго измерение/друга реалност – тази на мечтите/сънищата. Минипанелизацията материализира героите в различни измерения. Понякога опашката

[2] За пример може да послужи изрисуването на пунктираната линия на яката и колана на панталона на героя в Суингърс (Swingers), която представя специфичен бод, използван при ушиването на дрехите на подрастващите, който лесно позволява отпускане на дрехата съобразно увеличаването на ръста.

[3] Визуална игра на думи.

[4] Силует на определен предмет/обект/фигура, който след известно време става ясно различим и коренно различен от предполагаемия.

[5] Сянка върху стена или хартиен параван, която създава впечатлението за един обект/предмет/фигура, а появата на самия обект/предмет/фигура поднася търсената изненада.

на балончето сочи място извън сцената, излиза извън рамките на страницата, което предполага, че съдържанието на балончето се запълва по телепатичен или свръхестествен начин. Най-често обаче опашката излиза от средата на тялото на героя. Това е начин на изобразяване на възприетото вярване, че душата се е приютила в центъра на тялото. В допълнение, лексикалните балончета са и средство за промяна на линейността на разказа. Ако се разгледат като разновидност на структурата „панел-в-панела", в която големината на различните панели съответства на различните моменти във времето, може да се добави, че те изразяват и темпоралната комплексност, времевата сложност на наратива.

Появата и развитието на жълтите книжки може да се проследи по периоди, а именно: зараждане (1775–1783), златен век (1784–1787), реформаторски или кансей (kansei) период (1788–1790) и залез (1791–1806) (по Керн 2006).

През 1775 г. е публикувана първата жълта книжка – „Разкошният сън на господаря Флашголд" (Master Flashgold's Splendiferous Dream), чийто автор и илюстратор Киокава Харуумачи (Kiokawa Harumachi)въвежда новаторски подход в пролога (jo) от т. нар. fashion books. Въпреки че представлява осъвременен вариант на известната Но пиеса „Кантан" (Kantan) на Зеами (Zeami, 1364–1443), сюжетът в първия комикс за възрастни противопоставя кварталите на удоволствията на Едо на изискания свят на китайския императорски двор чрез опростения разговорен език, който включва реалистични просторечия и изображения на модните тенденции в Едо, появили се в резултат на утвърждаването на нови социални практики – например кадифената превръзка за очи, която била използвана за скриване личността на посетителите в кварталите на удоволствията.

Книжката добива голяма популярност и още на следващата година броят на заглавията и изданията започва да нараства, като в периода 1780–1783 година се публикуват между 65 и 84 заглавия годишно, което означава приблизително по една книжка седмично. Забавносатиричните сюжети оформят кръга на читателите търговци, които не скъпели средства за закупуване на поредното издание.

За устойчивия интерес към жълтите книжки свидетелства фактът, че само в първата година на златния век, 1784, са публикувани 92 заглавия. Най-впечатляващото издание от този период е мегахитът на Кьоден (Kyoden, 1761–1816) „Плейбой, печен а ла Едо" (Playboy, Roasted a la Edo) от 1785 г. Сюжетът на книгата е пародия на всички съществували до момента жанрове, а авторът осмива глупостта и суетата на представителите на различни социални прослойки като актьори от театър „Кабуки", поети, куртизанки, самураи.

Сюжетите и илюстрациите на издаваните през реформаторския период (1787–1793) книжки отразяват, макар и алегорично, съществуващата обществено-икономическа ситуация в Япония. Политическата сатира се използва като средство за забавление, а не като средство за критикуване, но въпреки това именно тя е причината режимът на Токугава (Tokugawa) да въведе забрана за обществено обсъждане на действията и решенията на управляващите в годините след XVI век. Въведена е цензура, в която влизат представители на градските магистрати и Асоциацията на издателите, организирана е мрежа от тайна полиция и доносници срещу авторите и илюстраторите на жълти книжки. Към произведенията на пародийната литература се причислява и книжката „Приказка за двата тъпана" (Tale of the Two Tambours) на Кьоден (1788), в която политическото съперничество между Танума Окицугу (Tanuma Okitsugu) и противника му Сано Масакото (Sano Masakoto) е представено чрез историята за битката между Тира но Масакадо (Taira no Masakado), самопровъзгласил се за Новия император, и Фудживара но Хидесато (Fujiwara no Hidesato), водач на защитниците на трона. Успехът на книгата е смайващ и издателите решават въпреки строгата цензура да я публикуват повторно.

Друга форма на политическа сатира, която се появява в книжките срещу нео-конфуцианската идеология на режима Токугава е "reduction ad absurdum". Две от известните издания са „Липсващи бели лъжи" (Absent White Lies)на Ота Нанхо (Ota Nanpo, 1786) и „Една пролетна вечер в Едо, Хиляда златни монети" (One Spring Night in Edo, One Thousand Gold Pieces) на Кьоден (1786).

Сюжетите на последните жълти книжки са фокусирани върху дидактически истории. Популярен автор в този период, член на артистично ателие, основано от Кьоден, е Бакиин (Bakin)[6]. В произведението си „Безкрайният океан на късмета и дълголетието" (The Unfathomable Ocean of Fortune and Longevity, 1794), илюстрирано от Хокусаи (Hokusai) под псевдонима Шънро (Shunro), той разказва историята

[6] Бакиин е автор на две от произведенията на Кьоден –*The Stinky Potted Plant and the Dragon King's Place* (1793) и *The Guide to Morality for Dummies* (1792).

на главния герой, който е низвергнат от семейството си, защото е пропилял богатството си по жени в квартала на удоволствията и спечелва отново уважението на всички едва когато получава просветление от учението на Буда и променя коренно начина си на живот.

Залезът на жълтите книжки и изчезването им са обусловени от един основен и няколко допълнителни фактора. Основният фактор за изчезването на жълтите книжки е въвеждането на официалната им забрана през 1790 г. Като допълнителни фактори, или ускоряващи процеса елементи, може да се посочат съкращаването на сроковете за създаване и публикуване на книжките в резултат на растящото търсене в периода на златния век, както и бързопроменящият се профил на читателската аудитория вследствие на увеличеното предлагане отново в същия период.

Напредъкът на технологиите и парадигматичните трансформации в обществото водят до промяна на светогледа на индивида, а от там и до промяна в скопичните модели на визуализация. Жълтите книжки се появяват и стават популярни в ключов момент от гледна точка на технологичното развитие – преход от ръкописна култура към печат и началото на масово използване на различни оптически инструменти (микроскоп, телескоп), което коренно променя гледната точка на творците и начина, по който масовото въображение визуализира света. Като използват палитра от изразни средства от различни печатни продукти – географски карти, речници, страници от енциклопедии, настолни игри, жълтите книжки стават реален стимул за развитието на печатната индустрия, а наложеното визуално-вербално единство на разказа се утвърждава окончателно като устойчива практика в ерата на пост-постмодернизма и всевластващата и всевластна цивилизация на визуалното.

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ПЪРВИ КИТАЙСКИ ФИЛМИ С МУЗИКА ОТ КИТАЙСКИ КОМПОЗИТОРИ. ПОЯВА НА КИТАЙСКИЯ КИНОМЮЗИКЪЛ

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FIRST CHINESE FILMS WITH MUSIC BY CHINESE COMPOSERS. FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE CHINESE FILM MUSICAL

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Abstract:

The paper focuses on examples of the earliest Chinese film musicals. The paper also offers a general perspective on "related arts" (music and cinema) – a special characteristic of Chinese cinema from the first Chinese movie (created in 1905) till the present. The research is based on an interdisciplinary approach, which combines historical, analytical, comparative, music-theoretical, social anthropological knowledge, etc.

Keywords: Chinese film musicals, Chinese film music, Chinese composers

… филмовата музика е недостатъчно развита
област в китайското кинознание…
(Индзин 2010:39)

За дълбоките връзки между китайската музика и китайското кино свидетелства дори само обстоятелството, че първият китайски филм[1] представлява екранизация на пекинска опера. Въпреки че въпросният филм е „няма", чрез участието в него утвърдени за времето си оперни певци се превръщат в първите китайски киноактьори[2]. Изискванията към оперните изпълнители да умеят не само да пеят, а така също и да танцуват, да владеят сценичен бой и пр. явно се пренасят и върху китайските представи за добри киноактьори. Това наблюдение е актуално и за най-нови кинопродукции, от първото десетилетие на XXI век, където актьорският арсенал от изразни средства съчетава бойни с певчески умения. Характерен белег за китайските киноленти от зората на жанра до най-нови филмови продукции е присъствието на елементи от традиционната китайска музика и театър: свирене на различни музикални инструменти, солово и групово пеене, фрагменти от китайски оперни образци, костюмни и сценографски решения и др. Голям брой от най-популярните в световен план актьори от китайски произход са възпитаници на средища за пекинска и традиционна китайска опера. Някои от китайските кинорежисьори смело експериментират и в полето на музикалната експресия на своите филми. Те често съвсем целенасочено подбират композиторите, с които предпочитат да работят върху конкретна своя екранна творба. В саундтраците към успешни кинопродукции намират място дори новооткрити при археологически разкопки древнокитайски музикални инструменти. Осезаемо е, че музиката участва на множество различни нива при изграждането на китайските филми.

Предлаганият текст е фокусиран върху появата на китайския *киномюзикъл* – през 30-те години на XX век – явление, свързано пряко, от една страна, с популярността на кабаретния театър (навлязъл в Китай през 1927 г.) и от друга – с излизането на екран на първия китайски звуков филм (от 1930 г.).

Въпреки приведения в началото цитат, за музиката в китайското кино и в частност за *киномюзикъла* все пак е писано. Ще очертая базисни тълкувания от китайски и от чуждестранни автори, до които съм имала достъп по време на работата си върху темата.

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[1] „**Диндзюн шан джи джан**" / „Планината Диндзюн" или „Битката при връх Диндзюн" (定军山之战 / Dìngjūn shān zhī zhàn), от 1905, с реж. *Жън Дзинфън* (Лоу 2004: 37, 339; Мартонова 2012: 115–126; Ценова-Нушева 2010: 225–235).

[2] Най-именит между тях е Тан Синпей (Лоу 2004: 37, 339).

Изданието *„Енциклопедия на китайското кино”* (Сяо 2002: 243–244) предлага фрагмент, озаглавен *Мюзикълът* („*the musical”*), в който, най-общо казано, обект на изследване са филми с развито песенно начало. Въпреки че за изследователите „*киномюзикълът* не е основен жанр в китайското кино”, те правят някои аналогии с холивудските мюзикълни продукции. За да се подчертаят приликите с американския жанр, се изтъкват аргументите, че и в китайските образци главните героини са очарователни, усмихнати, пеещи млади жени с красиви гласове. Привежда се и убеждението на авторите, че успехът, превръщащ в касови хитове китайските ленти, причислявани към този жанр, се дължи не толкова на иначе спазените изисквания за политическа ангажираност, колкото на естеството на забавление, което предлагат, свързано с конкретните специфики на *киномюзикъла*. В изданието се предлагат и допълнителни жанрови разграничения: „(…) музикалният филм може да бъде разделен на три категории: *филми, в които се пее* (**гъчан пиен**), *филми, в които се пее и танцува* (**гъу пиен**) [тук сред танците намира място и хореографски поставеният сценичен бой – М. Ц.-Н.], и *мюзикъли* [или *киномюзикъли* – М. Ц.-Н.] (**инюе пиен**) ” (Сяо 2002: 244).

Други публикации, които изследват влиянието на кабаретния театър в Шанхай, допринасят за по-пълното осмисляне на явлението *китайски киномюзикъл* (Сун 2006; Фийлд 2001). В рамките едва на 3 години – от 1927, когато първите подобни средища за забавления отварят врати, до 1930 – кабаретната култура в страната дотолкова разширява своя обхват, че професията *актриса в кабаретен театър* се превръща в едно от 14-те основни занимания на работещата жена в Шанхай (Сун 2006).

Ето защо не е учудващо, че тематиката, свързана с кабаретни развлечения, в съчетание с интонации и ритми от популярни американски песни, от джаза и мюзикъла, е вплитана не само в китайските киномюзикъли, а и в китайските игрални филми (от различни исторически периоди), особено когато се обрисува животът на богатите в контраст с този на бедните.

Има съществена разлика между филмите, изградени върху основата на китайски опери, и китайските филми, повлияни от американски мюзикъли. Така филмите, представляващи заснети оперни постановки, са отделяни в категория „**сицюпиен**”, а оперните филми, създавани през периода на *културната революция* – в категория „**янбанси**”. Двете групи филми не би следвало да се мислят като *киномюзикъли* (Сун 2006).

През 1930 г. настъпва особено ярко събитие за китайското кино, пряко свързано с развитието на китайската филмова музика – създаден е първият звуков филм – “**Гъню хун мудан**” („Певицата „Червен божур”)[3]. Режисьор на филма е Джан Шъчуан, сценарист – Хун Шън, оператор – Дун Къи (Джън 2005: 425–426). Някои автори приемат този филм за най-ранния китайски образец в жанра *киномюзикъл* (Сяо 2002 :244). Макар че не е типичен киномюзикъл, филмът обхваща звучащи песенни елементи, както и слуховото и визуално присъствие на барабан. Филмът “**Гъню хун мудан**” е осъществен като творческо сътрудничество между филмова и звукозаписна компания (Лиу 2010: 257), като звукът и картината не са синхронизирани (Слобин 2008 :189).[4]

Междувременно, през 1930 г., продуктивен китайски композитор – Ли Дзинхуей[5], свързван с голям брой китайски популярни песни, написани в периода от 20-те до 40-те години на XX век, основава със собствени финансови средства песенно-танцова трупа в Шанхай, наречена „Минюе” („Ярка луна”). Най-известните и успешни китайски филмови актьори и певци (за продукциите от 30-те и 40-те години) излизат именно от тази трупа (Яу 2011). Наличието на песенно-танцова трупа, която да излъчва пеещи актьори за кино се вписва в по-глобална тенденция, достигаща и до най-съвременни и значими актьори и продукции от границата между XX и XXI век.

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[3] (歌女红牡丹 / *Genü hong mudan).*

[4] Създаването на първия китайски звуков филм най-вероятно е резултат и от влиянието на Холивуд в Шанхай, както и от възможността за внос и разпространение на американски филми, част от които са киномюзикъли (например *„Бродуейска мелодия”* (*Broadway melody,* 1929) на Метро голдуин майер, „42-ра улица*”* (*42nd sreet*), на Урнър Брос и др., 1933), излъчвани пред изпълнена с възторг китайска публика (Сун 2006).

[5] Живял в периода 1891–1967.

Убедителната поява на няколко талантливи китайски режисьори[6] през разглежданото време е осмисляна като *първи „златен период”* в китайското кино. „Златният период” със сигурност е свързан и с времето, когато изгрява първата плеяда китайски композитори (Хъ Лютин, Ние Ър, Сун Чънби, Хуан Дзъ, Джао Юанжън, Хуан Дзъ, Лю Дзи, Жън Гуан, Сиен Синхай), ангажирани да създават музика за кино (Индзин 1999: 208; Лиу 2010), всички те причислявани към течението „Нова китайска музика” (Лиу 2010).

През 30-те години на XX век е създадена и първата специално композирана китайска филмова песен и е публикувана първата партитура с филмова музика. Първата авторска песен от китайски филм е „Сун Сион Ци” („В търсене на големия брат”)[7], създадена по поръчка на компания „Линхуа”[8]. Песента е по текст на Сун Ю и по музика на Сун Чънби (Лиу 2010).

През 1933 г. е публикувана и първата китайска партитура с филмова песен, дело на композитора Ние Ър – „Кайкуан гъ” (“Песента на миньора”), за филма „**Мусин джи гуан**” („Светлината на майчинството”; Слобин 2008: 207). След нея Ние Ър създава голям брой песни и музика към много филми. Друг значим автор на филмова музика от периода е Хъ Лютин. Ние Ър и Ху Лютин работят и в сътрудничество върху няколко филмови образци през 30-те (Лиу 2010).

На фона на изградените традиции, свързани с участието на музика в китайските филми и на цитираните по-горе образци, ярко се разграничават музиката и цялостната филмова продукция на „**Душъ фънгуан**” („Светлините на града”, 1935)[9], по осезаемото повлияване от американските киномюзикъли, пречупено обаче през китайското светоусещане, чувство за хумор, изразни средства. С този образец се поставя началото на нов жанр за китайското кино и култура, намерил своето място в местните киносалони от средата на 30-те. За пионер в жанра се счита режисьорът *Юан Муджъ*[10].

По отношение на музиката в коментираната продукция се открива интересно припокриване с фрагменти от крупно издание, посветено на китайската музика (Лиу 2010), по което са реконструирани данни за създателите на музиката за тази лента, иначе липсващи при стандартната общодостъпна информация за филма. Оказва се, че към изработването на музиката за „**Душъ фънгуан**” е подходено изключително сериозно, като са ангажирани *трима композитори*: *Хуан Дзъ, Хъ Лютин* и *Джао Юанжън*. Заложено е на Хуан Дзъ, специализирал в Йеил и в други утвърдени международни университети, виден китайски музикант, педагог, общественик, създател на първия симфоничен оркестър в Китай. Той композира рядко, но точно за този филм създава едноименната песен-фантазия „Душъ фънгуан (хуансян цю)”, която носи характера на песен-хит[11]. Един от другите двама композитори за филма – *Хъ Лютин* – след този филм се утвърждава като водещ автор на филмова музика в Китай до времето на *културната революция*.

Музиката в „Душъ фънгуан” почти не прекъсва. Песента-хит се изпълнява няколко пъти в рамките на филма: от уличен певец или от симфоничен оркестър. Героите използват ритмизиран говор, ритмизирано придвижване, напомнящо танца степ. Комедийните елементи са подсилени от музикални звуци: позвъняването на броени монети – почти цялото благосъстояние на героя – е изобразено чрез звука на музикални инструменти; изкачването по прекалено високи стълби – с кратък музикален мотив, подложен на прекалено голям брой секвентни повторения във възходяща посока; походка с една продънена обувка и с друга, на която с дъвка е залепена монета – е озвучено с редуване на два различни музикални тембъра – кречетало и тромбон; звуковата картина изобилства от подсвирквания и всевъзможни звуци, будещи смях. Усещането за урбанистичната градска среда също е подсилено от звукови ефекти (например при едновременното пристигане на два влака). Забързаният градски живот, светлините на града, увеселенията, напрегнатите лутания на героите са изобразени с инструментални музикални теми, с по-шлагерно

[6] През също десетилетие изгряват и първото поколение школувани китайски филмови звезди: Ху Дие, Джоу Дзуан, Дзин Йън, Жуан Линю и др.

[7] (寻兄词 / Xun Xiong ci).

[8] За звуковия филм „**Йехуа сиенцао”** („Лека жена”, Yehua xiancao).

[9] (都市风光 / Dūshì fēnguāng). Английските названия на филма са две –*Metropolitan Sights или City Lights*. Филмът е силно повлиян от Чарли Чаплин, а единият от вариантите на заглавието напълно съвпада с оригиналното название на неговия шедьовър „Светлините на града” (от 1931 г.).

[10] (袁牧之 / *Yuan Muzhi*). Живял в периода 1909–1978.

[11] Наличието на песен-хит е особено характерно за американския мюзикъл, представян на сцена, както и за американския киномюзикъл.

звучене, в бързо темпо. Самият характер на музиката, въпреки търсените аналогии с американски образци, е китайски – като подход, интонационен материал и т.н. Забелязват се и аналогии с начина, по който широко популярни американски анимационни продукции подхождат към употребата на музиката, но тук е потърсен ефектът им в средата на игралното кино. (Всъщност в екранния текст са преплетени и рисувани фрагменти – при посещение от страна на героите на анимационна кинопрожекция и др., които също са придружени с музикални мотиви и отделни изсвирени звуци.)

Особено успешен китайски филм, по музика от Хъ Лютин, е „**Малу Тиеншъ**" („Уличен ангел", 1937)[12], втори киномюзикъл на режисьора и сценарист Юан Муджъ. Оператор и тук е У Инсиен. Явно изборът на композитор е продиктуван от познаването на работата на трима различни автори, придобит при осъществяването на предишния филмов проект.

Действието се развива в Шанхай през 1935 г. Красивата млада девойка Сяо Хун е певица в чайна. Тя се влюбва в красив млад музикант – Сяо Чън. Прозорците им са разположени един срещу друг и Сяо Чън често забавлява Сяо Хун с музикални изпълнения от прозореца си. Когато младият мъж научава, че работодателят на Сяо Хун възнамерява да я продаде на богат клиент, който я е харесал и пожелал, Сяо Чън и изобретателните му приятели правят всичко по силите си, за да осуетят тази възможност.

Филмът започва и завършва с кадри на величествени градски сгради, съпътствани със симфонична музика. Празничното шествие, с което продължава действието, смесва звуци от присъстващите в кадрите традиционен и военен духов оркестър. Това съчетание не е съгласувано и от една страна, демонстрира оживлението, съпътстващо градски празник, от друга – въвежда образа на Сяо Чън във филма, представен като музикант – тромпетист във военния оркестър, и същевременно като влюбен младеж, търсещ взора на любимата девойка, дори по време на парадното масово шествие.

Песента-хит във филма прозвучава три пъти. Явно целта е била тя да влезе в съзнанието на зрителя, защото всяко нейно явяване е придружено с текста й на китайски (на мадарин), представен като своеобразно „караоке" – с постепенна поява на йероглифните знаци непосредствено преди тяхно изпяване. Песента – музикална тема на филма, е поверена на соло глас – на Сяо Хоу, и на соло **ерху**. И трите появи на тази тема са съчетани с наслагването на кадър върху кадър, създаващо усещане за спомени, асоциации, които предизвиква песента, или пък за симултанни събития, преживявани паралелно с протичането на музикалното изпълнение. Първият и третият път инструменталният съпровод е на собственика на чайната – особено мил с богатите си клиенти, но груб към своите подчинени. Докато пее, срамежливата Сяо Хоу се рее в мислите за красиви природни местности, за да „избяга" от реалността и принудителната си съдба на певица, която забавлява мъжка клиентела, за да преживява. Подобни картини изникват и в съзнанието на слушащите я посетители на чайната, които са възхитени от пеенето на симпатичната девойка. Второто изпълнение на песента е особено вълнуващо и радостно за двамата млади герои. Сяо Хоу запява, а Сяо Чоу веднага грабва **ерху** и започва да свири, като по този начин се получава чудесен любовен дует, а участниците в него са всеки на своя прозорец. В екранния текст, отново чрез наслагване на кадри, радостта им е съпоставена с мъката на чуващата ги сестра на певицата Сяо Хоу – Сяо Юн, която също е влюбена в младежа. При последното изпълнение на песента в чайната Сяо Чоу е тъжен посетител, опитващ се да удави ревността и отчаянието си в алкохол. Докато страдащата за него и за реакцията му Сяо Хоу пее, той си представя как заедно са изпълнявали звучащата в момента песен.

Наред с тембрите и визуалното присъствие на **ерху**, на *тромпета*, на *духовата музика*, на *традиционния оркестър*, съставен предимно от *металофони*, и широко разгърнатите *симфонични картини*, с които започва и завършва лентата, във филма се прокрадват *барабан* и барабанчик – няколко пъти; звуков музикален фон, поверен на *цигулка* и *класическо пиано*; музикални фонови теми в традиционен дух или повлияни от американските мюзикъли и джаза.

[12] (馬路天使/ Mǎlù tiānshǐ).

Този филмов образец, подобно на „Душъ фънгуан”, показва характерен китайски творчески почерк от страна на режисьор и композитор при експерименталната употреба на музикални елементи в екранния текст. Новите подходи при прилагането на музиката често вървят ръка за ръка и с иновации по линия на техническите и изразителните възможности на жанра. Търсенията, свързани с участието и присъствието – звуково и визуално в екранния текст, ще продължат да бъдат проучвани и развивани и през следващите периоди, достигащи до въздействащи върхове при това взаимодействие, в образци, създавани след средата на 80-те години на XX и през новия век.

Ключово явление за 30-те години на XX век, мислени и като „първи златен период” за китайското кино, е появата на звуковия филм в Китай – обстоятелство, силно обвързано с музиката в екранния текст. До 1937 г. на екран все още излизат „неми филми”, при които допълнително бива добавена музика, най-често произлизаща от западноевропейската и американската традиция[13]. Важни за разглежданите процеси на взаимовръзки между кино и музика в Китай са: появата на първата песен – филмова музикална тема, първата печатна филмова партитура, първите китайски *киномюзикъли* и целенасоченото канене на музиканти за автори на музиката в местните кинопродукции. При най-смелите експерименти по линия на засиленото присъствие на музика в някои от филмите през 30-те и търсенето на близост с внасяните и излъчвани в страната холивудски продукции на киномюзикъли, при конкретни образци композирането на филмовата музика е поверявано на повече от един автор – подход, наблюдаван и при други филми с ярки музикални характеристики, принадлежащи към следващи периоди от развитието на китайското кино.

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[13] Около средата на 30-те години на XX век биват създадени и излъчени няколко значими филма, между които „Югуан цю” / „Песента на рибаря” (1934, 渔光曲 / Yú guāng qū) на режьора Цай Чушън е с ярки музикални характеристики (без обаче да е обявен автор на филмовата музика). Продукцията е на филмова компания „Линхуа”, образец на нямото кино, с надписи, озвучен със симфонична музика. Сюжетът на филма обрисува тежкия живот на най-бедните класи в Китай, принудени понякога да пеят на улицата, за да припечелват за прехраната си. Първият китайски филм, носител на престижна награда от международния филмов фестивал в Москва през 1935.

THE MYTHOLOGICAL, SYMBOLIC AND LINGUISTIC PICTURE OF THE MULBERRY IN TRADITIONAL CULTURE

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Abstract

Plants are the universal symbols of human spiritual culture. They form a peculiar kind of a plant code, on which whole messages are built and transmitted.

The paper deals with a linguistic and cultural studies analysis of the mulberry as a symbol of health, longevity, immortality. Its leaves are the major food to the silkworms. The mythological, symbolic and linguistic image of the mulberry is analyzed in terms of Bulgarian folk beliefs and customs. They are compared with the traditions of other nations and cultures.

Keywords: mulberry, mythology, symbolism, language, linguistic cultural studies.

The tree is one of the universal symbols of human spiritual culture. It is a symbol of the central axis linking Heaven and Earth or linking man and man's path to spiritual heights, the cycle of life, death, rebirth, etc.

In ancient times, it was associated with gods and mystical forces of nature. Harmonization with the universe is reached through the myths of two central trees: the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge. If the Tree of Life covers and unites all laws and forms of the existing space, the Tree of Knowledge meets obstacles and trials on the road to truth and wisdom.

The roots of the Tree of Life deeply penetrate the underworld. Its trunk serves as a bridge between Heaven and Earth, and its branches reach high, skyrocketing to the home of the gods and the stars. It is a symbol of the macrocosm and symbolizes the principles of creation and the birth of new life.

The symbolism of the tree and its worship can be discovered in ancient religions, where the reverence for nature and for the powers that it has clearly stand out.

According to Christian symbolism, Mary was under a tree when the holy spirit blessed her and through her gave the Savior as a fruit to the world.

On the one hand, trees are divided into pure, divine and sacred such as *oak, mulberry, apple,* etc. and unclean, diabolical such as *ash,* etc. On the other hand, trees are good such as *oak, mulberry, apple,* etc. and evil such as *ash, willow,* etc.

Every nation has its sacred trees. In ancient times, it was believed that each god owned a sacred tree, through which they passed some of their sacraments and forces (Cooper 1993; Prior 2009).

The tree is closely related to demonology. It is a place inhabited by different mythological creatures. Nymphs live on trees while fairies hide in the trunks.

It is believed that the tree has a soul, holds a sacred mystical force and that it has someone's spirit. The tree is compared to man by its external features: trunk – body, roots – legs, branches – hands, juice – blood, etc. The branches symbolizy the human striving for perfection, and the strong, deep roots in the ground remind us of the connection between the worlds of the dead and the living.

There are "male" trees such as *beech, dogwood, oak, walnut, maple,* ash etc. and "female" trees such as *mulberry, willow, viburnum, lime, quince, pear, plum, apple, olive* etc. (Tolstoy 1995).

The **mulberry** tree (*Morus L.*) lives very long. In the biblical city Yerion there grows a mulberry tree whose age is estimated at 2,000 years. According to the legend, it was in its shadow that the prophet Jonah and even Jesus Christ sought coolness from the sweltering sun. In many nations there are legends of this unique biblical tree. According to one of them, sung by the Roman poet Ovid in the collection of elegies

“Metamorphoses”, the two lovers Priam and Thisbe, archetypes of the immortal Shakespearean characters Romeo and Juliet, found their tragic death under the mighty mulberry tree. Their innocent scarlet blood dyed the fruit of the tree.

In ancient China, the mulberry tree was revered as sacred and a symbol of fertility. The old texts repeatedly referred to “Sacred mulberry gardens” or to separate mulberry trees as a place to organize farm holidays on which various rites and rituals were performed (Malinova 2000: 64). According to one Chinese legend, “Yin, who later became the father of a famous family in Shang China, was found in a hollow in the trunk of the mulberry tree named Kun (c. 1500 BC–c. 1050 BC)” (Yuan 1987: 216-217).

The mulberry trees were perceived as “global pillars” in the deployment process of heaven and earth in their rough spatial opposition, and this perception was associated with their “supporting” function (Malinova 2006: 65). Thus, they became the phytomorphic mainstay to the sky along with the theriomorphic system, presented by the Great Mountains, while the zoomorphic image of the turtle and the anthropomorphic shape were combined in the legend on Pangu (Ariel 1994: 156).

In Chinese mythology, the mulberry tree named Fusan, along with Migu (Wootton, enchanting tree) and Zhamu, was one of the Dryad personifications of the Sun.

Traditionally, Fusan is a huge “reaching to the sky tree that grows on the eastern edge of the world”. A wingless dragon is wrapped around Fusan’s trunk and ten suns live in its branches ‘climbing in heaven” (Walters 1995: 68). As a tree totem, the mulberry tree is to the patron of the members of a family and boosts fertility.

The most common types of the **mulberry** tree in Bulgaria are the **white** one (*Morus alba*) and the **black** one (*Morus nigra*). Both mulberry kinds were brought from the East, but at different times. The black mulberry *Morus nigra L.* had already appeared in the early Middle Ages, but it was rare and grew mainly in the southern regions of the country. The white mulberry *Morus alba L.* was brought in as late as the –14th–15th century and it spread ubiquitously (Stefanov, Kitanov 1962: 30-31). Therefore, both types were not terminologically distinguishable throughout the country. Significantly, the most common name of the mulberry was of *Morus L.* and it was related to the living area, origin and type of *Morus nigra L*., but it had spread far to the north along with the spread of *Morus alba L*. In order to differentiate both types, two complex names such as white mulberry and black mulberry were applied later (also in scientific literature) (Ahtarov 1939: 213-214).

There is substantial and terminological differentiation in the indication of the plant and the fruit, and this is a phenomenon known so far only with two of the many crops grown in the country – the corn *Zea Mays L*. and the mulberry *Morus L*.

The folk names of the mulberry are *bobonka, barabonka, bakli, pakli, galashki, garvani (ravens), dut, duda, dudinka, strawberry, kakel, kapina (blackberry), mureyka, mura (fir), sikamnitsa, skambali, tsarnitsa, tsarnichka, chernika, chernichka (swarthy)* etc. (Ahtarov 1939: 213-214).

Synonyms of mulberry are *bobonka* and *barabonka*. These names cover a vast area in Central and Eastern Bulgaria. The names *bobinka* (cocoons) and *bobolka* are attested in the Bulgarian dialects in Macedonia (last in Prilep). The names of this group occurred in Bulgaria either as new word formations from the root of the word “bob”, or by transferring the meaning, such as *brabonka* meaning “small knobby fruit”, *bobinka* (cocoons) meaning “raspberries”, *bobuli* meaning “corn”, etc. (See. Mladenov 1951: 200; BER 1971: 33, 59; Holiolchev 1974: 309-310).

As for the metaphorical name *garvani* (ravens), Holiolchev noted that *garvan* spread only in a few towns north of Gotse Delchev, where he heard the nickname *garvancheta*, the plural form of *garvanche* (meaning “a little/young raven”). Themetaphore has probably imerged due to the similarity between the glossy black colored birds like the *Corvus* and the *Morus nigra L.* fruit (importantly, this is a name which shows the same onomaciological feature as well as the *chernitsa* originated in the old area of Morus nigra L.) (Holiolchev 1974: 310).

The most common name is the folk name *dud* which is known in a compact area in the Northwestern Bulgaria, and is widespread among the Bulgarian dialcts in Aegean Macedonia (Chech area and Seres field), while *duda* is used in some areas around Vratsa, Smolyan and Krumovgrad; *dudala* is used in Elhovo, *dudka* – in Madan and in some places near Breznik, *dut,* also *dudove* is used in two small areas around Sofia,

Pernik, and Breznik, in the northern part of Harmanli and also in different scattered places in the Southeast Bulgaria; *dudinka* is used in Godech, Tran and in Bulgarian dialects in Macedonia (Holiolchev 1974: 310-311).

The name *dut* is also known in the Turkish language, where it was loaned from, and in the Serbo-Croatian language it is *dud*, in the Romanian language it is *dud*, in the Ukrainian language it is *tut, tutin* and in the Russian language it is *tut, tutovoe derevo* (Holiolchev 1974: 311).

The Latin, the (botanical) name of the ***mulberry*** is Morus L. Mulberry, as it has already been mentioned and used above.

White mulberry (*Morus alba L.*) In the English language it is named White Mulberry, in the German language it is *Weisser Maulbeerbaum*, in the French language it is *Murier blanc* and in the Russian language it is *тут белый*, *шелковица* (tut beliy, shelkovitsa).

Black Mulberry (*Morus nigra L.*) In the English language it is named Black Mulberry, in the German language it is *Schwarzer Maulbeerbaum*, in the French language it is *Murier noir* and in the Russian language it is *тут черны* (tut cherniy) (Kitanov 1994: 74-75).

The three colors in the three-stage ripening of the mulberry are white, red and black and they symbolize the three levels of initiation, as well as the three stages in human life so that the white period is innocent childhood, the red period is living reality and the black period is old age and death.

In Greece, the mulberry is a symbol of misfortune in love, as the mulberry tree colored its fruit in black at the death of Priam and Thisbe. In China, the mulberry tree is a tree of life and possesses magical powers against the power of darkness. Moreover, it symbolizes diligence and filial piety (Cooper 1993).

In folk poetry, the mulberry tree is glorified as a wonder tree, its roots are in the ground and its branches reach high to the sky. The mulberry tree (the World Tree) determines the direction of the world and marks the center of the universe. It sets up the oppositions below-above, sky-land, life-death.

The mulberry tree is often glorified in folk songs as the tree where cradles are tied. It is a symbol of youth, health, happiness, and longevity, for example:

A swing was tied [Stoyan and Grozda] to a mulberry tree.
And a male child was asleep ...
(Stoin, Folk songs from Timok to Vit, 1928, 218)

The usage of the diminutive noun *chernicka* (a little mulberry tree) is noted in a song from Sevlievo for example:

Lalka went outside,
She rose on a little mulberry tree ...
(Stoin, Folk songs from Middle North Bulgaria, 1931, 385 Hirevo, Sevlievo)

In a Rodopi folk song, the girl is sitting “in the garden, under the black mulberry”. The damsel is already in love and the garden and everything around her symbolizes another space and culture, to which the girl gradually associates.

Oh, white, black-eyed Janke, sit, sit,
Wow, in a small and a flat garden.
Wow, under the pretty viburnum.
Oh, under the viburnum, wow white, black-eyed Janke,
Wow, under the black mulberry tree ...
(Stoin, SbNU, XXXIX, Rodopi Songs, 1934, 291)

Yesterday I started to weave a dress,
under the big mulberry tree,
a thin and a pretty dress,
with silk decorations,
my mother sits and weaves it,
a bride sits and weaves it

I can sit, but I cannot weave it ...
(BNT, vol. 13, Sliven region)

The adjective ***chernichev*** is formed from the word ***chernitsa*** (mulberry) with the suffix ***-ev***, for example:

Fan, fan, wind, wind,
So swing branches, **chernichevi** branches [branches of **mulberry]** …
(SbNU, 46, 150, p. Voynyagovo, Karlovo region)

A girl went downstairs,
In the dewy meadow, among thick **mulberry** trees,
Among thick **mulberry** trees, she should raise leaves,
She should raise leaves, **mulberry** leaves ...
(SbNU, 46, 153 with. Voynyagovo, Karlovo region)

The mulberry tree is widely applied in folk medicine. A decoction of the bark of young branches is used in folk medicine against tapeworms and as a laxative. The fruit is used to make syrup against angina.

The mulberry tree is the tree of the fairies. According to the beliefs, it is forbidden to grow a mulberry tree near a maple tree, because they symbolically mean brother and sister.

In the Plovdiv region, the best man's wood is made from a mulberry branch because it is believed that in this way the bride will be fertile.

At the funeral of a dead man, a mulberry cross is used so that the dead man will not turn into a vampire (Georgiev 1999: 528).

Mulberry twigs participate in the complex rituals on the grandmotherly holidays. They have expressive and apotropaic qualities, and thus, they are used for amulets.

The Chinese believe that the mulberry is a sign of the Sun in life, because in its development and in its ripening there are three stages observed, associated with the stages of human life, that is, youth, maturity and old age.

The mulberry is a symbol of health, longevity and immortality.

The mulberry leaves are most commonly used as food for the silkworm (or for the butterfly).

China is considered the homeland of the mulberry. Over many centuries the secret of the mulberry and of the production of the famous Chinese silk was kept zealously and under threat of severe punishment, , so that the famous Chinese silk can conquer the world with its elegance and finesse. Malinova notes that in China, "making silk is an activity that is destined by the gods only to the Chinese people and in this context of reflection it can be taken as an indicator of ethnic differentiation. Silk, which is deeply rooted not only in the life and beliefs of the Chinese, but also in their way of thinking, can rightfully be seen as a metaphor for the entire Chinese civilization" (Malinova 2006: 74). The brilliance of the royal courts largely was due precisely to the silk arriving from the distant and mysterious eastern country over millennia.

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ШКОЛИТЕ ЗА БОЙНИ ИЗКУСТВА – ВРАТА ЗА ПОПУЛЯРИЗИРАНЕ НА КИТАЙСКИТЕ ТРАДИЦИИ В БЪЛГАРИЯ

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SCHOOLS OF MARTIAL ARTS – A DOORWAY FOR THE POPULARIZATION OF CHINESE TRADITIONS IN BULGARIA

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Abstract

The report focuses on the relationship between schools of Chinese martial arts and their role in the spreading, impact and promotion of Chinese culture, philosophy and traditions in Bulgaria. In the late 1980s, in Bulgaria begin to form schools that deal exclusively with Chinese martial arts – i.e. "internal styles" of Wushu like Taijiquan, Ba Gua Zhang, Xing Yi Quan, as well as "external styles" like different forms of Shaolin Kung Fu, or very popular lately Wing Chun, etc. Since then, the number of schools and their members has increased rapidly. Anyone who has ever practiced Chinese martial arts has become connected, to some extent, to the ancient Chinese traditions and philosophy, since the regular training is a living, daily-based practice.

Establishing the extent of Chinese tradition embodied in martial arts was achieved, on the one hand, by examining the number and size of schools teaching these traditional Chinese martial disciplines in Bulgaria. On the other hand, examined was the extent to which these ideas, philosophy and practices have been communicated. Based on a series of individual in-depth interviews, we established the degree to which people engaged in traditional Chinese martial arts actually understand, feel, perceive and reproduce the philosophy and style of a particular practice in their own life – as a training of the body, mind and spirit – as well as the extent to which they have become a part of their personal lifestyle and perception of the world.

Keywords: Chinese tradition, martial arts, schools, dissemination and impact

Първите асоциации, които хората в България (и не само) обикновено правят с Китай, са свързани неизменно с понятия и образи, отдавна станали негова емблема: Китайската стена; икономическото чудо на Изтока; китайските стоки; китайските ресторанти и разбира се – бойните изкуства. Китайската култура, традиции и светоусещане обаче все още са свързани с голяма доза мистика, романтизъм и не съвсем верни и ясни представи. Традиционните китайски ценности, философия, религия и разбирания по своята същност са доста далечни и непонятни за обикновения българин, добил представа за тази древна, далечна и екзотична страна предимно от киното. Малко елементи представят така добре културното и духовно наследство на Китай както бойните изкуства, тъй като те са есенцията на съхранените от древността до днес традиции и неразривна, жива част от тях. Наред с това бойните изкуства въплъщават една действена философия, светоусещане и практики, които са предназначени да станат неразделна част от всекидневието и живота на тренiращите. „Фактът, че китайските бойни изкуства произлизат от традиционната китайска култура, обяснява тяхното дълбоко вътрешно съдържание. Създадени на базата на даоизма (а по-късно и на будизма), те са тясно свързани с личностното самоусъвършенстване. Изначалните им принципи включвали развиване на добродетели и артистични умения, подобрение на здравето и стремеж към дълголетие, укрепване на физическото състояние, самозащита и предотвратяване на насилието“ (Епохални времена 2009).

Твърде стеснените рамки, в които се изчерпват най-общите представи за Китай, се дължат донякъде на липсата на достатъчно канали и средства за популяризирането на неговата култура и традиции у нас. Ето защо в настоящия доклад ще се спрем на един от начините за компенсиране на този дефицит, **като изследваме връзката между школите за традиционни китайски бойни изкуства и тяхната роля за популяризирането, разпространението и влиянието на китайската култура, философия и световъзприятие в България**. Фокусирайки се върху школите и клубовете за у-шу/кунг-фу у нас, ще можем

да изследваме социалния контекст в който става разпространяването на бойните изкуства и да проучим реалното им присъствие и влияние в България. Установяването на степента на това разпространение и влияние е осъществено по две направления. От една страна, се изследват самите школи:

- Техния брой и членска маса;
- Пряката им връзка, приемственост и възпроизвеждане на определена оригинална традиция, школа или стил от древен Китай,
- Степента, в която развиват и адаптират тези автентични традиции, знания и умения към съвременната българска действителност.

На тази база се оценява (макар и приблизително) *ширината на обхвата и разпространението* на у-шу/кунг-фу в България и съответно – приблизителният обем на аудиторията, сред която се популяризират китайските традиции, култура и философия, въплътени в основните принципи на тези бойни изкуства.

От друга страна, тяхното влияние се оценява чрез изследване на *дълбочината и степента на проникване и влияние* на тези идеи, философия и практики. Изследва се:

- Степента, в която хората, занимаващи се с у-шу/кунг-фу у нас, действително разбират, усещат, възприемат и възпроизвеждат философията на дадения стил и практика в собствените си живот – като тренировка за тялото, ума и духа;
- Доколко те са станали интегрална част от техния светоглед, начин на живот, всекидневие и светоусещане;
- Доколко заниманията с китайски бойни изкуства са променили/подобрили техния живот;
- В каква степен се е повишил интересът и са се разширили познанията им за китайската култура, език, традиции и философия благодарение на заниманията с бойни изкуства.

Използваните методи за набиране на информация са както количествени (статистически), така и качествени (дълбочинно интервю). За целите на настоящото изследване бяха проведени серия от индивидуални дълбочинни интервюта в периода април–май, 2015 г. Интервюирани бяха:

- Почитаеми/старши учители (лао-шъ) и майстори-учители (сифу);
- Адепти (ученици/трениращи) от школи по у-шу/кунг-фу в различни стадии на своето обучение.

Дефиниране на основните понятия

Нека изясним и дефинираме основните понятия и термини, които правят разбираеми същността и структурата на китайските бойни изкуства. Забележителни с древния си произход „китайските бойни изкуства, повече известни днес като Кунг-Фу, имат близо 4000-годишна история“ (Юкун 1996). През вековете те са имали различни наименования, обединяващи цялата палитра от десетки разновидности стилове и под-стилове, като днес са се наложили термините „**у-шу“** и „**кунг-фу“**. Неслучайно клишето „бойни изкуства“ е в множествено число, тъй като: “В днешно време те наброяват около 130 основни стила, а с разновидностите и подстиловете стават около 400“ (Александров 2015: 1). Всички тези различни стилове имат своята история, философия, специфични методи, принципи и канони, за овладяването на които се изисква цял един живот, тъй като те представляват цялостна сложна система за физическо и духовно самоусъвършенстване. **Независимо обаче от техническите си разлики, правила и философия всички те имат общ корен и това е китайската култура** (Александров 1994).

Въпреки че са синоними, важно е да се направи едно съществено разграничение между у-шу и кунг-фу. В исторически план терминът кунг-фу е пренесен в Европа, след като през 1856 г. британската армия завладява част от югоизточната част на Китай, близо до Хонконг, която е под британско владичество до 1997 г. (Habersetzer 1988). Китайското наименование „гонг-фу“,което се произнася „кунг-фу“ и в буквален превод означава „време изразходвано за постигане на майсторство“, се възприема и съответно започва да се използва от британците погрешно като синоним на бойните изкуства (Йорданая 2013) За разлика от него терминът у-шу е сравнително по-нов и се използва предимно в континентален Китай, като се налага след Втората световна война. За период от 10–15 години, докато трае Културната революция[1], тези изкуства са забранени – обявени са за „феодална отживелица” заедно с много други неща от традиционната китайска култура. След Културната революция се решава той да бъде възстановен, но цената е, че го изваждат от контекста на философските и религиозните

[1] „Културната революция” в Китай (1956–1972).

концепции, които всъщност са живецът на тази система. „Премахват дисциплината на двубоите на арена – сан-да; сан-шоу, лей-тай. С това китайските власти променят изцяло смисъла на термина у-шу, придавайки му съвсем друга насока. Това се прави с цел пълен държавен монопол върху този спорт (някъде го наричат и „държавно у-шу" или „гимнастика у-шу"), което на практика къса връзката с традиционните стилове, философия и методика на трениране" (Александров 2014: 3).

Въпреки усилията на Комунистическата партия и държавата терминът у-шу да се популяризира[2], в неформалния език сред населението в Китай терминът кунг-фу продължава да е много по-широко употребяван. Нещо повече – „в Китай, където около 300 млн. души практикуват бойни изкуства, едва около 10 % от тях се занимават с у-шу (т.е. осакатения спортен вариант), а останалите практикуват традиционните стилове" (Александров 2014: 3). **Ето защо в настоящия текст ще обозначаваме традиционните китайски бойни изкуства с термина кунг-фу, което ще индикира оригиналната традиция, ценности и принципи, които те носят.**

Стиловете кунг-фу, които са най-популярни както в България, така и в чужбина, безспорно са тай-дзи-цюан и уинг-чун-кюн. Това обаче не изчерпва палитрата на китайски бойни изкуства, които се практикуват у нас. Според лао-шъ д-р Д. Александров традиционните китайски стилове, които се практикуват в България, са: тай-дзи-цюан, ба-гуа-джан („Дланта на 8-те мистични триграми"), син-и-цюан („Бокс на насочената воля"), различни форми на ци-гун, уинг-чун-кюн,шаолин-цюан, кунг-фу-тоа,джийт-куон-до, пи-гуа,чуо-дзяо и др.

Разпространение и обхват на кунг-фу в България

В България вече има натрупан значителен опит в практикуването и преподаването на кунг-фу според най-добрите китайски традиции. Първите клубове за традиционни китайски бойни изкуства са създадени преди около 40 години. В момента в България има две официални федерации по у-шу/кунг-фу. Едната е Българската федерация по у-шу (БФУШУ), другата е Българска федерация по кунг-фу и тай-чи (БФКТ). Има и Асоциация по фамилен стил на тай-дзи. „*Освен изброените има и 25–30 по-малки федерации,обединяващи около 400 клуба за бойни изкуства на територията на цялата страна. Към днешна дата в България има около 70 официални школи за традиционни китайски бойни изкуства. В БФУШУ има около 14 клуба; толкова са и в другата федерация. ... Регистрираните клубове имат членска маса 30–40 човека – грубо казано. Малките школи и групи са от около 10–15 човека*"[3] (лао-шъ д-р Д. Александров)[4].

Точният брой на хората, членуващи в тези школи и клубове, е много трудно (ако не и невъзможно) да се установи. Според един от уважаваните преподаватели и ръководители на собствена школа – сифу проф. Й. Крушев[5]: „*Броят на школите се променя непрекъснато. Преди 10 години се опитахме да пресметнем напосоки колко хора са минали през тях, но това се оказа невъзможно. Като дългогодишен отговорен секретар на Българската федерация по у-шу (1992–2000) и впоследствие зам.-председател на същата мога да кажа, че в средата на 90-те години на миналия век членската маса наброяваше някъде около 3000 човека"* (сифу проф. Й. Крушев).

По-нататък в интервюто професорът изяснява картината на разпространение на Кунг-Фу в България по следния начин:„*Няма правила за обичайния брой на членовете на една школа. Клуб „Златен дракон" – София, през 1990 г. наброяваше над 300 души. Оказа се, че от масовките няма полза за никого. Клубът бе разпуснат и останахме 10 човека, след това – 8, и накрая – 5. На практика точно тези хора се домогнаха до традицията, изследвайки старите трактати и учейки се лично от традиционни китайски учители. Не е лесно, въпреки разликата в годините, да се приобщиш към доверител-*

[2] Терминът се е налагал силово главно чрез държавната администрация – в официалните документи в Китай досега се използва името у-шу, което отразява стремежа на държавата да сведе традиционните китайски бойни изкуства до поредния вид спорт или гимнастика.

[3] Текстовете в кавички и *Italic* са от проведените дълбочинни интервюта.

[4] Лао-шъ д-р Дориян Александров е почитаем/старши преподавател по у-шу/кунг-фу, създател и ръководител на школата „Златен дракон"; експерт в ней-дзя-цюан; черен пояс по оконава-те, тай-карате-до и айки-до, джу-джуцу; майсторска степен по хун-гар кунг-фу, почетен председател на Българската федерация по у-шу. Автор на над 10 книги и голям брой статии за бойните изкуства.

[5] Сифу проф. Йовчо Крушев, създател и ръководител на школа „Златен феникс". Практикувал е карате, шотокан, самбо, джу-джуцу, айкидо. Майстор-преподавател по син-и-цюан и ба-гуа-джан, тай-дзи-цюан. Дългогодишен зам.-председател на Българската федерация по у-шу.

но-изтънчената беседа на старите майстори. ***Моят личен опит показва, че ако практикуващите са повече от 15, заниманията губят от своята ефективност****"*[6] (сифу проф. Й. Крушев).

От 90-те години до днес броят на школите, както и на техните членове, се е увеличил многократно. Въпреки цялата условност и предварителни уговорки за липсата на абсолютна точност, ако направим една хипотетична екстраполация на средния брой на тренiращите в една школа/клуб и общия брой на школите и клубовете (поне на известните и регистрираните) на територията на цялата страна – от тяхното навлизане у нас до днес, ще получим един значителен брой хора **от порядъка на около 5000–8000 души, които практикуват или са практикували някога някаква разновидност на у-шу/кунг-фу**. Въпреки че този брой в никакъв случай не е точен, порядъкът на обхвата и разпространението на китайските бойни изкуства в България е наистина впечатляващ[7]. Към този приблизителен брой могат да се прибавят и много неформални, нерегистрирани школи, общества, кръгове, ветерани и самостоятелни учители/инструктори, които също допринасят за разпространението на Кунг-Фу в България. Всеки, който е практикувал някакво китайско бойно изкуство, се е приобщил в някаква степен към древните традиции. Независимо дали тренировките са станали неразделна част от живота, духа и всекидневието на тренiращия, или с времето той ги е преустановил, дòсега до древните знания, култура и традиции остава за цял живот[8].

Традиции и иновации на кунг-фу школите в България

Според експертното мнение на интервюираните лао-шъ и сифу можем да направим извода, че повечето школи по кунг-фу в България следват и възпроизвеждат най-добрите и автентични китайски традиции. Кое гарантира това? Според лао-шъ д-р Дориян Александров: „*По принцип сериозните школи и инструктори са работили с китайски майстори. Сега има добре подготвени българи инструктори, но в онези години* (в началото) ***нямаше откъде да дойде автентична информация, освен да се работи с китайски майстори и такива, които са имали досег с тези оригинални знания.***[9]"

Като цяло качеството на обучение и автентичността на школите по кунг-фу в България се оценява високо от интервюираните: *„Школите за китайски бойни изкуства са по-малко* (в сравнение с другите бойни изкуства)*, но са много качествени. Едното направление на д-р Александров, другото – на Красимир Димитров-Китаеца – това са пионерите на бойните изкуства в България и аз мога да кажа, те достойно си заемат мястото. .... Аз съм говорил с много китайци и се оказва, че и те не знаят толкова, колкото тях. Защото самите китайци са така потопени в традицията, че не забелязват, не са критични към много неща. Те не могат и да ги преподадат, защото не ги забелязват. Това не е за да издигам в култ нашите школи. Аз мисля, че в България има едно много високо ниво на бойните изкуства"* (д-р Я. Колчаков, школа „Бял жерав")[10].

На фиг. 1 е визуализирана схематично приемствената линия на школа „Златен дракон" – една от най-старите и влиятелни школи по кунг-фу в България.

Основната характеристика, която е и най-важният критерий за автентичност в случая с кунг-фу, е **доколко школите и преподавателите у нас запазват и възпроизвеждат основните принципи, дух и философия на стила**. По този въпрос интервюираните лица бяха на едно мнение, което може да бъде обобщено в следното изказване: *„Когато се спазват фундаменталните принципи, когато те са компетентно преподадени и коректно усвоени, няма опасност за автентичността на изкуството. Нормално е не само всеки учител, но и всеки адепт, да има свой собствен почерк, какво по-ценно от това? Важното е да си на правилния път"* (сифу проф. Й. Крушев).

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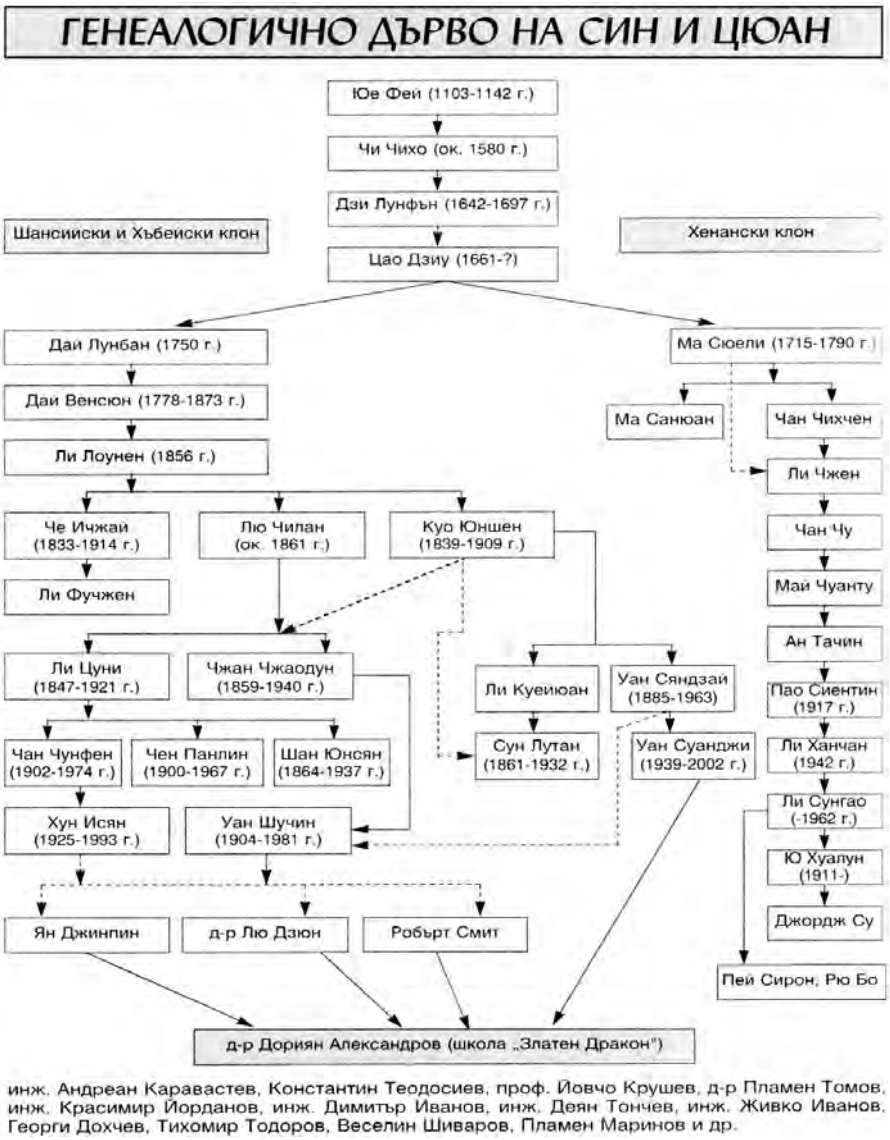
[6] Подчертаването мое.

[7] В сравнение с другите видове бойни изкуства, които имат по-дългогодишни традиции и по-голяма популярност у нас, каквито са карате, джудо или айкидо примерно, кунг-фу има сравнително по-ограничено разпространение. Това се дължи предимно на самия характер на китайските бойни изкуства и школи, които по традиция са по-затворени.

[8] Разбира се, степента, в която влиянието им се отразява върху практикуващия, зависи от неговата упоритост, последователност и желание да учи и тренира. За дълбочината на влиянието на заниманията с кунг-фу върху практикуващите ще се спрем по-нататък в текста.

[9] Подчертаването мое.

[10] Д-р Явор Колчаков, ръководител на школата „Бял жерав"; инструктор, майстор на тай-дзи-цюан (чън, ян, у и сун стилове); практикувал също така: ба-гуа-джан, син-и-цюан, джийт-куон-до, уинг-чун, чин-на, тиен-сюе (дим-мак), както и японски стилове: шотокан-карате-до, айкидо.



Фиг.1. Приемственост на автентичните традиции – син-и-цюан в България
Източник: Александров 2004: 26

Дълбочина на влиянието на кунг-фу върху практикуващите

Китайските бойни изкуства са тясно свързани със самоусъвършенстването на личността, тялото и духа на практикуващия. Редовната практика подобрява не само физическото, умственото и емоционално състояние, но и представлява в действителност продължение на древните китайски традиции, тъй като те в случая не са просто умозрителни концепции, а жива, всекидневна практика. Един от основните постулати на кунг-фу гласи, че за постигане на майсторство и напредък в изкуството са необходими лични усилия и упорство в практиката, прилагани в продължение на години. В случая най-важен е самият процес на всекидневната практика.

Ето едно емблематично изказване на един от интервюираните трениращи с над 10-годишна практика в кунг-фу: „*Измина време, преди у-шу да стане част от живота ми, но това наистина се случи. Започнах да възприемам по-сериозно бойното изкуство, когато започнах да разбирам колко е дълбоко, колко е безкрайно това изкуство като усъвършенстване на тялото и духа. Това се случи в момента, когато си дадох сметка, че безсмисленото занимание с бойни изкуства е само загуба на време. Тогава реших, че трябва да има полза; а за да има полза, трябва да го превърна в по-голяма част от живота си, да вложа повече усилия, за да постигна резултат*."

Друг споделя: „*Базовата работа е най-важната. Ежедневните занимания, тренировките, само те са важни. Няма никакво значение какъв удар нанасяш, има значение* ***как*** *го изпълняваш.* "

Всекидневното практикуване е в основата на самата концепция на кунг-фу като „време, изразходвано за постигане на майсторство“. Личното преживяване на учението и практиката е уникален начин на възприемане на знания, а и на реалността въобще, както гласи и древната китайска поговорка: „Чуваш и забравяш. Гледаш и запомняш. Правиш и разбираш.“

Редовните и задълбочени занимания с кунг-фу водят до повече или по-малко осезаеми резултати както на физическо, така и на психическо и личностно ниво. Интервюираните адепти с по-голям стаж в практикуването на избрания от тях стил споделят, че са забелязали следните промени у тях, които свързват с практикуването на кунг-фу: подобряване на състоянието на сухожилията (гъвкавост); на реакциите (ловкост, бързина на рефлексите); подобряване на баланса/равновесието; издръжливост; по-спокойно отношение в проблемни ситуации, повишаване на себеусещането и „вслушване“ в тялото и др. Едно от изказванията на адептите обобщава казаното по един или друг начин от тях: „*Бойните изкуства* (китайските) *определено имат присъствие в живота ми. Категорично мога да кажа, че той се промени и със сигурност – за добро.*“

Заниманията с традиционни китайски бойни изкуства въздействат пряко върху разширяване на кръгозора на практикуващия, като не само стават интегрална част от всекидневието, но и често, като провокират интересите му към китайската език, култура и традиции, както и в един по-широк план – към философските концепции за света, човека и Вселената[11]: „*Откакто започнах да се занимавам с бойни изкуства, не само че повече неща съм научил за Китай, но благодарение на тях дори стигнах до момент, в който се опитах да науча китайски, засега неуспешно, но ще пробвам пак. По-важното е, че заниманията с бойни изкуства ме накараха да се запозная с голям обем езотерична литература и най-различни информации, свързани с енергийната система, въобще с функционирането на тялото, с източните представи за това, как съществува Вселената, как съществува човека, какви структури има извън видимите и т.н. Постепенно, това всъщност ми оказа най-голямото влияние от заниманията ми с бойни изкуства – това, че до голяма степен си промених възгледите относно реалността, относно живота, относно това, как постъпвам, как реагирам на определени работи, кое е важното и за кое не си струва да се притеснявам в живота. В това бойните изкуства ми повлияха най-много – в промяната на светогледа и на привичните ми начини на реагиране. Бойните изкуства ме накараха да се чувствам по по-комфортен начин и определено подобриха живота ми, като подобрението се увеличава с практиката и с увеличаване на времето*.“

В заключение можем да обобщим, че традиционните китайски бойни изкуства са сравнително добре представени в България – като обхват на разпространение, като разнообразие от стилове и като близка принадлежност и възпроизвеждане на оригиналните китайски традиции. Все повече хора се занимават задълбочено с кунг-фу, което развива у тях ценни психо-физически качества и подобрява живота им като цяло. Проведените сред адепти интервюта показаха също така, че практикуването на китайски бойни изкуства допринася значително за разширяването и задълбочаването на интереса и знанията им за китайската култура, философия, ценности и дори език. Всичко това ни дава основание да твърдим, че школите за традиционни китайски бойни изкуства са действително врата, през която става възможно навлизането и популяризирането на китайските традиции и култура в България. Благодарение именно на тези школи става възможно за хиляди хора да се докоснат до красивата и жива традиция на древен Китай и да подобрят не само психо-физческото си състояние, но и да следват пътя на самоусъвършенстването и пълноценния живот.

[11] Разбира се, както споменахме, това се случва при практикуващите, които проявяват достатъчно мотивация, настойчивост, постоянство и желание да учат и да практикуват редовно – т.е. да полагат систематични усилия. Това е и причината самите Учители (лао-шъ, сифу, инструктори) да си подбират по-ограничен брой ученици сред всички желаещи или посещаващи школите им.

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ИЗ ЛАБИРИНТА НА ИЗТОЧНОТО ПРОВЕРБИАЛНО ПРОСТРАНСТВО: КОНЦЕПТЪТ *ЛЪЖÀ (ЗАБЛУДА, ИЗМАМА)* В ИЗТОЧНИТЕ ПОСЛОВИЦИ

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THROUGH THE LABYRINTH OF THE EASTERN PROVERBIAL REALM: THE CONCEPT “LIE” IN EASTERN PROVERBS

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Abstract:

The paper presents an analysis of the lingual and semiotic significance of the lexeme **lie** *(deceit). Lie is outlined and presented with its main functions. Subject of the present analysis are the general and particular characteristics of the respective lexemes as well as their denominational implication in reflecting human values as part of the overall world representation.*

Keywords: Eastern proverbs, concept, lie, deceit, truth, semiotics, human values

Концептът „лъжа“ е сложен понятийно-образен феномен на съзнанието и езиковото мислене. Различни негови аспекти са предмет на анализ, представяне и дискутиране в разработки на представители на различни области на научното познание – право, етика, логика, психология, езикознание и др. Съвременните лингвистични изследвания в направленията *философия на езика*, *логически анализ на езика*, *психолингвистика*, *когнитология*, *социолингвистика*, *литературознание*, *лингвокултурология* и *семиотика* са продължение на търсения и опити да бъде дефинирана езиковата същина на този концепт и да бъде изградена стройна теория на лъжата и речевата заблуда/измама[1]. Представената тук разработка не цели това, а само добавя съхранени в източния фолклор щрихи към особеностите на „начините на мислене“[2] на източния човек.

Превратните съдбини на свързаните чрез *Пътя на копринатa* народи от Изтока и етнокултурната им устойчивост, предизвикваща удивление, възхита и уважение, привличат във фокуса на това изследване провербиалната актуализация на концепта „лъжа“ в източните пословици. Целите на изследването са осъществени при подбор, анализ и съпоставка на 572 пословици (т.е. на 4% от съдържащите се в изворите почти 15 000), в които е употребена някоя от лексемите *лъжà, лъжа, лъжлив, лъжец, заблуда, заблуждавам, заблуден, измама, мамя, измамен, измамник/мошеник*. Към този семантичен кръг се отнасят и лексемите *лъжа се* и *заблуждавам се*, за които е валидно мнението, че „най-голямата лъжа е недоразбраната истина“, но тук те не са обект на анализ предвид синонимния ред, на който са членове (греша, подвеждам се) благодарение на рефлексивността си (съвпадането на адресант с реципиент, на *лъжещ* с *лъган*).

В езиковото общуване може да се разграничат компонентите *конвенционалност* и *ритуалност*, на социално-урегулирано общоприето езиково поведение като израз на взаимни очаквания на комуниканти и на вербални изрази на учтивост като поздравления и разговори за времето, позволяващи установяване на контакт и постигане на комуникативна цел. Тук за пълнота са взети предвид паремии от двете групи.

Вербалната експликация на концепта „лъжà“ са твърдения, които преднамерено изкривено отразяват или не отразяват обективната истина. Бинарната опозиция *истина*/*лъжа* е изградена от основни универсални концепти, отразяващи и регулиращи взаимодействието на човека с действителността

[1] Обзор по темата вж.: Ленец, А. В. Отечественные и зарубежные теории лжи и речевого обмана. – В: http://siberia-expert.com/publ/satti/stati/otechestvennye_i_zarubezhnye_teorii_lzhi_i_rechevogo_obmana_a_v_lenec/4-1-0-161 /10.04.2015/7.45

[2] Вж. напр.: Nakamura, H. *Ways of thinking of Eastern peoples: India, China, Tibet, Japan* /Nakamura Hajime ; Rev. Engl. transl. ; Ed. by Philip P. Wiener. Honolulu, 1981

– с микро- и макросоциума, към които той се адаптира и сред които той се реализира, които оказват върху него определено влияние и на които самият той има възможност да влияе по различни начини, вкл. езиково. Зараждането на лъжата е резултат от стремежа към самосъхранение и запазване на рода в праисторическата епоха, напр. при използването на различни средства за ефективна отбрана или за успешен лов (подмамване, капани), отглас от които е достигналият до нас персонаж от месопотамския фолклор – юначният „зверолов“ Нимврод, както и пословици като *И капанът не хваща, ако не подмами*. (адиг.) или *Звяр се лови с измама, кон – с аркан*. (монг.). Генезисът на концепта *лъжа* се свързва с развитието на асоциативното и метафоричното мислене, както и с жизнено важната за всяка човешка общност необходимост индивидът да различава *свой* от *чужд*, *приятел* от *враг*, *истина* от *неистина*, *реалност* от *илюзия*, *допустимо* и *ценностно* от *недопустимо* и *осъдително*.

Писмените паметници на най-древните цивилизации свидетелстват за наличие на изказана *лъжа* с нежелателни социално-икономически последици от нея, за отрицателно отношение към използването й в междуличностните отношения и за мерки за противодействие срещу възможността да бъде употребена. В паметниците са съхранени императивите на обичайното право на древните народи от безписмената епоха, доразвивано впоследствие съобразно промените в обществото. Древноегипетската приказка за двамата братя Правда и Кривда прекрасно илюстрира намеренията, мотивите и целите, които може да преследва изказаната лъжа, а също и възможните ефекти от нея. Древните египтяни почитали Маат – богинята закрилница на истината, хармонията, реда, морала и справедливостта, и вярвали, че тя решава съдбата на починалите, като претегля сърцата/душите им с везна. Но преди това следвало те да се очистят от влиянието на Исфет – символ на несправедливостта, хаоса и всяко зло, тъй като – въпреки предвидените и налагани наказания (например за лъжесвидетелство – бой с метални пръчки), не всички живи успявали да се опазят от злото.

В правните норми на всяка от древните източни държави е предвидена конкретна строга санкция за лъжесвидетелите. Древните източни религиозно-философски текстове съдържат както пряка заповед „не лъжи“, така и сложни, философски аргументирани косвени внушения със същия или подобен смисъл[3]. Същевременно старинни авторски трактати и фолклорни текстове разкриват успешни военни стратегии и тактики, отчитащи тъкмо възможността врагът да бъде заблуден, подмамен, излъган и въвлечен в действия с фатален за него край.

По речниково определение съществителното име ***лъжа*** обозначава „1. Неистина, измислица; 2. измама, подлост, изневяра“, глаголът ***лъжа***: „1. съзнателно казвам нещо неистинско, говоря лъжи; 2. измамвам, изневерявам; 3. залъгвам, залисвам“, а прилагателното име ***лъжлив***: „1. който лъже или измамва; 2. неистинен, подправен, фалшифициран“ (Български..., 1973: 428–429). Информация за обема на понятието дават и синонимните редове: ***лъжа***, лъготя, мамя, заблуждавам“, „***лъжлив***, неверен, недостоверен“ (Синонимен..., 1999: 398), а също и: „***измамник***, лъжец, шарлатанин, мошеник“ (пак там: 305), като посочените синоними разкриват и резултати от процесите на концептуализацията. В *Речник на българския език* (1895–1904) Н. Геров посочва и други близки по значение думи: *лъжле, лъжльо; лъжевит, лъжовен, неправ, подправен* (Геров, т. 3, 1977: 26–27), както и: *излъган, изкушен* (Геров, т. 2, 1976: 234) и др. Както се вижда, концептът *лъжа* включва *неистина, неправда, измама, заблуда*, т.е. всяко твърдение, което не съдържа истина или преднамерено представя в изопачен вид истината с цел постигане на определен резултат.

Що е *лъжа/неправда* за източния човек? Пословици от различни източни традиции в кратка форма дефинират лъжата по следния начин: *Лъжата – това са отломки от истина*. (арм.); *Лъжата е като скрити в джоба дребни монетки*. (дарг.); *Лъжливите думи са като сплъстени коси – трудно се разресват*. (бенг.); *Да лъжеш – значи да скачаш от покрив нощем*. (афг.); *Равен на лъжата грях няма*. (х.). Най-популярната характеристика на лъжата – нетрайното й въздействие и бързото й разобличаване, разкриват пословици като: *На лъжата краката са къси*. (адиг., гаг., груз., бълг.); *На лъжата краката са от восък*. (дарг., лак.); *Лъжа крака няма*. (дарг., х.) или *Животът на лъжата е кратък*. (лезг., тадж.); *На лъжата паметта е къса*. (азерб.); *Лъжата бързо помътнява*. (яп.). Краткият „живот“ на изказаната лъжа според източния човек се дължи на това, че макар *Често повтаряната лъжа* [да] *се приема за истина*. (яп.) за известно време, все пак дори *Смислената лъжа* ***не става*** *истина*. (туркм.), защото: *Вятърът намира скъсаната юрта, а душата усеща лъжливите думи*. (каз.). Затова *Лъжата ще обиколи света, но няма да се върне*. (азерб.). Тя *корен не хваща*. (бълг.). Пък и *За да скриеш една*

[3] Вж. напр.: Driver, G., J. C. Miles. *The Babylonian laws.* 1–2. Oxford, 1955–1956; *Законы Ману = Манавадхармашастра* / Пер. С. Д. Эльманович; ред. Г. И. Ильин. Предисл. А. Шапошников. М., 2002.

лъжа, трябва да излъжеш още хиляда пъти. (тел.) и рано или късно лъжецът сам се оплита в лъжите си и бива унизен: *След дъжд е прохладно, а след лъжа – срамно*. (монг.). Затова с ясния отговор идва и препоръка: *Лъжата е болест, истината – лечение*. (ар.); *Трънче, клатещ се зъб и лъжлив съветник по-добре да се изкоренят*. (стинд.).

За човека от Изтока от съществена важност е разпознаването на лъжеца. Почти 8% от анализираните пословици посочват различни стереотипни преки или косвени признаци: *Който много спи, се разорява, който много говори – лъжец става*. (тат.); *На челото – червен знак* [като на аскет или монах], *глас – меден, на измамника това са знаци*. (х.); *На река, жена и рогат звяр вяра нямай*. (бенг.); *Който много се кълне, много лъже*. (ар.); *Лъжецът се кълне, крадецът – свидетели зове*. (монг.); *Лъжецът по очите се познава*. (хауса); *Който преразказва всичко чуто, е лъжец*. (азерб.); *Не вярвай на вести, донесени от враг*. (арм.); *Лъжливият постоянно и за всичко се оправдава*. (осет.). Затова се обобщава: *Лъжецът е божи враг*. (туркм.). Дори се препоръчва: *На свой лъжа не казвай, на чужд истина не казвай*. (каз.), като по подразбиране така се включва аналогията *чужд значи враждебен* и се активира предпазливост. Значението на идентифицирането на лъжеца за източния човек се потвърждава и от резултатите от проведен преди пет години когнитивистичен асоциативен експеримент[4], основан на „базови структурни компоненти от различно естество – чувствен образ, информационно съдържание и интерпретация“. Един от резултатите позволява заключение, че „в съзнанието на носителите на китайския език концептите „лъжа“, „измама“, „измислици“ в по-голяма степен са свързани с определянето на субекта и в по-слаба степен – като оценъчни“, при това незадължително позитивни или негативни.

Голяма част от анализирания тук корпус пословици разкрива лъжата като нежелан и непрепоръчван компонент на семантичната опозиция *лъжа/неправда–истина/правда*: *Лъжата, макар първо да ти носи полза, после ти нанася вреда, а истината първо ти причинява вреда, но после се превръща в полза*. (узб.); *Който не говори в полза на истината, крещи в полза на лъжата*. (ар.); *Да си на страната на правдата, е чест, да си на страната на лъжата – е безчестие*. (ар.); *Към неправдата – хиляда пътища, към правдата – само един*. (осет.); *Нека истината си отиде, само лъжата да не дойде*. (азерб.); *Справедливият и като косъм да изтънее – няма да се скъса, а лъжецът и на греда да се обърне – пак ще се счупи*. (арм.); *Истината е основа на десет хиляди добрини, лъжата свършва с десет хиляди злини*. (монг.) и т.н.

Истината е пробният камък за етична оценка: *Ако правдата е на твоя страна, можеш да обориш всекиго*. (кит.); *Нищо не се издига по-високо от правдата*. (ар.); *И хиляда неправди не струват колкото една истина*. (арм.). А как определя истината източният човек? *Видяното с очите – не е истина, ясно чутото – не е истина, само внимателно провереното е истина*. (там.); *Правдива дума прав път намира*. (узб.); *Глупакът казал, умният проверил*. (арм.); *Дума правдива камък разбива*. (тат.). Но всеки човек си има свои стремежи, желания, цели, а *Истината не удовлетворява и двете страни* [при спор]. (ар.). За човека от Изтока е ясно, че в много случаи е трудно да се изрече истината, защото: *Правдива дума горчи*. (азерб., кюрд., лезг., туркм.), *Правдива дума не се харесва и на роднина*. (кирг.); *Правдиви думи са неприятни за ухото*. (виетн.); *Правдива дума радва бога, а разгневява човека*. (бенг.); *Говорещият истина – на всички е враг*. (там.); *Кажеш ли истина – ядосаш*. (тел.). Но тъй като житейският опит сочи, че: *Права дума нивга не е приятна, приятна дума рядко е правдива*. (груз.), препоръката на източния човек е синтезирана в пословицата: *И маймуна слушай, ако казва истина*. (монг.). А предвид пламенния нрав на някои от източните народи за всеки случай е полезно да се знае, че: *На говорещия истината конят му трябва да чака пред вратата и единият му крак да бъде в стремето*. (арм., азерб.); *Който говори истината, държи оседлан коня*. (груз.) и че истината е на почит, защото се вярва, че: *Отровата на правдата е по-добра от меда на кривдата*. (туркм.).

С характерната за Изтока иносказателност като най-ярка проява на лъжа бива представяно лицемерието: *Докато Фатма живяла, за всички била кривогледа, а след смъртта ѝ се прочула за красавица*. (азерб.); *С вълка яде козата, а със стопанина ѝ скърби* [за нея]. (арм.); *На елена: „Бягай!, на хрътката: „Дръж!“*. (перс.). Източният човек е особено чувствителен към двуличието и смята, че: *Лъжлив приятел е по-опасен от хиляда врагове*. (арм.), поради което издига в етична норма императива *На*

[4] Вж. Яськова А. В., Чжао Хао. Концепты „ложь“, „обман“, „вранье“ в языковом сознании русских и китайцев. – в: www.sworld.com.ua/index.php/ru/philosophy-and-philology-311/linguistics-and-foreign-languages-in-the-world-today-311/7616-concepts-of-qfalseq-qfraudq-qvranovq-in-the-linguistic-consciousness-russian-and-chinese/10.04.2015, 7.33.

правдив човек лъжи не говорят. (кит.) и *Не лъжи бога и приятеля си*. (ар.), предупреждава: *Не се бой, ако тигърът има три тигърчета, бой се от човек с две сърца* [от двуличник]. (кит.) и разяснява: *За помощ с кръв не се плащ, и на добрина с измама не се отвръща*. (монг.), като същевременно разкрива и *кого не бива да лъжем/мамим*. Отрицателно отношение към лъжата представят тъжни констатации като: *На света ще дойде краят, а на лъжата – никога*. (азерб.); *Докато правдата дойде, лъжата целия свят ще погълне*. (арм.); *Против лъжата лек не може да се намери*. (яп.); *Оправданията рядко са свободни от примес на лъжи*. (ар.); *Добър ли е човек – лъжат го, добър ли е конят – яздят го*. (кит.); *Случва се да има лъжа като истина, случва се да има крадец като приятел*. (каз.).

Източните пословици изказват изстраданото познание за връзката на лъжата с различни отрицателни човешки прояви, защото далеч преди Макиавели повечето източни народи са прозрели, че всъщност *Човекът е скрит зад думите си*. (перс.). Тъкмо затова в пословиците намираме оценки от различни гледни точки на вербалната дейност, свързана със, произтичаща от или предизвикваща лъжа: *От страх пред хората не се казва истина, от страх пред съвестта – лъжа*. (азерб.); *Като лъжеш другите, лъжеш себе си*. (кит.); *Под езика кости няма, та да го бодат, когато лъже*. (арм.). Лъжата е пряко свързана със слуховете и разпространяването им, с превръщането им в клюки и интриги: *Стигне ли вестта до езика – целия град ще обиколи*. (кюрд.); *Клюкарят е лъжец, а лъжецът – клюкар*. (азерб.); *Времето минава, а мълвата остава*. (бенг.); *Да не постиш не е грях, грях е да клеветиш честен човек*. (гаг.); *Клюкарят е като торба с орехи – колкото тръскаш, все трополи*. (арм.); *В клеветата няма истина, в лъжата няма добрина*. (калм.), *Грешка при предаване на думи предизвиква много кавги*. (кит.) и т.н. А още шумерите са съветвали: *Недей да злословиш – и няма беда да те стигне*. (шум.)!

Веднъж изречена и доказана, лъжата подкопава доверието между хората или направо елиминира възможността то да се запази: *Аулът се разтуря от кавги, приятелството – от нечестност*. (кирг.); *Излъжеш ли веднъж, сетне на думите ти вяра няма да имат*. (кирг.); *Когато лъжецът каже истината, никой не му вярва*. (адиг.); *Когато на лъжеца гори къщата, никой не му вярва*. (тур.); *Дървено гърне втори път не готви*. (х.); *На лъжец вяра никаква*. (х.). В ценностната система на човека от Изтока да излъжеш означава едновременно и да обидиш, и да предадеш. Нещо повече – *Лъжата е първата крачка към кражбата*. (яп.), а се знае, че *С кражба богат не ставаш, с неправда праведник не ставаш*. (калм.). В пословиците това убеждение се внушава с различни похвати – сравнение, аналогия, градация, контраст и др.: *Лъжата е като рана: дори да се излекува, белегът остава*. (перс.); *Лъжеш ли, все едно отрова поглъщаш*. (х.); *Измамата е внучка на лъжеца, дребната кражба – внучка на крадеца*. (монг.); *Измяната всякога с вярност се прикрива*. (яп.); *Три неща унищожават благополучието: лъжесвидетелство, прелюбодеяние и комар*. (ар); *Любовта води към съюз, измамата – към гибел*. (т.).

Източният човек е твърдо убеден, че *Пътника го настига мракът, а лъжеца – разобличаването*. (виетн.), защото *Правдата е най-добрата стрела за несправедливия*. (кюрд.). Поради това насърчава разобличаването на лъжците: *Гони лъжеца до дома му*. (азерб., х.). Но *И да излъжеш хората, няма да успееш да излъжеш бога*. (перс.), та Той вижда всичко. Дори на шега не бива да се лъже, защото *Вятърът носи дъжд, шегата – сбиване*. (перс.). Шегата за източния човек е специфичен начин истината да бъде поднесена безболезнено: *Шегата е вестоносец на истината*. (адиг.); *Истината трябва да се казва на шега*. (арм.); *Шегата е половин истина*. (абх.). Тя не е съвместима с лъжата и лъжата не може да бъде омаловажена с твърдение, че е казана на шега.

Лъжата е несъвместима и с разбирането на източния човек за чест и стремежа му да я опази: *Живееш ли честно, всяка беда отминава*. (виетн.); *По-добре кажи истината и умри, отколкото да излъжеш и да живееш в лъжи*. (узб.). Грижата за опазването на доброто име на рода е и грижа за добронравието на най-младите му членове, защото *Ако коренът не е прав, филизите ще са криви*. (кит.) .

Но в живота всичко се случва и понякога *И лъжата спасява*. (яп.). *С лъжа да спасиш е по-добре от това да всееш смут с истина*. (перс.) и *Лъжа за добро е по-добра от истина, причиняваща вражда*. (тадж.). Нуждата да общуваш безконфликтно с другите диктува: *Целувай ръката, щом не можеш да я отсечеш*! (перс.). Източната пословица препоръчва вежливо отношение при всички обстоятелства: *И магаре да е господарят ти – не му казвай „Р-р-р-р!“*. (арм.); *Ако си опрял до кучето, казвай му „братко“*. (ар.).

А кога е допустима лъжата? – *В защита на живота, честта и собствеността е позволено да се лъже*. (тел.); *На лъжлива богиня фалшива почит й стига*. (неп.). Умението на източния човек да е

гъвкав проличава тъкмо в отговора на въпроса: каква да е лъжата, ако е неизбежна – *Лъжи така, че в лъжата смисъл да има*. (кюрд.); *Лъжи толкова, колкото щипка сол в тесто*. (х.); *Щом веднъж си казал лъжа, старай се да я помниш*! (ар.); *Ако наумяваш лъжа – нека бъде като стена*. (тел.); *Ако истината прилича на лъжа – по-добре не говори*. (азерб.).

Форми на *лъжа* съпътстват всекидневието на човека, част са от междуличностните отношения, постоянно влизат в противоречие с обективната истина, с етиката и с приетите норми за общуване, като неизбежно създават конфликти. В началото на XXI век в условията на глобално информационно пространство електронните медии доминират над традиционните средства за формиране на личността и общуване между хората. Стратегиите на брандовете водят до обезценяване и фрагментация на традиционните духовни ценности, манипулират чрез медиите ценностната ориентация в посока към консумизъм и създават фалшиво усещане на свободна волеизява и себеизява на личността. Ролята на феномена „лъжа“ в тази социокултурна среда е огромна и особеностите на езиковите му реализации следва да бъдат изучавани внимателно.

Съкращения

абх. – абхазка адиг. – адигейска азерб. – азербайджанска алб. – албанска ар. – арабска арм. – арменска асир. – асирийска афг. – афганистанска башк. – башкирска бенг. – бенгалска бълг. – българска виетн. – виетнамска гаг. – гагаузка	груз. – грузинска дарг. – даргинска евр. – еврейска инд. – индийска индон. – индонезийска каб. – кабардинска каз. – казахска калм. – калмицка кар. – каракалпакска кирг. – киргизска кит. – китайска кюрд. – кюрдска лак. – лакска	лезг. – лезгинска монг. – монголска неп. – непалска осет. – осетинска перс. – персийска пущу – пущу синг. – сингалска стинд. – староиндийска тадж. – таджикска т. – тайска там. – тамилска тат. – татарска татс. – татска тел. – телугска	тиб. – тибетска тув. – тувинска тур. – турска туркм. – туркменска удм. – удмурска узб. – узбекска уйг. – уйгурска х. – хинди чеч. – чеченско-ингушетска шум. – шумерска як. – якутска яп.– японска

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РАЗМИСЛИ В ТЪРСЕНЕ НА НЕНАЗОВИМОТО „БОЙНО ИЗКУСТВО“

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REFLECTIONS IN SEARCH OF THE UNNAMABLE CONTENT OF THE “MARTIAL ARTS”

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Abstract:

In accordance with an old Chinese philosophical concept, the study of the names given to the martial arts in their historical and cultural development could give us an idea of their content. This is applicable even though the names of the things do not mean the real things themselves. On the contrary, a given name acts as something that separates the things from everything else, it has the ability to define them because the real things no longer exist. In this sense, when the term “martial arts” appears, the real sense of it is already in the past. Martial arts could be named as such only when they are gone. The practice of martial skills in a real battle, facing death in the presence of mortal danger, no longer exists in reality. It is already difficult to represent a way and knowledge of how to experience reality when you reach a meditative state of mind or you’re being extra-conscious. What the practice of martial arts lacks is the direct and un-illusionary relation to the spiritual experience of reality as it is. The disappearance of the relation between the spiritual experience on the one hand and the art as an immediate guidance, a reflection of that experience on the other, as well as the practical, scientific, mental, explanatory interpretation of that experience, is the reason for the alienation of the meaning of the term “martial arts” from its essence. The lack of this relation has transformed the modern practice of “martial arts” into variations of medical, energy or psychosomatic practice – qi gong, rehabilitation gymnastics, sport or another type of art – cinema, theatre, circus, etc. The conclusion is the same as the one that we reach through the study of the names.

Keywords: martial arts, name, things, reality, knowledge, experience, practice, study

Исторически достоверен е фактът, че източните „бойни изкуства” навлизат в западния свят в края на XIX и началото на XX век. Тяхното практикуване постепенно придобива всеобща популярност, като неотменно и емблематично се свързва с цялата далекоизточна култура. Още с първата си поява в Западна Европа и САЩ демонстрациите на източните бойни техники поразяват западния човек с изключителната задълбоченост, концентрация и отдаденост от страна на практикуващите. Наблюдателят е впечатлен от осезаемата „духовна” наситеност, жизнено присъствие, дълбочината на изживяването, което е възможно да бъде претворено в една демонстрация на бойни умения. „Ако човек наистина желае да стане майстор в дадено изкуство, техническото познание не е достатъчно. Човек трябва да се издигне над техниката, така че изкуството да се превърне в „безискуствено Изкуство” израстващо от безсъзнателното” (Херикъл 1996: 11).

Първите докосвания на източните бойни изкуства до западния свят се случват в техния японски и корейски вариант, пренасяйки специфични черти на японската и корейската култура. По същото това време историческата и политическата обстановка карат практикуващите в Япония традиционни майстори да прибавят към термините, обозначаващи бойната техника и традиция, термина „до” / кит. „дао”/, за да разграничат бойната техника, прилагана като път за личностно развитие и усъвършенстване, от тази, използвана във военната подготовка. Добавената в Япония частица за „път“, в смисъл на „метод” за усъвършенстване и „начин” на живот, при представянето на източните байни практики на Запад започва системно да бъде превеждана като „бойно изкуство”.

При превода на западните езици японския термин Буши-до /пътя на воина или самурая/ е асоциран и разбиран като „начин на живот”, следване на морален кодекс и етично поведение. Терминът „кендо“/пътя на меча или сабята/ в Япония се появява като самоусъвършенстване на характера при раз-

витието на школите като тренировъчни методи през мирната епоха Токугава и по-късно през епохата Мейджи – 1868 г., когато е премахнато самурайското съсловие. Умението на гъвкавостта и мекотата, което носи името джу джуцу приема името джу-до – като път, след като Джигоро Кано създава своята нова школа през 1882 г. Той набляга настоятелно върху стремежа за повишаване на морала, философския и културен аспект, естетическото възприятие в практикуването на бойната техника. Създателят на модерното карате Гичин Фунакоши, след като променя йероглифите, с които се изписва терминът и вместо „китайска" използва „празна" ръка, през 30-те години на XX век, разпространява карате-до като път за морално и личностно усъвършенстване. Морихей Уешиба създава своето ново изкуство, като го нарича с името „айки-до". Корейското бойно изкуство тайкуон-до е създадено през 1955 г., като наименованието му също отразява тази наложила се световна тенденция за придаване на термина за път „до" към съвременните наименования на бойните стилове. „Свързването на бойните изкуства с използването на термина „до" придава на тяхното упражняване смисъл, който както в конфуциански, така и в будистки контекст означава „да се научиш на правилния начин на живот чрез овладяването на дадена художествена форма" (Хърст III 2000: 262).

При необходимостта от превод на специфичните източни наименования за западното мислене най-подходящ се явява терминът „изкуство", с което се прави опит да бъде изразена съдържащата се в практикуването скрита духовност. Според едно популярно разбиране изкуството представлява „Използване на умения и въображение в създаването на естетични обекти и среди, които могат да бъдат споделени с други". То стимулира емоциите, мислите, чувствата, представите и идеите чрез възприятията, като приема най-разнообразни форми и служи на най-различни цели. Това разбиране на западното мислене включва усещане за нещо, което не е характерно за всекидневното възприемане на света, и изисква особена изтънченост, възприемчивост към действителността, също и талант – нещо, което почти синхронизира със смисъла, влаган от китайците в термина „кунг фу" – умение, в което има в голяма степен развитие на заложбите чрез постоянство и работа. „Кунг фу" става нарицателно за китайските бойни изкуства след употребата му от Брус Ли – човека, който за първи път на Запад се опитва по популярен начин да обясни китайския начин на мислене и възприемане на бойните изкуства като философия на живота. Макар че той употребява термина, за да обозначи своето „майсторство" в бойните изкуства, това наименование започва да се възприема за име на самото бойно изкуство. Тъй като китайските бойни изкуства достигат западните страни малко по-късно в сравнение с японските, Брус Ли също използва популярния вече на Запад термин „до", за да нарече създадената от него методика – начин, подход за овладяване на техниката на боя и претворяването на тази техника в изкуство чрез личностното изразяване на практикуващия. Той приема за наименование на създадения от него стил „джит куон до" – „пътя на изпреварващия юмрук". В своите записки Брус Ли пише: „Да живееш, означава да се изразяваш свободно чрез своето творение. Трябва да кажа, че творението не е нещо фиксирано веднъж и завинаги, оценено и непроменено. Затова се надявам, че моите приятели – майстори в областта на бойните изукства – ще успеят да се отворят срещу реалния живот. Пожелавам им успех в този сложен процес на търсене на своя единствен път" (Лий 1994: 127).

Така постепенно при превода на наименованията на бойната практика западното мислене започва да отъждествява и превежда термина „до" /кит. „дао"/ с термина „изкуство", като цели да представи долавяната особена духовност във връзка с възприемането на „бойните умения от изтока". Тази практика се възприема като път, който не само би ги отвел да разбиране и овладяване на техническите умения в боя, но и би направил достъпно особеното духовно съдържание, усещане и разбиране, характерни за традиционната култура и светоглед на Изтока. Но този път, така назован, остава начертан преди всичко от своите създатели. „Никога Пътят не се начертава предварително /или последващо/, той се чертае едновременно с вървенето: следователно не е възможно да говориш за него, ако сам не вървиш" (Чън 2014: 33).

В същото време още първите западни ентусиасти и търсещи смисъла и дълбочината на т.нар. бойни изкуства при опитите си да открият неговата автентичност в страните от Далечния изток споделят наблюдения и опасения, че именно това осезаемо духовно присъствие като смисъл на практиката е почти безвъзвратно изгубено. Те констатират постепенното отдалечаване на традицията, от директното, непосредствено възприемане на реалността в усвояването на бойните умения. Откриват и установяват все по-голямата трудност в предаването на военните умения като път към усъвършенстването и мъдростта поради откъсването на това „бойно изкуство" от живота.

Разказвайки за своите срещи с китайски майстори на бойните изкуства, емигрирали в Тайван, Робърт Смит пише през 1974 г., че много от тях са отказвали да преподават, особено на практикуващи, които не са китайци, дори и с цената на това изкуството им да бъде заравено за поколенията. В същото време, още в началото на века, многомалко от традиционните китайски майстори са останали „на континента" (Смит 1994: 32, 60)

„Книгите на Кано, на Уешиба и Фунакоши, съдържащи толкова философски откровения, събират прах в библиотеките в същото време, когато техните технически ръководства се разграбват в милионни тиражи в много страни по света. Външните атрибути на системата са подменили или почти напълно изместили самата система, нейното вътрешно съдържание – факт, който често се наблюдава в историята на цивилизацията" (Долин 1991: 109).

Един голям европейски майстор в бойните изкуства Роланд Хаберзетцер – 8 дан карате-до и експерт по ушу споделя: „Мисля, че медиите, развитието на състезателния дух на основата на национализма, съучастието на тълпата, на фалшивия майстор – учител /впрочем не само европейски/ са скрили смисъла на „пътя" на автентичните бойни изкуства толкова по-различни от спортовете, в които са се превърнали" (Димитров 1993: 11).

Този период на осъзнаване на пътя в „бойните изкуства" като начин за духовно усъвършенстване и същевременно изгубване на долавянето за тяхната изплъзваща се същност датира някъде от средата на XIX до средата на XX век. Както казва Лао дзъ в „Дао дъ дзин" :„Дао, което може да бъде изречено или назовано, не е истинно Дао", и когато пътят вече е осъзнат като такъв, назован и посочен, определен, той вече изгубва своята истинност. Той спира да отговаря на действителността. Неговото реално съдържание вече е друго.

Китайската мисловност е склонна периодично да се връща на този проблем още от времето на учителя Кун и споделя необходимостта от „изправяне на езика", за да могат понятията, изразяваното в тях да отговаря на тяхното действително съдържание и практическо приложение в живота. Самото назоваване на нещо го разделя от неговото значение и смисъл в реалността, съответно откъсва понятието от неговата същност. Започвайки да съществува отделно, понятието спира да следва и да отразява тази същност, която се развива като част от живота.

Разглеждането на „бойното изкуство" като път за развитие и усъвършенстване на човека ни довежда до класическите китайски „съвършенства" – достояние на „благородния човек" в смисъла на конфуцианската традиция. Класическите текстове посочват като част от тези „съвършенства" стрелбата с лък и управлението на бойна колесница. Несъмнено тези умения са свързани с воденето на война. Управлението на бойна колесница дори прави аналогична връзка с управлението по принцип – на семейството, на хората, на стопанството, на войската, на държавата и т.н. Изкуството на боя и воденето на война традиционно се поставят наравно с другите „съвършенства" като част от всеобхватния идеал за съвършения „истински" човек, съчетал в себе си всички конфуциански добродетели. Владеенето на боя с меч като оръжие на аристокрацията се добавя по-късно в тези бойни умения.

Заедно с пренасянето на китайската класика в Япония тези изкуства и отношенията към тях завладяват и останалите далекоизточни страни. В своето разпространение практикуването на бойните изкуства следва будизма и неговото влияние се изживява като път на духовно усъвършенстване особено силно в Япония.

Доколкото одухотвореността придава на обикновеното техническо изпълнение качеството на изкуство, достигаме до известно степенуване на възприемането на реалността и нейното изразяване на три нива – непосредствено изживяване, неговото предаване чрез изкуството и критиката за това изкуство. Преминавайки във функцията на коментар – назоваване на нещата, прякото отражение на действителноста, което представлява изкуството, се превръща в кич и неадекватно подражание, без вътрешно съдържание. т.е. изкуството престава да бъде изкуство.

Изчезването на връзката между духовното, религиозно-медитативно изживяване, от една страна, изкуството като пряко насочване, отражение на това изживяване, от друга страна и научно-практическото, мисловно, анализаторско, обяснително интерпретаторство на това изживяване, от трета страна, е причината за отдалечаване от смисъла на т.нар. бойно изкуство от неговата истинска същност.

Характерен за китайския начин на мислене е стремежът „да се породи усещане за нещата, предизвиквайки тяхното отражение, техния отзвук в житейските подробности и обстоятелства", при което

„способността за наблюдение се разглежда като най-високото качество за един китайски дух" (Каменарович 2014: 7).

В опита си за точен превод на това скрито и трудно доловимо съдържание западното мислене събира два почти несъвместими термина, като усещането за духовно непосредствено изживяне на реалността по пътя на практикуването остава сякаш неизказано в паузата, празнотата между тези два термина – „боен, военен" и „изкуство".

Изкуството в западното мислене представлява израз на едно непосредствено и пряко изживяване на реалността. То представлява пряко отражение на тази реалност, макар и субективно. В такъв смисъл то може да бъде непосредствена реализация на природата и на божественото. Науката, обясненията на изкуството, критиката, интерпретацията на изкуството представляват само неговите коментари. Затова Западът е склонен да приравни термина „изкуство" с този за „Дао", или божественото, пътя, като израз на непосредственото възприемане, непосредственото вървене по него. Пътят, който не е определен, а се определя от самото вървене. Причинно-следствената връзка, която се начертава сега, в процеса на непосредственото правене. Правенето, действието може да бъде изкуство. Другото, опосредстваното, е всичко, което се случва като интерпретация на реалността без възможността за нейното непосредствено възприемане и предаване.

В такъв смисъл изкуството като нещо, което пряко отразява реалността, е сходно с отношението на религиозност. Така, сякаш по презумпция, науката и коментарът никога не биха могли да се приближат до тази религиозност и не биха могли да се превърнат в изкуство. Когато науката се доближава до това усещане, тя застава на границите на необяснимото, на границите да спре да бъде наука. Когато науката се превърне в непосредствено предаване на изживяването, едва тогава тя е възможно да се превърне в изкуство. Да се трансформира в изкуство. Това е по-скоро нейното непосредствено свързване с действието й, с въздействието й върху реалността. Когато говорим за дао, когато го коментираме, ние спираме да изживяваме неговата реалност и то отсъства.

„До", което означава „път" или „начин" да усъвършенстваш себе си, има свой собствен живот, независимо дали то е „до" на будо, „бойни изкуства" или „до" на някое от различните други изкуства. Именно защото има свой собствен живот, „до" е предмет на неизбежния цикъл на растеж и упадък. Характерна е постоянната промяна, но само по отношение на външната форма. Основната природа на „до" остава неизменна" (Фунакоши 1994: 18).

Затова става възможно бойната техника да се превърне в изкуство, когато се случва спонтанно и изразява непосредственото случване и извършване. Следването на начина, на пътя „дао" за овладяване на бойното изкуство не допуска опосредствената му трактовка. Пръстът, който посочва луната, е изкуството, той е действието, науката е склонна да възприема пръста, а не да обърне поглед към самата луна. Тя може да коментира луната, нейното отражение, посоката, но това си остава опосредствано разказване за непосредственото виждането като изживяване. Възприемането на дао е именно в неговото непосредствено изживяване. Тези, които само говорят за дао, стават негови критици, което ще рече, че им липсва непосредственото възприятие и изживяването за това. Така в историческата действителност терминът „до" /кит. дао/ в бойните изкуства се налага в употреба тогава, когато те спират да бъдат изкуства – непосредствено възприели пътя „дао".

„Последователите на дзен биха казали: пръстът е необходим, за да се посочи луната, но какво нещастие би било, ако някой вземе пръста за луна. Това е преди всичко и изцяло учение плюс житейски опит, който не се обуславя от каквото и да било обяснение. Защото обяснението само губи време и енергия и никога не достига до същността. Резултатът от него е само погрешно разбиране и изопачен поглед върху нещата" (Судзуки 1991: 92).

Под влиянието на типичното за Запада мисловно разделяне и квалификация на света синхроничната единност на т.нар. бойно изкуство като път „дао" за достигане на непосредственото и истинно изживяване на реалността е нарушена дори в тяхната родина. Започва отделянето на части от единното, които съществуват самостоятелно – спорт; художествено-творческа изява – театър, кино, цирк и др.; практика за поддържане на здравето и рехабилитация – цигун; философия, традиция и етика, култура, религия, ритуал и т.н.

До XVIII век много от стиловете в китайските бойни изкуства не са имали свои отделни названия, а са са се обозначавали общо като „цюан" /юмрук/ (Чертовских, Глебов 2002: 30). В древността бойните

умения в Китай се наричали по различен начин, но може би най-разпространеният термин е „у и”. В началото на XX век най-голяма популярност добива термина ушу, който се приема и за официално название, като се смята, че този термин „най-точно отговаря на спецификата и особеностите на бойните изкуства”. След Първата общокитайска национална спартакиада, проведена в Тяндзин през 1953 г., държавната политика е насочена към предприемане на „реформи в ушу”, като се създават синтетични стилове за състезателно-спортни направления, наречени „чан цюан” /дълъг юмрук/ и нан цюан /южен юмрук/, като традиционните художествени наименования на бойните техники и ползваните приоми са заменени от чисто технически и описателни (Пино 1998: 7, 9).

„След 1949 г. в Китай бойните изкуства са обявени за „феодална отживелица” и се приема курс за създаването на нов вид спорт. Масовият интерес налага промяна в държавната политика след 1979 г., като на спортните институти за физическо образование е възложено провеждането на изследвания и експерименти с последвало разработване на научна основа на спортно-състезателно направление за двубои в ушу. Състезания в това направление се провеждат от 1982, а от 1988 г. – и с международно участие” (Березнюк, Лю, Лян, 1998: 7).

Опитът да бъде придаден смисъл на присъщата за източния начин на мислене събирателност е довел Запада до формулирането на термина „бойно изуство” за нещо, което нито вече е „бойно”, тъй като няма връзка с реалния бой и оцеляване на бойното поле, нито е изкуство, тъй като вече е загубило пряката си връзка с непосредственото изживяване на истинната реалност и способността да бъде нейно отражение.

При срещите си с източната култура Западът едва ли е повлиян от особената ефикасност на бойния модел на поведение при наличието на огнестрелното оръжие. Той обаче е силно повлиян от качеството на личността в двубоя. И е поразен от това, което „пътят на бойните изкуства” може да сътвори от физиката, душата и мисловността на практикуващия. Една сензитивност и разбиране за живота и света, която го поставя наравно с мъдреца с „просветления”, с духовния учител. Така в израз на това усещане за мъдростта Западът прикачва и термина „философия” към онова разбиране за света, до което води практикуването на бойното изкуство. Макар че в своето етимологично значение терминът „философия” се откъсва далеч от смисъла на изживяването в практиката на бойните изкуства.

Още през XVII век знаменитият японски майстор на меча Миямото Мусаши пише: „Истинският път на бойното изкуство ни учи на умения, които могат да бъдат приложени по всяко време и във всяка област. В Китай и в нашата собствена страна /Япония/ овладелите Пътя на бойното изкуство се наричат майстори на бойното изкуство. Напоследък мнозина се представят за майстори на бойното изкуство, но в действителност са овладели само фехтовката. Ако се ограничиш само с принципите на фехтовката, няма да овладееш дори нея” (Мусаши, 2005: 11). В същото време според редица изследователи в Япония осъзнаването на бойните умения и бойната практика като възможност за достигане на „самосъзнание, просветление и други състояния, които се изразяват обикновено с будистка или даоска терминология”, не претърпяват своята трансформация от „джуцу” към „до” през периода Токугава, а доста по-късно (Хърст III 2000: 111).

Така в синхрон с една древна китайска традиция за „изследване на имената” ние можем да добием представа за развитието на самите неща, които са назовани с тях. Въпреки че назоваването на нещата не са самите неща, а напротив, то ни отделя от тяхната действителна същност, самата възможност тези неща да бъдат определени се появява именно защото те самите вече са били присъстващи. Заедно с това самото назоваване ги кара да се изплъзват, отдалечава нашата представа от тяхната същност. Появяването на термина „бойно изкуство” означава, че същото вече е изживяно и не присъства, затова може да бъде назовано като такова.

Така изкуството, което има връзка с особената сензитивност при възпроизвеждане на реалността на света постепенно се превръща във:

- спорт, конкурентна физическа изява на съревнователност и еднократни върхови състояния на организма;
- театър или танц като културна изява на изящност и красота, извор на естетическа наслада и забавление за сетивността или
- практика за здраве и гимнастика за рехабилитация, медицинска практика за поддържане на здравословен начин на живот.

По думите на Кунфуций: „Когато достойният човек не знае какво да каже, предпочита да мълчи. ...

Достойният човек използва наименованията само ако се получава свързано слово /с реалността/, и произнася реч само ако тя довежда до правилното /в съответствие с реалността/ действие. Затова достойният човек внимава толкова, когато говори."

Идеята за „изправянето на наименованието" и за тяхното съответствие с действителността /шън мин/ прониква в цялата конфуцианска мисъл, като по думите на Учителя Кун дори самият той много би искал да може „да мине без словото" в опитите си за изразяване на реалността (Чън, 2014: 79, 80).

Разделянето, присъщо за западния начин на мислене, днес е навлязло дълбоко дори в представите на съвременен Китай, където за традиционно се смята класическото възприемане на човека като единна цялост, макар и съставена от множество противоречиви влияния, намиращи се в непрекъснатата взимозаменяемост и динамика на традициите „пет елемента".

В разговорите и съчиненията на Ямаока Тешю, редактирани от негови ученици, се съдържа следното негово откровение: „Преди много години, около 1865-а, аз работех в националния храм в Отава, когато забелязах невероятна калиграфия, изложена в ъгъла, направена от ръката на будисткия основател Кобо Дайши. Впоследствие научих различните стилове калиграфия както от свещеници, така и от миряни, упражнявах се винаги когато имах възможност. Това продължи много години, докато не постигнах известна степен умение. На 30 март 1880 г. аз осъзнах истинското значение на бойното изкуство с меч и дзен. Тъй като дълбоките познания позволяват на човек да разбере много неща, едновременно разбрах същината и на калиграфията. Въпреки че вече знам тайната, аз не мога да я опиша с думи. Кой на този свят би могъл?" (Стивънс 2009: 175).

Задълбочаващо се разделяне обаче, множеството наименования, раздаването на титли за майсторство, безкрайното стилово многообразие, детайлизирането на техниката без запознаване с основни принципи, непознаването на историята, традицията, културата водят все по-дълбоко и прогресиращо до непознаване на бойната техника като изкуство, начин, път „дао" за развитие на цялостното човешко същество.

Въпреки огромната популярност, която изглежда, че притежават т.нар. бойни изкуства в съвременния все по-глобален свят, докосването до истинската тяхна същност представлява все по-рядко явление. Именно заради това нейното присъствие си заслужава да бъде съхранявано и преоткривано.

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SECTION

歷史與考古

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

THE RULE OF KUBLAI KHAN IN CHINA

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Abstract

Kublai Khan, known as founder of the Yuan Dynasty in China and host of Marco Polo, was one of the so-called Great Khans of the Mongolian Empire. Thanks to his wisdom and bravery, he became the most famous grand-son of Genghis Khan. His father was Tolui Khan – the youngest son of Genghis Khan, and his mother – the princess Sorkhotani, a Christian Nestorian believer. Persian historian Rashid al-Din wrote that Sorkhotani was a very ambitious lady who did her best to raise her sons as real political leaders of Mongolia. He also mentions that she was extremely intelligent and able and towered above all the women in the world. When Kublai's brother Mongke became Great Khan in 1251, he named Kublai viceroy of Northern China. Two years later, Kublai conquered Southwest China. Kublai ordered his advisors to select a site for a new capital based on feng shui. Finally, they chose a spot on the border between China's rural lands and the Mongolian steppe. Kublai's new capital was called Shang-tu (Upper Capital).

Kublai was at war in Sichuan once again in 1259, when he learned that his brother Mongke had died. Kublai did not immediately withdraw from Sichuan upon Mongke Khan's death, leaving his younger brother Ariq Böke time to gather troops and convene a kuriltai (Assembly) in Karakorum, the Mongolian capital. The kuriltai named Ariq Bökeas the new Great Khan, but Kublai and his brother Hulagu disputed the result and held their own kuriltai, which named Kublai the Great Khan. This dispute touched off a civil war.

Kublai khan's troops destroyed the Mongolian capital at Karakorum, but Ariq Böke's army continued fighting. On August 21, 1264 Ariq Bökefinally surrendered to his brother at Shang-tu. As Great Khan, Kublai had control over the Mongolian homeland and Mongolian possessions in China. He was also head of the Mongolian Empire.

Keywords: Kublai khan, Genghis khan, Mongolian Empire, China.

Kublai Khan, known as founder of the Yuan Dynasty in China and host of Marco Polo, was one of the so-called Great Khans of the Mongolian Empire. Thanks to his wisdom and bravery, he became the most famous grand-son of Genghis Khan.

His father was Tolui Khan – the youngest son of Genghis Khan, and his mother – the princess Sorkhotani, a Christian Nestorian believer. Persian historian Rashid al-Din wrote that Sorkhotani was a very ambitious lady who did her best to raise her sons as real political leaders of Mongolia. He also mentioned that she was extremely intelligent and able and towered above all the women in the world (Rashid al-Din 1946–1952). As his grandfather Genghis Khan advised, Sorkhotani chose a Buddhist Tangut woman as her son's nurse, whom Kublai later honored highly.

Kublai was the fourth son of Tolui (his second son with Sorkhotani) and a grandson of Genghis Khan. He succeeded his older brother Möngke as Khagan in 1260, but had to defeat his younger brother Ariq Böke in the Toluid Civil War lasting until 1264. This episode marked the beginning of disunity in the empire.

The most prominent, and arguably most influential, component of Kublai Khan's early life was his study of and strong attraction to contemporary Chinese culture. Kublai invited Haiyun, the leading Buddhist monk in North China, to his palace in Mongolia. When he met Haiyun in Karakorum in 1242, Kublai asked him about the philosophy of Buddhism. Haiyun named Kublai's son, who was born in 1243, Zhenjin. Haiyun also introduced Kublai to the former Taoist and now Buddhist monk, Liu Bingzhong. Liu was a painter, calligrapher, poet, and mathematician, and he became Kublai's advisor when Haiyun returned to his temple in modern Beijing. Kublai soon added the Shanxi scholar Zhao Bi to his entourage. Kublai employed people of other nationalities as well, for he was eager to balance local and imperial interests, Mongol and Turk.

Genghis Khan (1162–1227)

Möngke Khan (1209–1259)

In 1251, Kublai's eldest brother Möngke became Khan of the Mongol Empire, and Khwarizmian Mahmud Yalavach and Kublai were sent to China. Kublai received the viceroyalty over North China and moved his palace to central Inner Mongolia. During his years as viceroy, Kublai managed his territory well, boosted the agricultural output of Henan, and increased social welfare spendings after receiving Xi'an.

Kublai appointed Uyghur Lian Xixian (1231–1280) head of his pacification commission in 1254. Some officials, who were jealous of Kublai's success, said that he was getting above himself and dreaming of having his own empire by competing with Möngke's capital Karakorum. The Great Khan Möngke sent two tax inspectors, Alamdar (Ariq Böke's close friend and governor in North China) and Liu Taiping, to audit Kublai's officials in 1257. They found fault, listed 142 breaches of regulations, accused Chinese officials and executed some of them, and Kublai's new pacification commission was abolished. Kublai sent a two-man embassy with his wives and then appealed in person to Möngke, who publicly forgave his younger brother and reconciled with him.

Kublai Khan (1215–1295)

Young Kublai Khan, painted by Anige – a Nepali artist in Kublai's Court

In 1258, Möngke put Kublai in command of the Eastern Army and summoned him to assist with an attack on Sichuan. As he was suffering from gout, Kublai was allowed to stay home, but he moved to assist Möngke anyway. Before Kublai arrived in 1259, word reached him that Möngke had died. Kublai decided to keep the death of his brother secret and continued the attack on Wuhan, near the Yangtze River. While Kublai's

force besieged Wuchang, Uryankhadai joined him. The Song Dynasty minister Jia Sidao secretly approached Kublai to propose terms. He offered an annual tribute of 200,000 taels of silver and 200,000 bolts of silk in exchange for Mongol agreement to the Yangtze River as the frontier between the states. Kublai declined at first but later reached a peace agreement with Jia Sidao.

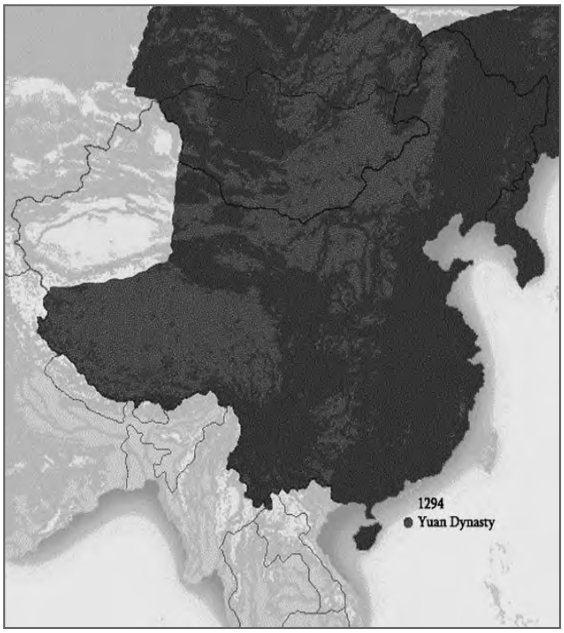
Later on, Kublai received a message from his wife that his younger brother Ariq Böke had been raising troops, so he returned north to the Mongolian plains. Before he reached Mongolia, he learned that Ariq Böke had held a *kurultai* – Mongol great council – at the capital Karakorum, which had named him Great Khan with the support of most of Genghis Khan's descendants. Kublai and the fourth brother, the Il-Khan Hulagu, opposed this. Kublai's Chinese staff encouraged Kublai to ascend the throne, and almost all of the senior princes in North China and Manchuria supported his candidacy.

Upon returning to his own territories, Kublai summoned his own *kurultai.* Few members of the royal family supported Kublai's claims to the title, though the small number of attendees included representatives of all the Borjigin lines (i.e. Genghis Khan's line) except that of Jochi. This *kurultai* proclaimed Kublai Great Khan on April 15, 1260 despite Ariq Böke's apparently legal claim.

Kublai renamed the Mongol regime in China Dai Yuan in 1271, and sought to sinicize his image as Emperor of China in order to win control of millions of Chinese people. When he moved his headquarters to Khanbaliq, also called Dadu, at modern-day Beijing, there was an uprising in the old capital Karakorum that he barely contained. Kublai's actions were condemned by traditionalists and his critics still accused him of being too closely tied to Chinese culture. They sent a message to him: "The old customs of our Empire are not those of the Chinese laws... What will happen to the old customs?" (The History of Yuan Dynasty – https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kublai_Khan).

The Song imperial family surrendered to the Yuan in 1276, making the Mongols the first non-Chinese people to conquer all of China. During his rule, Kublai succeeded in building a powerful Empire, created an academy, offices, trade ports and canals and sponsored science and the arts.

The record of the Mongols lists 20,166 public schools created during Kublai's reign. Having achieved real or nominal dominion over much of Eurasia, and having successfully conquered China, Kublai was in a position to look beyond China. However, Kublai's costly invasions of Burma, Annam, Sakhalin and Champa secured only the vassal status of those countries. The Mongol invasions of Japan (1274 and 1280) and Java (1293) failed.



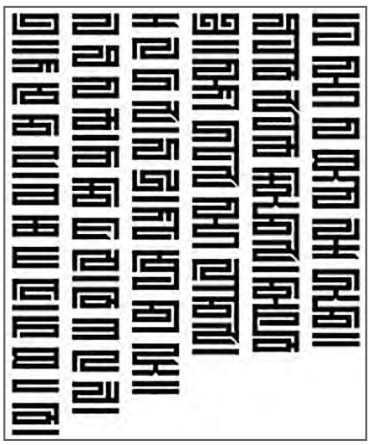
The Yuan Dynasty in 1294

Kublai Khan considered China as his main base, realizing within a decade of his enthronement as Great Khan that he needed to concentrate on governing there. From the beginning of his reign, he adopted Chinese political and cultural models and worked to minimize the influences of regional lords, who had held immense power before and during the Song Dynasty. Kublai heavily relied on his Chinese advisers until about 1276. He had many Han Chinese advisers, such as Liu Bingzhong and Xu Heng, and employed many Uyghur Turks, some of whom were resident commissioners running Chinese districts.

Kublai also appointed Chögyel Phags-pa Lama his state preceptor (*Guoshi*), giving him power over all of the empire's Buddhist monks. In 1270, after Phagspa created the Square script, he was promoted to imperial preceptor. Kublai established the Supreme Control Commission under Phagspa to administer affairs of Tibetan and Chinese monks. During Phagspa's absence in Tibet, the Tibetan monk Sangha rose to high office and had the office renamed the Commission for Buddhist and Tibetan Affairs. In 1286, Sangha became the dynasty's chief fiscal officer. However, their corruption later embittered Kublai, and he later relied wholly on younger Mongol aristocrats. Antong of the Jalayir and Bayan of the Baarin served as grand councillors from 1265, and Oz-temur of the Arulad

headed the censorate. Borokhula's descendant, Ochicher, headed a kheshig (Mongolian imperial guard) and the palace provision commission.

Chögyel Phags-pa, one of the five founders of the Sakya school of Tibetan Buddhism, first vice-king of Tibet



Chögyel Phags-pa Lama's Square Script

Kublai Khan commissioned Chögyel Phags-pa to design a new writing system to unify the writing of his multilingual Yuan Dynasty. Chögyel Phags-pa in turn modified the traditional Tibetan script and gave birth to a new set of characters called Phags-pa script which was completed in 1268. Kublai Khan decided to use the Phags-pa script as the official writing system of the empire, including when he became Emperor of China in 1271, instead of the Chinese ideogrammes and the Uyghur script. However, he encountered major resistances and difficulties when trying to promote this script and never achieved his original goal. As a result, only a small amount of texts were written in this script, and the majority (including most official documents) were still written in Chinese ideograms or the Uyghur alphabet. The script fell into disuse after the collapse of the Yuan Dynasty in 1368. The script was, though never widely, used for about a century and is thought to have influenced the development of modern Korean script (Clements 2010).

Kublai promoted economic growth by rebuilding the Grand Canal, repairing public buildings, and extending highways. However, his domestic policy included some aspects of the old Mongol living traditions, and as his reign continued, these traditions would clash ever more frequently with traditional Chinese economic and social culture. Kublai decreed that partner merchants of the Mongols should be subject to taxes in 1263 and set up the Office of Market Taxes to supervise them in 1268. After the Mongol conquest of the Song, the merchants expanded their operations to the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean. In 1286, maritime trade was put under the Office of Market Taxes. The main source of revenue of the government was the monopoly of salt production.

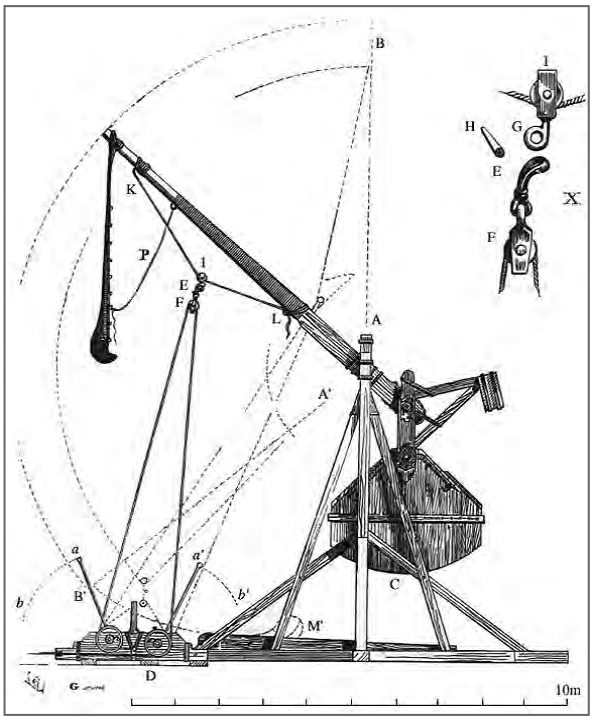
The Mongol administration had issued paper currencies from 1227 on. In August 1260, Kublai created the first unified paper currency called Chao; bills were circulated throughout the Yuan domain with no expiration date. To guard against devaluation, the currency was convertible with silver and gold, and the government accepted tax payments in paper currency. In 1273, Kublai issued a new series of state sponsored bills to finance his conquest of the Song, although eventually a lack of fiscal discipline and inflation turned this move into an economic disaster. It was required to pay only in the form of paper money. To ensure its use, Kublai's government confiscated gold and silver from private citizens and foreign merchants, but traders received government-issued notes in exchange.

Kublai encouraged Asian arts and demonstrated religious tolerance. Despite his anti-Taoist edicts, Kublai respected the Taoist master and appointed Zhang Liushan as the patriarch of the Taoist Xuanjiao order. Under Zhang's advice, Taoist temples were put under the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. Several Europeans visited the empire, notably Marco Polo in the 1270s who may have seen the summer capital Shangdu (Rossabi 1988).

Thirty Muslim high officials served the court of Kublai Khan. Eight of the dynasty's twelve administrative districts had Muslim governors appointed by Kublai Khan. Among the Muslim governors was Sayyid Ajjal Shams al-Din Omar, who became administrator of Yunnan. He was a well learned man in the Confucian and Taoist traditions and is believed to have propagated Islam in China.

Kublai Khan patronized Muslim scholars and scientists, and Muslim astronomers contributed to the construction of the observatory in Shaanxi. Astronomers such as Jamal ad-Din introduced seven new instruments and concepts that allowed the correction of the Chinese calendar.

Muslim cartographers made accurate maps of all the nations along the Silk Road and greatly influenced the knowledge of Yuan dynasty rulers and merchants.



The "Muslim trebuchet" used to breach the walls of Fancheng and Xiangyang

Muslim physicians organized hospitals and had their own institutes of Medicine in Beijing and Shangdu. In Beijing was the renowned Department of Extensive Mercy where Hui medicine and surgery were taught. Ibn Sina's works were also published in China during that period.

Muslim mathematicians introduced Euclidean geometry, Spherical trigonometry and Arabic numerals in China.

Kublai brought siege engineers Ismail and Al al-Din to China, and together they invented the "Muslim trebuchet" (Hui-Hui Pao), which was utilized by Kublai Khan during the Battle of Xiangyang.

Like his predecessors', Kublai's foreign policy might be considered imperialistic. He invaded Korea and made it a tributary vassal state in 1260. After another Mongol intervention in 1273, Korea came under even tighter control of the Yuan. Korea became a Mongol military base, and several myriarchy commands were established there. The court of Korea supplied Korean troops and an ocean-going naval force for the Mongol campaigns. Despite the opposition of some of his Confucian-trained advisers, Kublai decided to invade Japan, Burma, Vietnam, and Java, following the suggestions of some of his Mongol officials. He also attempted to subjugate peripheral lands such as Sakhalin, where its indigenous people eventually submitted to the Mongols by 1308, after Kublai's death. These costly conquests and the introduction of paper currency caused inflation.

Kublai Khan twice attempted to invade Japan. It is believed that both attempts were thwarted by bad weather or a flaw in the design of ships that were based on river boats without keels, and his fleets were destroyed.

Under Kublai, direct contact between East Asia and the West was established, made possible by Mongol control of the central Asian trade routes and facilitated by the presence of efficient postal services. In the beginning of the 13th century, large numbers of Europeans and Central Asians – merchants, travelers, and missionaries of different orders – made their way to China. The presence of Mongol power allowed large numbers of Chinese people intent on warfare or trade to travel to other parts of the Mongol Empire, all the way to Russia, Persia, and Mesopotamia.

Kublai Khan gives financial support to the Marco Polo family

Marco Polo was probably the best-known foreign visitor to China and Mongolia. After reaching China in 1275, he spent the next 17 years (1275–92) under the administration and patronage of Kublai, including official service in the salt administration and trips through the provinces of Yunnan and Fukien (Marco Polo 2004).

After his wife Chabi died in 1281, Kublai began to withdraw from direct contact with his advisers, and he issued instructions through one of his other queens, Nambui. Only two of Kublai's daughters are known by name; he may have had others. Unlike the formidable women of his grandfather's day, Kublai's wives and daughters were an almost invisible presence, possibly because Chinese court etiquette demoted females to inferior status.

Kublai's original choice of successor was his son Chinggim, who became the head of Department of Central Governing and actively administered the dynasty according to Confucian fashion. Nomukhan, after returning from captivity in the Golden Horde, expressed resentment that Chinggim had been made heir apparent, but he was banished to the north. An official proposed that Kublai should abdicate in favor of Chinggim in 1285, a suggestion that angered Kublai, who refused to see Chinggim. Chinggim died soon afterwards in 1286, eight years before his father. Kublai regretted this and remained very close to his wife, Bairam, also known as Kokejin (Morgan 1986).

Kublai became increasingly despondent after the deaths of his favorite wife and his chosen heir Chinggim. The failure of the military campaigns in Vietnam and Japan also haunted him. Kublai turned to food and drink for comfort, became grossly overweight, and suffered from gout and diabetes. His overindulgence in alcohol and the traditional meat-rich Mongol diet may have contributed to his condition. Kublai sank into depression due to the loss of his family, his poor health and advancing age. He tried every medical treatment available, from Korean shamans to Vietnamese doctors, and various remedies and medicines, but to no avail.

Kublai Khan Statue in Sükhabaatar Square in Ulaanbaatar

At the end of 1293, the emperor refused to participate in the traditional New Year's ceremony. Before his death, Kublai passed the seal of Crown Prince to Chinggim's son Temür, who would become the next Khagan of the Mongol Empire and the second ruler of the Yuan Dynasty. Seeking an old companion to comfort him in his final illness, the palace staff could choose only Bayan, more than 30 years his junior. Kublai weakened steadily, and on February 18, 1294, he died at the age of 78. Two days later, the funeral cortège took his body to the burial place of the khans in Mongolia.

Nowadays, Kublai Khan is widely worshipped in Mongolia as one of the greatest Mongolian rulers, and his huge statue was erected in Sükhabaatar Square in Ulaanbaatar.

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ЦАРСТВО У ЮЕ (907–960) – РОЛЯ В МЕЖДУНАРОДНАТА ТЪРГОВСКА ДЕЙНОСТ

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THE KINGDOM OF WU YUE (907–978) – ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE

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Abstract

The subject of this study is the Kingdom of Wu Yue (吴越) and its relations with the adjacent coastal neighbors, in particular the Liao country of Khitans far to the North. Though unknown to the world, the Kingdom of Wu Yue played an extremely important role in the establishment of marine transportation corridors and the development of international trade. It is no exaggeration to say that modern Shanghai has become the direct successor to that tradition.

Keywords: Liao dynasty, khitans, international trade, sea ports, maritime trade

През 907 г. рухва Великата династия Тан (唐朝). Времето на Късна Тан е белязано със серия от въстания, размирици и природни бедствия, които в края на краищата довеждат до отслабване на централната власт и нарастване влиянието на провинциалните военни губернатори – дзиедушъ (节度使). Последните играят активна роля в потушаване на въстанието на Ан Лушан (安禄山) по места, в отговор на което танското правителство ги дарява с правото да поддържат собствена войска, да събират данъци и дори да предават титлата си по наследство. По този начин те все повече се превръщат в независими владетели. Друга причина за падането на династия Тан историците смятат прекалено силното влияние на евнусите в Двора и ширещата се корупция. Империята се разпада на множество царства и феодални владения, които водят непрекъснати войни помежду си. Придържайки се към династийната традиция, китайските летописци наричат периода „Епоха на петте династии и десетте царства“ (五代十国). Той приключва през 960 г. с обединяването на страната от новата династия Сун.

Времето на петте династии и десетте царства е едно от най-мрачните в историята на Китай. Военните губернатори (节度使) водят ожесточена борба за власт, разделяйки страната на отделни региони. За половин век войните на Север довеждат до смяна на пет династии: Късна Лян (907–923); Късна Тан (923–936); Късна Дзин (936–947); Късна Хан (947–950); Късна Джоу (951–960). Заради честите войни икономическата структура е силно разстроена, населението обеднява и голяма част мигрира на юг, редица процъфтяващи преди градове са разрушени. Начало на възстановяване започва едва по време на последната династия от тази епоха – Късна Джоу.

На Юг ситуацията е доста по-различна. Докато на Север на една и съща територия бързо се сменят пет династии, тук, по едно и също време паралелно съществуват десет отделни царства. Обстановката е сравнително стабилна, населението се увеличава, приемайки идващите от Север, бърз напредък бележат производствените сили, активно се развиват земеделието, бубарството, производството на чай, въвеждат се нови методи за обработка на земята, активизира се иригационното строителство, хамбарите са пълни. Около големите градове се формират множество икономически субекти и общности. В Дзяннан (поречието на десния бряг на Яндзъ) и по двата бряга на р. Хуайхъ (两淮) освен земеделие и бубарство активно се развива търговията. В района на Хуангуан (на територията на днешните провинции Хубей и Хунан) се произвежда чай, който местните транспортират до района на Хуанхъ, където го разменят за храна, облекло, бойни коне. Оживената търговска дейност се простира далече на север, както и извън границите на Китай. Неотделима част от живота в градовете става търговията, особено морската. Основните пристанища за водене на международна търговия са разположени в Цюанджоу, Нинбо, Ханджоу, Гуанджоу, Фуджоу.

Това е период, когато Югът напълно измества Севера и се превръща в икономически център на Китай.

Предмет на нашето изследване е царство У Юе (吴越国) и отношенията му със съседните и по-отдалечените морски държави. Непознато за света, царство У Юе играе изключително важна роля в

установяването на морски транспортни коридори и в развитието на международната търговия. Без преувеличение може да се каже, че пряк наследник на тази традиция става съвременен Шанхай.

Царство У Юе е едно от най-могъщите и най-дълго просъществували царства от Епохата на петте династии и десетте царства. „Този земен рай“[1] е разположен в делтата на р. Яндзъ на мястото на древните У и Юе. Заема територията на днешната провинция Джъдзян, югоизточната част на провинция Дзянсу и североизточната част на провинция Фудзиен. Предимствата от гледна точка на географското положение са очевидни – разположено е на място, където се съединяват двете направления на морския Път на коприната. Първият, който минава на север през Източнокитайско море, Бохайския залив и още на север, царство У Юе използва, за да укрепи отношенията си със северните политически режими и да разшири влиянието си върху васалните държави в региона. По този начин повишава своя авторитет в международните връзки. Южното направление на на Пътя на коприната се използва от У Юе за активизиране на отношенията с разположените в района на Южнокитайско море и далече на юг държави. У Юе развива бързо своята външна търговия и натрупва огромни печалби от морските маршрути, които владее.

Друга важна причина за просперитета на У Юе в морската търговия несъмнено е търговският и предприемачески дух на политиката на У Юе и неговите граждани. Наследници на богатите знания и опит за търговия на царство Източно У от епохата Източна Дзин (317–420), на държавите от епохата на Южните династии (420–588), представителите на царство У Юе в крайна сметка успяват на територията на Източна и Западна Джъдзян „със скромни природни дадености да спечелят максимално, да създадат могъща държава за сметка на търговията“ (本小利大，因商而强). Търговците са се стремели към максимална печалба и по-добър живот, във външнотърговската си политика държавата също поставяла на първо място изгодата за държавата. Непрекъснатите контакти с чужденци са научили търговците от У Юе на всички тънкости в този бизнес. Това малко царство, разположено на тясна ивица суша, което разполага с неголяма войска, представлява класически пример за малка, но богата и силна държава от Епохата на петте династии и десетте царства

Някои съществени промени в икономическата ситуация в Китай правят възможно бурното развитие на търговията, включително и международната. Една от тях се отнася до напредъка на управляващите по въпросите на морската търговия още по време на предишната династия Тан (618–906). Танската администрация се отказва от раздробеното управление на търговията за сметка на облагането с данъци. Чаят, солта и някои други основни стоки са под монопола на императорското семейство и играят важна роля като инструмент в икономическата политика. Именно в крайбрежните райони танската администрация създава първите специализирани служби за управление и контрол на търговията. Някои търговци и търговски къщи успяват да си издействат (по-скоро си купуват) лицензи, които ги правят официални представители на държавата и им носят огромни печалби. Настъпват промени и в търговията на дребно. Когато броят на пазарите започва да нараства бързо, контролирането им не може да продължи по стария начин – чрез ограничения в асортимента на търгуваните стоки, контрол над работата и местоположението на пазарите. В многовековната история на Китай държавата винаги е обръщала сериозно внимание на връзките с отвъдморските страни. Периоди на ограничения, стигащи до пълна забрана за търговия с чужденци се редуват с периоди на либерализация и разцвет. В разглеждания период, именно по източното крайбрежие на Китай търговията е в разцвет. Царство У Юе и пристанището в Ханджоу се намират в центъра на тази активна търговска дейност.

Началото на X век е периодът, в който производството на чай[2] в крайморските райони на Китай дос-

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[1] Известна поговорка гласи: „На небето има рай, на земята има Суджоу и Ханджоу“ (上有有天堂，下有苏杭).

[2] Чаят （кит.茶, лат. Camellia sinensis) е вечнозелено растение, което се размножава чрез семена или филизи. Въпреки огромното разнообразие сортове чай, всички те се получават от едно и също растение – Camellia sinensis. През 1843 г. английският ботаник и пътешественик Робърт Форчън за първи път установява, че черният и зеленият чай се различават единствено по технологията на обработка на първичната суровина, която е една и съща. Но през 20-те години на XIX век в джунглите на Индия са открити гигантски чаени дървета, силно отличаващи се от познатия чаен храст. По-късно такива дървета са открити и в югозападните провинции на Китай – Юннан, Гуйджоу и Съчуан. Спорът на учените приключва през 1962 г., когато известният руски учен Джемухадзе чрез биохимичен анализ доказва, че първичният вид чай е именно този, произхождащ от провинция Юннан. Всеобщо признание получава твърдението, че чаят има само една разновидност, въпреки че в естествени условия той може да се срещне и като дърво, и като храст.

тига разцвет, заемайки важно място в икономиката на страната. С бързото развитие на стопанството и подобряването на живота на населението чаят престава да бъде деликатес, достъпен само за богатите. Огромното производство на чай задоволява потребностите на страната и се превръща във важен елемент от международната търговия. Най-висококачествените сортове са били отправяни по море, за да бъдат поднесени в дар на могъщите съседи.

Основател на царство У Юе е Циен Лиу(钱镠), който през 904 г. получава от танския император титлата У-уан, а след разпадането на династия Тан се провъзгласява за независим владетел. Той прави своя столица гр. Ханджоу, наричан тогава Сифу (西府). Циен Лиу провежда умерена политика, в която се ръководи от принципа „Прекратяване на войните, спокойствие за народа“(休兵，息民)。 Обръща сериозно внимание на земеделието, търговията, образованието и културата.

В този нееднозначен за историята на Поднебесната период на Север възниква държавата на киданите[3] – империя Ляо (辽朝). Постоянната борба за власт и междуособните войни карат китайските феодали да търсят помощ и контакти с тези могъщи северни съседи, поднасяйки им дарове. През средните векове районът на Централната равнина често е попадал в ръцете на северните политически режими, а Хъбей, Шанси и други райони за дълъг период са били под властта на военни губернатори като Лиу Женгун, Лиу Шоугуан, Ли Къюн, Лиу Джъюан. Това вероятно е една от причините, накарала търговците от У Юе да изберат морския път за контакти с киданите като по-безопасен.

Според китайския писмен източник „История на династия Ляо“ (《辽史》) южната държава У Юе (吴越) от Епохата на петте династии и десетте царства е държавата, която най-рано установява близки контакти с киданите на север.

През 915 г. при управлението на Ляо Тайдзу[4] (辽太祖) владетелят на южното царство У Юе – Циен Лиу (钱缪) изпраща кораби и посолство начело с Тън Йенсиу, за да поднасат трибути (дарове) на киданите в знак на уважение. Тази традиция продължава 29 години, чак до шестата година от царуването на Тайдзун Дъгуан (943 г.). Както посочва „История на династия Ляо“, за тези години представители на У Юе са посещавали държавата на киданите 11 пъти, а последните са пращали посолства в У Юе 3 пъти[5]. Предполага се, че освен официалните държавни визити и посолства, много по-активни и многобройни са били търговските контакти и посещения на обикновени търговци. Тази теза се потвърждава от многобройните артефакти, открити по време на поредица от археологически находки, направени в последно време както на север, така и на юг.

При разкопки в ареалите на двете древни държави, както и на някои потънали кораби, са открити голямо количество находки, доказващи, че контактите между тях не се ограничават с посочените 29 години, а продължават чак до династия Сун, която обединява отново Китай след периода на Петте династии. Нещо повече, установените между киданите и представители на У Юе още през X век морски пътища се превръщат в основни морски магистрали за транспортиране на стоки между Югоизточна Азия, Южна Азия и Африканския континент през следващите столетия.

През 2008 г. при разкопки в района на гр. Чъфън (赤峰) в югоизточната част на Вътрешна Монголия е открита златна плочка с надпис на кидански език[6]: „ Дарение от Тайдзу император Шънюен[7] за

[3] Кидани (хидани, китани, китаи, трад. кит. 契丹, пинин – *qìdān*). Номадски монголски племена, населявали в древността територията на днешна Вътрешна Монголия, Монголия и Манджурия. Впоследствие се разселват и към X век управляват огромна теритирия в Северен Китай. От 907 до 1125 г. съществува киданската държава Ляо (辽朝), която се простира от Японско море до Туркестан и е най-могъщата държава по това време в Източна Азия. Историческото название на Китай в славянската и западната традиция (Cathay) има отношение именно към този етноним.

[4] Ляо Тайдзу – основателят на киданската държава – Йелю Абаодзи (耶律阿保机), управлявал от 907 до 926 г.

[5] 元脱脱等 《辽史•本纪》中华书局1974年10月第1版 (Юан Туотуо и състав, „История на Ляо. Записки“, Китайско книгоиздателство, окт.1974, бр. 1).

[6] Киданският език вероятно принадлежи към монголското разклонение на алтайското езиково семейство. Писмените паметници на кидански език са почти неразшифровани. Съхранили са се главно под формата на епитафии, надписи на стели, монети. Съществували са две функционално независи системи за записване на киданския език – голямо и малко киданско писмо. Киданското писмо е предшественик на джурдженската писменост.

[7] Император Шънюен – основател на династия Ляо, храмово име – Тайдзу, посмъртно име – Шънюен.

височайшия посланик на държавата У Юе.“[8] Този факт говори за вниманието, с което киданите са се отнасяли към представителите на царство У Юе.

През 2010 в Линдзуоци 林左旗 (Вътрешна Монголия) са открити 3 покривала, върху които с ксилографска техника са отпечатани будистки заклинателни надписи (*санскр.* Dhārani), изображения на Буда и Четирите божества – пазители на четирите посоки на света, които са абсолютно идентични с откритите в пагодата Жуйгуан е Суджоу будистки заклинателни надписи (*санскр.* Dhārani) на сунския владетел Сун Джъдзун[9]. Този факт е свидетелство за близките контакти между Сун и Ляо, между китайци и кидани, свидетелство за търговския и културен обмен между Севера и Юга през X век.

Двете държави си разменят визити на вежливост, обменят информация за политическата ситуация, осъществяват активни търговски контакти. От страна на У Юе официалната „трибутарна търговия“(“朝贡贸易”) [10]включва рога от носорог, корали, скъпоценности, порцеланови изделия, благовония, коприна, лекарствени треви, слонова кост и др. Киданите в отговор изпращат в У Юе кожи, сарашки изделия, златни и сребърни предмети, медни монети, овце и коне, железни инструменти. Първоначално обикновената търговия между двата народа включва коприна и коне, но постепенно основни в стокообмена стават чаят и конете и вече по време на династия Сун тези две стоки са най-важните в търговията между У Юе и държавата на киданите.

Като две морски държави У Юе и киданите имат развита навигация и корабостроене. В „История на киданите“ пише, че през първата година от управлението на Ляо Тайдзу (938) – Йелю Дъгуан, той и неговият по-голям брат княз Йелю Дундан многократно са изпращали всеки поотделно посолства с дарове във вид на овце, коне и др. в Южна Тан. Отделно са изпратени 30 000 овце и 200 коня, които са разменени за южнотанска коприна, чай и билки[11].

Търговският обмен между двете държави годишно се изчислява на милиони гуани (1 гуан = хиляда медни монети), десетки хиляди коне, стотици дзина[12] първокласен чай от Фудзиен. Чаят среден клас достига десетки хиляди дзина. Впечатляващи са също така цифрите, отнасящи се до коприната и копринените изделия, порцелан и др. Тези оживени търговски контакти между китайци и кидани, разбира се, представляват мощен двигател за развитието на икономиките на двете страни.

Търговците от У Юе са поддържали оживени търговски и културни контакти и с много други страни, но най-многобройни са те с Япония и Корея.

С попътния вятър през лятото търговците са напускали пристанището на Ханджоу и пресичайки Източнокитайско море, са се отправяли към Япония. Основните стоки, с които са били пълни трюмовете на корабите на търговците от У Юе, са изделия на китайските занаяти, коприна и брокат, печатни произведения като сборници със стихове на известни поети, календари, будистки картини, скулптури, канони и други произведения на изкуството, които са намирали топъл прием на чуждестранните пазари не само в Япония. В края на есента, с помощта на северозападния вятър, търговците са поемали обратно към Ханджоу, носейки със себе си главно насипно злато. Писмени паметници са запазили имената на най-известните предприемачи от царство У Юе, които със собствени кораби са осъществяващи търговия с Япония: Дзян Чънсюн (蒋承勋), Дзи Инджан (季盈张), Дзян Йен (蒋兖), Ю Женсиу (俞仁秀), Джан Уенгуо (张文过), Шън Дъйен (盛德言) и др.

Търговски и културни връзки У Юе поддържа и с разположените на Корейския полуостров държави Когурьо, Пекче и Шила. В писмения източник „Нова история на Петте династии“[13](新五代史) е записано, че Циен Лиу веднага след като създава своята държава, установява връзки със съседните страни, като изпраща посолства в тях по море. Така например през 927 г., когато на Корейския полуостров воюват държавите Когурьо и Пекче, Циен Лиу изпраща свой представител, който да убеди двете воюващи страни да „превърнат оръжията в драгоценни дарове“. Търговските контакти с тези страни са относително регулярни за времето си.

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[8] http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_4b99e63e0100hyyo.html

[9] Пак там.

[10] Трибутарна търговия – система за обмен на дарове между Китай и чужди държави;

[11] Пак там.

[12] Дзин – китайска единица за тежест, равна на 0,5 кг.

[13] Една от 24-те династийни истории, представящи историята на Поднебесната от 3000 г. пр.н.е. до династията Мин през XVII век. Съставена е от историографа Оуян Сиу и се състои от 74 тома, описващи периода от 907 до 960 г.

Във втори том на „Записки за пътешествия от езерото Сиху“ се споменава името на индийския будистки монах Джуанджъ, който се завръщал с кораб от Ханджоу в Западно Тиенджу (название на Индия по време на династията Тан). При археологически разкопки, извършени през миналия век в някога процъфтяващия индийски град Брамина Барт (勃拉名纳巴特), са открити изделия от син порцелан, който традиционно се е произвеждал в У Юе. Един от каналите за осъществяване на търговия по море очевидно са били и пътуващите будистки монаси.

У Юе поддържа оживена търговия по море и далече на запад – Индия, Арабския халифат, съвременна Централна Азия, Северна Африка и др. Изнасят се главно порцелан и коприна, от Арабския халифат се внасят различни стоки с практическо приложение. Както се вижда, ханджоуските търговци разширяват търговията, като я превръщат от континентална в международна морска търговия.

Редица изследователи са на мнение, че увеличаването на производството, стимулирано от износа, и разширяването границите на търговията през разглеждания период в долното течение на р. Яндзъ, са една от важните предпоставки за икономическата революция през Средновековието в Китай. Освен корабите на търговците от У Юе, които са кръстосвали морето, все повече чуждестранни търговски кораби навлизат в пристанището на Ханджоу.

Активизирането на морската търговия несъмнено е изисквало особено внимание от страна на администрацията, свързано с начина на управление и контрол. Различни мнения съществуват по въпроса за възникването и структурата на специализирани служби за управление и контрол на международната търговия. Изследователите най-общо се придържат към три мнения за времето на поява на тези служби – те възникват при династиятаТан, по време на Петте династии и десетте царства и по време на династията Сун. Някои историци например смятат, че за първи път длъжността „инспектор по търговските кораби“ (市博使) е оповестена в указа на танския император Гао Дзун през 661 г. Но по-голямата част от учените, сред които е и проф. Лю Юфън от Шандунския университет, все пак тълкуват този указ като документ, утвърждаващ монополното право на Двора за закупуване на чуждестранни стоки на фиксирани ниски цени. Официално се смята, че 714 г. е датата, когато се въвежда длъжността „инспектор по търговските кораби“ . Съществуват и мнения за едновременното възникване на длъжността инспектор по търговските кораби и службата за търговските кораби (市博司).

По време на династия Тан подемът в селското стопанство и утвърждаването на медната монета като разменна единица, както и унифицираните мерки и теглилки стимулират развитието на морската търговия. Наред с трибутарната търговия – елемент на външнополитическата политика, бързо се развива и обикновената търговия.

Според съхранилите се писмени източници, в царство У Юе вече са съществували няколко вида морски служби. Една от тях е държавната морската служба боиу (博易务). Когато е свързана със закупуване на чуждестранни стоки, заплащани със злато или сребро, дейността се нарича „закупуване на чуждестранни стоки“(博买). При бартерен обмен на коприна, брокат, порцелан, лакови изделия и др. търговията се нарича „търговска сделка“ (博易). Названието “ търговски пазари“(博易场) се отнася за местата по крайбрежието, където се е водила търговия с монополни стоки[14].

Когато говорим за външна търговия, трябва да отбележим, че в определени граници такава е съществувала още по време на дин. Цин (221–207 г. пр. Хр.). Важно е да се подчертае, че преди династията Тан (618–907) не са съществували служби и длъжности, специално занимаващи се с морска търговия. Всъщност, със своята сравнително открита политика танската администрация е насърчавала и външната търговия. Създадената в царство У Юе морска служба (博易务) е наследник на длъжността инспектор по търговските кораби (市博使), която възниква при управлението на танския император Сюан Дзун. Задълженията на инспектора са включвали проверка и инспекция на влизащите и излизащи от пристанището чуждестранни кораби, събиране на мита и такси, контрол на стоките, попадащи под монопола на правителството, проверка на даровете за императора, както и всички въпроси, отнасящи се до отношенията с „отвъдморския“ свят. Обикновено на този пост императорът е поставял висши чиновници или евнуси, успешно преминали съответните държавни изпити[15]. Управленията за морската търговия понякога са били оглавявани от военните губернатори (节度使), които са съвместявали длъжността с тази, на митнически инспектори (市舶使).

[14] http://baike.baidu.com/view/1552556.htm

[15] baike.baidu.com/view/648889.htm

В началото на Епохата на петте династии и десетте царства съществува длъжността командващ провинциални войски – дуджъхуейшъ (都指挥使). Тези военизирани структури са имали допълнителната задача да отговарят за морската охрана на пристанищата. Службите, управляващи морската търговия, в различно време са носели различни имена: търговска служба(回图)“хуейту“、служба по обменна търговия 回易务) „хуейиу“ или морска служба （博易务）“боиу“、търговски складове(回易库) „хуейику“、търговски пазари (博易场),,боичан. Тази традиция продължава и при следващите династии – Сун, Юан, Мин. По време на Северна (960–1127) и Южна Сун (1128–1279) заради бързото развитие на корабостроенето и навигационната техника международната морска търговия се развива с невиждани дотогава темпове. В началото на Северна Сун само в Гуанджоу, Ханджоу, Минджоу (днешно Нинбо) има Управления по морско дело (市舶司). В Цюанджоу такова е открито едва през 1087 г. Тези органи безпорно имат важна роля в развитието на международната морска търговия. През следващите династии те многократно са били разформировани, а след това отново възстановявани, което е показател за това, че във феодален Китай въпросите за морската международна търговия и връзките с чужбина са били важна и чувствителна тема в държавната политиката и тя често е била подлагана на съмнения и дори недоверие. Управленията за морска търговия 市舶司 приключват своето съществуване през 1472 г. при династията Мин, оставяйки зад себе си 386-годишна история. През 1683 г. по време на управлението на цинския император Кан Си в Цюанджоу официално се създава митническа служба.

Наред с изграждането на специализирани органи за управление и контрол на международната морска търговия през X век, вече съществуват строги правила и разпоредби по отношение на влизащите и излизащите от китайските пристанища търговски кораби. Пътуващите към Япония, Корея, Индия, о-в Рюкю, Югоизточна Азия, арабските страни търговски съдове са напускали страната само през определени пристанища. За нарушителите наказанието е конфискация на всички превозвани на кораба стоки. Преди излизане в открито море морските търговци са били длъжни да попълват документ – „удостоверение“ (公凭), подобен на днешните митнически декларации. Той съдържал информация за вида на транспортираната на кораба стока, нейното количество, списък на търговците, името на собственика на кораба, пълен списък на екипажа на кораба. Преди напускане на пристанището на кораба е била извършвана проверка от официално лице, дали написаното в декларацията съответства на реалната ситуация. При откриване на нередности стоката е била изцяло конфискувана. При влизане в пристанището полицейски чиновник (съвременен граничен полицай) изпращал войници, които да държат под наблюдение кораба с цел избягване случаи на контрабанда или отклоняване от плащане на мита и такси. Официален държавен служител извършвал оглед на кораба.

Управленията за морска търговия са имали задължението да бъдат в постоянна връзка със съдебната власт и да оказват активна подкрепа при определяне наказанията на чуждестранни търговци, нарушили разпоредбите. В случай че след произнасяне на присъдата са постъпвали възражения, управленията са имали властта сами да разглеждат жалбата. Това е още едно доказателство за важната роля и широки пълномощия на тези органи в цялостната външнотърговска политика на феодален Китай. В случай на смърт на чуждестранен предприемач в Китай управленията за морска търговия са имали правото да съхраняват имуществото му и да се разпореждат с него както намерят за добре, без посредничеството на съдебните власти.

Както се вижда от изложеното по-горе, традицията за последователно изграждане на специализирани органи за управление и контрол на международната морска търговия, водеща началото си още от времето на династия Тан, както и създаването на стройна система от правила и разпоредби за тази дейност във феодален Китай са здравата основа, върху която през следващите векове системата за морска търговия се усъвършенства и развива непрекъснато. Съвременната търговска и финансова столица на Китай – мегаполисът Шанхай, е горд наследник на тази вековна традиция.

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THE ROLE OF TOURISM IN CHINESE HISTORY EDUCATION

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Abstract

History education is crucial for every nation, as it may help to create the image of the nation. In addition to a glorious past, victories, and heroes, the nation's martyrdom is also needed. Building a national historical narrative is not an easy process. In the Chinese historiography "century of humiliation" can be considered as traumatic. The completion of this period came in three stages. Patriotic education was widely introduced in the PRC in the late eighties, and the Chinese museums play an important role in it. The aims of those institutions include: presentation of the richness of Chinese culture, confirmation of the longevity of the Chinese nation, demonstration the unity of the Chinese nation, sharing the national trauma, reminding of the former national humiliation, and proving the rise of China after the century of humiliation under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

Keywords: nationalism, patriotism, history, education

In the process of constructing or reconstructing a nation, historians' role may be associated with some political objectives, and they may be seen as undertaking a patriotic mission. In most cases, they are not expected to present facts impartially, but to write a history based on properly selected and interpreted facts, which should lead to the awakening of patriotism. History education is crucial for the nation itself, as it may help to create the image of the nation, as desired by its elites. But, as Ernest Renan wrote more than one hundred years ago, national history cannot be just a string of successes. In addition to victories, the nation cannot exist without martyrdom (Renan 1994: 17-18). Common experience of trauma connects members of the nation and gives them a sense of participation in a common fate. The tragic moments are especially valuable for national historiography, if they are followed by national revival, and may emphasize a heroic past of the nation. Beside martyrdom there are more elements in history that are highlighted in the educational process, for instance founding of the nation, role of national heroes, and a mythical "golden age", an idealized period of the nation's glorious past. Members of the nation are also taught to forget about some elements of history and remember the selected ones. A nationalist ideology is being instilled through mass media, the educational system, administrative regulations, and so forth (Anderson 1997: 194). Various types of institutions and museums may be used for educational purposes.

A psychiatrist, Vamik D. Volkan, took a different perspective on the phenomenon of "chosen glories and chosen traumas". Those historical events are shared by the nation or an ethnic group and become a mental representation of the group, they are passed from one generation to another – and they form psychohistory. Glories are associated with victorious battles and wars, great leaders. However, the significance of these victories is not as great as national trauma, which may be related to a lost war, great loss of human life, loss of territory or independence, and a national humiliation. The weight of such historical moments depends on how people can mourn the loss, and on how severe conflict, humiliation or anger are. The trauma may be transferred to the next generations not only in a conscious way, through socialization, but also unconsciously, and so it becomes an obstacle in the process of making real peace (Volkan 1998: 19-28).

Building a national historical narrative requires several elements (Roudometof 2002: 8). The first is to find the sources reaching the past as far as possible. Then a common culture and traditions should serve as a base to building a national continuity. The next step is to identify periods of rise and fall of the nation, along with a moral assessment of actions of other nations related to the one in question. And finally, an interpretation of a historical process. All of these elements create the national history, in this case: a Chinese historical narrative.

Intermingling of Chinese national pride and complexes is shown in the text of Li Ling of Beijing University. According to him, the Chinese people present national pride, but it covers some complexes, and they dream about the power of their nation, but at the same time, they keep the mentality of a small country. But, as Li wrote, China does not have to search for new heroes or idols, because its cultural and historical resources are second to none in the world (Li 2008).

One of the tasks faced by history teachers in many countries is shaping national identity by providing the correct version of history. As a result, students should acquire national pride. Textbooks are not required to be absolutely objective – although the occurrence of historical facts is undisputed, they are subject to interpretation. Naturally, historical events stressed as particularly important for teaching history in China would be different from those in Japan. The choice of words may also be quite particular. One example in the Japanese school textbooks is the use of the word *shinko* (progress) instead of *shinryaku* (invasion) in the description of the Japanese army in Asia, which led to unanimous protests from the PRC, Taiwan and both Koreas. On the other hand, World War II in the Chinese textbooks is called "War of Chinese People's Resistance Against Japanese Aggression". The main goal of historical education in the People's Republic of China from the end of the eighties seems to be stimulating and strengthening the patriotic feelings and national identity of the young generation. Many other nations are trying to do the same, more or less successfully. President Jiang Zemin regarded the Nanking Massacre as a valuable example that can be used to maintain the popular anger and recommended printing of books about this tragedy. He considered it important to show the negative examples of people who collaborated with foreign powers or lacked national consciousness (Hughes 2006: 58).

Which elements of history can be considered as traumatic in the Chinese historiography? The term "century of humiliation" *(bainian guochi)* came into existence for the first time in 1915, when Japan forced the weak government of the Republic of China to accept the "Twenty-One Demands", which significantly limited Chinese sovereignty. It sparked anti-Japanese actions, such as demonstrations, boycotts of Japanese goods, and creating "societies of national humiliation" in China and in Chinese diaspora abroad. Demands not to forget the national humiliation appeared in Chinese newspapers, and on propaganda posters. This slogan refers to the period beginning at the start of the first Opium War, when China, once a great civilization, was relegated to the position of a "sick man of Asia". Most important events of the century of humiliation are (Callahan 2004: 199-201): the first Opium War (1839-1842), the second Opium War (1856-1860), burning the Old Summer Palace *(Yuanming Yuan)* in 1860, Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the massacres carried out by the Russians in Manchuria, occupation of Beijing in 1900-1901 by the Eight Nations Alliance, the prevalence of foreign representative offices in China, the Japanese invasion in Manchuria (from 1931), and the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945).

The century of humiliation was supposed to end with the victory of the communist revolution in 1949. During the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Mao Zedong said that "the Chinese people have triumphed over their enemies and changed the face of their country" and "the future of our nation is infinitely bright" (Mao 1949). Hence the phrase: "from humiliation to glory" *(Cong quru zouxiang Huihuang),* and the slogan "Never forget the national humiliation" *(Wuwang guochi)* repeated often in the titles of historical studies, school textbooks, and historical exhibitions. It didn't mean that the country was entirely safe, because the imperialists and reactionaries could act to the detriment of the new state (Mao, Kau, Leung 1986: 5).

The completion of the above-mentioned "national humiliation" came in three stages, as described by Jiang Zemin (Jiang 1997a). In the first stage, during the revolution of 1911, Chinese autocratic monarchy was overthrown. And although this revolution did not lead to real and effective social change, it opened up the possibilities of progress. The second step was the creation of the PRC in 1949, and the establishment of the socialist system. Finally, the third phase of erasing national humiliation is a socialist modernization, initiated by Deng Xiaoping in 1978. Nevertheless, even today in China there are collections of texts, novels, museums, parks, exhibitions, movies, TV shows, songs, and series of postage stamps commemorating the century of national humiliation. The main themes include: offence, sacrifice and apology. An apology from Japan, for instance, which so far hasn't arrived in the form required by the Chinese side. Although the Chinese have a stronger sense of national pride, certain international situations are interpreted as the result of a conscious action and as the continuation of humiliation inflicted to China by foreign powers, for instance the bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in May 1999, or the violation Chinese airspace in 2001 by an American aircraft (Wardęga 2014: 123-127) or the Japanese leaders' visits to Yasukuni shrine, where convicted war criminals are enshrined (Wardęga 2014: 162-166).

Historiography and history education focus on the strong points of the history of China as well. Those glorious historical elements are: antiquity and the richness of Chinese culture, the victory of the revolution and the contemporary economic and political successes of modern China. The period after the establishment of the PRC is considered to be the most successful. The Korean War, for instance, is presented as a victory

of the newly established Chinese state over the American superpower. There are also other successes: the Chinese atomic bomb, winning a permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council, continued economic growth, sending a man into space. In the case of the return of Hong Kong and Macau to China, Jiang Zemin pointed out that "the Chinese people have never recognized the unequal treaties imposed on them, never forgotten for a single day the humiliating state of Hong Kong under occupation and never stopped their indomitable struggle for state sovereignty and national emancipation: (Jiang 1997a). And the success of the Beijing Olympic Games is seen as the culmination of the struggle for erasing the national humiliation. The stages of getting an important place in the political, economic and military dimensions of international relations represent further erasing of the heritage of the century of humiliation.

The potential of Chinese museums

Patriotic education was widely introduced in the PRC in the late eighties. An important element of it was the usage of museum objects to develop patriotism and revolutionary tradition at all levels of schools. The importance given to historical destinations resulted in the so-called "red tourism", consisting of 150 places in thirteen provinces. The particularly important destinations were assigned the status of "patriotic education sites" *(Aiguozhuyi Jiaoyu Jidi)* for children and young people, issued by the local and central authorities.

China has over 4,500 registered museums, 4 out of 5 of which are state-owned (Wang 2015). The categorization used in this paper was created on the basis of the role played in the promotion of patriotism and history education. Some of the museums are addressed to the national visitors, while the others to both the foreigners and the Chinese. The aims include: presentation of the richness of Chinese culture, confirmation of the longevity of the Chinese nation, demonstration the unity of the Chinese nation, sharing the national trauma, reminding of the former national humiliation, and proving the rise of China after the century of humiliation under the leadership of the Communist Party of China. The various museums and exhibitions can serve different functions at the same time, so it is impossible to create a disjoint category of museum objects.

Among the museums presenting the richness of Chinese culture in the historical context, there are history museums in many Chinese cities, with the most prominent ones such as the biggest museum in the world: the National Museum in Beijing, Forbidden City, Terracotta Army in Xi'an. The Great Wall plays a special role, and its importance to the national pride of the Chinese people is not to be underestimated. The admiration of the Great Wall among Westerners appeared in the seventeenth century, when the Jesuit missionary Ferdinand Verbiest wrote that the Seven Wonders of the World together cannot match this structure. British statesman, John Barrow, claimed that the number of stones used to construct the Wall was comparable to all houses in England and Scotland (Waldron 1993: 41). The importance of the Great Wall was also noticed by Chinese leaders and philosophers. Sun Yat-sen valued its defensive function, as a protection against nomadic tribes from the north. The Great Wall appears in the first verses of the national anthem "March of the Volunteers": *Arise, we who refuse to be slaves; With our very flesh and blood let us build our new Great Wall!* When China began its opening policy, the Great Wall has become one of the most important tourist destinations. During his historic visit to China, Richard Nixon visited the Great Wall and appraised that it was built by a great nation. A huge tapestry depicting this structure was presented to the United Nations as a gift after PRC was accepted as its member in place of Taiwan. Nevertheless, in 1988 a critical tone occurred in the documentary series "River Elegy" *(Heshang)*. It identified the Great Wall as a symbol of closure, conservative, inept and cowardly defensive tactics. Nowadays, many sections of the Wall were renovated, and the number of visitors from China and abroad rises. A legend of the Great Wall as the only structure on Earth visible from space is still alive, although it is not correct. In 2007 the Great Wall was selected by the world netizens as one of the new Seven Wonders of the World, winning the largest number of votes.

The Forbidden City museum is basically an object whose purpose is to display the richness of Chinese culture – even though the most valuable collection was moved to Taiwan in 1949. At the same time, it may serve as an example of destructive Western influence in China, as during the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion, European troops plundered the imperial palace. To date, Chinese guides show traces of their bayonets on gold gilded bronze vats. A few years ago, the Western presence in the form of the Starbucks Coffee franchise (which was opened in 2000 in the museum, just behind the Hall of Preserving Harmony) aroused the indignation of many Chinese. As a result of CCTV journalist Rui Chenggang action, in 2007 over a half a million Chinese netizens signed a petition against "trampling Chinese culture". Museum authorities were forced to remove the café from the Forbidden City. Rui argued that Starbucks presence in the Forbidden

City was not a sign of globalization, but an erosion of Chinese culture. The advertisement of American Express placed on the information boards in the Forbidden City also caused an outrage, as it was combined with a slogan "Made possible by the American Express Company" (Rui 2007).

One of the most important museums showing the splendor of the Chinese civilization is the museum in Xi'an, housing the Terracotta Army, guardians of the mausoleum of Qin Shihuangdi. Achievements of Chinese civilization are contrasted with the backwardness of the West, for instance by the exposure of chrome-plated sword. The signature reads: "The chrome-plating technology was invented by the Germans and Americans in 1937 and 1950, but it had emerged in China 2,200 years before that. How amazing!"[1].

There are archeological sites that confirm the longevity of the Chinese nation, such as the Peking Man (*Homo erectus pekinensis)* excavation in Zhoukoudian, Beijing or archaeological site of Banpo village of Yangshao culture. Among Chinese archaeologists there are followers of the multiregional hypothesis, stating that *Homo erectus* originated independently in several places in Africa and China. This idea opposes the Out-of-Africa hypothesis. A Chinese paleoanthropologist Wu Rukang argues that *Homo sapiens* fossils found on the territory of China indicate the characteristics of Asians and they undoubtedly are the ancestors of modern Chinese, including ethnic minorities. It may also serve as a proof that the Chinese were already inhabiting that area 780,000 years ago (Dikötter 1997: 28-29). In the process of reconstruction of the nation, the longevity of the nation is crucial for predicting its future.

Other museums present the unity of the Chinese people, like the Beijing Chinese Ethnic Culture Park, including the Tibet Museum. The Chinese interpretation of Tibetan history is presented there, showing a long lasting relationship between the two nations. The emphasis was put on the colorfulness of the local culture, customs, religion, festivals, costumes and so on. Another way to promote tourism in Tibet, proposed by Hu Jintao in 2003, was recruiting tour guides from other regions of China. A growing number of non-Tibetan guides in Lhasa and tighter control of the tourist routes may help to ensure the transfer of the right version of history, from the point of view of the Chinese authorities.

Among the museums showing the positive image of the nation, there is a category of places which were the witnesses of revival of China after the century of humiliation, associated with the Communist Party of China, like the Museum of the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China in Shanghai, its "golden period" in Yan'an, places associated with state leaders like Mao Zedong, Sun Yat-sen, Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De. Their houses are usually equipped with simple furniture that reflect "their lifestyle of hard working and plain living:, as Mao's room at the Peasant Movement Training Institute *(Nongmin Yundong Jiangxi Suo)* in Guangzhou (2008). In Mao's family home in Shaoshan there is a description of the kitchen table as a place where "Mao Zedong had gathered the whole family together for meetings. He encouraged them to devote themselves to the cause of liberation of the Chinese people" (2008). Sun Yat-sen's villa in Shanghai, full of elegant furniture, seems to be an exception, but the description explains that the Sun family lived very modestly, spending only 2 yuan per day.

Museums may serve to strengthen desired attitudes and to shape the vision of history. Mao Zedong is the most important figure of the Communist Party of China, although in the initial period he was not the highest leader. Nevertheless, his wax figure in the Museum of the First National Congress of the CPC was positioned in the middle, with rest of the leadership carefully listening to him.

Gift shops located in all museums offer memorabilia, as in Shaoshan, Chairman Mao's figurines of different sizes, tags, stamps, books and albums, movies and music. In the temple of Mao family ancestors, special plated cards, resembling those of Guanyin in the Buddhist temples, but a picture of Mao Zedong can also be purchased and blessed.

Among the newest museum artefacts showing the erasing of the century of humiliation, there are objects found at the exhibition about the modern history of China in the National Museum in Beijing (in 2012): "Hand computer used by Chinese researchers to develop China's first atomic bomb", "A fan that was used by mathematician Hua Luogeng while calculating mathematical formulas", "China's first gold medal, won by Xu Haifeng in 1984 Olympic Games", "the pressure cooker used by Qinghai-Tibet Railway builders" or "the spaceflight diary and ball point pen used by Yang Liwei while flying in outer space".

[1] Authentic text from the museum, as are all the following.

Dark tourism's role in the history education in China

As it was mentioned above, a very particular aspect of history education is connected with national trauma. A potential of "thanatourism" or dark tourism in Chinese history and culture education is huge. Some of the places visited as a part of the dark tourism are particularly useful for history education.

What is dark tourism? Although the end of life usually is a taboo, it fascinates people and pushes for a symbolic entry into the space of death, as a reminder of last resort. There is a trend of cultural tourism which is focused on the issues related to death (Seaton 1996: 234-244). It's about traveling to places affected by death, usually in some dramatic circumstances, violent, traumatic death of many people, places marked by genocide, places of executions, crimes, disasters – natural, industrial, communication disasters, as well as cemeteries and prisons. There are also places where a single but well-known person died. Museums documenting these events and memorials dedicated to the victims may be also classified as the dark tourism destinations (Tanaś 2006: 85-86). This branch of tourism is rapidly growing around the world.

Places connected with mass death, especially dramatic, will be particularly useful for the patriotic education, especially connected with genocide, like German Nazi camps in Auschwitz and Birkenau, the Killing Fields and Tuol Sleng prison in Cambodia. In China, the most important place commemorating the mass crimes against the Chinese nation is the Memorial for Compatriots killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression[2] *(Qin Hua Yunan Datusha Rijun Nanjing Tongbao Jinianguan)*. Expansion of the site in 2007, just before the 70th anniversary, was worth 33 million USD. It commemorates 300,000 victims murdered by the Japanese troops in the Chinese capital city at the turn of 1937. Two contrasting elements can be found in that place. The first one is a contrast of the old miseries and present well-being – according to Chinese proverb: 忆苦思甜 (yi ku si tian): you need to remember the former misery, to be able to think about the happiness of the present. The second contrast is "they" and "us" – where "they", the Japanese, are portrayed as cruel and immoral. Martyrdom is presented both in symbolic form, like many sculptures, carvings, footprints of survivors, as well as in the form of skulls and skeletons of victims, torture tools, pictures of raped women. The bestiality is shown by documentation of murders carried out on children, women and senior citizens, or the famous contest between two Japanese Army officers over who could kill a 100 people with a sword first. It is all being confirmed by the Chinese and the Westerners, witnesses of those events. The emphasis is also put on the Japanese attempts to hide the truth – both during the war and today. It is also interesting that similar symbolic means are used to visualize the tragedy of the Japanese people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as the victims in both places were mostly civilians. There are the representations of mothers protecting their children and the peace bells. Young Japanese are visiting those Peace Memorials with hand-made chains of 1000 paper origami cranes, a call for peace and a reminder of Sadako Sasaki, a young victim of radiation sickness.

As it is stated in Nanjing (in Chinese, English and Japanese language), the place does not only serve the purpose of patriotic education of the Chinese people, but also the peaceful communication with other nations. In 2014, China nominated the "Nanjing Massacre" to be registered at the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Memory of the World Programme.

There are museums dedicated to commemoration, staging, storage of murder weapons and other artifacts related to the war with Japan, and they also may support education. For example, Beijing's Museum of the War of Chinese People's Resistance Against Japanese Aggression *(Zhongguo Renmin Kang-Ri Zhanzheng Jinianguan)* at the Marco Polo Bridge is suited only for the guests from inside China, as the exhibits and captions are provided only in Chinese. The Military Museum of the Chinese People's Revolution *(Zhongguo Renmin Geming Jinshi Bowuguan)* presents the history of the People's Liberation Army and most of the visitors are Chinese, including many schoolchildren. "Two stones with the bloodstains of Zhang Zizhong, Commander of the 33rd Army Group, who laid his life for the country in the Battle of Zaoyang and Yichang, Hubei, in May 1940" (The Military Museum, 2008) or "sheds of the cotton uniform worn by Chinese People's Volunteer Army soldier Qiu Shaoyun when he laid down his life" (National Museum in Beijing, 2012) may serve as examples of the patriotic message in that location. The dedication of the soldiers and the support of the people are strongly accented, using exhibits like "cotton jacket given to a wounded soldier by a Red Army political instructor during the Long March" or "tools ordinary people used to make shoes for PLA soldiers" (The Military Museum, 2008). The 9.18 (Mukden) Incident Exhibition Museum at Shenyang *(Jiuyiba Lishi Bowuguan),* and Japanese Invading Army Troops Unit 731 Museum

[2] Its website: http://www.nj1937.org/ is available in Chinese, English and Japanese versions.

(Qin Hua Rijun Diqisanyao Budui Jiuzhi) at Harbin commemorate the Japanese crimes against the Chinese nation in Manchuria.

In China, we can also find the historic sites presenting the humiliation experienced by the Chinese from Western powers, like the Nanjing Treaty Historical Exhibition Museum or the remains of the Old Summer Palace in Beijing. The ruins of the palace, looted and burned by the British and French troops, prove the barbarity of the invaders, shown particularly by the fact that they have destroyed the palace build in a western architecture style. The information describing the object states that Yuanming Yuan ruins "continued to stay there for over a century, reminding people of the national humiliation". Another example of a museum reminding of the humiliation is the Nanjing Treaty Historical Exhibition Museum in Jinghai Temple in Nanjing, where China's first unequal treaty was discussed in 1842. In many other museums there are exhibits showing the evidence of the cruelty of European invaders, for instance artifacts such as handcuffs used in international districts on Chinese workers (The Military Museum in Beijing, 2008) or pictures of the Chinese starving in Shanghai (Museum of the First National Congress of the Communist Party of China, 2008). On the other hand, it shows that Europeans lacked culture and at the same time admired Chinese civilization – for instance one pagoda in Nanijng was described as: "The big appreciating tower in the southern of Nanjing was one of the wonders during the mid-ancient era of the world. The intruder went up to the top of the tower, drawing the map of whole of Nanjing city and stole several colored glaze bricks" (2008).

Places affected by natural disasters are also within the scope of interest of dark tourism, for instance the site of the 2008 Sichuan earthquake, which killed at least 70,000 people. The Beichuan Earthquake Museum *(5.12. Beichuan Guojia Dizhen Yizhi Bowuguan)* was opened to commemorate the tragedy. Some of the destroyed buildings were left as a commemoration – for example a primary school in Yingxiu or old Beichuan ruins.

The development of dark tourism raises questions related to its ethical dimension. Those tourist destinations may serve as places of death contemplation and searching for a sense of human existence. Dark tourism may as well serve as an educational tool, helping to disseminate knowledge about the tragedies that have affected humankind. The memory of past tragedies may prevent their re-occurrence. Homage to the victims can help develop not only pacifist attitudes, but also patriotism, or nationalism, and strengthen national identities. In China, the importance of memorial sites has increased during the last 25 years.

It remains an open question whether the result of such education will be chauvinism, nationalism or the quest for peace. There is some hope, like in symbolic origami cranes, popular in Hiroshima and Nagasaki – as you may see them left by the Japanese students in the Memorial for Compatriots killed in the Nanjing Massacre by Japanese Forces of Aggression in Nanjing.

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CHINESE FRIENDS OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE IN THE "KROKODIL" MAGAZINE (1922–1949)

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Abstract

The official press in the Soviet Union, of which the Krokodil *magazine was an important part, closely followed the events taking place in China. Political cartoons and editorial materials published by* Krokodil *from its first issues in 1922 until the foundation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 provide abundant resources for a researcher of Sino-Soviet relations. The stereotypic image of the positively depicted Chinese people became a cliché of "Chinese friends", and the purpose of this article is to observe the evolution of this trend in its correlation to the historic events of the first half of the 20th century.*

Keywords: *Krokodil* magazine, Sino-Soviet relations, friends of Soviet Union, political cartoon, Communist propaganda

One of the main trends of Soviet news in Stalin's time was to show the Communist Party as a leading force in human history (Lenoe 2004: 249). Chinese events were an essential part of this picture, seen as yet another front of class struggle against capitalism and imperialism. While showing the progress of liberation in China, Soviet propaganda included rich imagery of Chinese "friends" and "foes" of the Soviet people. These images were naturally integrated into the grotesque world of the central satirical magazine, *Krokodil*.

Political cartoons published by *Krokodil* during the Soviet time deserve close attention from historians for several reasons. First, they reflect the events which Soviet leaders deemed important; thus by analyzing the frequency and the tone of the magazine's references to the overall situation, we can judge what aspects of internal and international policies the government chose to show to its people and which matters were left in the shadows. Second, the semiotic system of cartoons can be used to study the processes going on in mass consciousness, such as the degree of militarized thinking, inclination to see friends or opponents in the other nations and states, flexibility of self-image. Undoubtedly, *Krokodil*'s pictures and articles depended on the sympathies and visions of their authors and editors; but although in the 1920s the magazine could allow some freedom of speech, by the 1930s it became the sole central satirical periodical of the Soviet Union printed by the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik)'s Central Committee's publishing house *Pravda*, which meant that the magazine inevitably became part of the official propaganda machine. This makes *Krokodil*'s material a highly informative object for studying the fully authorized political discourse in a somewhat less formal environment of caricature and feuilleton. The number of magazine issues varying between 100,000 and 300,000 per time and its popularity in the period discussed being very high, the magazine was certainly very influential among the majority of the Soviet people.

Pic. 1. Ivan Malutin. Sinicized Ioffe (Krokodil, 1922-4: 16)

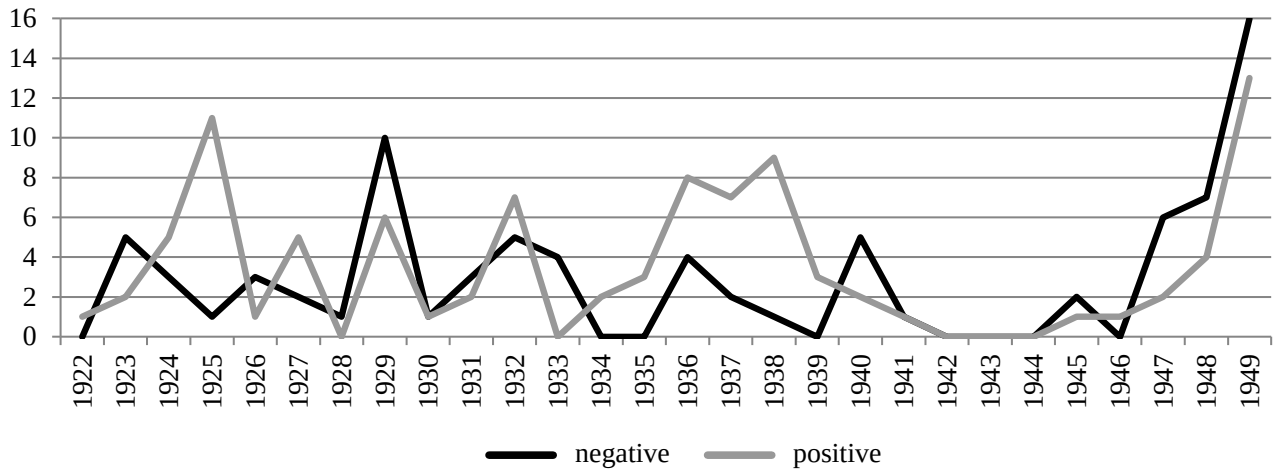
China was first mentioned in one of *Krokodil*'s earliest issues: the year 1922 saw Soviet diplomat Adolf Ioffe appointed Russian representative in China, which prompted Ivan Malutin, one of the cartoonists, to depict Ioffe in a "Sinicized" shape – that is to say, wearing ostensibly Chinese clothes and with *Krokodil*'s emblem made to look more or less like a Chinese dragon in the background (Krokodil 1922-4: 16; pic. 1). Later on, Moscow's constant concern with the situation in China was paralleled by *Krokodil*'s publications; the period from the magazine's first is-

sue to the foundation of the People's Republic of China (1922–1949) produced more than 210 pictorial and textual references to Chinese chronicle, and this large corpus provides sufficient basis for a detailed analysis.

These publications are straightforwardly divided into two large groups through the prism of the binary opposition of "good" and "bad", since in the majority of cases both cartoons and articles contain evident positive or negative estimation of the people or events shown. Such a division was natural for the purposes of official propaganda, which applied mechanisms of stereotyping easily observed in the journalists' works. The objective of this article is the analysis of the positive images, the emblematic "Chinese friends of the Soviet people". The article is more inclined towards setting the historic frame for the image rather than extracting all peculiar linguistic and semiotic elements used by the magazine to create it. I will first track the frequency of Chinese events being shown from a positive angle in correlation to the opposing negative line and from that I will outline the evolution of the "friends" image in its connection to the course of events and the targets of Soviet politics. The notion of "friends" here includes the imagery of "class allies" (workers, peasants, low-rank soldiers), Chinese communists, victims of militarists or imperialists and other fighters for the liberation of China and against the common enemy, those who are created to arouse compassion and sympathy. Such positive characters are further strengthened by juxtaposing them to the negative figures, among whom the "internal enemies" (such as warlords, Chiang Kai-shek, collaborationists, etc.) and out-of-the-borders antagonists (world capitalists, Japanese aggressors, Western counter-revolutionaries). Chart 1, constructed by counting the amount of *Krokodil*'s pictorial and textual references to the Chinese matters per year (based on the collection of *Krokodil* at the Periodicals stock of the National Library of Russia), shows the quantitative correlation between "good" and "bad" characters in the Chinese storyline of the first three decades of the magazine's existence (the chart only includes "internal enemies" into the category of "bad" characters).

As can be seen from the fluctuations of the two lines, both groups actively appeared all through the period (with the only exception being 1942–1944, when the magazine was wholly devoted to the needs of European fronts of the Second World war). It must be noted that the chart does not show the total number of the cartoons and texts, because one and the same item is often counted twice, as both positive and negative characters appear in it, but the fluctuations of lines rather show the variations in frequency of each trend. This, along with qualitative analysis, can be used to make conclusions about the major changes in Soviet official discourse on China.

Graph 1. Chinese people and events as shown in the Krokodil *magazine (1922–1949)*



The lighter line (positive images) rises noticeably in 1925, 1936–1939 and in the late 1940s. It would seem that these rises respectively coincide with the beginning of the revolutionary aspirations of 1925 (the year crucial for both Nationalist (Guomindang) and Communist parties of China), the anti-Japanese struggle of the Chinese people and finally the end of the Civil war by 1949. However, when studied closely, the material suggests a different perspective.

The period prior to 1925 was the time when the Soviet Union was anticipating revolution from the East, be it China or Japan, having been disappointed by the proletarian movement in Europe. Therefore, "Chinese

Pic. 2. Ivan Malutin. By the straight path (Krokodil, 1922-5: 5)

friends" appear as pupils searching for the right "path" with Soviet people as advisers and examples; such are the cartoons by Ivan Malutin "By the straight path" (Krokodil 1922-5: 5; Pic. 2) and by Julius Ganf "At the Great Wall" (Krokodil 1925-5: 2). Simultaneously, the metaphor of "path" matches the more pragmatic question of the Chinese Eastern railway, which became one of the key matters in Sino-Soviet negotiations in the 1920s (Kurdjukov 1959: 53, 94–98, 109–110, 112, 126, etc.). This tendency was not left unattended by the *Krokodil*. It is important to note that signing the agreement on the railway exploitation in 1924 was presented not only as a success in bilateral relations, but also as a triumphant stroke against the world's bourgeois-capitalist reaction (e.g. see Konstantin Eliseev's cartoon "Soft for one, hard for another" (Krokodil 1924-18: 1). The common path of two fraternal peoples according to *Krokodil*'s vision was in the common struggle against imperialists. Later, the same metaphor grew into another shape, becoming a sign of "October's shining path" in the Chinese storyline by the late 1940s; for example, there are Boris Efimov's and Vitaliy Gorjaev's cartoons in the October issue of the magazine (Krokodil 1949-30: 1, 16; pic. 3). That was part of the general evolution of "Chinese friends" imagery.

Pic. 3. Boris Efimov. October's shining path (Krokodil, 1949-30: 1)

Along with the "pupil – teacher" and "common path" ideas, there was another concept essential to unfolding the Chinese story in *Krokodil*: that was the "awakening" of the Chinese and the notion of help from the Soviet side. In the 1920s, the Soviet government instigated a movement in support of the suffering Chinese people under the motto "Hands off China!", with the homonymous society working to promote the ideas (Kurdjukov 1959: 16; Titarenko 2008: 39). *Krokodil* responded with several cartoons and articles (Krokodil 1924-17: 12; Krokodil 1925-2: 13). However, by the end of the 1920s the motto lost its appeal, turning into an ironic reference to narrow-mindedness and hypocrisy (Krokodil 1925-35: 7; Krokodil 1929-39: 3). At that time the first priority was given to the Sino-Soviet conflict around the Chinese Eastern railway, which was shown to be the fault of either Chiang Kai-shek personally or "Chinese generals" as a whole (Krokodil 1929-28: 6, 7; Krokodil 1929-29: 2, 3; Krokodil 1929-30: 1). But even when portraying the enemies, the magazine was eager to show that there are allies in Chinese society: whereas the enemies held power, the common citizens still deserved sympathy. An example for this can be found in one of July's issues, in a poem signed "Mikasso", where a "Feng" and a "Chiang" having a fight are both agents of Britain and France, whereas a common Chinese guy is up to his neck in ensuing troubles (Krokodil 1929-28: 7).

It is also worth mentioning that when depicting the Sino-Soviet conflict of 1929, *Krokodil* published unfriendly foreign cartoons along with its own, with necessary commentaries stating that the "bourgeois press" is showing the Bolsheviks as "cast-iron monsters wearing leather coats" (Krokodil 1929-35: 5). Thus, the magazine emphasized the idea that the West was afraid of the USSR and hoped to use Chinese warlords to destabilize the Soviet state. Such "quotations" from foreign media with a revealing follow-up by Soviet reporters were a widespread phenomenon in Soviet newspapers, and *Krokodil* adapted the mechanism to its visual means. The same instrument was later used by the magazine to produce a more straightforward positive image: in 1949–1950 it quoted Chinese *manhua* cartoons concerning the Civil, or, as the magazine called it, the "liberating" war (e.g., Krokodil 1949-7: 3; Krokodil 1950-27: 8–9). This was part of a wider discourse showing that China was following Soviet's lead.

Pic. 4. Konstantin Rotov. Samurai flies (Krokodil, 1938-13: 1)

The Japanese attack in China in the 1930s gave a new impetus to the evolution of "Chinese friends" in *Krokodil*. It should be observed that the dark (negative image) line for the period in Graph 1 goes lower than the light line, which can be explained by noticing the contents of cartoons: though the internal enemies do appear a lot (mostly the collaborationist governments and passive central administration), it is the images of suffering people, defenseless villagers and dead soldiers that dominate the horizon. Typically, "friends" here are lacking active impulse, they are mostly weak or utterly helpless – armed forces' or partisans' images are sparse. One of the examples of portraying such passive resistance is a drawing by Konstantin Rotov titled "Samurai flies": the insects wearing Japanese uniform are flying towards adhesive paper with a map of China depicted on it. It looks as if the Japanese "flies" are destroyed not by the strength of their opponent but by the force of circumstances, China being too vast and Japan being too shortsighted and therefore getting "stuck" on the Chinese adhesive paper, as the caption states (Krokodil 1938-13: 1; pic. 4). A similar allegory was used by Julius Ganf in a cartoon named "Japanese bear at Chinese bee-garden": a silly-looking bear with bits of Japanese uniform on is trying to get into bee-houses with Chinese-shaped rooftops (Krokodil 1938-7: 16; pic. 5). "Chinese" bees are multiple and stand some chance of winning over the intruder, but they are deprived of humanity and therefore do not inspire compassion.

Pic. 5. Julius Ganf. Japanese bear at Chinese bee-garden (Krokodil, 1938-7: 16)

The true sympathy for the Chinese struggle rang later, when the key antagonist of the Chinese people was re-embodied into "reactionary" Guomindang government headed by Chiang Kai-shek. The image of "friends" obtained some principally new traits at that time, having evolved from "pupils" and "lost" peasants of the 1920s through "defenseless civilians" of the 1930s to "liberators of people" in the late 1940s. These new "friends" threw off the weight of foreign and internal reactionaries, with Soviet soldiers approvingly smiling in the background and Chinese people gratefully meeting the People's Liberation army (PLA). Chinese rickshaws refused to carry imperialists, workers drove away capitalists, peasants were freed from their debts to evil landlords by the PLA (Krokodil 1945-30: 8; Krokodil 1949-5: 12; Krokodil 1949-7: 3; Krokodil 1950-9: 3). The same time span saw a rapid growth of "enemy" line (see Graph 1), since one of *Krokodil*'s tasks of the moment was to prepare the soil of public understanding for the diplomatic switch from supporting the Republic of China to recognizing the People's Republic headed by Mao Zedong. Inefficiency, treachery and corruption of the Guomindang government, its lack of agency and social support were all called upon to legitimize Moscow's change of allegiance. Mikhail Cheremnykh's cartoon "New constellation in the peaceful sky" brought the finishing touch to the tendency, when a happy PLA soldier holding a shining red flag appeared on the front page of October's issue of *Krokodil* in 1949 (Krokodil 1949-29: 1; pic. 6).

Pic. 6. Mikhail Cheremnykh. New constellation in the peaceful sky (Krokodil, 1949-29: 1)

As the People's Republic of China was founded, "Chinese friends" in *Krokodil*'s publications grew more vivid and supportive of Soviet policies, since China became a key ally of the USSR for some time. The victory of the Chinese people brought new inspiration to the political discourse of Soviet media.

In the first three decades of its existence, *Krokodil* provided response to the majority of events in China. At the same time, some episodes were avoided: such is the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, when, unlike the central newspapers, *Krokodil* did not publish a single article or portrait on the sad occasion. While this can be discarded as a non-satirical case, somewhat more complicated is the question of why *Krokodil* never mentioned the Chinese Communist Party. The communists are sometimes mentioned as activists, but the Party as an organized body is avoided, with the only structure referred to being PLA (Krokodil 1948-20: 3). The two probable explanations are, first, the ambiguity of diplomatic and political standing of both Guomindang and the Communist party throughout the period at hand, and, second, the intention to show the liberation of China as a result of Soviet inspiration and ideological leadership. Consequently, it made sense in not naming the Communist party per se, but rather alluding to wide social masses on the move. This also brings us to the next consideration, that of the typical tendency of naming, or personifying, enemies along with depersonalizing friends. The allies were shown as collective categories like proletariat, warriors, comrades, whereas antagonists were to be known by name; thus we find plainly written Zhang Zuolin, Pu Yi, Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Jingwei and others at different junctures of Chinese discourse in the magazine. But among friends almost no names were mentioned. Mao Zedong being one of the few examples that only appeared in 1950, which is beyond the span discussed here, and even in that case Mao was referred to in one of the quotations from "stories told by Chinese students" (Krokodil 1950-27: 8). *Krokodil*'s editors preferred not to give names to the "Chinese friends" taking into consideration the overall concept of "satirical magazine", but not less important was the uncertainty of things in China, as the chaotic 1920s were well remembered by those who had to swiftly readjust yesterday's "friends"' into today's "foes".

The evolution of the imagery of "Chinese friends" in the magazine through 1922–1949 underscores the changes in the Soviet government's international goals: from seeing China as a soil for revolution to supporting a fraternal people in its fight against the common enemies, to regarding it as an ideological ally and follower in world affairs. Simultaneously, *Krokodil*'s general discourse on China was affected by fairly practical matters, e.g. questions of Chinese Eastern railway exploitation, the intention to mobilize the Soviet people for further struggle against external enemies, the need to legitimize the Soviet government's international politics. Application of recognizable metaphors ("path", "awakening"'), symbols (waving flags, workers' fists, spilled blood) and stereotypes (common enemy, revolutionary struggle) allowed to extrapolate Soviet experience onto "Chinese friends" in the minds of *Krokodil*'s readers, which produced a clear, albeit inexact, vision of Chinese events. The magazine's informal style contributed to the easy perception of this view, so it is possible to conclude that by the end of the 1940s, "Chinese friends" became quite a familiar cliché in the mass consciousness of the Soviet people, being adjustable to the needs of the official discourse.

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THE SILK ROAD AND THE BOOK TRADE: EXCHANGE OF PERSIAN LEXICOGRAPHICAL PRODUCTION BETWEEN THE OTTOMAN, SAFAVID AND MUGHAL EMPIRES IN THE 17TH CENTURY

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Abstract

The object of this article is the book trade, in particular the exchange of lexicographical production, between the Ottoman, Safavid and Mughal Empires in the 17th century via a network of land and maritime routes, a constituent part of the Great Silk Road.

Keywords: Silk Road, book trade, Persian lexicographical production, Borhan-e qate, farhang.

Introduction

The network of land and sea routes of the Great Silk Road was used from the very beginning to exchange not only materials but also spiritual culture. In India, Iran and the Ottoman Empire the most significant carrier and transmitter of spiritual culture, after the *ahl-e honar*[1], until the middle of the 19th century is the manuscript book[2].

This paper aims to present in general terms the centers of manuscript production, mostly of Persian lexicographical works, in 17th-century India, Safavid Iran and Ottoman Turkey, as well as ways and means for book exchange between these three countries.

Due to restrictions imposed by the format of this paper, I will only mention some aspects of trade with manuscripts. Primary attention is paid to the exchange of Persian lexicographical production between India, Iran and Ottoman Turkey, the latter being a recipient and final destination of this trade.

Manuscript book production

First of all I would like to touch upon the peculiarities of the manuscript book production in the 17th century in the three countries mentioned above. It consisted of several stages, which, depending on the target audience, included a number of different artists – scribes, illuminators, illustrators, bookbinders.

The works of Persian authors were copied repeatedly, and many Persian manuscripts of literary masterpieces – produced in Iran, India, Central Asia and Ottoman Turkey – such as the *Shahnameh* of Ferdowsi (525 manuscripts), *Divan* of Hafez (389 manuscripts), *Bostan* (138 manuscripts) and *Golestan* (323 manuscripts) of Saadi, *Mathnavi* of Rumi (373 manuscripts) (Akimushkin 2004: 139) survived till the present day.

The first stage requires an autograph, conditio sine qua non, or at least its copy.

The second stage involves several steps depending on whether it is:

1) a simple manuscript written in black and partly red ink without any decorations:

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[1] Artists.

[2] Armenian monks made printing with typesetting font in Iran for the first time in 1638 AD in New Julfa – a suburb of Isfahan, where they printed a psalter in Armenian language (Taylor 1995: 71), which is the first book ever printed in Iran while the first printed book in Farsi is *Jihadiye*, printed only in 1818 in the city of Tabriz (Shcheglova 1979: 26). However, from the early 40s to the late nineteenth century, all books and newspapers were printed lithographic (Shcheglova, 1979: 3). At the same time, lithography widely began to be used in India.

Fig. 1. Frontispiece of MS of farhang **Borhān-e qāṭeʿ** *(*Ketabkhaneh-ye Melli-ye *Iran, Tehran).*

2) an illuminated manuscript with a polychrome text frame and decorations:

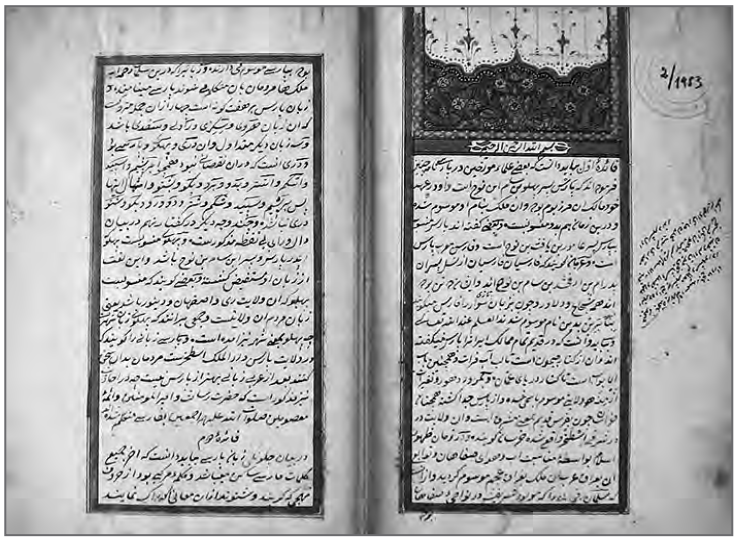

Fig. 2. Frontispiece of MS from 1757 AD of farhang[3] **Borhān-e qāṭeʿ** *(National Library, Sofia).*

3) an illuminated and illustrated manuscript, enriched with border decorations, pictures:

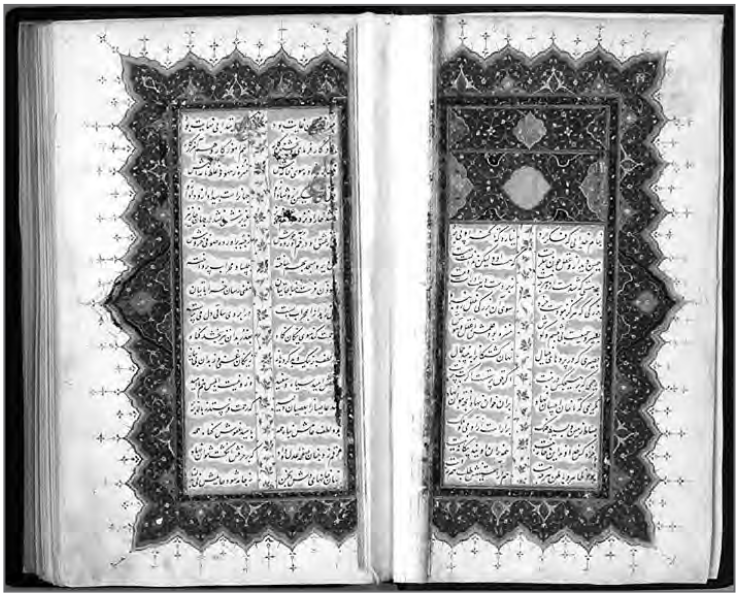

Fig. 3. Timur-nāma *of Hātefi*[4]*: Frontispiece (fol. 1b-2a) in polychrome (National Library, Sofia).*

[3] The most common type of medieval Persian monolingual dictionary.

[4] ʿAbd-Allāh Hātefi (d. 1521), fine poet from Herat, author of *Timur-nāma* (also known as *Ẓafar-nāma*), and nephew of the great classic Persian poet ʿAbd-al-Rahmān Jāmi.

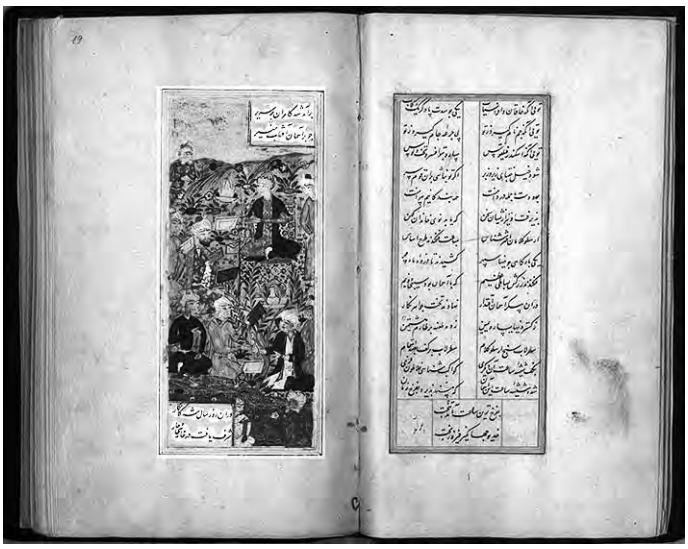

Fig. 4. Timur-nāma *of Hātefi: miniature (fol. 19a) (National Library, Sofia).*

For example, in the drafting of the Walters manuscript W.624[5], which is a deluxe copy from 1598 AD (Lahore) of the *Ḵamsa* of Amīr Ḵosrow Dehlavī (1253–1325), participated sixteen men: 1) the copyist is Moḥammad-Ḥosayn Kašmīrī known as Zarīnqalam (the golden pen); 2) the illustrations bear ascriptions to the following artists: La'l (Lal), Manuhar, Sanwalah, Farrukh, Aliquli, Dharamdas, Narsing, Jagannath, Miskina, Mukund, and Surdas Gujarati; 3) the illuminators are Husayn Naqqash, Mansur Naqqash, Khvajah Jan Shirazi, and Lutf Allah Muzahhib.

In case the author is still alive, they usually used the help of their relatives or students who knew their handwriting well to dictate to one or several copyists whilst the author constantly checks the text copy in progress. Finally, after having certified the correctness of the copy, the author validates and gives his *ijaza* which means "to make lawful" (Pedersen 1984: 31).

Many representatives of science and culture often "carryed in their heads" a dozen of works and not just their own.

Manuscript book exchange

Methods of distributing manuscripts in the 17th century between India, Iran and Turkey. Emigration and immigration of all kinds of artists.

1) Book trade.
2) Culture plundering as a result of wars.

The existence of a separate specialized book market *(sūq al-warrāqīn* or *sūq al-kutubīyīn)* in big cities like Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Herat, Samarkand, Mashad, Isfahan, Shiraz, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, Aleppo, Istanbul, etc. was a prerequisite for the development of an international manuscript book trade and specifically of Persian dictionaries.

Apart from the documentary evidence that is very scarce, another means to establish the movement of manuscripts between India, Iran and the Ottoman Empire is by library catalogues.

At that time, the transfer of the manuscripts could be done only via land or sea routes, respectively by caravans and by ships.

Very often the bearer of books was himself a poet, a writer, a literary scholar or a scribe. For example, the author of *Majmaʿ al-fors* Sorūrī visited India during the reign of Shah Jahan – and in 1626, he was already located in Lahore. His dictionary was compiled in 1599 and is dedicated to Shah ʿAbbās I (1588–1629). When he learned that a new Persian dictionary was composed in India – *Farhang-e Jahangiri* (1608), Sorūrī made an effort to acquire a copy of this *farhang*. The delivery was probably done via the trade route Delhi-Lahore-Kandahar-Kerman-Isfahan. As a result, Sorūrī wrote a second, expanded edition of his dictionary in 1619.

[5] Accessible at http://art.thewalters.org/detail/7538/five-poems-quintet-13.

The reaction to such an event as the appearance of a new dictionary was immediate – we should keep in mind that due to the huge distances and the rough terrain, the trade caravans traveled for months, ships sailed during monsoon. For example, the *farhang Borhān-e Qāṭeʿ* was composed by Moḥammad-Ḥosayn b. Ḵalaf Tabrīzī in 1651 in Deccan, and in 1652, only a year later, its copy was already brought to Iran (now in the Library of Majlis, Teheran). In the Oriental Department of the Bulgarian National Library, there are handwritten copies of two renowned Persian dictionaries: *Borhān-e Qāṭeʿ* and *Majmaʿ al-fors*.

Today there are eleven MSS of *Majmaʿ al-fors* and twenty eight MSS of *Borhān-e qāṭeʿ* available in the National Library of Iran.

I have recently examined a few Ottoman library catalogues expecting to find a bibliographic records of the Persian monolingual dictionary *Borhān-e qāṭeʿ*. In *Defter-i Kutubkhana-yi Yeni Gami* (the library was founded in 1725) I found a record of Moḥammad-Qāsem Sorūrī's Persian monolingual dictionary *Majmaʿ al-fors* (p. 61, № 1162).

Three more manuscripts of *Borhān-e qāṭeʿ* are located in the following libraries: 1. **Konya Bölge Yazma Eserler Kütüphanesi**, Collection: Isparta Province Public Library. *Burhân-ı Katı*. Archive number: 32 Hk 640, 500 sheets, 33 lines per page, script type: nesih. Transcriber: Hasan b. Osman Trabzonî. 2. **Milli Kütüphane-Ankara**, Collection: Ankara Adnan Ötüken City Public Library. *Burhân-ı Katı*. Archive number: 06 Hk 2612, 120 sheets, 7 lines per page, script type: vowelled (mutaharrik) nesih. 3. **Kayseri Raşit Efendi Eski Eserler Kütüphanesi**. *Burhân-ı Katı*. Archive number: Râşid Efendi 1034, 420 sheets, 33 lines per page, script type: talik. Date of Publication: 1744.[6] Overall, the Ottoman library catalogues contain a few *farhang*s, bilingual and multilingual dictionaries prevail.

During the 17th century, the Indian subcontinent produces the overwhelming part of both Persian dictionaries and richly illuminated and illustrated Persian books. So the river of book trade flows mostly to the West – from the Empire of the Great Moghuls to Safavid Iran and the Ottoman Empire.

The population of many political, commercial and cultural urban centers in seventeenth-century Mughal India was as follows: Agra (1666 AD) – 800,000; Delhi (1659 AD) – 500,000; Lahore (1615 AD) – between 400,000 and 700,000; Ahmadabad (1613 AD) – between 100,000 and 200,000; Surat 100,000 in 1663 AD and 200,000 in 1700 AD (Habib 1987: 171). The city of Surat "throughout the second half of the 17th century […] served as the emporium of the trade, both inland and seaborne, and was the chief port of the Mughal Empire" (Parveen 2014: 70).

The seventeenth century was the time of greatest territorial expansion, economic and cultural prosperity of the three "gunpowder empires". Persian language in these three countries performed different functions, which determined the level of its spread and lead to different, both in volume and in genre, characteristics of Persian manuscript book production, including the lexicographical one. The analysis of the nomenclature describing the Persian dictionaries in library catalogues from Sarajevo (*Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka* was founded in 1537 AD and contains 10,561 MSS – 60% of them are Arabic, ca. 30% are Turkish, the rest are Persian and Boshniak, and none of the books is *farhang*)[7], Sofia (one manuscript of the Persian monolingual dictionary *Borhān-e qāṭeʿ* and one copy of the Persian monolingual dictionary *Majmaʿ al-fors*)[8], Istanbul (Defter-i Kutubkhana-yi Raghib Pasha. Istanbul, 1742, Defter-i Kutubkhana-yi Yeni Gami. Istanbul, n.d.), Cairo (two manuscripts of the Persian monolingual dictionary *Borhān-e qāṭeʿ*)[9] confirms this. The function of the Persian language in the Ottoman Empire was at a secondary level – it was mostly used in literature, especially in the field of poetry, while the Ottoman language was used in the court, in the state administration and in the army; Arabic was the sacred language of Muslim religion. Many of the Ottoman sultans wrote poetry in Persian, which is why so many representatives of the elite have left behind them *divan*s in Persian. Some sultans are recognized as good poets in Persian – to name just a few: Fatih Sultan Mehmet II (1451–1481), who wrote under the pen name *ʿAvni*,[10] his son Bayazid II (1481–1512) under the pen name *ʿAdni*

[6] At https://www.yazmalar.gov.tr/.

[7] Catalog Arapskih, Turskih, Perzijskih i Bosanskih rukopisa. Vol. 7, 18. London – Sarajevo, 2000, 2013.

[8] Jemshid Sayyar. Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts found of the National Library Cyril and Methodius. Sofia, 1973, № 3197.

[9] *Fihrist al Kutub al Fārisīyah wa al Jāwīyah*. Cairo, 1889.

[10] *Der Divan Sultan Mehmeds des Zweiten des Eroberers von Konstantinopel*. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1904.

(Gibb 1902: 28), Sultan Selim I Yavuz (1512–1520), whom Gibb considered a particularly gifted poet, judging by his Persian *divan*[11] *(Gibb 1902: 261), etc.*

Direct information about the trade of lexicographic products of that time is very scarce and so I will quote almost entirely a passage from *Viaggi del Pietro Della Valle il pellegrino*, in which Della Valle talks about the famous Persian dictionary *Farhang-e Sorūrī* sent to him by Padre Priore de' Carmelitani Scalzi of Isfahan: "[…] a Persian dictionary, in which a modern author, who nowadays lives in Isfahan, and is a connoisseur of the language, has collected all ancient Persian words [...] Just before my departure from Isfahan, I managed to get a copy of this book from the hand of the author himself, who entitled it, according to his surname, which is Sururi, *Furs Sururi* [...] And because he knew that I will take my exemplar to Italy [...] he took care to ensure I had a good copy (the books here are all manuscripts) and insisted, that it must be copied for me in his own house, and by the hand of his grandson, a diligent copyist, under his direct supervision and continuous editing, what makes it so valuable to me. But, when I departed from Isfahan, the copy was not finished yet, therefore I gave money for this purpose to Padre Prior de gli Scalzi and charged him to take the dictionary immediately when completed, and send it to me. I got it therefore here in Combru[12] with much to my taste, and among my other books, I will take it to Italy to the benefit of the Public."[13] (Della Valle 1677: 597–598).

In this excerpt, dated 29 November 1622, we can learn the following important information about the manuscript production, the book trade and about Sorūrī himself:

1) All books in Iran at that time were manuscripts;

2) The process of copying a book was the same as it had been in much earlier times and it is described by Pedersen as "direct transcription of the author's dictation, followed by authorization[14]…" (Pedersen 1984: 31–32).

3) Sorūrī was still in Iran, later he would spend several years in India;

4) Gombron was still called Gombron.

The main centers of manuscript book production, trade and storage at that time were:

1) In India: Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad;

2) In Iran: Shiraz, Tabriz, Isfahan, Herat;

3) In Ottoman Turkey: Istanbul, Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo, Baghdad, Basra, Konya, Sarajevo.

Trade routes for manuscript exchange in the 17th century between India, Iran and Turkey.

1) Land routes via:

a) Agra–Delhi–Lahore–Kabul–Kandahar–Qweta–Zahedan–Bam–Kerman–Isfahan.

b) Isfahan–Kashan–Teheran–Qazvin–Tabriz–Erzerum–Trabzon.

c) Isfahan–Kashan–Teheran–Qazvin–Tabriz–Erzerum–Sivas–Ankara–Bursa–Istanbul.

2) Sea routes via:

a) Surat–Bandar Abbas (Gombron)–Basra–Baghdad–Mosul–Aleppo–Alexandretta–Konya–Bursa.

b) Surat–Bandar Abbas (Gombron)–Kerman–Yazd–Isfahan.

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[11] *Barika.* Yavuz Sultan Selim'in Farisî eş'arıyle tercümeleri. Mütercimi, Şeyh Vasfi. İstanbul, Şirket-i Mürettebiyye Matbaası, 1891.

[12] Gamru and Gombron, after 1622 AD Bandar ʿAbbās (port Abbas), named in honor of Shah ʿAbbās I.

[13] The translation from Italian is mine.

[14] *Ijaza* – sanction, approval.

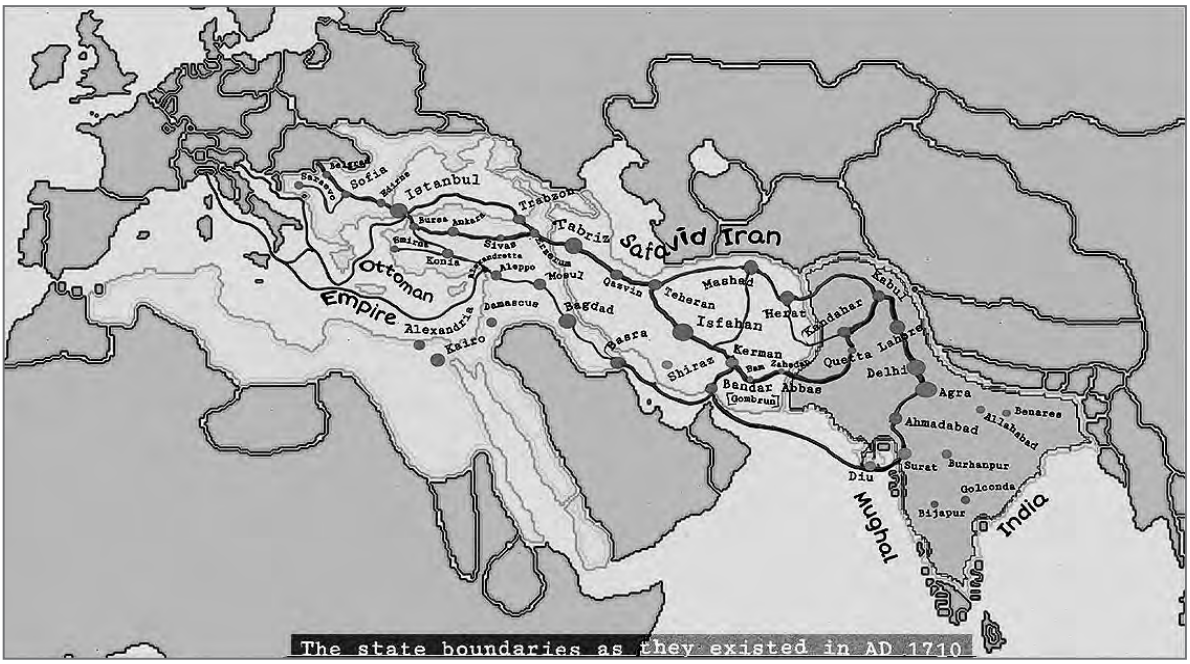

Fig. 5. The main cities and trade routes between India, Iran and Ottoman Turkey in the late 17th century.[15]

During the mid-seventeenth century, the Armenians from New Julfa made a successful vast trade network which covered India, Iran, Ottoman Turkey and beyond. Key points of their trade network in the Middle East were "Basra and Baghdad first, as gates of the Ottoman Empire. At the entry of the Persian Gulf: Hormuz and Bandar Abbas. Agra, where there was already a church in 1567 (which would be rebuilt in 1636) and an Armenian caravanserai; further north, Delhi and Lahore; in the northwest, Diu, Cambay, and Bombay" (Tracy 1990: 272).

After Abbas the Great won the Persian-Portuguese war in 1622 AD, Ormuz lost his importance as a first rate port in Persian Gulf and thereafter all maritime trade between India, Iran and Ottoman Turkey passed mostly by Bandar Abbas in Iran and Basra in the Ottoman Empire.

As for the land route via Agra–Delhi–Lahore–Kabul, it was a constituent part of the Great Silk Road from its very beginning and is known as *Shāhrāh-e aʿzam* (King's main road).

Conclusion

During the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512), the famous legist Muayed-Zadeh Abd ur-Rahman Çelebi founded the first private library with a vast amount of 7,000 books (Gibb 1902: 31). The study of the library catalogues allows us to delineate the Western boundary of dissemination of the Persian monolingual dictionary *(farhang)* which reaches as far as Bulgarian lands (Vidin, Nish, Sofia, Kyustendil, Samokov, Skopje), in those days a part of the Ottoman Empire. In the catalogues of Belgrade and Sarajevo, there is not a single Persian monolingual dictionary. This can be explained by the fact that in the 17th century, Rumelia was close to the heart of the empire – the capital city of Istanbul – and was its hinterland, while Belgrade and Sarajevo were in the periphery of the Ottoman empire.

[15] The map is mine.

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КИТАЙ В КОНТЕКСТА НА ВЪНШНОПОЛИТИЧЕСКИТЕ ВЗАИМООТНОШЕНИЯ НА ЯПОНИЯ ПРЕЗ ПЕРИОДА *МЕЙДЖИ* (1868–1912)

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CHINA IN THE CONTEXT OF JAPAN'S FOREIGN POLICY RELATIONS DURING THE MEIJI PERIOD (1868–1912)

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Abstract:

The First Opium War ended with the signing of the Nanking Treaty (1842), which is considered to be the first of the unfair treaties signed between the Western countries and China, Japan (Ansei treaties, 1858), and Korea.

With the beginning of the Meiji Restoration (1868), the new governors of Japan implemented a foreign policy dedicated to protecting the country's sovereignty and achieving equal status with European countries.

The foreign policy of the new ruling circles in Japan corresponds to the policy of "the powers that be" – in the era of colonial conquest, aggression was the only way to gain respect. Japan was aiming at neighboring territories (Korea, the Ryukyu Kingdom), considered by China vassal states. This situation inevitably led to a conflict between the two countries and eventually escalated to the First Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). Japan won the war and not only realized territorial gains and financial benefits, but also took part in China's partition along with other powers such as Great Britain, France, Germany, and Russia.

By the end of the 19th century, the main task of the foreign policy – cancelation of the unfair treaties – was solved. Japan successfully changed its position from an object into a subject of international policy. China, on the other habd, became a colony-like state after being divided into spheres of influence.

Keywords: Sino-Japanese Relations, Meiji Foreign policy, Japan as superpower

В резултат на трите опиумни войни Великобритания, Франция и САЩ подписват с Китай неравноправни договори, които въвличат Цинската империя в глобалните процеси на колониално разпределяне на света. Съдбата му е последвана от Япония – принудена е първо да се „отвори” (мисията Пери, 1854), а след това и да сключи неравноправни договори със САЩ, Холандия, Русия, Великобритания и Франция (1858). С подписването на тези договори Китай и Япония са включени в световния капиталистически пазар, но са лишени от митническа автономия, а с клаузата за екстериториалност им е отреден статут на „нецивилизовани държави”. Тези събития задълбочават кризата във феодалните им общества – в Япония избухва гражданска война, която слага край на управлението на шогуната Токугава, а смяната на властта е осъществена под формата на реставрация на императорската власт, известна като *Мейджи ишин* (1868). Корея най-късно от трите ще подпише първия си неравноправен договор с чужда държава (1876) – забележителното в случая е, че той ще й бъде наложен от Япония. Така тези три далекоизточни държави, които в продължение на векове са следвали един неизменен модел на взаимоотношения, са въвлечени във водовъртежа на световните международни отношения и са принудени да се подчиняват на чужди „правила на играта”.

Новата власт в Япония е наясно, че пред страната стои потенциална опасност от загуба на суверенитет и че гаранция за запазването на независимостта й може да има само ако бъде призната за равнопоставена от Великите държави. Доказателство за такова признаване би било отмяната на неравноправните договори. Изпълнението на тази невъзможна на пръв поглед задача е предполагало провеждането на широкомащабни вътрешни реформи успоредно с решаването на неотложни външнополитически задачи: регулиране на взаимоотношенията със съседите, на въпроса за границите и за спорните територии и не на последно място – решаването на т. нар. корейски въпрос, който заема централно място в японската концепция за стратегическа сигурност. За постигането на тази цел Япония

се готви да влезе в сблъсък с Цинската империя, спрямо която Корея се намира във васално положение. Как са реагирали на това западните държави, за които Китай продължава да бъде главна прицелна точка през целия XIX век? Япония се ориентира великолепно в сложната игра на интереси между капиталистическите държави и умело „играе" с противоречията помежду им. Взаимоотношенията й с три от тях – САЩ, Русия и Великобритания – ще изиграят по-специална роля за постигането на външнополитическите й цели, а Китай ще остане неизменна част от процеса на превръщането й от обект в субект на международната политика.

Русия е единствената от Великите държави, с която Япония има обща граница. Един от изводите, направени след европейската обиколка на мисията Ивакура (1871–873), е, че във военно отношение тя може да бъде наречена силна държава, но че в циливизационен аспект отстъпва на редица европейски страни, а причината за страха, който Япония изпитва пред Руската империя, се дължи най-вече на огромната й територия[1] (Куме, 1977–1982). Руското правителство е наясно със своето изоставане в капиталистическото си развитие, както и със слабото усвояване на района на Далечния изток. Това обстоятелство е отчитано и от двете страни по време на преговорите по спорни въпроси и най-вече по въпроса за границите. Те са регулирани през 1875 г. с Договора от 7 май – първото споразумение между двете страни след Реставрацията: о. Сахалин става владение на Руската империя, а в замяна на южната му част Япония получава във владение всичките 18 острова от Курилската група[2].

Взаимоотношенията на Япония със САЩ също се подчиняват на специфични фактори. Американският капитализъм подобно на германския преживява бурно развитие. С получаването на Орегон (1846) САЩ стават тихоокеанска държава, а след войната с Мексико (1848) придобиват Калифорния. Същата година там са открити богати златни находища, което силно стимулира американската икономика, в частност тихоокеанското корабоплаване. Налице са фактори, подхранващи експанзионистичните амбиции на САЩ и нека не забравяме, че мисията Пери също е техен пряк резултат.

Третата от тази „тройка" е Великобритания. Тя е страната, на чиято подкрепа Япония разчита в най-решаващите моменти във външнополитическите си действия – особено в навечерието на войните с Китай и Русия.

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Виенската система на международни отношения, наричана още първа европейска система за колективна сигурност, прекратява своето съществуване с Кримската война (1853-1856). Това се случва скоро след „отварянето" на Япония. Почти непосредствено след Реставрацията Мейджи избухва и Френско-пруската война (1870–1871), която ускорява оформянето на противоречията между водещите капиталистически държави в три основни направления.

Първото се отнася до следвоенните френско-германски взаимоотношения. За да държи Франция в изолация, германският канцлер инициира сключването на споразумение между Германия, Русия и Австро-Унгария, известно като Съюз на трите императори (1873). За руския император участието в това споразумение е възможност да си върне част от позициите, загубени след поражението в Кримската война (1853–1856), в която Франция воюва срещу Русия на страната на Османската империя. От друга страна, твърде голямото засилване на Германия не отговаря на руските интереси, както не отговаря и на английските.

Второто направление е свързано с подялбата на земите на Османската империя. Израз на тези противоречия става Руско-турската война (1877–1878). Условията на предварителния Санстефански мирен договор (3 март 1878 г.) засилват позициите на Русия на Балканите. Това поражда противоречия с Австро-Унгария, чиито традиционни интереси в същия район са накърнени. За разрешаване на конфликта е свикан Берлинският конгрес (1878), на който германският канцлер оказва подкрепа на Австро-Унгария по повечето въпроси в ущърб на руските интереси. Мнозина изследователи смятат, че

[1] Мисията Ивакура (Iwakura shisetsudan岩倉使節団) посещава 15 страни, с които до 1871 г. Япония е установила дипломатически отношения. От 100-те свитъка на „Дневник от пътуването до САЩ и Европа" (Bei-O: kairan jikki, 米大回覧実記), написани от Куме Кунитаке (1839–1931), личен секретар на ръководителя на мисията, 5 са посветени на Русия, 9 – на Франция, 10 – на Германия, 20 – на САЩ и Англия. Произведението е публикувано през 1878 г. (подробно по въпроса виж: Ковальчук 2003: 238–255).

[2] Договорът за търговия от 1855 г. определя Курилските острови на север от о. Урун за територия на Русия, а на юг от него – на Япония, а о.Сахалин остава «неразделена територия... , както е било до този момент». Виж: Ишии Такаши 1972: 72.

именно този избор на Бисмарк предопределя обстоятелствата, поради които Германия ще се сражава на два фронта в бъдещите две световни войни (Виппер 1995: 388–389).

През октомври 1879 г. Русия е предадена още веднъж от своите съюзници: Германия и Австро-Унгария сключват таен военен сговор, към който през 1882 г. се присъединява и Италия. Така се стига до създаването на Тройния съюз – първия от двата военни блока, които ще се сражават в Първата световна война. Именно тогава е поставено началото на разделянето на Европа на враждуващи групировки. Русия излиза от Съюза на тримата императори през 1887 г. и се сближава с Франция, която се превръща в неин главен кредитор. Подписана е френско-руска конвенция, гарантираща на двете страни взаимна военна помощ в случай на нападение от страна на Германия или на нейните съюзници. Тази конвенция създава основата на бъдещия втори военен блок в Европа.

Третото направление в противоречията е свързано с надпреварата за колонии в Азия и Африка. През последната четвърт на XIX век Германия излиза на първо място по **темпове на** икономическо развитие, като изпреварва значително Англия и Франция. В същото време германските колониални територии се оказват 9,3 пъти по-малки от тези на Англия и 3,7 пъти по-малки от тези на Франция**.** Колониите по това време вече са придобили водещо значение за икономическото развитие на страните и за нарастването на техния военен потенциал. Това обстоятелство стои в основата на англо-германските противоречия. Като световен морски хегемон и водеща колониална империя в света, Великобритания е обезпокоена, когато Германия – все по-амбицирана да провокира преразпределяне на колониите в своя полза – пристъпва към създаването на мощен военен флот.

Англия продължава да бъде най-могъщата промишлена и колониална държава, която не среща сериозна конкуренция в моретата, колониите и търговията и е сравнително неуязвима на своите острови. Това й позволява да се придържа към политиката на „блестяща изолация" дотогава, докато за нея е по-изгодно да играе с противоречията между блоковете в Европа, отколкото да членува в тях. В епохата на империализма съотношението на силите започва да се променя в неин ущърб и позициите й на икономически лидер се разклащат – Лондон се оглежда за надеждни съюзници срещу Германия.

Англия подписва англо-френското Споразумение за разделянето на Африка на сфери на влияние, наречено „Entente cordiale", или „Сърдечно съгласие"(1904). Русия се нуждае да намери своето място в европейското противопоставяне. Това се случва през 1907 г., когато с посредничеството на Франция, Англия и Русия подписват Споразумение за разделянето на Близкия изток на сфери на влияние. Този документ завършва оформянето на втория военнополитически блок, Антантата. Така, в противовес на Тройния съюз, е създадено Тройното съглашение. Мнозина по онова време са вярвали, че постигнатите тесни икономически връзки между европейските страни са достатъчна пречка пред избухването на война, а наличието на двата военни блока е оценявано като начин за поддържане на мира, макар и с военни средства.

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Нека разгледаме политическата карта на Далечния изток от началото на периода Мейджи от гледна точка на японската стратегическа безопасност. Става очевидно, че Корея, която поради своето местоположение и близост векове наред е била посредник между островната държава и китайската цивилизация, е единствена опция за „буферна зона" между Япония и двете могъщи империи – Китай и Русия. Японските лидери разбират, че Цинската династия е силно отслабена от вътрешните и външните конфликти и търсят подходящ момент, за да заемат мястото на Китай на Корейския полуостров. Освен от стопански съображения – експлоатиране на природните ресурси и реализиране на японска продукция на корейския пазар – за Япония е било важно да не допусне също и преобладаващо европейско присъствие на една територия, отстояща на едва 190 км от японските брегове. По същата логика стъпването й на полуострова открива пред Япония възможности за проникване навътре в континента към Китай и Русия.

През 1873 г. „корейският въпрос" става причина за правителствена криза в Япония. Тогава надделява мнението, че страната още не е готова за война, в която може да се намеси Китай. През следващата 1874 г. вече е реализирана успешно японска военна експедиция срещу о.Тайван. Повод за нея дава избиването на 54 рибари от о. Миякоджима, част от архипелага Рюкю (1871) и на четирима японци (1873). Като изплаща компенсация за убитите моряци от Рюкю, Китай на практика признава

пострадалите за японски поданици и едновременно с това и суверенитета на Япония над архипелага[3]. Обявяването през 1879 г. на островите Рюкю за японска префектура не предизвиква реакция от страна на западните сили, което е равнозначно на международното им признаване за японска територия. Значението на тайванската експедиция от 1874 г. като първа проверка на модернизиращите се японски армия и флот се състои още и в това, че е един вид «опипване на почвата» – доколко Пекин е в състояние да противостои на бъдещи японски апетити за други територии, традиционно считани за васални на Китай. Резултатите от еспедицията са знак, че Япония може да пристъпи към действия по отношение на Корея.

Първата стъпка е направена със сключването на Договора от Канхуа (февр. 1876) – първия „неравноправен договор" за Корея с чужда държава. В него е включен текст, провъзгласяващ „суверенитета и пълната независимост на Корея", чиято цел е да обяви сюзеренитета на Китай над Корея за нищожен. На практика с този договор Япония „отваря" Корея по същия начин, както е била отворена самата тя преди двайсетина години. Тук е мястото да кажем, че японските усилия по придобиване на предимства на полуострова са благоприятствани от факта, че и Япония, и Корея остават донякъде извън активния интерес на западните държави, които са фокусирани в надпреварата за неизчерпаемите китайски ресурси и пазари. Това обстоятелство ще способства Токио да няма конкуренти на корейска земя в продължение на 6 години. Следващите „неравноправни договори", сключени със САЩ (1882), Англия и Германия (1883), Италия и Русия (1884) и Франция (1886), ще направят и Корея част от световния капиталистически пазар.

Следваща стъпка става подписването на Тяндзинската конвенция (1885), клауза от която дава на Япония равни с Китай права за намеса във вътрешните дела на Корея. Това ще задължи Пекин да информира Токио за решението си да изпрати войски в отговор на молба на корейското правителство за военна помощ за потушаването на мащабно народно въстание (1894). По силата на същата клауза японската страна е придобила правото също да изпрати свои войски в Корея – японското правителство не изпуска тази възможност, за да инициира война срещу Китай.

Победата над Китай в Японо-китайската война (1894–1895) става повратен момент за международното положение на Япония. По клаузите на Шимоносекския мирен договор (17 април 1895) тя получава о.Тайван, Пескадорските острови, огромна за времето си контрибуция (270 млн. кит. ляна), търговски привилегии и най-после – признаването независимостта на Корея, което на дипломатически език означава, че Китай се отказва от сюзеренните си права над полуострова. Победата над Китай служи също и като „пропуск" на Япония за право на участие наравно с Англия, Франция, Германия и Русия в неговата подялба на сфери на влияние (1898–1899). В това отношение Япония дори изпреварва САЩ[4]. Победата над Китай е и допълнителен фактор, допринасящ за отмяната на неравноправните договори на Япония с чуждите страни. Първа този „жест" извършва Великобритания, и то в навечерието на войната (16 юли 1894); Русия, Франция и САЩ правят същото скоро след подписването на Шимоносекския мирен договор (1895). И макар да е предвидено новите споразумения да влязат в сила през 1899 г., а пълен митнически имунитет Япония да получи едва през 1911 г., постигнатата отмяна на клаузата за екстериториалност е знак, че Япония е приета в семейството на „цивилизованите страни". По силата на същата логика Япония е допусната и до участие в потушаването на Ихътуанското въстание (1901), известно още като Боксьорското – японски военни част влизат в състава на 60-хилядна обединена армия на осем държави заедно с Германия, Великобритания, Франция, САЩ, Русия, Италия, и Австро-Унгария.

За да получи напълно равен статут с Великите сили и най-вече контрол над Корея, Япония се готви да кръстоса мечове с още една империя – Руската. Сблъсъкът става неизбежен също поради факта, че именно Русия лишава Япония от най-важния й трофей от войната с Китай – Ляодунския полуостров, а с това отлага стъпването й на азиатския материк[5]. След десет години Япония ще е готова да се

[3] Архипелагът Рюкю се намира в положение на двоен васалитет – спрямо японското феодално владение Сацума (след 1607 г.) и на Цински Китай. За Япония е стратегически важно да промени този статут в своя полза.

[4] САЩ водят по това време с Испания първата империалистическа война с Испания (1898) за подялба на територии. Тогава е издигната доктрината за „отворените врати и равните възможности".

[5] По инициатива на Русия, подкрепена от Германия и Франция, е предприета т.нар. „тройна интервенция", която принуждава Япония да се откаже от първоначално договорените права над Ляодунския полуостров; получените в замяна на това допълнителни 70 млн. ляна не могат да компенсират нито

изправи срещу Руската империя (1904–1905) и победата в нея ще й отвори пътя към придобиването на отнетите й предимства в Манджурия и към анексирането на Корея.

Япония отново е поощрена от Великобритания – този път в противопоставянето й срещу Русия: именно с подписването на военен съюз с Япония (1902) Англия слага край на своята политика на „блестяща изолация". Подкрепа за Япония оказват и САЩ, които на този етап също считат Русия за свой основен конкурент в района на Далечния изток. Материалните дивиденти от победата са разочароващо малки за победителя, но международният престиж, който Япония придобива, няма как да бъде надценен. Когато съвсем скоро става ясно, че Токио няма намерение да допуска проникването на английски и американски капитали в Манджурия, отношенията му с Лондон и особено с Вашингтон постепенно захладняват, а от 1907 г. насетне САЩ започват да третират Япония като свой главен конкурент в района на Тихия океан. Световната история е изпълнена с достатъчно примери, при които довчерашни съюзници стават непримирими врагове и обратно. Подобна метаморфоза претърпяват и взаимоотношения между Русия и Япония – и двете враждебно настроени към опитите за американско проникване в Китай. Десетилетието от края на Руско-японската война до Октомврийската революция е наричано «златен век» в двустранните им отношения (Молодняков 2008: 34).[6]

Заключение

Китай заема важно място във външнополитическите взаимоотношения на Япония след Реставрацията Мейджи. Китай е критерият за това, докъде е стигнала Япония в реализирането на външнополитическите си задачи, както и за промяната в мястото, което тя заема на международната сцена.

Двустранните японо-китайски отношения могат да бъдат условно разделени на два етапа – преди и след Японо-китайската война (1894–1895). Преди войната Китай е пряк участник и субект, докато след войната участва косвено и по-скоро като обект във взаимоотношенията на Япония с Великите държави.

Никоя от западните държави не възприема Япония като бъдещ конкурент, но Япония следи внимателно реакцията на Запада и констатира, че за всяко свое действие спрямо Китай и Корея е толерирана, а спрямо Русия е и подкрепяна – най-вече от Великобритания, а от определен момент нататък и от САЩ. Япония търси съюзници, каквито временно намира в тяхно лице.

Извадена насила от своята изолираност, Япония е хвърлена в непознатите за нея бурни води на международната надпревара за територии. Япония след Реставрацията Мейджи има амбицията да води активна външна политика, като компенсира своята слабост чрез точен анализ на сложната игра на интереси и противоречия между „най-силните на деня" и с точния избор на съюзници. След по-малко от 40 години от страна, непозната и изостанала, тя е постигнала отмяна на неравноправните договори и е станала равноправен играч на международната сцена. Япония се е превърнала във Велика сила.

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материалния, нито моралния ущърб, който японските интереси са понесли.

[6] Японо-руското сближаване намира своето логично продължение в последната от периода Мейджи изцяло секретна Конвенция (8 юли 1912) която подтвърждава задължението всяка от двете държави „да признава и не нарушава интересите на другата страна" по договорените „сфери на интереси" (Дипломатический словарь 1985, т. II: 497).

SECTION

哲學與宗教

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

PHILOSOPHICAL IMPLICATIONS IN THE POETRY OF EIHEI DŌGEN (1200–1253), WRITTEN IN CLASSICAL CHINESE AND CLASSICAL JAPANESE

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Abstract

The following text summarizes the results of a research of Dōgen's poetry, trying to clarify its main underlying conceptual context. Dōgen was one of the most "original"[1] Buddhist thinkers who ever lived. The tradition of writing philosophical poetry by representatives of the educated class in East Asia (and not only by them, if we take the famous contest between Huineng[2] and Shenxiu into account) is a prominent fact, which is regularly randomly interpreted from a Western point of view. This text aims at tracking the relevant philosophical intentions in Dōgen's works. Furthermore, this work also refers to those written in Classical Chinese, thus showing the similarities and differences in content and function between them and his Japanese poems (waka).

Key words: Dōgen, poetry, Buddhism, Classical Chinese, kanshi, waka, philosophy

1. The meaning of authorship in the works of Dōgen

We owe the Zen monk and prominent philosopher Eihei Dōgen the production of a vast amount of literary works – 1288 individual pieces[3] ranging from several strokes to ninety or more[4] pages. However, what is of first and foremost importance in this case is to define the nature and nuances of his various works and to enumerate the forms that have been employed without letting ourselves be misled by the routine author's *post mortem* editorial descriptions and reconsiderations. In fact he writes essays and instructions and in some cases compiles them, selects ancient kōans, and sometimes comments them, interprets excerpts from scriptures, redacts drafts of his own sermons and texts, regularly and occasionally talks and writes letters to monks, laymen and authorities (some of this content has been preserved by the hand of his closest disciple Kōun Ejō) and simultaneously co-authors[5] the following forms:

> hōgo/法語 (into-dharma-instructive words), gi/儀, shū/集 (tips and points), jishū/示衆, jōdō/上堂 (recorded spontaneous sermons or drafts, or redacted ones, sometimes rather perceived as philosophical "essays"), kōans/公案 (sometimes with comments on them which are in verse or prose), (den)ki, ki(roku), (zuimon)ki/(伝,随問,現瑞)記(録) (notes on events and/or on essential questions, notable explanations, instructor's testament, notes on wondrous events), shojō/書状 (letters: official and informal), gammon/願文(prayers), daikichimon/大吉文(festive prayers), kanjōmon/勧請文（summoning the spirits: ritual formulas and procedures）, kijōmon/起請文(vows), hyōsho/表書

[1] In terms of the so called "Western" point of view. Otherwise Dōgen's impact can be interpreted as a natural synthesis of the whole Buddhist tradition.

[2] Huineng/慧能 (638–713) was famous for his illiteracy and brilliancy in the "art of understanding" spiritual matters, showing that utmost depths and spontaneity are not always strangers. He couldn't even write his contest gatha on the wall and dictated it, but managed to show that Shenxiu (606–706) doesn't understand the *concept of mind* in Buddhism. This fairly puts the question of incompetence in the tradition (no matter how rare it appears therein). Furthermore, the spiritual quest of Dōgen began namely with being puzzled by the contradiction between the concept of "inborn enlightenment" (hongakushisō/本覚思想) and the obvious need for practice, which was not properly explained to him by contemporary authorities.

[3] This number includes all separately meaningful textual entities, unassigned as such to the different compilations they were collected in. Sometimes, though, the same piece can be counted twice, like the kōans and their comments supplied by Dōgen. In one case he acts as the authority that chooses them, and in another – as their commentator. In this case, his entire heritage consists of 1378 pieces including the 90 kōans in Eihei-kōroku without their comment.

[4] Like Shōbōgenzō-zuimonki, for instance, which is a record of his noted sayings.

[5] Only in the case of his *dharma-successor's diagram*, because he actually drew it himself, only letting his teacher "fill out" his name with four "explanatory" strokes and put his officially certifying seal.

(petitions), okugaki/奥書(postscripts), so/疏 (illuminating abstracts), rokubatsu/録跋 (elucidating postfaces), kaimyaku/戒脈 (entrusting the spiritual genealogy), shisho/嗣書(dharma successor's diagram), bosatsukaikyōjumon/菩薩戒教授文(explaining the precepts), sahō/作法(the proper way of receiving the precepts) and several genres and subgenres of poetry in Chinese: shinsan/真賛 (real tributes), jisan/自賛 (ironical self-praises), ige/遺偈 (deathbed poem), kishinge/諱辰偈 (mourning gatha), geju/偈頌 (assorted verses), juko/頌古 (praising of antique examples from kōans), shage/謝偈 (thankful gatha), ge/偈 (gatha), san/賛 (odes), and in Japanese – waka/和歌 (indigenous songs). Namely the poetry is the object of our research and the main reasons for this are two. Firstly – Dōgen's poetry is about one fourth of all individual pieces (313 items) of his intellectual heritage which points at a stable choice of a certain creative field of an "easy going synthesis"[6], able to briefly represent his ideas in context. Secondly – poetry in Japan has a specific function radically differing from its Western analogues and we should shed light on this fact. The point of this difference will be explained below.

Additionally, some crucial considerations on the nature of the Buddhist analytics presumed in this work should also be exposed. The main characteristic of the Buddhist system of notions is its coordinated discreteness[7] and its richness. Broadly, in East Asian context authorship is much more accompanied by extensive references to previous works and examples in a variety of ways than by creating independent[8] forms and content. This is mainly because of the requirement to build up an accurate system of notions with on-to-one correspondence between symbol and content (and without any superfluous nuances) enabling us to represent the content[9] of a given system of thought (like in the case of Buddhism), especially if this system is socially responsible, complex and rather empirical than speculative. Contrary to our expectations, such an approach to notions and categories leads us to the frames of the original "generative" abstractness[10] promoted by the Buddhist scholars (simultaneously practitioners) which can't be simply ignored and which

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[6] There is a statement in Shōbōgenzō-zuimonki where Dōgen dislikes poetry as a vain occupation. The explanation of this contradiction is that he didn't write this bulk of pieces at once but through a very long period of time, spontaneously creating a record about his actual, "on-spot" experience which after all might have a certain value for his disciples. The biographical scent of his verses is undeniable.

[7] The original main principle of the Buddhist metaphysics is the so cold "sarva-asti" (everything exists) so criticizing the robust and pretentious implications of the category of existence "just-certain-things-exist" as incorrect. On the contrary, if *everything* exists it is meaningless just to talk about "existence" but rather about several specific modi like "belonging to" or "prior to/in relation to" or simply about "classification of elements" and surrounding "phenomena". This entails the proper classification and analysis of the "things" at stake just like, for example, in Greek mathematics. Moreover, the mind, which explores, has its own reality which affects every aspect of our lives, directly or not. In Greek mathematics there was a problem about "confusing" incompatible languages of explanation, which, of course, led to paradoxes (see Zeno's aporiae and the Democritean cone). The Greeks discovered that continuality in mathematics produces unsolvable nonsense, unless they introduced a specific mathematical atomism apart from the physical. In such an "imaginary" discreteness every notion corresponds to certain content, which is quite typical also for Sanskrit language analysis employed in Buddhism. There is a similar atomism not only in early but also in late Buddhism, which explicitly existed in the Abhidharma texts and persisted in the metaphors of all late texts. According to us late Buddhism solves the "discreteness problem" namely through the usages of refined metaphors, which always convey the needed accent, leading to proper understanding. The so called "substantiality" problem demonstrated through the *tathāgata-garbha* concept and the obscurity of Zen's empirical *tertium non datur* are results of mixing up different notion systems. One is originally Buddhist and "atomistic", while the other is descriptive in terms of how the mind "reflects" and necessarily integrates the world.

[8] The opposition between "new" and "independent" is significant. Independence doesn't help if, for some reason, one cannot surpass what they know so far. "New" is regarding the quality of the researcher which doesn't change because of the mere fact of new production.

[9] The opposition between the "center and periphery" of every religion is interesting. If the content of some "deviant" religions pretends to refer only to "internal/related to consciousness" issues from the very beginning, all peripheral teachings could change. The idea is that such religions just *identify* their objects of research and construct a "genetic tree" of their interdependence, without involving predicates, which could characterize objects only indirectly and not always consistently.

[10] If "abstractness" is defined like "the unrestricted ability to abstain oneself" from the relevant ability of Buddhist philosophers not to attach to a given content in order to observe regularities in phenomena again and again (which means also changing the "atomism" when necessary passing through probe-and-mistake acts) must be presupposed and investigated based on the texts. It may prove fundamentally rational.

makes the system consistent on a meta-religious level, afar from the topical vanity of opinions. What is more, some Buddhist metaphors[11] can inflict damage to the universalism of religions, explicitly making Buddhism one of the non-theistic, skeptical, argument-friendly, self-critical[12] and even "non-religious" systems, preserving only a ritual, virtue-inducing subsystem correlating to the social "need" for religion. Buddhism among all analogous systems demonstrates functional and research specialization of the different schools.[13] So, most of the scholars are somehow affectively "puzzled" by the Buddhist original abstractness that may "impose" upon us serious inadequacies of interpretation. This seems to be the case at least because we tend to randomly approximate the given content of a system not related to our traditions to something assumed but actually absent in indigenous context. Subsequently some ideas and methods of Buddhism may seem illogical[14] to us (e.g. the kōans), but we may state, after a meditation, that this is a misconception. The Buddhist scriptures including the Zen ones have their own bivalence of experience, and in order to recognize it, we need to identify or at least "reveal" some part of the Buddhist "atomism" of notions and operations.

In this sense, Dōgen tries to clarify as much as possible the concepts in Buddhism[15] which somehow "intervene" not only in the lives of Japanese laymen but also in the everyday training of monks, who put forth the goal of constant maturing. Dōgen realizes that he inevitably employs kugō/口業 (the karma of words) and has no other "out-of-track" ambitions. Below we will comment the specific Buddhist content of his poetry directly in context.

2. Japanese waka and Dōgen: poetry is what I see; history is what I think.

Japanese poetry has a history since the art of writing came in from China. Waka is a very short form determined by the number of syllables used therein. The lack of space to present something more than just a few strings of one's thoughts enabled Japanese authors to develop techniques of "density" and allusion. But even in this case one unsolved problem remains: to discover something *very* significant, to which one's thought was worth and able to relate. Traditionally waka takes the functions and place of biographies and history in Western context in a reciprocal manner which means that history and biographies are lawfully and even intendedly subjective in Eastern context. The first effect of this reverse and homogenous application of genres is that no "historical" speculations in shorter forms are possible; and the second – that the role of historical account in larger prosaic forms is converted into simply introducing models of philosophy of history and philosophy of language (like in Shiji or Gukanshō), all of which implicitly state that no overall[16] historical course of things *as factual sequence* contains universal validity. So we must not be surprised that the poet Dōgen actually *represents* his own experience and doesn't *create* it in the sense of modern lyrical authorship. Furthermore, a given distortion of his own specific experience is incompatible with the traditional

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[11] Like the concept of the "Seven Buddhas", or the Zen Buddhistic "Kill Buddha". Both just dismantle Buddha himself.

[12] See the case of Mahāyana and the way it is allowed to radically "reconsider" all the ancient views in Buddhism actually reaffirming the Buddha-dharma in its own way.

[13] According to Gaosengzhuan/高僧伝, the schools' specialization begins with the "personal" abilities and specialization of their creators.

[14] The "algebra" of giving and taking in Zen mondō is widely misinterpreted. Returning "the same" to the teacher doesn't mean returning it with the same words or with some structural equivalent of them – be it affirmative or negative. Kōans in this sense are not a matter of straightforward constructivism or deconstruction. Most of the kōans praise the ability in trainees to find and to "eradicate" the fundamental line of the conversation in one act, to show "lateral" and highly integrative thinking which is considered as a successive demonstration in terms of "achievement".

[15] Dōgen had a profound literacy of a high aristocrat and knew a huge amount of Chinese lines still at an early age. Referring to the Chinese classics he may sometimes seem critical but the nature of his references is that he is concretely criticizing the "attachment to words" and the need to replace it with an "attachment" to "practice" which is supposed to result in a "non-attachment". There is a similar Buddhist critique of Daoism also found in Zongmi's Yuanrenlun/原人論, which points at the insufficiency of the ontological speculations in Daoism and the need to better point at the actual beginningless-endless, flux-like nature of every existence through the looking glass of pratitya-samutpāda.

[16] The historiography of sciences differs from history in the sense that *the traces of ability* are more fruitful than the *traces of ambition and rivalry*.

and aesthetic point of view[17]. During his whole lifetime Dōgen wrote 66 waka. As an illustration, let us cite some of his pieces in this style.

W7[18]: 詠「教外別伝」: 荒磯の波もよせぬ高岩に牡蠣も付くべき法ならばこそ。**What if not exactly dharma is like the oysters sometimes managing to stick high on the cliffs inaccessible for every wave.**

This waka is of the type dōka/道歌 (instructive) and is written on demand of the shikken Tokiyori Hōjō or his wife in 1247 after a bloody struggle for power with his opponent Yasumura Miura (during the so cold Hōji war). Miura and his whole family were killed and Hōjō was terrified by what he has done. Here Dōgen employs a brilliant overlapping of dharma itself and the self of the person (the oysters) showing that the awakening of Buddha is no more than the profound usage and ergo transformation of the personal experience. Such dialectics is also found in the yogācārya doctrine of ālāyavijñāna (seeds that entangle are seeds that elevate). Moreover, this waka is preceded by a note "verse about kyōgebetsuden (transmission outside the teachings)", which has a remote mainstream meaning but here hints on the mysterious nature of the personal experience which can be ambivalent regarding enlightenment (depending on how exactly this experience is used).

W63: 世の中は何にたとへん水鳥のはしふる露にやどる月影。**If you want to compare things in the world with something – they are like the moon residing in the water drops, scattered by the bill of a water bird.**

This beautiful waka states something well-known but in an unusual way, shedding light on important philosophical nuances. What we consider substantial doesn't reside independently in our thoughts. It is just a reflection of the moon. It is affirmation of the self because it doesn't even "possess itself" – so it is pure. The only denial of the self is hinted by the time, "accelerated" in order to describe its genesis, nature and fate in personal context[19]. But the growing consciousness in a flash of moment creates "a soul" which a person doesn't possess by birth, which is beyond time and enriches the world. This waka reminds us to use our time for nurturing the consciousness.

W54: たちよりてかげもうつさじ鴨川にみやこにいづる水とおもへば。**When I approached the Kamo River I could not see my reflection in the water, because it came from the capital.**

The idea of this waka is not as straightforward as it seems. There is an expression 「千年清水を俟つ」 (waiting a thousand years for clear water) (Takahashi, 2013), which intertwines two aspects of the situation. The first refers to the impossibility to "clear" one's mind without constant and time-consuming efforts because the world perpetually "lays the dust" of self-forgetfulness on people. They hardly afford to have their own, clear spiritual understanding in the turmoil of the days. The other side of the metaphor envisages the shortness of human life, measured by the time span as ephemeral as streaming water manages to become clear again. An ironical effect with a tragical taste. With his "not seeing his reflection", Dōgen mourns the citizens of Kyōto, because he was once one of them and doesn't write like Hōnen: 「月影のいたらぬ里なけれども ながむる人の心にぞすむ」 (Even if there are villages where moonlight doesn't reach, moon resides in the hearts of people who can see it.)

There are many other waka which directly refer to lines of the Lotus sutra and other important scriptures. Their annotation is difficult not only because of the multilayered nature of these extremely brief and unique forms, but also because of the nuances on spot consciously employed by the author.

3. Dōgen's kanshi: about the art of understanding.

Dōgen's Chinese language poetry consists of different forms, most of which are collected in Eihei-kōroku (the "Extensive record" of his short sermons and poetry). Some (7 pieces) are not in this compilation and are rather biographical, like his death poem:

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[17] China and Japan are known for their science of writing poetry, which is fixed in various karonsho/歌論書. One of the key concepts in Japanese poetry linking writing with meditation is the Jittairon/十体論 of Sadaie Fujiwara (1162–1241) explained in his Maigetsushō/毎月抄.

[18] Numbered as in the edition Dōgenzenjizenshū/道元禅師全集, v.17 (2013).

[19] Main philosophical issue is also what exactly does "reborn" mean according to Buddhism. Actually this is not a re-birth, because personality doesn't persist beyond life, but an again-birth, which is caused by the affects buried in the karmic seeds.

K1: 五十四年/照第一天/打箇勃跳/触破大千/咦，渾身無覓/活陥黄泉。**54[20] years lightening[21] this[22] sky/Instantly jumping/I smash a billion worlds/Ah, cannot find anything on my body[23]/Living[24] I fall into the Yellow springs[25].**

These verses strikingly resemble the death poem of Rujing (his teacher): 六十六年罪犯弥天/打个勃跳/活陷黄泉/咦,从来生死不相干. (66 years under this old sinful sky/Now I jump/and fall living in the Realm of the dead/Ah, life and death never intervened each other). The old teacher Rujing has an additional line which connects two meanings: the fact that he is still living in death, which is a phenomenon of consciousness and the fact that he doesn't intervene death with his worldly self pretending to violate the natural laws. So for him, the permanently living Buddha, life and death are the same. Maybe namely because of this impact of understanding, the following mourning gatha of Dōgen should be quoted:

K2: 弄来木杓風波起/恩大徳深報亦深/縦見海枯寒徹底/莫教身死不留心。**He made wind with his wooden scoop, his kindness was big, his virtue and blessing – deep. But even if seas dry up and the cold pierces me totally, I cannot say that with his body dying his mind fades away too[26].**

K3: 附波多野広長偈□：乾坤大地百雑砕/大死底無天無地/翻自己云/過去心不可得/現在心不可得/未来心不可得[27]。**When the whole world becomes ashes and everything completely ceases to live, there is no difference between heaven and earth. Then just turn and carry your body on the other side and say: The mind of the past cannot be grasped; the mind of now cannot be grasped; the mind of the future cannot be grasped.**

According to Ishii (Ishii et al, 2013: 324) this gatha is dedicated to a person with high achievements in training or to a deceased one. And really, this "non-distinction" between heaven and earth is actual only in the latter case. And if we in this lifetime were mistakenly confident in some "grasping" of mind, now we can expose ourselves to the authentic grasp of the mind itself. Moreover, there is no need to fear turning the body upside down and to change minds under the skin of nature, if there is already no distinction between heaven and earth.

There is also a group of kanshi called jisan which is the exact opposite of the shinsan or praising verses. Jisan are ironical and refer to Dōgen himself. Like:

K4: 巴鼻高於山/眼睛明於海/頭匾似扇/脚尖如驢/入室愛擧臭拳/陞堂借力拄杖/遇乞水人指天井/遇覓飯人指冷甑/昔因護持鷄狗等戒/今日□得佛祖屈眴。**His nostrils stay high on the mountain; his eyes are luminous as the sea. His head is flat like a fan; the legs pointed as a donkey. When entering the preaching hall he likes raising his smelly fist. When ascending the seat he supports himself with a monk staff. Meeting someone thirsty he points to the sky. Meeting someone hungry points to a cold pot. Because in the past he took the precepts of the dogs, nowadays he managed to steal the cotton robe of Buddha ancestors.**

Finally, two comments will also be presented on two most famous kōans in kanshi:

K5: 初祖九年面壁: 少林一坐僅經年/擧目無親鴈唳天/撥草瞻風人莫笑/有蛇驚出可齊肩.The first patriarch faced the wall for 9 years. Commenting verse: **At Shaolin alone sitting was hardly enough to pass the years. Raising his eyes with no familiars, only he sees geese crying.**

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[20] In China, the period before birth is counted for a year.

[21] The etymology of the character leads to the basic meaning of "gradual lightening" with a slow shifting of the light (= exploring light).

[22] This kind of sky is not clearly identified but recent research shows that the intended meaning overlaps the "world of desires" with the idea of "ultimate illumination" and doesn't signify only "the first" or the highest sky (as literally translated).

[23] Means that no difference is made between self and the world and between desirable and undesirable. So Dōgen cannot find himself among the things in the universe and he cannot perceive his death as an end of something.

[24] This is a hint to the "soul" Dōgen managed to create for himself.

[25] The realm of the dead

[26] Analogous praising of the living master"s identity (acquired through enlightenment) is found in the shinsan about Myōzen.

[27] This gatha is dedicated to Hironaga Hatano, whose identity is unknown. (Ishii, 2013)

People, do not laugh at him, coming through the weeds to look up at the wind. An astonished snake approaches without looking up but it may prove to be his match.

The crawling means firmly sticking to the ground of practice – a must for a great achievement. There is an obvious semantic play: for some reason somebody needs to remain alone no matter how hard it will be; all think that they look up at really important things by implication. All think that they can walk the ground firmly (allusion for practice via adequateness) only because they are human. The great person would firstly confront the wall not being confused by imaginary possibilities.

K6: 世尊在靈山百萬衆前拈華瞬目,迦葉破顔微笑.世尊告衆曰、吾有正法眼藏,涅槃妙心,附囑摩訶迦葉,流布將來勿令斷絶.仍以金縷僧伽梨衣附迦葉:

春臺夢覺辨華香/廣示人天獨飲光/山雨洗翻成削雪/嶺雲迸散織斯霜/金鱗交色皺文浪/黄鳥飛聲亂斷腸/賓主可悲空擧手/頭陀是悅尚知芳。In the moment when on the Vulture peak Buddha in front of a million monks held a flower, Kashapa smiled. Buddha spoke to all: I’m the true dharma treasure, the wondrous mind of nirvana and I entrust it to the Great Kashapa in order to transmit it into the future without letting it perish. And he gave his golden embroided robe to Kashapa. Commenting verse: **On a spring terrace he awakes discerning a fragrance. The flower is shown to everybody but only one saw it. The mountain rains wash away becoming snow. The clouds disperse waving into frost. Colors mixed with golden scales, furrow patterns in the waves. Calls of flying yellow bird confuses and tears the bowels apart. Guest and host are unhappy, vainly lifting up their hands. But the ascetic enjoys knowing the fragrance.**

Sometimes achievement is so great, that ordinary people can only lift up their hands in vain; otherwise awakening would not be awakening worth for such specific training and would be equal to just turning one’s head in a random direction.

4. Conclusion

There are hundreds of pieces which cannot be analyzed because of the restricted length of this work. What this paper tried to show however refers to the actual role of poetry in the lives of great thinkers.

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THE SAGE OF QIN: THE FIRST EMPEROR'S USE OF THE PRE-IMPERIAL NOTIONS OF SAGACITY

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Abstract

*Traditionally, it is assumed that the Chinese concept of the Sage (*sheng 聖*) is essentially a Confucian one. Nevertheless, the first historical person to proclaim himself a Sage was Qin Shihuang, the First Emperor of China, who is usually thought of as the main adversary of Confucianism. Yet, the seeming contradiction can be explained by the misunderstanding of both the Early Chinese idea of the Sage and the ideology Qin Shihuang developed. Thus, the paper will provide an overview of the main interpretations of sagacity in pre-imperial China and explore their usage by the First Emperor to show that neither* sheng *was an entirely Confucian notion, nor Qin Shihuang was a hater of Confucianism.*

Keywords: Sage, *sheng*, pre-imperial China, Qin Empire, Qin Shihuang, intellectual history of Early China

The concept of Sage (*sheng* 聖), the embodiment of the ultimate ideal of human perfection, played a very important role in traditional Chinese thought. Usually it is thought to designate the highest level of moral self-cultivation, and although most of the scholars admit that it was used by different thinkers in different ways, it is still understood primarily as the ideal of "Confucianism" (*ru jia* 儒家).[1]

Nevertheless, the first person in Chinese history to proclaim himself a Sage was Qin Shihuang 秦始皇 (r. 247–210), the First Emperor of China. He was usually thought to be a strong adherent of so-called "Legalism" (*fa jia* 法家), who fought against all the other philosophical traditions, particularly Confucian. In the inscriptions on the stelae erected during his tour around the newly created empire[2] the word *sheng* appears many times: it is used to describe his undertakings and achievements, like "sagacious rule" (*sheng zhi* 聖治), "sagacious laws" (*sheng fa* 聖法) and "sagacious legacy" (*sheng lie* 聖烈) as well as his qualities, such as "sagacious wishes" (*sheng zhi* 聖志), "sagely mind" (*sheng yi* 聖意) and "sagacious power" (*sheng de* 聖德). As a result he himself is said to be "sagacious, intelligent, benevolent, and righteous" (*sheng zhi ren yi* 聖智仁義) or to "embody sagacity" (*gong sheng* 躬聖), and eventually is called "the Great Sage" (*da sheng* 大 聖) and "the Sage of Qin" (*Qin sheng* 秦聖).[3]

This situation may seem contradictory: it appears that the first person to declare himself an embodiment of the Confucian ideal is the main adversary of Confucianism. However, I believe that this contradiction is purely imaginary: it arises because of a misunderstanding of both the idea of the Sage in pre-imperial China and the ideology Qin Shihuang developed.

Actually, traditional views on the First Emperor and Qin Empire have already began to be challenged; the most thorough study in this field up to date is "Birth of an Empire – The State of Qin Revisited", a collaborative effort of the leading scholars in archeology and history of Early China. It was one single part of this book that proved especially useful for the present research – a brilliant chapter on Qin Shihuang as the True monarch written by Yuri Pines (Pines 2013). It explores the First Emperor's use of the concept of sagacity as well, but does it from a slightly different perspective – that of Qin Shihuang's image as the ideal ruler, who should be a Sage by definition – while I am trying to examine his usage of the idea of sagacity as such. Nevertheless, in the course of my research I drew upon it extensively.

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[1] I believe that this state of affairs is caused by conviction that this ideal originated within Confucianism (or even with Confucius himself, see below), and also by its usage in Imperial China, when Confucianism gradually became the sole official ideology which appropriated the notions originally used by other traditions. This bias influenced even such "general" ideas as the just mentioned association of *sheng* with moral self-cultivation – as I will try to show, it is just one of the many different interpretations of the term.

[2] On these inscriptions and their role for reconstructing the self-image of Qin Shihuang and his empire, see (Kern 2000).

[3] See (Shiji 1959: 6/243, 245, 249–250, 261; cf. Kern, 2000: 21–22, 26, 35, 37–38, 40, 45, 47).

The situation with *sheng* is not that bright. Initial presupposition that this concept is primarily Confucian results in the fact that discussions about it appear mainly in the works on Confucianism. In this situation, it is unfair to reproach their authors with the lack of attention to alternative views on this concept; yet, the frequent absence of any mentions of the fact that this concept is not exclusively Confucian[4] is rather telling. But even when some scholars, such as D. Hall and R. Ames in their famous study of Confucian thought, do admit that there are "alternative meanings of *sheng* among the rival schools of Chinese thought", they still often concern themselves with finding "fundamental root meaning grounding the variant readings" which again turns to be Confucian (Hall & Ames, 1987: 256).

Even the studies which are meant to be wider in their scope and present not only Confucian views, but also that of other traditions, can hardly avoid this bias. For example, Pei-jung Fu in his article about *sheng* in the *Encyclopedia of Chinese Philosophy* (Fu 2003: 697–699) once again emphasize the Confucian understanding of the term as it is seen in *Lunyu* 論語, *Mengzi* 孟子 and *Xunzi* 荀子, the only other tradition mentioned being the "Taoist", exemplified by *Laozi* 老子 (*Daodejing* 道德經) and *Zhuangzi* 莊子.

Perhaps the most adequate survey of Early Chinese views on the concept of *sheng* up to date can be found in an article by Julia Ching, where the term is examined in a broader scope of contemporaneous intellectual landscape and an attempt of classification of its different interpretations is made (Ching 1991: 1–9). Yet, Professor Ching's classification is too incomplete to be fully satisfactory, let alone her account of the origins of the notion, which is clearly biased by her devotion to the idea of Chinese shamanism[5]. As a result, our understanding of the concept of Sage in Early China in its complexity is still far from being perfect.

This consideration forces me to start with a brief outline of the history of the term *sheng* and an overview of its main meanings in pre-imperial China. I will try to propose my own classification of its interpretations, and since the understandings of the concept of *sheng* vary considerably from text to text, even among the works traditionally assigned to the same "school" of thought (e.g. "Confucian", "Taoist", etc.), and since the idea of Sage is itself so fundamental that to describe any text's views on it in their entirety is almost equal to expounding all of the text's main teachings, I will try to consider the form of the concept rather than its substance and to note similarities rather than differences.

The protoforms of the graph for its designation first appear in the oracle bone inscriptions (13th–11th c. BC), where they denote the verb "to hear" or a noun – that which is heard: "sound", "voice", "news". Later, on the Zhou bronze inscriptions (11th–8th c. BC) it is usually used as an adjective which means "wise", "clever"; at the same time, it obviously lacks any specific philosophical meaning (Chen 2000: 412–414). It was in the Warring States period (Zhanguo 戰國, 5th – 3rd c. BC) that the notion acquired special meaning and became widely used in philosophical context.

There is an opinion that it was Confucius (Kongzi 孔子, trad. 551–479 BC) who introduced this notion into philosophy and popularized it (Chen 2000: 415–416). Yet, in *Lunyu*, which is seen as our main source for Confucius' thought, the character *sheng* is used only 8 times, and most of the passages that contain it are considered now to be late (Brooks & Brooks 1998: 43, 44, 52, 156, 176, 187). In other words, the idea of Sage seems to be peripheral for this text.

The earliest references to *sheng* as a special term can be found in the early layers (so-called "core chapters") of *Mozi* 墨子 (5th–4th c. BC). The Sages in these chapters are regarded as ancient monarchs worth imitating. There is not much said about the moral qualities of these rulers: their main features are their ancienty and the position of power (Brown 2013). This kind of understanding of the term *sheng* constitutes the first of the interpretations, which can be called *historical*. Later, this interpretation was used in many other texts, such as *Mengzi*, *Xunzi*, *Hanfeizi* 韓 非子, *Lüshi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 et al. (cf. Ching 1991: 3–6).

Another interpretation, which is rather close to the previous one, can be called *creative*. It regards ancient Sages as cultural heroes, who are said to invent houses, clothes, vehicles, agriculture, cooking, war, state etc. This interpretation can be seen in many different texts, but most prominently in *Xici zhuan* 繫辭傳, *Mozi* ("Ciguo" 辭過 chapter), *Liji* 禮記 ("Liyun" 禮運 chapter), *Zhouli* 周禮 ("Kaogongji" 考工記 chapter) et al. (see Puett 2001; Lewis 1999: 127–129; Ching 1991: 2–3).

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[4] See, for example, (Taylor & Choy 2005: 511–512; Angle, 2009: 15–17).

[5] For the substantial criticism of this idea see (Puett 2002: 80–121, esp. 81–87, 104–109).

The most well-known, but, possibly, slightly late comparing to historical, interpretation of the term in question is the *moral* one, which considers *sheng* an ideal person who embodies different virtues and, at the same time, influences other people, morally transforming them. This notion of *sheng* is usually seen as the Confucian one, but it can be found not only in the texts labeled as "Confucian", such as *Mengzi* and *Xunzi*, but also in the late chapters of *Mozi*, as well as in many other texts.

Opposing to the moral interpretation is the one I would call *political*. It is best exemplified by such texts as *Laozi* and *Shangjungshu* 商君書 and presents *sheng* as an impersonal ideal of rulership, a monarch who governs the state according to the special set of doctrines prescribed by the text. The Sages in this case are not associated with any specific persons, historical or legendary. Any ruler can be a Sage: it is only his position and ability to implement necessary political measures that matter; his other features like identity, character or morality are of no importance.

At the same time, some texts understand the condition of sagacity as a result of the spiritual practices, which give a man supernatural powers. This interpretation, which can be called *religious*, is recorded in the so-called "proto-taoist" chapters of *Guanzi* 管子 and further elaborated in *Laozi*, *Zhuangzi* and many other texts (see Puett 2002).

Closely connected with the religious interpretation is the *cosmological* one, which portrays Sage as an integral part of the universe on par with Heaven and Earth. He is said to form a triad (*can* 參) with them (*Liji*), "imitate" them (*Hanfeizi*) and "complete" what they create (*Xunzi*). The same line of thought is assumed in *Yueling* 月令 chapters of *Lüshi chunqiu* and *Liji*, where the Sage is expected to order the world by following the natural cycles.

Connected with the original meaning of the character is the *perceptive* interpretation, which implies that the Sages possess unique perception and analytic skills, which allow them to see the true nature of all things and to foresee the possible development of the situation (*Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Xici zhuan*, *Xunzi*). The apex of the development of this tradition is the belief (attested in *Lüshi chunqiu* as well as in the later texts) that they can have the knowledge of "a thousand ages past and a thousand ages to come" (see Brown & Bergeton 2008).

Finally, one of the most specific interpretations is the one that can be called *messianic*. It regards the Sages as long-expected saviors, who appear from time to time to order and harmonize the disrupted world. This interpretation is first seen in *Mengzi*, where it is stated that a Sage is sent by Heaven each five hundred years. Many other texts, such as *Shenzi* 申子, *Zhanguoce* 戰國策 and *Lüshi chunqiu* also affirm that Sages emerge regularly, yet rarely. A touch of messianism with respect to the Sage can also be spotted in *Xunzi*, when it says that only the Sage can bring All under Heaven to order and unify it (see Pines 2013: 261–263).

These interpretations vary in many aspects: some of them presume that the only a ruler can be the Sage, while others insist that this ideal is independent of social status; some state that becoming a Sage implies some innate predisposition, while others contend that every man can possibly become one; some associated Sages with historical or legendary characters, while others stressed their impersonality. Different as they are, these interpretations are neither mutually exclusive nor unique to any single tradition: they are just the facets of a single concept, and each tradition could (and usually did) combine a few of them in different fashion. At the same time it is possible to see a point common for all of these interpretations: each of them implied that the Sage is remote from the actual political reality: it was either an ancient sovereign or the distant ideal to strive for. Therefore, only rarely had this notion been applied to a contemporary ruler, and even in these cases it was usually seen as flattery. As a result, no one in pre-imperial China ever claimed to be the Sage. It is this background we should keep in mind when approaching the First Emperor's understanding of sagacity.

When Qin Shihuang proclaimed himself a Sage, he neither pretended to be some kind of "legalist" Sage, nor did he appeal to the purely Confucian ideal. Actually, he used most of the pre-imperial notions of sagacity at the same time: in the same inscriptions that call him a Sage, as well as in some of his enterprises, we can see the traces of all the interpretations discussed earlier.

First, he compared himself to the ancient sage rulers and, moreover, pretended to exceed them: one of the inscriptions explicitly state that his "merits surpass those of the Five Emperors" (Shiji 1959: 6/245). Thus, Qin Shihuang presented himself as a Sage in its historical interpretation. Second, stelae inscriptions repeatedly emphasize that he created empire, laws and principles of governing the state, which is clearly

in accord with the creative interpretation of the Sage (see also Puett 2001: 141–148). Third, contrary to the later views, Qin Shihuang clearly saw himself as a paragon of morality: according to the inscriptions, he manifested different virtues, served as an exemplary model for the people, and had transforming influence on them; these were exactly the features of the Sage within the ethical interpretations. At the same time, he ruled according to a special set of doctrines, prescribed by the texts which developed the political interpretation of *sheng*. Next, Qin Shihuang is famous for his religious activities, such as creation of a new pantheon and persistent yearning for eternal life (Shiji 1959: 28/1366–1368); he presented himself as a supernatural being who embodies the Dao (*ti dao* 體道, Shiji 1959: 6/247), possess supernatural qualities and has power over gods (Shiji 1959: 6/248; cf. Pines, 2013: 268–269). Traces of the cosmological interpretation of the concept of Sage in the image of the First Emperor can be seen in multiple mentions of him ordering the world (Shiji 1959: 6/249), as well as in his acceptance of the Five Powers (*wu de* 五德) theory (see Shiji 1959: 28/1366, 1368) and in his inspection tours, which also doubtlessly had cosmological significance (see also Pines 2013: 266–267). Perceptive interpretation of *sheng* is also expressed in stelae inscriptions: one of them say that Qin Shihuang "investigates and verifies the reality of all matters" (Shiji 1959: 6/262) and that "things, good or bad, are all displayed before [him], leaving no truth obscured" (Shiji 1959: 6/262). Finally, the Emperor was presented as a long-awaited hero, which brought an end to the wars, united All under Heaven and started an entirely new, unprecedented era of universal peace, which was supposed to become the end of history. It was this messianic interpretation of *sheng*, which united all of the others into the single image of the Sage Emperor (Pines 2013: 263–269). Thus, the image of the Sage that Qin Shihuang created for himself was an amalgam of different interpretations regardless of their origin and usage by any intellectual traditions.

In conclusion, it can be stated that neither *sheng* was an entirely Confucian notion, nor Qin Shihuang was a pure legalist. The idea of *sheng* was neither originally, nor mainly Confucian. It was introduced into the world of Chinese thought by Mohists, and afterwards was acquired by virtually all of the Chinese thinkers and varied according to their specific programs and ideals. As a result, it was far less unitary than it is usually supposed to be; actually, there never existed in a pre-imperial China a single notion of *sheng*, neither "Confucian", nor any other.

On the other hand, Qin Shihuang did not restrict himself with any specific doctrine, Legalist, Confucian, or any other. The sagacity he claimed was not confined to any particular kind of understanding of this notion, but was all-encompassing, including all of the existing interpretations mixed in an entirely new way. Thus, the Emperor who unified All under Heaven did also unify the ideals of the different philosophical traditions in his own image.

Although the Qin Empire perished just a few years after Qin Shihuang's death, the idea of merging the images of the Emperor and the Sage was inherited by the Han emperors and from then on had the lasting influence on the political ideology of the later period[6]. As a result, the Emperor and the Sage became synonymous for the next two thousand years of Chinese history.

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AT THE EDGE OF BEING

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Abstract

The article aims to reveal counterparts of the Western concept of being in Chinese philosophy. The main problem is that in the West, being is perceived as unchangeable and immovable while the Chinese philosophy is a philosophy of dynamism. What can substitute the concept of being in this case? In the article, a pair of Chinese philosophical concepts, namely wu *and* yu*, are compared with the concept of being and its opposite non-being. The conclusion is that neither of them corresponds to the idea of being. Dao is that concept which is closer to the understanding of ultimate reality. In contrast to the Western concept of being, however, it is beyond all oppositions and includes potentiality and actuality, peace and movement, being and non-being, being and becoming as aspects within itself.*

Keywords: being, non-being, becoming, *wu*, *yu*, Dao, non-duality

Introduction

The concept of "being" is a crucial concept in Western philosophy. It is formulated for the first time by Parmenides. According to the Eleatics, *being* is homogenous, eternal, unchangeable and immovable.

From the concept of being follow such concepts as "substance", "essence", "existence", "entity", all of them accentuating on the idea of its immobility and immutability.

In Ancient Greek philosophy, the concept of being has two counterparts. The most obvious is "non-being". It is revealed as its negative opposite which has no meaning in itself and functions only in order to outline the characteristics of being.

The other counterpart is the concept of "becoming". According to Parmenides, change is mere appearance, an illusion while Heraclitus considered it as the real nature of the world presented as all-embracing permanent transformation. The vision of Parmenides however prevailed and "in the context of Greek thought… 'being' (often characterised by the additional qualification 'real' or 'true') denotes… single, permanent, unchanging, fundamental reality, to which is habitually opposed the inconstant flux and variety of visible things. This reality is initially seen simply as a sort of substratum out of which the multiplicity of appearances may evolve, but progressively there come to be added to it other features, such as absolute unity (or, conversely, infinite multiplicity), eternity (ultimately timelessness), incorporeality (or, conversely, basic corporeality), and rationality (or, conversely, blind necessity). In short, 'being' (or, orousia) becomes in Greek philosophy the repository of all the concepts that can be thought up to characterise the idealised opposite of what we see around us – its counterpart, which comprises all aspects of the everyday physical world, being termed 'becoming' (genesis)." (Dillon 2000: 51)

As well as developing these two oppositions – being and non-being from one side and being and becoming from the other, the Greek thought deepened the understanding, and perhaps the inherent contradiction within the concept of being, with the distinctions that Aristotle made "between potential and actual being, between essential and accidental" (Preus 2007: 67). It is worth mentioning that the Greek term "potentiality" (in Greek dunamis, δύναμις) is the root of the word *"dynamic"* and the word "actuality" (in Greek energeia, ενέργεια) is the root of the word *"energy"* – both with dynamic connotations.

Here we will not analyse the concepts of being developed within Western philosophy but will rather try to see what problems were being resolved at the time of Parmenides and Heraclites at the other end of human cognitive experience, in China. Our presumption is that the main stream of philosophical thought there considered the problem of change, transformation, dynamics and energy. Therefore, it would be correct to name Chinese philosophy "a philosophy of dynamism". Then, if the concept of being is connected with the idea of immobility and immutability, does it have a place in Chinese thought? What are its counterparts there, what are their characteristics and how are they correlated with the idea of being?

Two pairs of concepts: (i) being and non-being, (ii) *yu* and *wu*

Usually, the Chinese concepts of *yu*, 有, and *wu*, 無, are translated as *being* and *non-being*.

What are, however, the differences between the two pairs?

1. The concepts of *being* and *non-being* are derived from the verb "to be" and are therefore connected with the issue of existence, while the Chinese terms *yu*, 有, and *wu*, 無, mean "to have" and "to have not" and therefore "refer to the area of possessing, not the area of being" (Kobzev, 1994).

The verbs *yu*, 有, and *wu*, 無, however, have an ontological implication as well, meaning both "to have"/ "to have not" and "there is"/ "there is not". In Chinese, there is a different couple of words meaning entirely the positive and the negative aspects of the verb "to be". These are: *shih*, 是, and *fei*, 非. The same case can be observed in some Indo-European languages as well. In Bulgarian, for example, beside the verb "to be", there is another couple of verbs "има"/ "няма" that means both that something possesses/does not possess something or that there is/there is not something. Interesting is the case of the Russian language, where the archaic form of the verb "to be" is currently used solely to denote possession. It is important to note that when such verbs are used with ontological meaning, they refer predominantly to the available being, to that which can be put within the frames of space and time. Usually some spatial and/or temporal terms should be used to denote this kind of existence or non-existence:

Somewhere or sometime there is (was) something.

In such a way the spatial and temporal limits are explicated.

Therefore, in their ontological aspect, *yu*, 有, and *wu*, 無, refer to that kind of existence which is available to the senses rather than to the mental abstractions.

2. Being and non-being are nouns, although derived from verbs, while *yu*, 有, and *wu*, 無, are predominantly verbs.

At least two conclusions follow from this difference. The first one is connected with the differences between the concrete and the abstract perception of existence which we already mentioned above. As Étienne Gilson puts it, "The relation of [the verb] 'to be' to [the noun] 'being' is not a reciprocal one. 'Being' is conceivable, 'to be' is not. We cannot possibly conceive an 'is' except as belonging to some thing that is, or exists. But the reverse is not true. Being is quite conceivable apart from actual existence…" (Gilson 1952: 2).

The second conclusion refers to the inherent connotation of verbs and nouns. In Greek and Latin, many nouns were coined from the verb for existence "to be". This increasingly consolidates the understanding of reality as a stable and unchangeable entity while the Chinese terms *yu* and *wu* emphasise the vision of its dynamic nature.

3. The two pairs represent two different viewpoints, two different approaches to reality – from the position of the subject (in the case of being and non-being) and from the position of the object (in the case of *yu* and *wu*).

This difference can be revealed from the literal meaning of the sentences with the verbs *yu*, 有, and *wu*, 無:

天下有龍

There are dragons in the world. (literally: The world has dragons.)

天下無龍

There are no dragons in the world. (literally: The world has no dragons.)

Thus, "in Chinese one approaches existence from something outside… which has, in which there is, the thing in question." (Graham 1959: 81). Western thought, on the other hand, is "grounded in Greek and Latin" and "has generally approached the question from the opposite direction, from the thing which "is" or "exists" (Ibid.).

This different perspective – from the position of the object or from the position of the subject – is in principle a crucial difference between Far Eastern and Western thought. While the view point of Western thought is from the position of the observer, i.e. from within to without, the Far Eastern perspective is inverted: from outward to inward. This is obvious from the meaning of the verb "to see" in both thought systems. While in Western languages its connotation is that the observer, the subject, observes the object, in Chinese language

its meaning is rather that the object reveals itself, is shown to the observer. Regarding the problem of being "the object of *yu* is the subject of 'is'" (Graham 1959: 81). This different perspective leads to different possibilities for rational conclusions. In one case, the role of the subject, of the observer and his/her thoughts and imagination is greater. This gives a possibility to separate the subject and the visible object and to enter the dimension of pure abstraction. In the other case, the role of the observed subject is greater and it must be available for the senses. Therefore, "in Indo-European languages, a thing simply *is*, without implying anything outside it and it is the most abstract entities that the Platonic tradition most willingly credits with being. In Chinese, on the other hand, one approaches the thing from outside, from the world which "has" it, in which "there is" it. From this point of view, the more concrete a thing is, the more plainly the world has it." (Graham 1959: 98).

So, the differences between being and non-being, on the one hand, and *yu*,有, and *wu*, 無, on the other, is a difference between the more abstract and the more concrete perception of reality. The pair with a connotation of possession denotes a more concrete, available reality which is situated somewhere in space and time. Its belonging to that space and time is even its main characteristic.

Yu*, 有, and *wu*. 無 , in *Daodejing

The specifics of the concepts of *yu*,有, and *wu*, 無, in Chinese thought can be revealed more properly in the philosophy of Daoism because it is the school with the most evident ontological orientation. These concepts appear at the beginning of its basic text, "Daodejing". Their meaning there can be revealed by a comparison with several corresponding pairs of concepts. These are:

absence – presence

unnameable – nameable

beginning – mother

Universe (Heaven – Earth) – multiplicity

secret (fine, subtle) – limit (limited)

lack of aspirations – aspirations

It should be said that some of these pairs represent different interpretations of the same word combinations. This ambiguity of meanings is a distinctive feature of Daoist texts. In such a way the "name" ceases to be a restrictive and fixed tool of the dual mind and approaches the requirement for the real naming – speaking beyond speaking.

In these pairs, *wu* corresponds to the first components of the dyads: the absence, unnameable, beginning, subtle, and elusive, while *yu* represents the second part: the presence, named, multiplicity, manifestation, thing-ness enclosed within restricted limits.

The French philosopher François Jullien defines *wu* as "harmonising undifferentiation" and *yu* as "differentiating actualisation" (Jullien 2001). Although this interpretation is a little sophisticated, it outlines that these concepts could be understood in terms of lack or presence of differentiation from one side and the ratio of potentiality and actuality from the other. According to Chinese thought, the actualisation correlates with differentiation; transformation of potentiality into actuality means an increase of division and differentiation. The state of potentiality corresponds to undifferentiation. A distinctive feature of Chinese thought is that this state is perceived as harmonious. Therefore, Chaos here is not an opposite of order but of differentiation and separation. Chaos is not a disorder but an undifferentiated state that has its own harmonious design. Another distinctive feature revealed in Jullien's translation is that both concepts present not static states, but processes. Thus *wu* presents the world in its aspect of undifferentiated fusion, of a harmonious and self-harmonising unity, i.e. a unity in becoming, in geneses. *Yu* represents the aspect of differentiation, division, and multiplicity in the process of actualisation.

In Western philosophy, the concepts of being and non-being are in relation with thinking. According to Daoism, more important is their correlation with names. The lack of differentiation means also impossibility for naming, while its presence presupposes and even requires name giving. It could be said that *wu* and *yu* present the ontological aspects of reality while unnameable and nameable correspond to its epistemological comprehension. In early Greek philosophy, the impossibility of the mind to conceive non-being is perceived as something negative and leads to rejection of this concept in favour of the concept of being. For the Daoists,

the state of undifferentiated and harmonious unity without names and borders is valuable. Its realisation is considered as the highest level of knowledge, the so called "non-knowledge", the knowledge of unity or absence of differentiation. So, within the Daoist thought, the state of fusion and unity is regarded as more essential than that of division and multiplicity.

Therefore, in some cases *wu* is considered as being more primordial and important than *y*u.

天下萬物生於有，有生於無

All things in the world are generated in presence, the presence is generated in absence. (Daodejing, 40)

More often, however, they are interpreted as having equal importance. None of them precedes or surpasses the other:

此兩者，同出而異名

These both arise simultaneously but their names are different. (Daodejing, 1)

The aim of the Daoist practices is to achieve a vision of non-duality realising that the opposites are not contradictory poles but complementary aspects of Oneness.

同謂之玄。玄之又玄，衆妙之門。

Togetherness is an innermost secret.

The innermost and more innermost -

the door to the multiplicity of mysteries. (Daodejing, 1)

Therefore, neither *wu* nor *yu*, neither the elusive one nor the fixed in borders, have that deep primordial meaning that the concept of being has in Western thought. They and their union are only an approach, a door to the mysteries: a realisation of the true reality as it is.

Dao

In Chinese thought, Dao is the concept that reveals the idea of ultimate reality. However, in contrast to the concept of being, the concept of Dao does not imply the question of opposites and their relations because Dao proceeds all opposites combining them as its own aspects. Naming the uttermost ultimate reality as "Dao", Path or Way, the Chinese thinkers pointed out the idea of motion and constant becoming – an idea launched in Western thought by Heraclitus and developed in its fullness by Hegel. Paradoxically, according to the logic of all-unity inherent in Eastern thought, the idea of Dao combines both Parmenides's notion of being as a whole and complete oneness from one side and Heraclitus's notion of change and becoming from the other. In such a way, the Path in Daoism is both the integrity of everything that is, and the constant potentiality of change and motion. In fact, if we use Daoist terminology itself, it is no-change and no-motion, because the Path itself goes nowhere, connects nothing, passes through nowhere. It is the movement in itself – a pure processuality without a bearer, a processuality that pulsates in itself in such a way that the peace and movement become indiscernible. It is a movement that simultaneously unfolds the existing and returns it into itself, it is a state and a process where the One coincides with the many, and the manifested and the unmanifested are but one reality. That is why both aspects of the dynamic nature of reality – the movement (unfolding) and the peace (being in itself) – coincide and Dao "is moving in a circle".

Dao is simultaneously the completeness and wholeness of the existing and the potentiality for becoming that proceeds it. Therefore, the Chinese philosopher from the third century Wan Bi distinguished two aspects within Dao: a pre-manifested aspect and a manifested aspect. To some extent they resemble the differentiation between potentiality and actuality within the Greek concept of being. In Chinese thought, however, the relation between potentiality and actuality as well as between all kinds of poles is more complex. According to the logic of non-duality, every aspect of a pair contains the union of both poles within itself. Besides, the pre-manifestation and manifestation should not be regarded as distinct levels but as interconnected aspects of the whole.

Considered in its deep pre-manifested aspect, Dao refers to that undifferentiated wholeness, designated with the term Chaos, 混, that "was born before Heaven-and-Earth" (Daodejing, 25). It was established by itself and does not change, it constantly moves in a circle, unfolding and returning to itself and never stops (Ibid.). It is complete, perfect (Daodejing, 25), the "real wholeness", 誠全 (Daodejing, 22). This completeness, however, is not static. It is also a state of pre-potentiality, a state where all the possibilities and impossibilities spring

out, a state of pre-ultimate flexibility and openness to all possible and impossible processes, to all possible and impossible becomings. Therefore, Dao is a Void, an emptiness that is so inexhaustible that it can never cease to unfold, cannot transform itself into a final and fixed completeness and fullness, and cannot stop:

Dao is empty[1] *but the possibilities for its function cannot be filled*[2] (Daodejing, 4).

As a spring, as a dot combining the minimum and the maximum, everything and nothing, Dao is thin and subtle, glimmering on the elusive border of "to be" and "not to be".

綿綿若存

Subtle-endless as if it is (Daodejing, 6).

Can we say that it exists? Can we say that it does not exist? The existence comes with manifestation and multiplicity. That which precedes the manifestation as well as the non-manifestation, the presence as well as the absence, "*is* as *if*", not as the ordinary things *are*. Therefore, Zhuangzi says that Dao "makes the things things but is not a thing". It is unfolding into the thing-ness but at the same time it is constantly returning to the absence of thing-ness (復歸於無物). That is why it is called "form of the formless, image of the thing-less" (無狀之狀, 無物之象) (Daodejing, 14).

Dao, however, constantly unfolds into the manifestation and actualisation. Therefore, "in its core there are images" (其中有象), "in its core there are things", (其中有物) (Daodejing, 21). They are in the form of potencies, as "seeds, semen energy" (21). These potentialities of what will be are the "reality itself" or in other words "the ultimate truth"[3]. Thus, Dao is manifested in "numerous sprouts" or – in a complementary understanding – as the ancestor of the plurality (Daodejing, 21).

Both aspects – pre-manifested and manifested – are only conventionally distinguished. Dao is beyond all the distinctions including the distinction unmanifested-manifested and potentiality-actuality. Therefore, the mind and senses cannot perceive it in its totality although there is nothing but it:

I look at it and do not see it, therefore I call it deep. I listen to it and do not hear it, therefore I call it diluted. I grab it and do not catch it, therefore I call it fine. (Daodejing, 14).

Unlike being, it is not identical with thinking and is not an abstraction of thought, or an idea. From one side, it is beyond the distinction of concrete and abstract. Dao is the reality as it is, in its suchness, not in our ideas of what it can be. From the other side, according to the understanding of the Far East, the ultimate reality cannot be realised by thought. Therefore, it also cannot be named. Dao is only a conventional designation (Daodejing, 25). It can only point to the reality as it is, but we will lose the real Dao if we stay on the position of the mind that separates and then names the separated parts. It, however, can be achieved and experienced – not by means of physical senses and rational logic but by means of psycho-technical transformation of the state of consciousness.

Conclusion

Although the concepts of *wu* and *yu* are often translated as being and non-being, they are mutually dependent concepts that cannot fully represent the non-dual reality.

Dao is a conventional term that refers to reality as it is. It is simultaneously the totality of everything and the potential of the becoming of everything. In its non-duality, completeness is equal to becoming, motion is equal to stillness, potential is equal to actualisation, void is equal to fullness, nothing is equal to everything, *is* is equal to *is-not*. Dao transcends all the opposites that our mind could differentiate in reality and therefore it transcends the oppositions being-non-being and being-becoming, combining all these as unseparated aspects within itself.

[1] The character for denoting the term, 沖, consists of a sign for water and a sign for centre. So, emptiness or void (close to the idea of *wu*) is the centre of the water flow or the core of the movement, the heart of the moving wholeness of the Universe.

[2] I.e. they are inexhaustible, the limits of completeness can never be reached.

[3] The term 真 means both *truth*, *truthiness* and *real*, *reality*, as it is in many languages (for example the Sanskrit term *sat* or the Slavic term *ist-ina*, *est-ina* meaning truth and that which "is").

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THE WAYFARER (MAN OF DAO) FROM AN EASTERN PERSPECTIVE (WITH SPECIAL REFERENCES TO *ZHUANGZI*)

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Abstract

Our transient existence is nothing more than a voyage, a peregrination or an itinerancy. The Man of Dao – the Wayfarer – is a wanderer between two worlds: on the Road he achieves the auratic and symbolic potential of a divine being, on the one side, and the virtue of a god-like human, such as the Daoist sage, on the other. The Wayfarer may also become a sublime existential figure, or an extraordinary tramping character – a man who finds his real meaning in a message coming from the "other side" through the metaphor of a constant movement – the soaring into the boundless (the free roaming).

The state of mind prompting someone to embark on a traveling, a journey, or any kind of spiritual motion can only be experienced. The metaphor of the Wandering Man, taken with his hope resulting from the trust of "what is available for him" will end within the mysterious borders of a meta-problematic realm. In this article, the metaphor of the journey is explored throughout the Far East – the Man of Dao (the Road, the Way of the Universe), connecting the way and the wayfarer, being and existence.

Keywords: the Man of Dao, Wandering, Daoist Sage, Eastern Route of the Silk Road

What does the so called "free soaring" symbolize in the Far East and why has it been connected with ancient meditative practices, stemming from shamanism? How was this condition experienced and conceptualized across the ages? The identification of wandering with human life represents the transience of human existence with its difficulties and sudden turns. The movement may be centrifugal (transgressing the boundaries of the familiar for the remote and quasi-legendary, exchanging the single locus of a stable identity for the far-distant, unknown world), or centripetal (directed towards what is perceived to be the ancient centre, involving a supposed "return" to a mythic place of cultural origin). It may also be overtly topological or self-consciously textual, literal or metaphorical. However the status of the wayfarer as an archetypal protagonist is supposed to be an ambiguous one – the ideal model for the detached power of virtue and wisdom, on one hand, and prudence that cares for the "ten thousand things", on the other. Those who soar above the clouds, merely transcend the sky and the earth within they roam – their state of mind remains untouched by all the movements, beyond time and space.

The strategy of an ambivalent attitude towards rambling as something potentially reprehensible and foolish, not just as something that has been self-evidently enlightening and enabling, mirrors the duplicity of the figure of the wanderer. It is generative of the forging of a new spiritual, poetic and cultural identity – the allegory of "'flying without wings", breaking the chains of ignorance. The spiritual journey involves a visual, non-textual, symbolic language and the so called "'image thinking"' – the very pictures and images of things as a kind of a dream metaphor (e.g. the butterfly dream in Zhuangzi, which illustrates the transience and duality of life)[1]. Dream content is not experience in reality, it is false; but one can dream, do all sorts of bizarre trips in his imagination/dream, as if it is true. The power of imagination reveals itself in the form of pseudo-profound and enthralling ideas.[2] The Daoist point of enlightenment is a criticism of reality *sui generis* – the Zhuangzi's

[1] Zhuangzi is one of the most significant and paradoxical thinkers of China – in his mystical philosophy, reality is presented as an illusion created by infinitely shifting appearances. He sets out his ideas in a collection of short fables and allegories, of which the best known is the "Butterfly Dream". In this narrative, Zhuang Zhou dreams of being a butterfly and then awakens from the dream unsure whether he really slept and dreamt of being a butterfly, or whether he really was a sleeping butterfly, who was imagining that it was Zhou. According to the philosopher, nothing in this world is absolute and it is a mistake to think of "being" as a state that is totally different from "non-being". Instead, posits Zhuangzi, non-action is a kind of action, and things humans believe they know, are really not known.

[2] For Zhuang, Zhou is not actually possible to become Hu Die (the butterfly), but the dream experience was true – inside the critical non-reflexive moment it is not a dream, but a perception. This perception leads to the overwhelming question: What is life -–only a dream, or metaphorically, does a dream possess its own life? It is as weird, as Escher's black and white prints: two kinds of implicit and explicit images mutually intertwined to exist.

followers are developing the metaphor of the dream of life: the imaginary perspective, the new experience of life and death, which can correct the misunderstanding of the true meaning of being.

The wayfarer-narrative with its aspiration to virtue, wisdom and transcendence of the corporeal condition is a full-scale allegory of the spiritual transformation through wandering. Chinese narratives often associate the free journey of the mind with earlier, ideal stage of the development of Heaven and Earth and of the human society. The consistent attribution of wandering to the unaccomplished – be it individual, society, organism, or inanimate matter – recalls the understanding of ambiguity.[3] It is located at the edges of civilization and its ritual aim is to produce a kind of uncivilized behavior, deliverance and release. Here we must note that wandering and traveling don't have the same meaning: a traveler who goes from point A to point B has a destination – the direction matters more than the movement itself. Wandering is conceived as going out of the routine scheme – a departure into an imaginary realm for the sake of a higher state of consciousness and final liberation. Among those who leave the mundane world, the wayfarer is continually on the road, has multiple and open-ended destinations, often improvises his itinerary along the way. His only destination ultimately comes to be the being itself, its illumination and transcendence.

Wandering in Chinese culture has been the object of scholarly attention both as a philosophical theme and as a social phenomenon – within specific Daoist texts, in different aspects and manifestations. The ancient Chinese philosophical classics *Zhuangzi* was written in part by a man named Zhuang Zhou in the late fourth century BC.[4] Amazing stories in the book reveal the mundane situation of the so called narrow-minded men in correlation to the sage wandering "in the clouds" above ordinary affairs of life. Zhuangzi illustrates how playing with imagination means, first and foremost, being able to think in new and original ways, "'with a simple flip of the mind".[5] With humor and relentless logic Zhuangzi attacks peremptory assertions about the world, especially evaluative knowledge of what is good and bad, or right and wrong.[6] Setting its arguments in beautiful prose and poetry, the text is gaining recognition as one of the classics of world literature. Despite the slightly skeptical tone[7], Zhuangzi himself does not think that our situation is utterly hopeless, since at the very least we are better off aware of our ignorance. As a constructive act his

[3] The point of arrival, of fulfillment and self-realization may be elusive or illusory, totally absent or tantalizingly present to the eagerly searching voyager.

[4] The style of *Zhuangzi* has been analyzed by critics who delineate the proficiency with which the author employs sophisticated rhetorical devices, satire, fantasy, metaphor, jokes, dreams, and parody. Such a collection of tales, fables, and parables challenges the individual to achieve intellectual and spiritual freedom by embracing and ultimately internalizing a series of Daoist tenets. To begin on this path to spiritual enlightenment, the individual must first become aware of his own relation to "the ten thousand things" and of the existence of the universal Way. Zhuangzi offered an alternative to the philosophies of his era, emphasizing upon individual freedom above the goal of a peaceful community ruled by the Sage king.

[5] One day Huizi, the logician was complaining about a huge gourd as being too big to make any use of. It was useless because it could not serve either as a regular water container or as water dippers after splitting it in half. Zhuangzi asks him to make canoes from it, enjoying the wonderful experience of floating freely along the river. "When Zhuangzi hears Huizi complaining of an enormous five-hundred-year-old tree as being too old and too big to use for anything, Zhuangzi advises his frustrated friend not to give up on it, but to sit under the tree and see what perfect shade and shadows he can enjoy. For Zhuangzi there is nothing wrong with the gourd or the tree. The error is in his friend's mind, which is too narrowly focused and needs a simple flip." https://philosophynow.org/issues/89/Encouraging_Communication_Through_Imagination

[6] The satirical approach is extensively used in the *Zhuangzi* often in order to imagine a way of life that is depicted in the parables and anecdotes. The symbolism of the edifying stories and dialogues can be summed up in the mentorship of the great and venerable master as an ideal personal relationship, which excludes the kings, heroes, etc. on the basis of the mainstream values of these characters. On the other hand, as long as you are willing for utilitarian benefits, such an orientation can be described as disturbing the intimate clarity and spontaneity of the pure mind. Following this direction, we might notice that "if the success is once awakened to take place for individual purposes, then even the entire country etiquette becomes a talisman of power violating the longstanding morals." (Kuang-ming 1982: 123)

[7] Some analyzers of the treatise address the question of how he manages to sustain a positive moral vision in the face of this seemingly indiscriminate skepticism. In order to pinpoint more exactly what he doubts and why, Zhuangzi is compared to the Greek philosophers Plato and to Sextus Empiricus. His views on language and the role that it plays in shaping the reality we perceive are also examined at length. Other authors test the application of Zhuangzi's ideas to contemporary debates in critical theory. They also explore the religious and spiritual dimensions of the text and clarify the relation between Daoism and Buddhism.

fictional mode makes discursive strategies following the respective ideals of vital endurance and "spiritual anticipation".

Zhuangzi's skeptical attitude, his unusually imaginative use of language and his idea of spontaneity reject the mere focus on instrumental rationality. Soaring in the infinite – beyond any involvement with the daily routines – implies a kind of imaginary reality, where everything is provisional and timeless. The yearning for authentic life beyond conventions and restrictions leads to a "festive living" lacking any temporal horizon. The wayfarer immerses himself in the latent images on the border between waking and sleeping, which pushes him to extreme gestures beyond any motivation and purpose (the so called *non-action*). When the flow of thoughts is interrupted and the mind rides away to the unconscious, in the concentration of the moment and the transcendence of action, the sage achieves a state in which he cannot reflect what is happening in this "disorderly" situation. The virtue of Way (Dao)[8] is specific and real, but thinking on it – through parables and fiction – makes the reality mythologized, and the fantasy – an imaginary realm. The condition of the wayfarer, who follows Dao, is somehow like a dream or "ignorance", because he cannot talk about it – he has "forgotten words", his tongue is tied into a knot. Inside the wise man reigns emptiness in which no thoughts attach him to reality and he gains a direct perception of the Road.

Zhuangzi's boundless wandering discloses the impermanence of the hidden meaning of life, not in a metaphysical sense, but as a kind of existential analytic, or the so called "concrete philosophy"[9]. The "Equality of Things" is a doctrine of philosophical criticism focused on non-competition: equality (qi) requires changes in people's view of the world – to give up any self-centered attitude, looking evenly at the ten thousand things as natural phenomena with self-sufficiency.[10] The transition from the epistemological to the ontological implication challenges the legitimacy of one's own ideas. The role of philosophy embodied in the way of life is depicted with the story of wise men – e.g. the "fish are happy Debate" (not the daily behavior of ordinary people, but the philosopher's lifestyle).[11] Zhuangzi's playfulness and freedom – the wandering in the world of imagination –are expressed in the phrase "going rambling without destination".

As a way of thinking, imagination has its own premise, structure and strength and it is profoundly embodied in the *Zhuangzi*. With a large number of natural phenomena, such as *Piaofeng*, *Jianghai*, sound, color, baby, *Chu* dogs, etc., Zhuangzi is trying to convey the "anti-movement of the Tao", the imitation of nature which is fictional, allegorical. At the empirical level, the cosmological oppositions do not occur within the mind and behavior of the itinerant. The competing narratives coexist in the text, not clearly indicating what is fictitious or imaginary. Memory and imagination can include simple or complex images, but the goal is to point to memory the image of the occurring object – the experience of re-arranging the reality, and also fictional things that do not exist. Imagination in the broad sense is to recall the ideas forming the image thinking – the use of some elements of the experience to make tales retold in order to create more targeted contrast with the empirical reality. In the narrow sense, it means simply that the idea is not really the image of an object – we can imagine non-existent begins such as the fish *Kun* and the bird *Peng* from "Happy Tour" as an example of a mythical voyage.

The Far East god-like sages[12] wander above the ordinary situation of the daily life activities, even if they are among other humans. The attribution of wandering both to the immortals and the sages takes us to the core of the ambivalence attached to this condition – to wander means to know everything and in the same time

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[8] In order to demonstrate Zhuangzi's creative imagination, it is necessary to turn to the concept of Dao and its manifestation in the Daoist philosophy. *Daodejing* had already expounded Dao as a formless, nameless, all-embracing first principle. To describe the nonbeing as a creative potential, Laozi uses such epithets as elusive, rarefied and infinitesimal. The inscrutable mystery of the Way, the shapeless shape, the formless form lies in the metaphysical emptiness: "such is the scope of the all-pervading power of Dao".

[9] The term is invention of Gabriel Marcel, who is the author of *Homo Viator*

10 Meishi Zai compares Zhuangzi's philosophy – reconciling the opposites, underlying the interdependency of objective and subjective, and the equality in being of all things – to the English Romantic poets' aesthetic of the unity of imagination and reality.

[11] Through imagination is achieved a kind of consciousness possessing the ability of awareness in its overall sense of freedom. So, where every moment always brings up specific possibilities, even non-real things stay in the world outside of consciousness. Sages have been able to engage with the imaginary realm because it implies the transcendent nature of freedom.

[12] The god-like sage can be compared with the restless traveler insofar as both are inclined to move – whether inside the mind or out in the world – the latter by a lack of self-possession, the former by equanimity, especially when embarking on a journey with no return.

nothing. At every turn the wayfarer may be praised as an authority, or rejected as a tramp, an outcast and even vagabond. This leads us to the crucial question: is wandering a deviation from the truth, or a means toward it? The cause of wandering is illogical, pure freedom. The Daoist wayfarer is considered both as a knowledgeable man, who deserves respect, and as a god-like stranger, who breeds fear. The true sage knows, but he himself remains unknown, he comes from where "no one can see"; embraces everything without judging the deeds of men. Philosophers interpret the ideal sage as a wanderer. The tendency to remove wayfarers from the known world has further implications, for a movement that allegedly happens in unknown territory may as well not have happened at all. Those remote places may not exist and no one can see them. In its extreme form, the nowhere of wandering is conveyed by a tautology – the wayfarer comes from the *Village of Wandering*, the *Plain at the edges of the earth*, etc.

Conclusion: The Silk Road Perspective

Ancient wayfarers on the Silk Road routes passed through changing scenes, long days out of doors; freedom from the bondage of conventional life, and above all, the fascination of living among different cultures – such of primitive simplicity, far from civilization, or refined ones with greatest achievements. In East Asia, according to some scholars,[13] an original form of Daoist culture was shared by ancient Korea and China – shamanism and mountain worship have flourished in both regions. Korean Daoism includes an ancient and authentic indigenous component, but it has grown into a system with completely new dimensions when the organized Daoist teaching was transmitted from *Tang* China. The local and the introduced components ultimately merged into an entirely new form of Daoism with both similar and disparate characteristics to the Chinese school of Dao (*daojia* – 道家). Much of what is seen in the ceremonies of shamanism represents a deep affinity with the Universe and is actually nature-acknowledgment and respect for the principles that govern our world.

The *San-Shin* complex cultivated animistic Earth's forces: human or natural forms – its figurative language was created by observing life, with shared images used to describe the energy of a particular area or phenomenon. The stories of *Dangun* and the myths concerning the founding of Korea are doubtlessly influenced by tales of immortality, immanently connected with ancient indigenous culture. The Korean *kukson* – national immortals – used to be "free and easy wandering"' recluses, much similar to the Chinese great sages, described in the *Zhuangzi*.

The East Asian wayfarers, whether Confucian or Daoist, tend to harbor the optimistic outlook that, however opposed divergent views may appear, in the end they are bound to harmonize and complement one another. The eastern thinkers tend to find truth in every perspective, pursuing the middle way and they stress on mutual dependence – e.g. Zhuangzi "equality of things", the "axis of Dao" etc. In terms like nothingness, vacuity, free wandering (soaring, roaming) "one hears an echo of Rorty's pluralism that crosses the boundaries of age and culture. Nothingness is the field of free, imaginative, and self-creative human beings." (Kwang-sae 2006: 315) The Void means co-dependent origination in Buddhism, or, more generally, the East Asian sense of the absence of ego-centered self and the relational inter-dependence of beings. Fused with Confucian and Daoist features, it is the heart of far-eastern metaphysics.

Any discussion of the nature of wandering in East Asia must take into account the Silk Road cultural interaction and from this perspective, the importance of Daoism in comparison to Confucianism and Buddhism is relatively latent in the local consciousness. In most of the eastern route countries it is undeveloped as a system of ordination and yet Daoist theory and practice dominated the internal aspects of their popular beliefs. As it was demonstrated above, some scholars think that the concept of the Wayfarer (Man of Dao, wanderer in the boundless), was not imported from China at one particular time, but shares characteristics with Chinese Daoism as an intrinsically local tradition in each country. Prior to its transmission from Tang dynasty, in Korea and Japan there existed an indigenous form of worship similar to the Daoist rituals and beliefs in Early China.

Finally, we have to admit that the cultural development of East-Asia – its spirituality, art and way of life – were all dramatically impacted by a mixture of Daoist, Confucian and Buddhist thought with a traditional

[13] "Ultimately, the best way of dealing with this question is to regard Korean Daoism as comprising key elements of indigenous ideas and practices similar to those of Chinese Daoism and originally part of Korean culture. These elements were then fused with, and formalized under the influence of the systems and doctrines of Chinese Daoism later transmitted to Korea." Cf. Jung Jae-Seo 2000: 794-5.

shamanistic base. The naturalistic aesthetics, lifestyle and worldview of the eastern routes of the Silk Road: China, Korea and Japan, are similar because they were all influenced by such traditional shamanism, blended with local cultural aspects and the philosophical schools of Daoism, Confucianism and Buddhism.

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中国儒家文化通过丝绸之路在法国的传播与影响

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DISSEMINATION AND IMPACT OF CHINA'S CONFUCIAN CULTURE IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURY IN FRANCE

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Abstract

China's Confucian culture has not only influenced the Chinese history for 2000 years，but it also spread to Europe in the 17th and 18th century，especially to France，the cultural center of Europe．One of the media were the Christian missionaries in China，the other were French philosophers，scientists and statesmen．China's Confucian culture exercised prominent influence on the French culture，on the forming of the French philosophical thinking，on its edicts and state system．

Keywords：Confucian culture, Christian missionaries in China, France, dissemination and impact

丝绸之路是中西文化交流的通衢大道。虽然，“丝绸之路”一名是由德国人首创，但西方研究丝绸之路最早和成果最丰硕的则是法国人。中国早期的几位著名高僧大德的游记和传记，至今仍是丝路研究的奠基著作。它们均于19世纪由法兰西学院汉学讲座的主持教授们译作法文并做了大量注释，中国西域南海其它多部著作，也被入华耶稣会士和法国学者们推出了法文译注本，以这些经典为基础的西方汉学著作层出不穷。它们在整个欧洲都产生了巨大影响，特别是从法国启蒙时代政治活动家、经济学家、哲学家和文学家开始，波及到了整个法国社会，形成了一次中西文化交流的高潮，出现了持续一个多世纪西方的“中国热”风潮。丝路始终是渠道，文化永远是媒介。

17–18世纪，于欧亚大陆的东端，矗立着其势力达到鼎盛时期的大清王朝，在康乾盛世期间，儒家文化得以复兴和发展，儒家经典文献得以被重新考证、汇辑、整理和出版，中国文化史上的巨大里程碑工程《四库全书》得以问世（1772–）。虽然在此期间也出现了文字狱之类不尽人意的事件，但此时毕竟是开创了以儒家文化为代表的中国文化的兴旺发达的局面。

在欧亚大陆的另一极，欧洲第一王国法兰西处在以“朕即国家”自居的“太阳王”路易十四（1638–1715年）统治前后。伏尔泰在《路易十四时代》一书中，将路易十四比定为古罗马的奥古斯都（Augustus，公元前63一公元14年）大帝。路易十四的心腹权臣柯尔贝尔（Jean – Baptiste Colbert，1619–1683年）于1664年开始创建东印度公司，从而开通了与东方（特别是与印度和中国）的交流；他创办了法国金石和美文学科学院（1663年）、法国科学院（1666年）和皇家建筑学院（1671年），特别是创办了法兰西罗马学院（法国四大海外学院中的第一所，其余三所依次是法兰西雅典学院、法兰西开罗学院和法兰西远东学院）、专修东方语言的法国青年语言学院（东方现代语言学院的前身）和巴黎天文台。世界上的首部《百科全书》—狄德罗（Denis-Diderot，1713–1784年）主编的《百科全书》也在这段时期问世，成了传播诸多先进或具超前性学科的综合知识、抨击教会权利和国家反动势力、宣传科学和文化思想的一大阵地，并从此彻底改变了出版物的性质与形式，创立了百科全书派这个崭新的学派。

那么在欧亚大陆的两极，以儒家文化为代表的中国文明与以天主教文化为代表的法兰西文明之间，曾发生过什么样的交流、影响和互动呢？中国儒教文化是怎样在法国传播并施加影响的呢？法国20世纪下半叶的大汉学家戴密微（Paul Demiéville，1894–1979年）于其名篇《中欧最早的哲学交流》一文中指出，这种交流对于双方来说，仅为一种粗浅的试探，但它们却具有深邃的后果与深远的影响，丰富了古大陆两端的文明。本文试就中国儒家文化在法国的传播与影响，略作钩沉。

一、中国儒家文化向欧洲的传播

中国儒家文化于17–18世纪向法国传播的媒介，应归功于入华耶稣会士们的书简、著述与译作。我们知道，入华耶稣会士们根据利玛窦制订的“适应中国文化”的策略，从事了大量有关中国科学和文化的研究工作。我们基本上可以说，他们在这一阶段，于传教中是失败的，在文化交流方面却功不可没。即使在文化传播领域，他们在向欧洲介绍中国儒家文化方面，要比向中国介绍西方文化方面的成绩更大。

16–18世纪，中国儒家文化的西传以及中国在欧洲（特别是在法国）施加影响的媒介，固然有商贾、游客和使节，但最重要者仍应首推入华传教士们。自16世纪起，随着地理大发现，西方殖民列强纷纷东来，传教士也就应运而生了，在来华的基督宗教一天主教诸修会中，除了耶稣会之外，还有方济各会、遣使会、多明我会、冉森派、奥古斯定会、巴黎外方传教会、圣母圣心会、新教诸差会等等。

法国18世纪的空想社会主义者和大史学家圣·西门（Saint – Simon，1706–1825年）于其《回忆录》中，在1788年之下写道：“在有关中国祭祖和尊孔的礼仪问题上，近期所爆发的争论已经是乱哄哄的了。耶稣会士们允许他们的那些新入教的教徒尊孔祭祖，而巴黎外方传教会却严禁如此行事……已经有人写了整整的几部历史著作了”。当时在法国确实出版大量有关这场中国礼仪之争的著述和译著，这场争论震撼了整个法国和欧陆。它事实上仅仅是由于发现不同文明，而在欧洲造成的震撼，也是欧洲对直到当时所坚持的特有文明发生动摇的表现形式。同在1700年，培尔于其《历史批评辞典》中指出：“今天，整个欧洲都响起了传教士们的争执声。传教士们在欧洲互相指责，教廷枢机部、巴黎大学、王公和作家们都在此问题上不停地活动并作出了百种举措。非常奇怪的是，传教士们的分裂、他们的争执及其互相吞噬，却使他们取得了值得他们吹嘘的成绩与进展”。这就是说，在欧洲爆发的中国礼仪之争，反而促进欧洲形成了一股热衷于谈论中国的强大“中国热”风潮，从而促进了中国儒家文化在欧洲的传播。实际上，中国礼仪之争的要害在于传教区是否允许已接受基督宗教归化的中国人，在不伤害基督宗教正统的前提下，实施作为儒家文化之特征的尊孔祭祖的礼仪；是否可以将基督徒们的“Dieu”比定为儒家学派的“上帝”或“天”；是否能以“天主”（“天主”无疑是一个起源于佛教的名称）之名而祈祷之。这也是欧洲人在与儒家文化交流中发生的最早撞击。

欧洲最早的中国儒学和理学概念，出现在最早入华的耶稣会士罗明坚和利玛窦的著作中。罗明坚（Michel Ruggieri，1543–1607年）是1579年莅华的意大利耶稣会士，字复初。他是利玛窦的先驱，是第一个用中文发表天主教教理书的人，即1584年于广州付梓的《圣教实录》。他也是第一个将儒家基本经典《四书》译成拉丁文的西洋人。他本人虽为意大利 人，但其著作后来主要是在法国流行。罗明坚第1次向欧洲人介绍了Luzi（儒子或儒士），称他们为一类“圣人”。这可能是欧洲有关儒学的第一种印象。利玛窦的《基督教远征中国史》于1615年由金尼阁用拉丁文文本刊行于世，1616年便出版法文版，随后于1617年和1618年再版。法国人通过此书，了解到了有关中国儒学的更多真实情况。因为该书于第1卷第10章中就明确提到：“儒学是中国所固有的，并且是国内最古老的一种。中国人以儒学治国，存在着大量儒家经典文献，远比其他教派更著名”。“儒学是目前被普遍信仰的学说”。他认为儒士宇宙观中的某些思想，是“今天流行的观念”。此外，利玛窦还可能研究过理学宇宙观，因为他于1604年致耶稣会会长的一封书简中，曾明确地提到了“太极”和“理”的观念。

龙华民（Nicolas Longobardi，1559–1655年）是利玛窦在中国传教区的继承人，系1597年莅华的意大利耶稣会士，字精华。他一生中有58年是在中国度过的，直至客死于华夏大地为止。他于1624年左右撰成一部《论中国宗教的某些问题》，但由于受中国礼仪之争毒化气氛的影响，它直到1676年才由西班牙入华多明我会士闵明我（Dominico Navarette）用西班牙文本在马德里发表，刊载于其论战性巨著《历史研究》中。此书在长时间内，仅限于在传教士们的狭窄圈子中流传。该书的法文版于1201年在巴黎出版，由巴黎外方传教会的何神父（Louis Cicé，1648–1727年）主教自西班牙文译出，从而使法国读者大众更加广泛地了解了龙华民的著作。此书后来还出版过葡萄牙文译本。它是欧洲出版的第一部有关中国儒家文化，特别是有关被欧洲人称为“新儒学”之理学的论著。这本小书也成了18世纪欧洲人士对儒家文化了解和理解的宝贵源泉之一。它具有很高的学术价值，其出版也颇具历史意义。作者于其书中指出，中国儒家文化完全是无神论文化，绝不是宗教文化。正是这本书，才启发马勒伯朗士（Nicolas Malebranches，1638–1715年）产生灵感，写成了一本《一位基督教哲学家与一名中国哲学家的对话》，开创了中西文化“对话”体裁著作之先河。

柏应理（Phihppe Couplet，1622–1693年）是比利时入华耶稣会士，于1656年到达中国的江西。他与意大利入华耶稣会士殷铎泽（Prospero Intorcetta，1625–1696年）、荷兰人鲁日满（François Rougemont，1624–1676年）以及奥地利入华耶稣会士恩理格 （Christian Herdtricht，1624–1684年）

联袂，于1687年在巴黎出版拉丁文本的《中国的哲学家孔夫子》一书。这几位入华耶稣会士都在华居住过30年左右。此书还带有一个中文书名《西文四书直解》。其中有100多页篇幅的绪论，全面介绍了孔子与中国儒家文化。其中的《孔子传》，疑出自殷铎泽神父之大手笔。此外便是《大学》、《中庸》和《论语》等儒家经典的拉丁文译本。译本系由这一批耶稣会士们译于1660年左右。《绪论》是柏应理神父在教案期间，于1667年被囚禁在广州牢狱中写成的。因为在当时广州监狱中关押着从北京和中国其他各地放逐到此的18名耶稣会士和4名其他修会的传教士，而且有关中国礼仪和汉语名词之争，也正是在那里展开的。出版该书的目的，旨在把孔子描述成了一位全面的世俗伦理学家，断定他的伦理准则和自然神学统治着整个中华帝国，从而支持耶稣会士们于近期间归化整个中国的希望。它也证明在华耶稣会士们直接介入了欧洲有关中国儒教文化与礼仪的那场旷日持久的大辩 论。此书既深入论述了孔子本人的学说，又介绍了晚期的宋明理学，特别是程氏兄弟、周敦颐、邵雍、张载、朱熹以及明人的《性理大全》一书。事实上，《中国的哲学家孔夫子》是一部为利玛窦适应中国儒家文化政策辩护的书。此书在向欧洲，特别是在向法国传播中国儒教文化的历史上，可以说是一座里程碑。

马若瑟（Joseph Henry – Marie de Prémare，1666–1736年）神父是法国入华耶稣会士，1698年莅华，在华度过近40年后，逝世于澳门。西方第一个汉学讲座的创始人雷慕沙曾讲过：“在入华传教士中，于中国文学造诣最深者，当首推马若瑟与宋君荣二神父。此二人的中国学问，非当时之同辈与其他欧洲人所能及”[1]（P256））。马若瑟研究中国儒家经典，是为了从中寻找中国最古老的传说，特别是《诗经》中的隐喻，以证明中国创造形象文字和编辑经书之前，就已经知道了天主，从而有利于其布教事业。他将许多中国儒家典籍邮寄给当时法国皇家文库的傅尔蒙（Etienne Fourmont），如《十三经》和明人的《元人百种曲》（《元曲选》）。伏尔泰的《中国孤儿》，正是根据马若瑟翻译的纪君祥所著《赵氏孤儿》而改编的。马若瑟还用法文翻译了不少儒家经典并撰写了许多有关儒家文化的法文论著，以向法国介绍和传播中国的这种居统治地位的文化。如其法文译本《六书析义》1卷、《前书经时代与中国神话之探源》、《中国语言志略》（1728年）、《书经》选译、《诗经》8篇译本和《经书解说绪论》。此外，他寄回法国的大量书简中，也都详细地介绍了中国的儒家文化。

刘应（Claude de Visdelou，1656–1737年）是法国入华耶稣会士。他一生中曾译著过不少有关中国儒家文化的作品。如《中国哲学家的宗教史》、《礼记》多篇译本、《书经》拉丁文译本6卷、《中庸》拉丁文译本、拉丁文译本《中国历史》6卷、《中国人之礼仪与祭祀》和《汉文〈四书〉年代考》等，这些也是入华传教士们向欧洲传播儒家文化的重要一环。

冯秉正（Moriac de Mailla，1669–1748年）是法国入华耶稣会士，1703年来华，45年之后逝世于北京。他下了6年的功夫，以朱熹的《通鉴纲目》的译著为底本，编写了巨著《中国通史》，于1737年寄至巴黎，但一直等到其死后才在1777–1785年间；分12卷出版。从该书530名预订人名单中，我们便可以看到法国18世纪“中国儒学文化热”高潮中的地区

和人员阶层划分，也可以看到中国儒家文化在法国的传播概况。在已经考证清楚的474人中，巴黎326人，波尔多48人，里昂29人；军人85人（22.79％）、神职人员69名（18.05％）、法官43人（11.53％）、自由职业者42名（11.26％）金融人士41名（10.99％）、政府行政官吏30名 (8.04%)、女贵族24名（6.43％）[2]（P83–123）。

钱德明（Jearl – Joseph – Marie Amiot，1718–1793年）神父是法国入华耶稣会士。他自1750年入华，1751年晋京入宫，共在北京生活42年和在皇宫中生活25年之后，当他获悉路易十六在法国大革命中被处死的消息后，因悲愤而突发中风暴卒。钱德明神父撰写了不少向欧洲介绍中国儒家文化的著述。如《孔子传》，1784年写于北京．其中广泛地使用了孔子的《论语》、《家语》以及《史记·世家》，《阙里志》，此外还有《圣门礼乐统》、《四书人物别传》等，载入《中国杂纂》第12卷；《孔子传大事略志》，附24幅图像，出版于1788年前后；《孔子诸大弟子传略》，1784–1785年撰于北京，内附颜回、曾参、子思、孟子和子路传，载《中国杂纂》第13卷；《中国历代名贤传》，多取材于朱熹之《文献通考》，连载于《中国杂纂》第3、5、8和10卷，其中主要介绍了某些儒生并配有图像；《中国兵法》的法文译注本，载《中国杂纂》第7卷，主要包括《孙吴司马穰苴兵法》的法文译注本；《中国古今音乐篇》和《中国古代的宗教舞蹈》，主要是论述了中国儒家礼乐文明。特别是他的《由经典古籍证明的中国历史之远古性》一文，载《中国杂纂》第2卷；这部长达300页的重要论著，解释了儒学最早和最基本的内容。其中特别以：“太极图”的形式，解释了“新儒学”一理学，他称之为“儒学近代形式”。作者长篇大论地解释了周敦颐所说的“无极而太极”的意义。钱德明认为，近代理学家们已丧失了《中国的哲学家孔夫子》一书所赋予他们的那种危险而又令人烦恼的面貌。因为在他之前的传教士们，都偏爱儒家经典的原文，而摒弃理学家们的注疏。钱德明认为理学家们的思想遭到了粗暴对待，但事实上是他们自己并未注意到，在自己身边广泛传播着唯物主义思想。

韩国英（Pierre Martial Cibot，1727–1780年）也是法国入华耶稣会士，1759年入华，在华共生活22年，居京逾20载。他主要是一名动植物学家，但也向欧洲和特别是向法国介绍过中国儒家文化。他于《中国杂纂》第8–9卷中发表了《中国语言文学论》，详细阐述了中国的《六书》以及儒家的道德、艺术、历史、宗教、文学、社交、风俗习惯等，特别是其中包括《诗经》若干篇的译本。除了孔子之外，韩国英于其书中还讲到了周敦颐和朱熹，他认为朱熹是中国曾有过的最伟大的天才，酷似法国的培尔（Pierre Bayle，1647–1706年）；周敦颐酷似法国的唯物主义哲学家伽桑狄（Pierre Gassendi，1592–1655年）。他认为周敦颐的“理气”学说要大大优于毕达哥拉斯（Pythagore）的对数、卡利斯特拉特（Callistrate）的质量论、德谟克利特（Démocrite）的宇宙原子论、泰勒斯（Thales）的“水是万物基础”论、笛卡儿（Descartes）的三种实体论、伊壁鸠鲁（Epicure）的原子说、莱比布茨（Leibnitz）的单子论。他的这些译介与比较，对于儒家文化在法国的传播，也起了不容忽略的作用。

杜赫德（Jean – Baptiste du Halde，1674–1743年）是一位从未到过中国的法国耶稣会士。他自1735年起，推出了4卷本的《中华帝国全志》，其内容全部是入华耶稣会士们寄回去的书简和著述。当然杜赫德也曾作过增删、改写和其他编辑加工工作。当时，中国儒学和理学的形象，在欧洲甚为微妙。如他于这套丛书第3卷中发表的《论中国当代文士的学派》，

则是上文提到的《中国的哲学家孔夫子》的编译文。另一篇《中国程氏哲学家对世界起源与现状的观点》，系由法国入华耶稣会士殷弘绪（François – Xavier d’Entrccolles，1662–1741年）译自汉文的。这一套文集中，有关儒学和理学的著述相当多。再加上它已被先后译作英、德和俄文本，所以它流传更广阔和影响更强大。

雷慕沙（Abel Rémusat，1788–1832年）虽然主要活动于19世纪上半叶，但他本人的经历就是入华耶稣会士们的著述影响的结果。他于1815年1月16日，在法兰西学院创设了“汉语和鞑靼语一满语语言文学讲座”。在他逝世后11年时出版的其论文集《亚洲论丛》第5卷中，发表了一篇《论中国哲学》的文章。在18世纪时就被入华传教士和西方哲圣们，

捧上了天的中国儒家文化，又被雷慕沙过高地估计了，其玄学理论既模糊又不连贯。但全面来看，雷慕沙有关儒学的研究未有多大进步，他对道教的评价却频有影响。

郭弼恩（Charles Le Gobien，1653–1708年）虽从未到过中国，但他由于负责入华耶稣会士们寄回法国的书简与著述等档案，故首创《耶稣会士书简集》的无河。他于1702年在巴黎推出首卷，共出版8卷。由于当时欧洲形势的需要，郭氏似乎颇为偏爱中国儒家的伦理道德、政府体制、选官制度，经典史籍。前文已提到，这套书简集为中国儒家文化在欧洲广泛传播并产生深远影响，功不可没。

二、中国儒家文化在法国的影响

文化传播是文明影响的前提条件。一旦当必需的条件具备，也就是说在文化背景、人员交流、资料积累方面，都作好充分准备时，中国儒家文化对于欧洲，特别是对于16–18世纪的法国之影响，也就会缓慢而又卓有成效地发展起来了。

非常奇怪的是，当时无论是在华传教士们还是欧洲的许多文人学者，他们中有许多人都奉孔子为基督宗教的先驱，而同时又将无神论归于了中国学者。

在欧洲和特别是在法国，17–18世纪出版的有关中国哲学和宗教的著作铺天盖地。对这两个问题的讨论，也是不同修会的传教士们主要争论的焦点。它们震撼了整个欧陆，而且既错综复杂又极为激烈。如果说传教士们在许多问题上从不能达成令人满意的共识的话，那么法国的文化精英们，却都利用他们的争论而获取下有关真正儒学的相当完整的知识。儒家事实上从不企图使用“宗教”的名称，而传教士们或出于基督宗教布教的需要，或者是出于成见和过分僵硬的宗教原则，始终都持将儒学视为一种宗教。其原因首先是由于传教士们是在欧洲哲学尚未从神学中彻底摆脱出来的时候到达中国的．当时宗教对于抽象思维的影响尚很强大。这些传教士们当然不可能设想出一种与他们的宗教大相径庭的思想意识。由于传教的需要，复以为讨得中国皇帝的欢心，入华耶稣会士们有意地将“儒教”与基督教相提并论。其他修会的入华传教士们，又嫉妒其耶稣会教友们成了中国宫廷中的高官，所以要不惜一切代价地破坏这种局面。后者公开声称，他们来华是为了传教而不是要向中国人学习。他们认为，无论儒家文化好坏与否，都与自己的基督宗教风马牛不相及。从信仰的观点来看，儒生文士们都是无神论者，这些人执著于本世间的世俗生活，根本不关心“永生”，而且由于祭祀而成为“迷信者”。这样一来，这种既是“无神论”，又是“迷信”的儒家文化，当然要受“上帝使徒”们的抨击。

我们掌握了大批当时有关“中国人的哲学与宗教”这种老生常谈内容的著述，而且大部分都是用拉丁文写成的。因为拉丁文比法文更适宜翻译某种外国文献，更可以准确地表达儒家经典的本义，它也是17–18世纪学术界和神学界的一种国际通行语言。法文本属拉丁语系，故法国人比英、德及北欧人能更多地接触和更好地理解中国儒家经典，从而造成了法国成了欧陆受中国儒家文化影响最大的局面。传教士们撰写了多部有关孔子的拉丁文著作，在书林中占据一席颇为受尊崇的地位。如上文提到的《中国的哲学家孔夫子》即用拉丁文写成。

众所周知，18世纪是个法国世纪，法国是欧洲，启蒙运动的主战场。当时也用法文出版了大量有关中国儒家文化的论著。在17–18世纪，法国出版的论述儒家文化著作如此之多，以致于对有关中国的其他内容均遭到了不同程度的忽略，使人误认为中国只有儒学一家哲学和唯有儒学一门学问。但他们介绍孔子，在许多情况下，都已面目全非，成了“西化”的孔老夫子。中国人把孔子视为一名哲学家，而传教士们却奉他为基督教的先驱，甚至还认为他曾预见过耶稣一基督的降生。我们仅引《中国人的宗教礼仪》[3]一文中的对孔子的描述为例，以说明这种奇谈怪论。

“西方圣人曾认为，孔子曾预言到耶稣一基督。卫匡国神父于其《中国史》中补充说，孔子似乎预见到耶稣一基督降生的秘密，甚至还指出了实现这种降生的年代，即当有人猎杀一只小动物时，让孔子作出了这种预言。据中国人认为，唯有当一名特别圣洁的人出世时，这种吉祥异象才会出现，它可以向整个大地宣布，一种自数世纪以来就许诺的吉祥将会出现。孔子获悉了这只动物的死亡，便两次哀叹般惊呼：‘麒麟曾下令让你出现，当时吾教正走向衰败，你的出现将使我的全部施教都无益了’。由于麒麟是一种很温和的动物，所以它很可能是暗示上帝的羔羊。况且孔子逝世的年代也与救世主降生的年代有关－－尽管要早478年”，

儒家文化与基督教的这种所谓相似性，是由卫匡国神父人为地确立的。但它不会不使耶稣会士们感到高兴。对于中国文明抱消极态度的雷诺多（Renaudot）修道院长摒弃了这种荒廖的论点，因为孔子确实从未曾预言过耶稣一基督的降生。雷诺多的用意，是出自他对中国文明的轻蔑，卫匡国的行为则是为其传教事业服务。对于中国人来说，孔子遗憾的麒麟之死亡只具有象征意义。中国传说中认为，这种动物具有一种神奇的本领，因为它是动物界中的最聪明者。孔子本人既博学又具有崇高的品德，却无法使诸侯们理解和实行其理论。麒麟是动物中最聪明者，但人类却并不重视它的降临并蔑视它。这就是传教士们杜撰类似故事的本意。传教士们很可能是受唐代韩愈有关麒麟与圣贤关系的论述之启发，才持如此之怪论。

卫匡国当然知道，中国人的麒麟与基督徒的羔羊之间，没有任何共同之处。但他与其教友们故意歪曲儒学，以便在儒学与基督宗教之间找到一个共同点。方济各会士和多明我会士们，出于对耶稣会士们在华活动之成就的嫉妒，也在儒家文化问题发动了攻击。多明我会士让• 德巴兹（Jean de Paz）这样阐述过中国人的尊孔行为：“世人会在我们入华教友们的记述中发现，一名新受归化的教徒，于某一天面对数位不信基督人士而抗议说，他只能像对孔子一样行师徒之礼，而不是像对神（上帝）—样崇拜之。中国人听到这通言论后便忍俊不禁地对他说：‘您是否认为我们中有任何人会对孔子这样崇拜呢？我们清楚地知道孔子也是如同我们一样的人。如果我们尊孔，那完全是由于他留传给我们的学说，而使我们如同师徒一般地尊敬他’。同一批教士还介绍说，如果名列文士之中的某名基督徒不认为应依俗向孔子行礼，那么高官显贵们就会指责他欺师背祖，而不是认为他很少有宗教虔诚心和成为不信基督者”[4]。“我们还应对此略作诠释，中国那些不信基督教的学者们都普遍宣扬无神论，承认未感觉到的任何实物和道德。中国人完全如同撒都该教徒们那样，既不接受天使，也不承认魔鬼。然而，他们坚信逝世已久的孔子之灵魂既不能给他们带来好处，也从不冀希望从他那里捞到任何好处”。这大概就是传教士们对“子不语怪力乱神”的理解了。

在有关孔子的问题上，耶稣会士们又提出了另一种内容：“孔夫子鼓动其弟子们从天、畏天和事天，如同爱己一样爱其近邻，要克己，非礼勿听、非礼勿语、非礼勿行。更加引人注目的是，他主张己所不欲，勿施于人”[5]这一段文字同样也出现在《论中国人的宗教》中了。作者还讲一步补充说：“在阅读到一种如此美好伦理，以及一种应尽义务的如此卓越的典范记述后，谁还会不相信孔子是基督徒，并曾在耶稣一基督的学校中受过教育呢？我们应特别注意，作为上天之礼物的这种正直性格，而人类后来都从这种正直性格上堕落了。当然，–一名基督徒也不可能表现得更好了。”

通过阅读这些引文，我们便可以清楚地看到，传教士们在有关孔子伦理的看法上是一致的。但耶稣会士们当时都认为，伦理取为决于宗教。多明我会士们却证明，中国人的伦理独立于宗教。他们对于耶稣会士们的指责，却产生了出人预料的效果。法国的思想家们本来都倾向于世俗伦理，由此而形成了百科全书派学者们的思想，他们广泛地接受各种知识、信息和资料。由此又产生了一种奇怪现象，由于耶稣会士们的崇拜而遭到歪曲的中国儒家文化，受到了其对手—多明我会士和方济各会士们的揭露，后者却取得了最后胜利。耶稣会士们却最终被认为受到了其本质为无神论的儒家文化所“归化”，所以他们于1742年受到了教皇的绝罚。

17–18世纪时，法国的大哲学家们如同繁星灿烂一般，个个都成了启蒙时代的娇子。他们之中的许多人，均在不同程度上受过中国儒家文化的影响。

培尔是法国18世纪的异端哲学家，著名《历史批评辞典》的编写者、启蒙思想家和唯物主义哲学家。他通过入华耶稣会士柏应理的著作而获得了有关中国儒释道三家文化的知识，特别是熟悉了中国儒学文化的唯物主义和无神论。培尔是出于反对路易十四的偏执而开始将注意力转向中国的，由对基督教的成见而转向无神论。在欧陆爆发的中国“礼仪之争”事件，又为他提供了深入了解中国的契机。他对于当时似乎被普遍接受的《圣经》中包括了全部人类历史的思想提出了质疑，认为信仰某一尊神并非是道德的标准，以中国儒家的宽容精神来抨击西方基督教社会的狭隘。他认为像中国儒学文士那样的非基督教道德，并不比基督徒们的道德逊色多少，中国儒学的无神论并不是少数哲学家们的特有专权，而是一种在中国占突出地位的哲学理论。培尔于其《有关彗星的不同思想》中认为，中国儒家文化的无神论远不会有碍于中华民族的形成和存在，相反却造成了该国的繁荣昌盛。培尔的全部唯物主义思想都受中国儒学的影响很大。

法国的唯心主义哲学家、神学家和笛卡儿派学家马勒伯朗士受入华耶稣会士中的“异端分子”傅圣泽（Jean – François Fouquet，1665—1714年）的影响，故而对中国又有另一种与众不同的看法。它虽于其《一名基督教哲学家与一名中国哲学家的对话录》（1708年）中，对他杜撰的那名中国儒学哲学家大肆嘲弄，但他的神学思想明显受中国神话的影响。他希望从中国人的思想中觅寻归化中国人的手段，马勒伯朗士极力鼓吹人类的认识均来源于神，而不是出于对事物的直接观感。此人深受儒学与朱程理学中理气观的影响，力主将朱熹的“理”比定为基督教的上帝，这–点在某种程度上奠定了其神学观。他反复声称中国的儒家玄学为一种无神论，与斯宾诺莎的唯物论或泛神论具有明显的共同之处。他的《对话录》实际上是借中国之名而攻击斯宾诺莎。所以，中国儒家思想已渗透进当时法国的笛卡儿派神学家和唯心主义学者中了。

法国的独立思想家和怀疑论哲学的鼻祖拉摩特·勒瓦耶（François La Mothe Le Vayer，1588–1672年）的《论异教徒们的道德》（1614年）是一篇明显具有历史批判论特征和怀疑论色彩相当浓厚的著作。他提出以一种全新的思想来拯救不信基督者，这当然是由于发现中国儒家文化而造成的结果。他根据中国文人儒士的例证说明，在基督教使徒们未曾到达过的异教徒中，同样也可以获得拯救。由于中国历史纪年要较《圣经》纪年古老得多，所以他与入华耶稣会士们一样地坚持认为，只有尊崇孔夫子，才能实现归化中国人的目的。拉摩特·勒瓦耶特别是受到了入华耶稣会士金尼阁所介绍的孔子形象的影响。此人特别是开创了将孔夫子与苏格拉底进行比较，并认为孔夫子就是中国的苏格拉底之先例。他尤其赞扬孔夫子的道德与圣性。正是中国的这些儒家文化才使拉摩特·勒瓦耶成为一名不信教的独立思想家和作家。

伏尔泰（Voltaire，1691—1778年）是法国18世纪的启蒙思想家、反对暴政的批判主义哲学家。他的“中国热”思想主要有三大部分：中国的古老历史、儒学和风俗，伏尔泰终生以“亲华派学者”而著称（尽管他晚年更为关心印度），是18世纪法国“中国热”潮流的主要始作俑者。伏尔泰于其《风俗论》（1740---1756年）、《路易十四时代》（1732年）和《哲

学辞典》（1764年）等传世名著中，都包括专门论述中国的内容。他幼年求学于耶稣会学院，又与不少入华耶稣会士们保持交往，故深受他们有关中国著述的影响。伏尔泰为写一部研究世界起源和人类文明的发展史，才开始注意到其历史源流要远远超过《圣经》，或者是越出《圣经》范畴之外的中国的古老历史；他为了反对当时欧洲的暴政和提倡“开明君主制”，才研究儒教和特别是其中“仁”的观念，并且由此而获“欧洲的孔夫子”之雅号；他为了欧洲正在如火如荼地展开的“反无耻之战”，才注重研究一种东方的异国文化并赞扬中国风俗，他的“中国热”思想完全是为自己的理论服务的。换言之，他的一整套哲学理论都明显带有中国儒家文化影响的烙印，儒学成了他的哲学体系形成中的一种重要因素。

法国政治经济学家、启蒙思想家和法学家孟德斯鸠（Charles Louis de Secondat Montesquieu，1689–1755年）是三权（立法、行政和司法）分立制的首创人，其影响一直延续到今天的整个西方世界。他于其《论法的精神》中曾多次论述到中国及其儒家文化，但往往是前后矛盾、互不连贯。其目的显然是为了消除由入华耶稣会士们造成中国儒家文化社会的形象。他通过入华耶稣会士们的著述才了解到了中国儒家文化，也深受与其他会友们反目的傅圣泽游说的影响。孟德斯鸠以西方政府的标准而认为中国拥有一种专制政府，但却又根据其所谓“气候理论”而认为中国人温顺驯服，保持淳朴风俗，不受豪华和富贵的腐蚀。他赞扬中国政府执法严厉，认为要治理像中国这样一个幅员辽阔的国家，必须使用“法的精神”。他特别欣赏中国的税收政策并积极向法国以及整个欧洲推荐。他研究了中国的文官政府、明经取仕、御史制度、皇权、政权的稳定性、礼仪和民族同化等问题，认为这一切均有相当大的价值。孟德斯鸠正是在研究了中国和印度之后，才确定了其政府体制理论。所以，在孟德斯鸠的三权分立思想的形成过程中，也受到了中国儒家政府体制的影响。

法国18世纪启蒙运动的先驱、教育家、寂静派和神秘论学者费奈伦（François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénélon，1651–1715年）曾对中国儒家韵礼仪、教育、皇权和经济做过深入研究，他于其《死人的对话》（1609年）中，也将孔夫子与苏格拉底作了此较。由入华耶稣会士们描述的中国政府与费奈伦的理想政府之间具有很大的吻合性，特别是在重农方面，所 以，费奈伦研究了中华民族的起源问题，中国的官民和君臣之间的父子般关系后，便确立了其君权思想。他研究了中国的民众福利问题，从而加强了其重农主义倾向。在他的《泰雷马克历险记》（1690年）以及论教育的著作中，更明显地带有中国儒家文化影响的痕迹。当然，费奈伦更多地则是想在西方而不是在中国，找到改革法国政治的模式，故而又对中国持批评态度。

18世纪法国受中国影响最大者莫过于重农学派了。该学派可以说是历史上的第一个科学的经济学派，它在法国历史上曾经产生过不小的影响。其代表人物是杜果（Anne – Robert Jacques Turgot，1727–1781年）和魁奈（François Quesnay，1694–1774年）。他们二人均受到了中国儒家文化的很大影响，是为法国18世纪“中国热”推波助澜的主要学者和政治家。特别是魁奈出任法国崇拜中国的代表人物蓬巴杜夫人的家庭医生。重农派学者跃出了当时欧洲人只热衷于研究中国儒家哲学、礼仪、宗教、历史之臼穴，顿生借鉴中国经济制度来改革欧洲经济之奇想。魁奈创建了他自己的政治经济学体系。杜果在出任路易十六财政大臣（1774年8月）时，曾根据中国之榜样试行过财政、行政和政治改革。中国自古以来就是一个农业大国，儒家文化高度重视农业，历代中国王朝都奉农业为国之根本，以自给自足的 农业庄园经济为基础。入华耶稣会士们有关中国农业的著述甚丰。他们还特别提及中国皇帝每年都亲扶犁把而躬耕第一趟地，以祈告天地保丰年。这种记述后来甚至还被以绘画形式在欧洲广泛传播，吸引了重农派学者，使他们更加坚信世界第一财源为土地，第一职业为农业，从而在中国找到了他们理想的农业国模式。故魁奈曾于1758年上谏路易十五国王，要求他仿效中国皇帝的楷模，而于春季亲耕。魁奈的名著《中华帝国的专制主义》和杜果《关于改革和财富分配的想法》（1766年）均为这方面的代表作。杜果于其书中发表了法国学者们在被入华耶鲂会士们派遣到法国的高类思（Aloy Ko）和杨德望（EtienneYang）回国时，交给他们的中国问题调查提纲（其中有近半数是有关中国经济问题的。前30条是有关中国农业的，其次15条是有关中国的艺术和工艺的，最后6条是有关自然科学的）。他们于其社会大构思中颇受中国儒家文化之社会结构的吸引。魁奈虽对中国儒家政府的专制性持批评态度，但仍认为这是一种理想化政府。他们均向欧洲推荐中国的政府模式。

尼古拉·弗雷烈（Nicolas Fréret，1688–1747年）是当时法国最关心中国的人文学者，他与法国的入华耶稣会士们的通讯足可以证明这一点。弗雷烈尤为注重对于中国历史纪年和帝国起源问题的研究，他从1743年起被任命为法国科学院的常务秘书。法国20世纪下半叶的最大汉学家戴密微（Paul Demiéville，1894–1979年）称他为“最具有好奇心、最认真严肃和最富有自由思想的学者[6]。他的人文科学思想在很大程度上是受入华耶稣会士们所 介绍的中国儒家文化的影响。特别是他利用自己在金石的美文学科学院的领导地位，在该院的刊物、报告会及与海外通讯交流中，都大力促进对中国及其儒学的研究。由于与宋君荣的通讯，他才得出了中国儒生文士都是无神论者，或者是像斯宾诺莎那样的泛神论者。他根据柏应理神父的著作而认为孔夫子具有一种神秘教理，认为儒家风俗是中国最崇高和最受器重的一门科学。他与傅尔蒙（Etienne Fourmont，1683–1745年）曾企图利用中国福建人黄嘉略（Ar- cade Hoang）被入华耶稣会士们携往法国的机会，推荐他出任巴黎国立图书馆馆员并任太阳王的中文翻译。他们曾共同制订了编写汉语语法书和汉语辞典的计划，并且已完成了相当多的工作。但由于傅、弗之不和与黄氏于1716年早逝，这些计划均被搁浅或胎死腹中。弗雷烈和傅尔蒙由此而都成了在法国本土上从事中国儒家文化研究的奠基人，而且还将汉学研究纳入到了科学院人文科学的范畴。

法国百科全书派哲学家狄德罗在文学、哲学、伦理学、美学、政治学诸领域中都颇有建树，是法国启蒙时代的科学巨匠。由于他幼年受业于耶稣会士，故对入华耶稣会士们的著述很感兴趣，深受中国和印度的影响，尤其是在其唯物主义思想方面更为如此。他曾为其1753年出版的《百科全书》（《科学、艺术和技术萃编》）写过不少有关东方哲学与宗教的条目。后来，他又积极参与雷纳尔（Rayna1）主编的《两个印度的哲学和政治史》一书（1772、1774和1781年版）的工作。这两种著作涉及到了法国18世纪介绍中国的两个主要方面：一方面是开阔有关中国儒家文化的知识和好奇心问题，另一方面是将中国奉为欧洲楷模的合理性问题。雷纳尔于《两个印度的哲学和政治史》的第2版中。只列有《吹捧者论中国现状》一章。狄德罗对此不甚满足，因而又于该书的第3版中增加了《诽谤者论中国的形象》一节，共分20个问题论述中国。面对由吹捧者和诽谤者造成的不同中国形象，狄德罗指出：“为了做出决断，则必须等待使那些为人公正、识别力强、精通中国文字和语言的人，来往奔走于中国各省间，居住在农村，自由地与各社会阶层的中国人交往的时代，这一切方为可能。”

18世纪时，由于法国的带动，在欧洲大陆出版了一大批形形色色的《百科全书》，甚至形成了一个“百科全书”学派。1734年出版的德国百科全书性辞书《科学与艺术百科辞典》，于第37卷中

发表了一条长达10页的“中国哲学”条目，实际上是抄袭自布鲁克（Johan Jacob Brucker）于1742–1744年在莱比锡出版的《批判哲学史》第4卷中的段落。狄德罗于其《百科全书》中，同样借鉴了布鲁克书，他写道：“每个人都可以根据他所赋予这些词的意义，而分别论述中国儒家文化的有神论或无神论、多神论或偶像崇拜”。“至于那些希望把中国理学中的‘理’仅仅理解为我们‘上帝’的人，当有人反对他们而说明‘理’之正常功能时，他们就会感到非常尴尬”。他拒绝认为在中国的近代理学与斯多葛派之间的相似性。

亨利·贝尔坦（Henri Bertin，1720–1792年）曾先后任法国警察总监、财务总稽核、国务部长和代理外长之职，也是路易十五时代法国“中国热”的推动者之一，更是重农派学者们的挚友。他与法国东印度公司的创始人之一普瓦尔（Pierre Poivre，1719–1786年）、财政大臣杜果是法国启蒙时代关心中国的三大巨头。法国崇尚中国的代表人物蓬巴杜夫人成了他们的保护人。贝尔坦长期与入华耶稣会士们保持着通讯关系，希望将中国的一切有利于国计民生的东西均引入法国，特别是要大量借鉴中国儒家文化、礼仪和制度。《中国杂纂》中的许多书简和著述，就是由入华耶稣会士们就这些内容而寄给他们的，冯秉正神父的遗作—12卷本的《中国通史》也是由他资助出版的，在为华人高类思和杨德望起草问题提纲时也得到了他的帮助。政界人物介入“中国热”风潮，更进一步促进了中国儒学西渐的发展。

阿尔让侯爵（Marquis d’ Argens，1703–1771年）是法国启蒙时代的自由思想家，曾与伏尔泰、培尔、孟德斯鸠这些参与当时“中国热”风潮的一代哲学名流们有交往。他仿效孟德斯鸠的《波斯信札》之模式，而写了一部《中国信札》（1739–1740年）。该信札中利用中国儒家文化的观点，来揭露作为18世纪欧洲君主国之通病的政治与宗教的不宽容性，其中包括对斯宾诺莎的批判。《中国信札》形成了18世纪初叶的形而上学式研究（培尔、莱布尼茨和马勒伯朗士），与此后数十年那更注重政治学的研究之间承启的过渡桥梁。阿尔让侯爵似乎被“中国化”了，他极力向欧洲推荐具有尧舜道德的中国君主之楷模，认为欧洲尚缺乏这样的君主。他正是在中国的影响之下，才批判了基督教的政策和哲学，使他具有了唯物主义史观之萌芽。他将中国的儒释道三教与法国诸教派进行了比较，批判了欧洲各国的有害教义、不公正的司法机构和行为有劣迹的君主、反犹太的基督教等坏的东西。与此形成鲜明对照的则是中国儒士们的智慧、中国文人的道德和中国儒家哲学的唯物观点等好的方面。

法国于18世纪出版的《异教徒们的哲学史》一书的作者布里尼（Levresque de Burigny）为了探听中国的神学，曾去请教过培尔和雷诺多，并阅读入华耶稣会士们有关中国儒家文化的著作。他由此而得出了中国儒生士大夫无神论的结论。他在《论上帝的存在》一书第1章中，一方面声称“上帝的存在已几乎被所有哲学家们证实”；另一方面也指出“某些民族根本不知道上帝的存在”，甚至是像中国人那样“否认上帝的存在”。他力图证明中国儒生士大夫信奉无神论，主要是为了证明他那“没有任何一种道德行为不由某些异教徒们实施”的论点。他认为人类的两项义务就是热爱上帝和自己的近邻。因此，伦理是独立于宗教而存在的。中国儒家伦理注重社会联系与社会伦理准则，绝非是受宗教的启发，而似乎是人性本身所具有的。布里尼的这种唯物主义思想在很大程度上均来自中国儒家文化。

综上所述，在16–18世纪中国和欧洲间，特别是中法之间的首次文化撞击中，中国文化不但吸收了西学中的先进科学，而且也以自己传统的儒家文化对欧洲施加了广泛影响。民族永远是互相影响的，科学永远是无国界的，文化永远是人类的共同财富。

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ON THE NOTIONS OF MEMORY IN BUDDHISM

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Abstract

"I remembered a variety of former abodes: one birth, two births, three births, ... and many aeons of creation and destruction." The notions of memory in Buddhism ranges from remembrance of innumerable past lives through the analyses of the mind's ability to store data to "mindfulness" needed in meditation techniques, which requires an object or a notion to be held in mind. The present article deals with some of the Buddhist notions and manifestations of smṛti – "memory", "mindfulness". We will see how the Buddhist anātman doctrine agrees with the act of remembering, i.e. with the process of recreation of the past in ways appropriate for the present. The Buddhist notions of memory are also considered in the light of some of the contemporary psychological and neuro-psychological theories and models of memory.

Keywords: memory, mindfulness, Buddhism, working memory, long-term memory, rebirth

In this article we will consider some Buddhist notions, theories and practices, connected with memory. The Sanskrit word *smṛti* (Pāli *sati*) and its derivatives *anusmṛti*, *smaraṇa*, are usually rendered in English with memory, recollection, reminding, mindfulness, holding in mind, memorization, recognition, and commemoration. We will concentrate on some Buddhist definitions of *smṛti* and will see in the light of contemporary psychology why the word *smṛti* can be rendered with "memory" and "mindfulness" – two words very different in meaning. Then we will consider the possibility of remembering innumerable past lives in religion as Buddhism generally denies the existence of a permanent subject.

Buddhist texts depict two main types of *smṛti*: that of holding in mind, and that involving recollection of what was previously experienced. And the material concerning the first type is much more abundant (especially in Buddhist technical discourse), probably because of the need to hold a specified object in mind during meditation.[1]

Memory is absent from the long list of mental events and concomitant mental factors in the ancient Buddhist Pāli literature[2] In Theravāda Abhidhamma *sati* (*smṛti*) is a conditioning factor that occurs only in good consciousness and is called "right mindfulness" (*sammā-sati*).[3] *Sati* appears frequently in the depictions of religious techniques connected with four applications of mindfulness: mindfulness of the body, mindfulness of the feelings, mindfulness of the mental events and mindfulness of the factors (*dhamma*).[4]

In Vaibhāṣika Abhidharma literature *smṛti* is enumerated in the list of the factors inevitably present in every mental event (*mahābhūmika-dharma*), together with feeling (*vedanā*), thinking (*cetanā*), and conceptual identification (*saṃjñā*).[5] So if one is conscious *smṛti* is functioning. Vasubandhu (fourth or fifth century) defines *smṛti* in the following manner:

smṛtirālambanāsaṃpramoṣa. (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 54. 22–23)[6]

Smṛti is not letting drop the object-support.[7]

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[1] Wayman 1992, Griffiths 1992. A very detailed study of mindfulness and different practices from early Buddhism to the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma can be found in Cox 1992.

[2] Jaini 1992, Thera 1992.

[3] Jaini 1992.

[4] Cox 1992.

[5] Jaini 1992.

[6] GRETIL. The translations of all Sanskrit texts cited here are mine. Different translations of this and the following passage are also given in Jaini,1992.

[7] This definition is not very different from that given by Patañjali in Yogasūtra 1.11. *anubhūtaviṣayāsaṃpramoṣaḥ smṛtiḥ* (GRETIL) "*Smṛti* is not letting drop of the experienced object." In the Buddhist text, instead of the word *viṣaya* – "an object" is used the word *ālambana* – "support", "base", "reason", "cause", "the

It is not clear if this "object-support" belongs to the past (memory) or to the present (mindfulness). Yaśomitra (eighth century) comments:

smṛtirālambanāsampramoṣa iti. yadyogādālambanaṃ mano na vismarati taccābhilapatīva sā smṛtiḥ. (*Sphuṭārthā-Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* II.25)[8]

Smṛti is not letting drop the object-support. By the use of *smṛti* the mind does not forget the object-support as if repeats it.

Sthiramati's comment on Vasubandhu's *Triṃśikāvijñapti* (verse 10) is a more detailed definition of *smṛti*:

smṛtiḥ saṃstute vastuny asaṃpramoṣaś cetaso ,bhilapanatā. saṃstutaṃ vastu pūrvānubhūtam. ālambanagrahaṇāvipraṇāśakāraṇatvād asaṃpramoṣaḥ. pūrvagṛhītasya vastunaḥ punaḥ punar ālambanākārasmaraṇam abhilapanatā. abhilapanam evābhilapanatā. sā punar avikṣepakarmikā. ālambanābhilapane sati cittasyālambanāntara ākārāntare vā vikṣepābhāvād avikṣepakarmikā. (*Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya* verse 10 (74))[9]

"*Smṛti* is the mind's not letting drop an object with which it is acquainted" [means] it is a repetition of a previously experienced object with which it is acquainted. "Not letting drop" [is used] because [*smṛti*] is the cause of not losing apprehension of the object-support. "Repetition of an object apprehended previously" is remembering again and again the form of the object-support. The [feminine form] *abhilapantā* [has] the same [meaning "saying" as the neutral form] *abhilapanam.* "And this [*smṛti*] has the function of non-distraction." means that when [the mind] repeats the object-support, it is not distracted by other object-supports of consciousness or other modes of appearance.

So s*mṛti* is concerned with active attention to an object, experienced before. When s*mṛti* operates in the mind, the mind is not distracted by another object. The very process is repetition of the already apprehended object. According to Theravāda "a series of several mental events with the same object is maintained for seventeen moments" in cognition of material objects, and even longer in cognition of mental events. After that consciousness resumes the data until the next series begin.[10] It means that the common use of *smṛti* in Buddhist texts is as mindfulness, and engaging in practice of mindfulness is paying close attention to the object of this practice.[11]

But as Casey (1992) mentions, every act of attention is saturated with memory. Attention depends on so called primary memory, or short-term memory (STM).[12] It is a form of memory as well as a form of perception, it is connected with attention and taking decisions, it is in the present, which can be extended to "seventeen moments". The difference between STM and long-term memory (LTM) is evident in patients with amnesia, with whom STM is intact. "Immediate memory is independent of the medial temporal and diencephalic regions damaged in amnesia. One possibility is that immediate memory is an intrinsic capacity of each cortical processing system. Thus, temporary information storage may occur within each brain area where stable changes in synaptic efficacy (long-term memory) can eventually develop. The capacity for LTM requires the integrity of the medial temporal and diencephalic regions, which must operate in conjunction with the assemblies of neurons that represent stored information."[13]

The Buddhist idea of *smṛti* (*sati*) as holding in mind an object for "seventeen moments" and not be distracted can be considered in the light of the Working memory model proposed by Baddeley and Hitch (1974) and revised later by Baddeley (1986, 2000). Working memory includes several subsystems:

natural and necessary connection of a sensation with the cause which excites it", "the five attributes of things (apprehended by or connected with the five senses)". See Monnier-Williams 1992. In the translations given by Jaini 1992, and Griffiths 1992, this word is translated with the meanings "object" and "support" in one and the same text. I will use the word "object-support", as suggested by Cox 1992, whenever *ālambana* occurs.

[8] GRETIL. See also Jaini 1992.

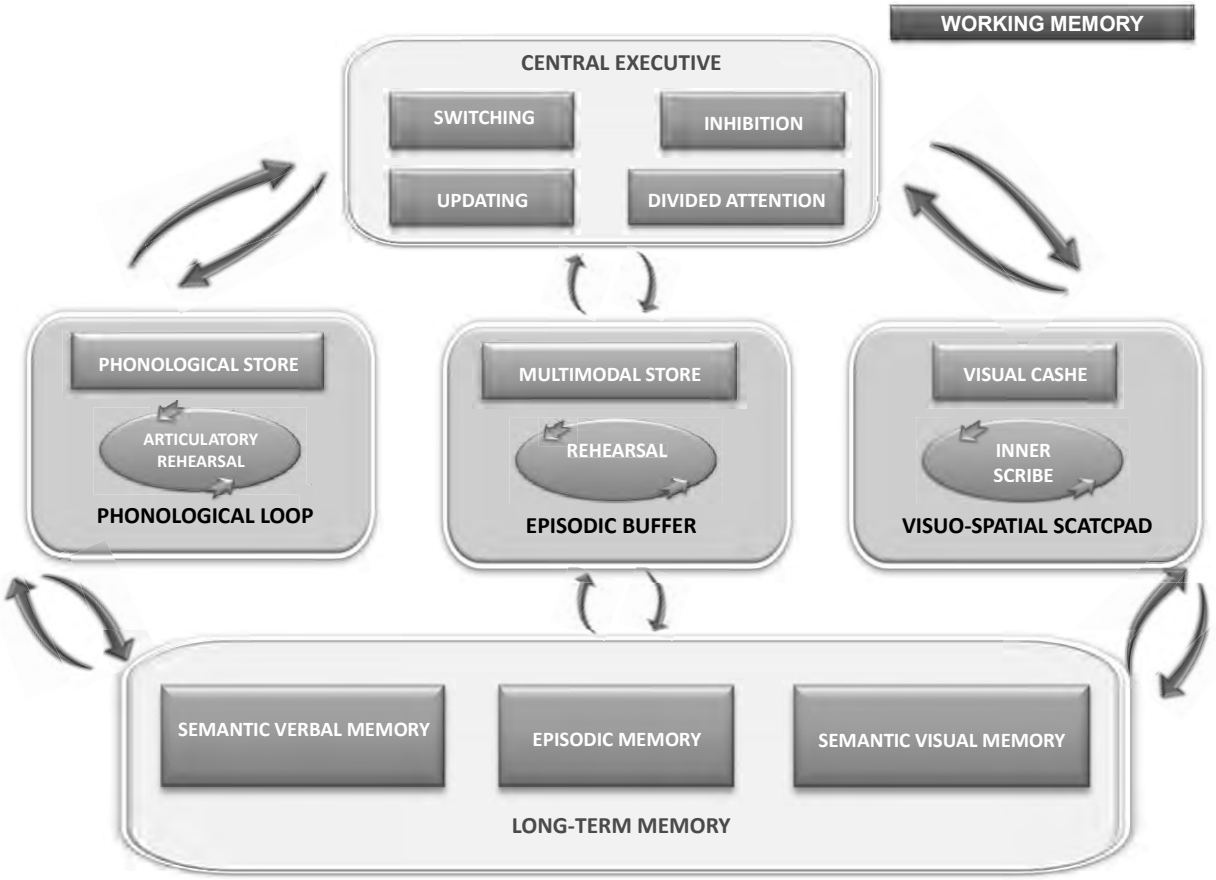
[9] GRETIL.

[10] Jaini 1992: 54.

[11] Griffiths 1992.

[12] James 1890: 643-648. STM has limited capacity (about seven items can be stored at a time), limited duration (15-30 seconds) and encoding (primarily acoustic). See Atkinson, Shiffrin 1971. According to Casey 1992, *smṛti* as mindfulness is akin to primary memory, or STM. But in the model of STM, it is only a store and not an operating subsystem of memory.

[13] Squire 1986: 1613.



Visio-spatial sketchpad (VSS) (inner eye) that stores and manipulates visual images;

Phonological loop (PL) that stores and manipulates spoken and written material;

Episodic buffer (EB) that is a sort of backup store and communicates with LTM and components of working memory;

Central executive responsible for monitoring and coordinating the operation of the slave systems (VSS and PL). The central executive directs attention and gives priority to particular activities.

The working memory holds information derived from the senses, and information that has been retrived from LTM. But it does not just hold this information passively – it is active. Every component of working memory has a limited capacity, and different components of the model are relatively independant of each other. It meanes that different activities in the different loops are possible at a time. Working memory is associated with cognitive development, and its capacity tends to decline with old age.

Memory functions are organized around different information storage systems in the brain. LTM also has an inner structure: in it operates two kinds of memory systems – declarative and procedural.[14] Declarative memory includes facts, episodes, and lists of everyday life. It is accessible to conscious awareness and can be brought to mind as a proposition or as an image. In it are included episodic memory (specific events) and semantic memory (facts and information). Memory consolidation is a dynamic feature of long-term, declarative memory. Procedural knowledge is accessible only through performance.[15]

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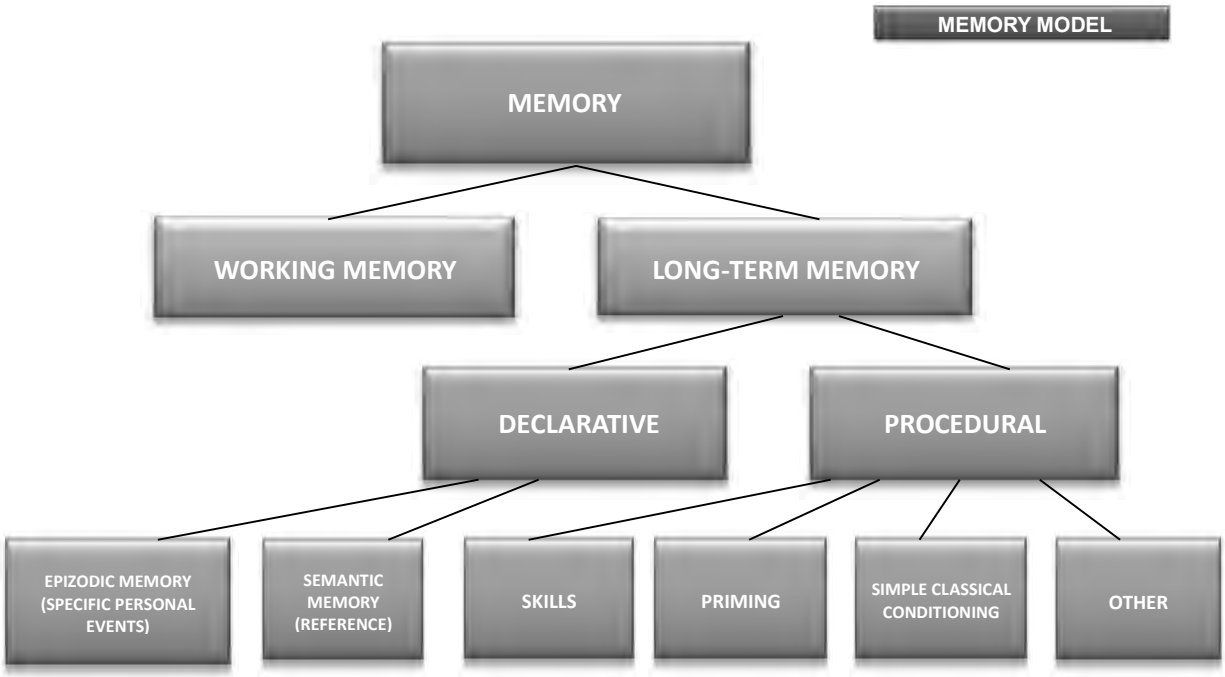
[14] See Squire 1986.

[15] It is suggested that "procedural learning is phylogenetically old. It may have developed as a collection of encapsulated, special-purpose learning abilities. Memory was then realized as cumulative changes stored within the particular neural systems engaged during learning. In contrast, the capacity for declarative knowledge is phylogenetically recent... This capacity allows an animal to record and access the particular encounters that led to behavioral change. The stored memory is flexible and accessible to all modalities." See Squire 1986: 1615.



In order to explain the mechanism of LTM, Sautrāntika and Yogācāra followers suggest the concept of *ālayavijñāna* – "store-consciousness", and metaphors of *bīja* – "seed", and its *vāsanā* – "tendency".[16]

ko ,yaṃ bījabhāvo nāma. ātmabhāvasya kleśajā kleśotpādanaśaktiḥ. yathānubhavajñānajā smṛtyutpādanaśaktiryathā cāṅkurādīnāṃ śāliphalajā śāliphalotpādanaśaktiriti.[17]

(*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 278. 22–24)

What is this called seed? It is the capacity to bring forth afflictions[18] that arise from one's previous afflictions. In the same manner there is a capacity to bring forth memories that arise from previous experiences. In the same manner the trees and other [plants] that are brought forth by grain have the capacity to produce grain.

In every mental continuum there are seeds that can produce memories in it. They are planted when experiences occur and can lie dormant for a long time. These seeds and tendencies are located in *ālayavijñāna* – the "store-consciousness"[19], and they constitute the store-consciousness. Remembering is then a process of maturation of these seeds and tendencies within an individual consciousness.

tatrālayākhyaṃ vijñānaṃ vipākaḥ sarvabījakam

iti. tatreti yo ,yam anantaroktas trividhaḥ pariṇāmaḥ. ālayākhyam ity ālayavijñānasaṃjñakaṃ yad vijñānaṃ sa vipākapariṇāmaḥ. tac ca sarvasāṃkleśikadharmabījasthānatvād ālayaḥ. ālayaḥ sthānam iti paryāyau. atha vālīyante upanibadhyante ,smin sarvadharmāḥ kāryabhāvena. tad vālīyate upanibadhyate kāraṇabhāvena sarvadharmeṣv ity ālayaḥ. vijānātīti vijñānam. sarvadhātugatiyonijātiṣu kuśalākuśalakarmavipākatvād vipākaḥ. sarvadharmabījāśrayatvāt sarvabījakam.
(*Triṃśikāvijñaptibhāṣya* 50. 2cd)[20]

There maturation is the consciousness called store, containing all seeds.

There is this continuous ripening of three types. What is **called store** identifies consciousness known as the store-consciousness with the ripening that is **maturation**. And it is a store because it is the place, where **all seeds** of afflicted states (*dharma*) are. Store and place are synonyms. Or from the viewpoint of what it

[16] See Griffiths 1992: 118–121.

[17] GRTIL.

[18] *Kleśas* are mental states that cloud the mind and manifest in unwholesome actions.

[19] "The consciousness (*vijñāna*) containing all the seeds, is the receptacle (*ālaya*) of all *dharmas*. Therefore it is called *ālayavijñāna*." *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* I.2. See Waldron 1994: 62.

[20] GRETIL.

has to do,[21] to it are adhered or held fast all the states (*dharma*). Or from the viewpoint of cause, to all the states (*dharma*) is adhered or held fast this store. It cognizes, that is why it is consciousness. It is **maturation** because it brings to maturity good and bad *karman* among all spheres, destinies, wombs, and births. [And it is called] **containing all seeds** because in it lie the seeds of all states (*dharma*).

Yogācāra followers say that *ālayavijñāna* is not an enduring substance and that it is equal just to the causal power of the seeds – it is the seeds (*sarvabījakam*). And these seeds should reproduce themselves constantly from moment to moment and wait for the proper moment to give memories or results.[22]

It is seen from neuro-psychological research that memory is not fixed at the moment of learning but continues to consolidate with time, and memory consolidation is a dynamic feature of long-term, declarative memory. With the passage of time some parts of initial representation could be forgotten, while other parts become more stable and coherent.[23] Dynamic and competitive changes of memory storage and consolidation reflect the competition among axons in the developing and constantly changing nervous system. So we can say that even LTM has a dynamical inner structure, quite consistently with the Sautrāntika and Yogācāra *bīja* theory.

We can conclude that *smṛti* can be rendered as memory, if we keep in mind the idea that memory is one very complicated functional system and all components of the system are "memory" of some kind. In most of the early Buddhist texts *smṛti* is identical with working memory.[24] It is usually mentioned in connection with mindfulness meditation. Here are given the results of neuro-psychological study of brain activity during Buddhist mindfulness meditation. Travis and Shear (2010) observed that during mindfulness meditation frontal theta (4–8 Hz) was higher, and (2) occipital gamma power (30–50 Hz) was higher. These frequencies are connected with the following brain activities. "Frontal midline theta is a neural index of **monitoring inner processes**, and is reported **during tasks requiring self-control**, **internal timing**, and **assessment of reward** (...); during **working memory tasks** (...); and **during tasks requiring memory retention and mental imagery** (…)" "Theta activity dynamically **coordinates central executive circuits** during serial subtraction (...)." "Gamma activity reflects local processing within **short-range connections** responsible for **object recognition** and so **construction of the content of experience** (…)." "Gamma band activity closely follows local changes in brain blood flow and increases synaptic plasticity important for **long term memories** (…). Gamma activity is higher when actively maintaining **abstract visual shapes in short-term memory**..."[25]

Ancient Buddhists rarely speak of *smṛti* as LTM, or of memory as a whole functional system. Probably because paying special attention to personal memories develops the sense of oneself as different from other sentient beings which is in contrast with the Buddhist ethics and with Buddhist practice of *parātmaparivartana* "exchange of self and other".[26] And emotions that usually spring out with remembering are always negative in the soteriological context of Buddhism.

But there is a case of extraordinary long-term memory depicted in Buddhist scriptures. In *Majjhimanikāya* I. 22, which is a part of *Suttapitaka*, Siddhārtha Gautama says that he remembered all his previous "abodes" on the night he became Buddha.

So evaṃ samāhite citte parisuddhe pariyodāte anaṅgaṇe vigatūpakkilese mudubhūte kammaniye ṭhite ānejjappatte pubbenivāsānussatiñāṇāya cittaṃ abhininnāmesiṃ. So aneka-vihitaṃ pubbenivāsaṃ anussarāmi, seyyathīdaṃ: ekam-pi jātiṃ dve pi jātiyo tisso pi jātiyo catasso pi jātiyo pañca pi jātiyo dasa pi jātiyo vīsatim-pi jātiyo tiṃsam-pi jātiyo cattārīsam-pi jātiyo paññāsam-

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[21] The word *ālaya* is composed from the prefix *ā-* "near to, towards (the speaker)" and verbal root *lī* "to cling or press closely, stick or adhere to, to melt, dissolve, to lie, recline, to disappear, vanish". So *ālaya* means "that which is clung to, dwelled in", and thus "dwelling, receptacle, house, home", as well as "clinging, attachment or grasping". Monnier-Williams 1992. See also Waldron 1994: 62.

[22] See Griffiths 1992.

[23] Squire 1986.

[24] *Smṛti* can also be identified with one of the components of working memory. For example, with a phonological loop that stores verbal information represented in an articulatory code and used for verbal rehearsal.

[25] Bolding is mine and I omitted their citations.

[26] See Griffiths 1992.

pi jātiyo jātisatam-pi jātisahassam-pi jātisatasahassam-pi, aneke pi saṃvaṭṭakappe aneke pi vivaṭṭakappe aneke pi saṃvaṭṭavivaṭṭakappe; amutr' āsiṃ evannāmo evaṃgotto evaṃvaṇṇo evamāhāro evaṃ sukhadukkhapaṭisaṃvedī evamāyupariyanto, so tato cuto amutra udapādiṃ, tatra p' āsiṃ evannāmo evaṃgotto evaṃvaṇṇo evamāhāro evaṃ sukhadukkhapaṭisaṃvedī evamāyupariyanto, so tato cuto idhūpapanno ti. Iti sākāraṃ sa-uddesaṃ anekavihitaṃ pubbenivāsaṃ anussarāmi.[27]

"I directed my mind to the knowledge and recollection of former abodes: one birth, two births, three births, four births, five births, ten births, twenty births, thirty births, forty births, fifty births, a hundred births, a thousand births, a hundred thousand births, and many aeons of creation, many aeons of destruction, and many aeons of creation and destruction. There I was so named, of such a clan, of such a caste, such food, such experience of pleasure and pain, such a life span. Passing away there, I appeared elsewhere, and there too I was so named, of such a clan, of such a caste, such experience of pleasure and pain, such a life span. Passing away there, I appeared here. Thus I remembered various former abodes in all their modes and details."[28]

To remember previous lives is a specific yogic practice in which one recalls his life in reverse order and it is also one of the superpowers, appearing in Buddhist literature.[29] But as pointed out by Lopez 1992, this memory of the previous births have no salvific power, otherwise Siddhārtha would be enlightened at the first part of the night. In *Brahmajālasutta*, the Buddha says that certain ascetics, who gain the power to remember their previous lives, "conclude on the basis of this experience that the self and the world are eternal".[30]

Of course, the text of *Majjhimanikāya* I. 22 can be a latter addition so that the very popular at that time rebirth doctrine to be involved in the Buddhist canon.[31] Also there is a tendency to ascribe to Buddha all possible superpowers, or *siddhis* of other *yogins*. Through the Buddha's memory of his previous lives about 550 folk tales are included into the canon as memories of his former births, so *Jātakas* (the birth stories) became scriptures and Buddhism was popularized.[32]

So according to the text, Buddha remembered an infinite number of past lives. Probably in a manner that one remembers all the events of his life in a quickened cadence before the loss of consciousness or in near-death experiences. But how is it possible to remember an infinite number of past lives? In his article *Mechanisms of memory*, Larry Squire (1986: 1612) says that experiences directly modify neuronal and synaptic morphology, and as a result most species can learn and remember.[33] "Memory is stored as changes in the same neural systems that ordinarily participate in perception, analysis, and processing of the information to be learned." But where and how are the memories of previous births stored? Of course, contemporary science can not tell everything about memory. Even the basic mechanisms, for example how exactly is central executive functioning, are not clear. But there arises another question. Can this remembering of the previous births be memory illusions? "Memory is fallible, and anyone may have vivid, subjectively compelling memory experiences in which details or even entire events that did not actually occur seem to be remembered – memory illusions."[34] And what did the Buddha remember? He remembered his previous social identity: place, name, caste, food[35] and his experiences of pleasure and pain, his life span. It was an autobiographical memory.

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[27] *Majjhimanikāya* I.22. (*Suttapitaka*) – GRETIL. The text appears also in *Mahasaccakasutta*.

[28] Here I used the translation given in Lopez 1992: 21.

[29] The practice is given in *Yoga Sūtra* III.18. *saṃskārasākṣātkaraṇātpūrvajātijñānam* (GRETIL) "Because of being witness of the *saṃskāras* (causes of memory and effects, that are traces of unconscious impressions, and that are the causes of the ripening of the fruits of *karman*) comes the knowledge of previous births". It is mentioned also by Buddhaghoṣa (V century).

[30] Lopez 1992: 30.

[31] If the early Buddhist texts may tell us something about the historical Buddha and his views is discussed in Bronkhorst 1998.

[32] Lopez 1992, Bratoeva 2005.

[33] The collection of neural changes representing memory is known as the engram and one of the basic goals of contemporary science is to identify and locate engrams in the brain. Because particular brain systems represent a specific aspect of each event the memory is localized, and because many neural systems participate in representing a whole event memory is distributed. See Squire (1986).

[34] Urbach, Windmann, Payne, Kutas, 2005. In their research they confirm that encoding and retrieval processes play an important role in etiology of verbal memory illusions.

[35] This social identity is abondoned by every Indian ascetic who is in search of another, "real" identity. See Lopez 1992.

And autobiographical memory somehow constitutes a person. "Autobiographical memory is of fundamental significance for the self, for emotions, and for the experience of enduring as an individual, in a culture, over time." (Conway, Pleydell-Pearce 2000: 261) "… the self, and especially the current goals of the self, function as control processes that modulate the construction of memories." (Ibid. 264) According to their view, "...the goals of the working self form a subset of working-memory control processes organized into interconnected goal hierarchies that function to constrain cognition, and ultimately behavior, into effective ways of operating on the world." (Ibid. 265) And "...autobiographical knowledge is encoded through the goal structure of the working self, which also takes a major role in the construction of specific memories during remembering." (Ibid. 266) "...one of the general functions of autobiographical knowledge is to 'ground' the self." (Ibid. 271)

The problem with the remembering of previous births comes not only from contemporary science but also from the Buddhist *anātman* (Pāli *anattā*) doctrine. Generally, Buddhist scriptures deny the existence of a permanent subject (and of a permanent object). *Anattā* is used in the early Buddhist texts as a strategy to view the self as a conditioned processes, instead of seeing it as an essence. The *anattā* doctrine was attacked by Jains, and the followers of Advaita Vedānta, of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, and even of Buddhist Pudgalavādin sect and one of the arguments is the existence of memory.[36] The problem of remembering or recognition is the same as "the problem of connecting the past agent of an action with the present experience of its result".[37] What is the mechanism "whereby the past impressions (*saṃskāra*) of objects or the traces of the past actions are stored and await their fruition if everything in the series of consciousness is momentary? In the case of actions, the Buddhists have maintained that the karmic potency (*phaladāna śakti*) is carried unimpeded through the continuous chain of consciousness (*vijñāna-santati*). The same principle seems to apply to the function of memory."[38]

The very problem of understanding Buddhist memory theory in the light of *anātman* doctrine comes from our view that we recollect something from the past. In fact, there is no need for one and the same self to present in the past and in the present when we recognize something. Only the thought of "this object" from the past, and a thought of "this object" of the present should be presented to one momentary self for comparison.[39]

We can conclude that Buddhists pay special attention on developing working memory especially during the practice of mindfulness meditation. They use special techniques to also develop memory of the previous abodes, which represents an extraordinary long-term memory.

The remembering of previous lives can be something like a compensatory mechanism – when the self is about to be lost, the memory of the self reaches infinite dimensions in order to preserve the self. May be this is the role of receiving a life-review or seeing one's life flash in near-death experiences – to preserve the self.

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[36] See Jaini 1992; Kapstein 2001; Griffiths 1992; Carr 2000; Ruseva 2012: 183–188.

[37] According to texts and scriptures Buddha believed in *karman* and rebirth but for him the future destiny of the individual is determined by his thoughts, desires and intentions. See Bronkhorst 1998.

[38] Jaini 1992: 53.

[39] See Ruseva 2012: 186-187; Carr 2000. For Vasubandhu's theory of memory see Kapstein 2001: 42; Jaini 1992.

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THE LOTUS OF THE DESERT: BUDDHISM IN KHOTAN

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Abstract

A small oasis-state on the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert, Khotan played an important role in transmitting Buddhist ideas to China. The first Chinese who left China to search for Buddhist scriptures, Zhu Shixing, went to Khotan to find the Prajñāpāramitā in 25,000 verses around 260. He died in Khotan but he sent a copy of the scripture back to China. In 399, Faxian, the famous pilgrim, reached Khotan and gave a report on the flourishing of Mahāyāna Buddhism there. This picture of Khotan was later confirmed by Xuanzang who stayed in Khotan for 7 months and gave a detailed report on its Buddhism. On the other hand, there were several Khotanese monks who went to China and translated Buddhist scriptures.

Keywords: Khotan, Buddhism, Book of Zambasta, Avataṃsaka-sūtra

The Silk Road is primarily regarded as the principal route along which precious Chinese goods were transported to the West. However, foreign ideas came to China along the Silk Road, and the arrival of these foreign concepts changed the philosophical and religious orientation of this great empire. The greatest challenge, undoubtedly, was the appearance of Buddhism within the boundaries of China in the first century. The arrival of this new religion in China started a long process of mutual adaptation of Buddhist and Chinese cultures. It has been emphasized with relation of Buddhism, how this Indian religion took a different shape from the original one. This side of the adaptation, which is usually called Sinification, resulted in the formation of special Chinese schools of Buddhism (Huayan, Tiantai, Chan, Pure Land) that later spread in East Asia. However, the other side of the influence, the influence of Buddhism on Chinese culture, was also very significant. Buddhist concepts and religious practices that had been unknown in China became deeply rooted in Chinese soil, and exercised an enormous influence on the development of Chinese thought and society.

Discussions on the introduction of Buddhism into China focus on the difficult process of adapting several new concepts (karma, rebirth, etc.) of Indian Buddhism and the translation of Indian Buddhist scriptures. However, we should bear in mind that in the early period, most of the translators of Buddhist texts came from Central Asia. The Silk Road in Central Asia served as a bridge between India and China, making it possible for China to interact with this foreign religion and thought. The original language of Buddhist scriptures could be used for religious purposes in Central Asia because the language of the people inhabiting the region was closely related to it.[1] Yet these cultures must have adopted and interpreted the original teachings of Buddhism, or simply intentionally or unintentionally had a certain predilection for certain teachings of Buddhism. In terms of the transmission of Indian Buddhism by Central Asian monks, the background of the transmitters also should be taken into consideration while reconstructing the process of the spread of Buddhism into China. Chinese Buddhism is a special and unique form that cannot be understood only relying on the earlier development of this religion in India. To understand the innovations of Chinese Buddhism in the field of Buddhist doctrine, it is necessary to study the indigenous Chinese thought and religions that predated the arrival of Buddhism. In terms of the development of Chinese Buddhism these two aspects are usually emphasised, but the third aspect, the role of the Central Asian scholar monks who acted transmitters is often neglected. It is well-known that most of Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, like *Avataṃsaka-sūtra*, *Lotus sūtra*, *Vimalakīrti sūtra*, etc., were very influential in East Asian Buddhism, but less important in the history of Indian Buddhism.[2] What is the reason for this? Should we seek the explanation for the popularity of these scriptures in the Chinese predilection for certain questions that these works address, or rather in the deliberate propagation of these *sūtra*s by the monks who took them from their homeland and translated them into Chinese in association with Chinese assistants? In order to answer this question, the characteristic features of Central Asian Buddhism and the interaction between Central Asian and Chinese Buddhism should be studied. In reconstructing the history and doctrines of Central Asian Buddhism, we can rely on the scriptures that were translated into Central Asian languages, the Buddhist works that were originally composed in these languages, the various

[1] Nattier 1990.

[2] Nattier 2003.

images that were preserved on the walls of caves or as paintings, and finally on the activities of the Central Asian monks in China, which are well recorded in the Buddhist histories.

In this paper we have chosen Khotan, a small oasis-state on the southern edge of the Taklamakan Desert, as a subject for the investigation of this question. The waters of two rivers, the Yurungkash or Baiyu he白玉河 (White Jade) and the Karakash or Heiyu he黑玉河 (Black Jade) have been indispensable for establishing human culture in Khotan. These two rivers unite near Koxlax (about 200 km north of Khotan), and together form the Khotan river. As the names of the rivers suggest, they not only provided water for the inhabitants in Khotan, but also brought the precious jades which were highly valued in China and were the main export of Khotan. Khotan is famous in China for the jade that was taken to China as a precious commercial item or as a tribute offered by the Khotanese kings to the Chinese emperor.[3]

According to the chronicle of Khotan which has survived in a Tibetan translation, people who inhabited Khotan came from India, but the recent archaeological discovery of a cemetery in Shanpula (30 km east of Khotan) shows that nomads from the Eurasian steppe lived here.[4] The Chinese sources from the Han dynasty recorded that only 19,300 people and 3,300 households lived in Khotan.[5] The language of people living in Khotan was an Iranian variety contemporary with Middle Persian and Sogdian, but with many words borrowed from Sanskrit.

Prods Oktor Skjærvø distinguishes three stages in the development of the Khotanese language, each of which is related to a site of discovered texts: 1. Old Khotanese (5-6th c.) translation of Buddhist texts from Dandan Uiliq, Khadaliq, 2. Middle Khotanese (7-8th c) texts from Dandan Uiliq, Khadaliq, 3. Late Khotanese (9-10th c) texts from cave 17 at Dunhuang.[6]

In order to reconstruct the Khotanese Buddhist culture, which was brutally destroyed a thousand years ago during the Muslim invasion, we can rely on the literary sources, Khotanese documents, Chinese dynastic histories, records of Chinese Buddhist travellers, Tibetan documents and the non-religious (coins, cloths, etc.) and Buddhist artefacts. Sir Aurel Stein had an enormous role in mapping out this ancient civilisation during his expeditions in Central Asia.[7] There are nine sites for Khotanese documents and artifacts: Shanpula, Niya, Rawak, Endere, Melikawat, Yotkan, Dandan Uiliq, Domoko, and Dunhuang.[8] Most of the Khotanese written sources are translations of Buddhist scriptures or loosely paraphrased versions of original works and Buddhist texts composed in Khotanese. Besides these Buddhist texts, various medical, legal, or commercial documents have been found.[9] Since the discovery of these sources, a few dedicated scholars of Khotanology have done invaluable work in making these texts accessible by editing and translating them.[10] Thanks to their efforts, we have some idea of life in this oasis-state and the way Buddhism was adopted in their culture. However, as most Khotanologists are philologists and lack sufficient expertise in Buddhist studies, these texts need to be studied by Buddhologists as well in order to shed light on the characteristics of Khotanese Buddhism in terms of the development of Buddhism.[11]

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[3] The library cave of Dunhuang (cave 17) has preserved several Chinese and Khotanese documents related to tribute-bearing missions from Khotan. Valerie Hansen studied the purpose and nature of these tribute missions. See Hansen 2005.

[4] Hansen 2012: 200-201.

[5] Ibid., 202.

[6] Skjœrvø 2012: 115-116.

[7] Stein published a popular account of the first expedition entitled *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* (1903), and the detailed archaeological report *Ancient Khotan* (2 volumes, 1907).

[8] Hansen 2012: 199.

[9] For a study of Khotanese official documents, see Kummamoto 1982.

[10] H. W. Bailey made a great contribution by publishing a series of Khotanese texts. See Bailey 1951, 1963, 1969, 1979. Recently, P. O. Skjœrvø published the texts of Khotanese manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library with the English translation which helps to identify these texts even without knowing Khotanese. See Skjœrvø 2002. A good example of the identification of text using this catalogue is Chen 2012.

[11] Skjœrvø 2012.

Since the Tibetan kingdom conquered Khotan several times, some important historical works were translated into Tibetan and other Tibetan documents related to the history of Khotan have survived.[12] *The Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā* (*Dri ma med pa'i 'od kyis zhus pa*) is a prophecy that predicts the birth of the goddess Vimalaprabhā as the Khotanese princess Praniyata in order to protect Buddhism in Khotan against the barbaric Tibetan nomads who are called "the Red-Faced Ones". The *Prophecy of Khotan* (*Li yul lung bstan pa*) includes the text of *The Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat* and *The Annals of Khotan*. *The Prophecy of the Khotanese Arhat*, unlike *The Enquiry of Vimalaprabhā*, draws a favourable picture of the Red-Faced Ones, as a group of Khotanese monks had to flee from Khotan to Tibet where they were patronized by the king Tri Detsugtsen (ruled 712–c.754) and his Chinese wife, who could be identified as Jincheng Gongzhu 金城公主. *The Prophecy of the Arhat Saṃghavardana* (*Dgra bcom pa dge 'dun 'phel gyis lung bstan pa*) must have been written around the Tibetan occupation of Khotan in the 660s.[13]

There are also numerous Chinese sources on Khotanese history and Buddhism. First of all, dynastic histories give an account of the relationship between the Western region and China, and they record some important historical events related to Khotan and the names of Khotanese rulers.[14] Unfortunately, these Chinese names are not easy to identify with the names preserved in the Tibetan sources.[15] Chinese pilgrims who travelled to Central Asia or India in order to find some Buddhist scriptures and take them to China often went through Khotan and their travel diaries provide important information on Khotanese culture and Buddhism. The first Chinese who went to the West in order to bring Buddhist scriptures to China was Zhu Shixing 朱士行, who travelled to Khotan in 260 in order to find the original text of the *prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. He never returned to China as he died in Khotan, but his disciple took the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* to China in 282. This text was translated into Chinese by the Khotanese monk Mokṣala (Wuchaluo 無叉羅) in 291 as the *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra Which Emits Light* (*Fangguang bore jing*放光般若經).[16] In 399, Faxian 法顯 (337-422) the famous pilgrim reached Khotan and gave a report on the flourishing of Mahāyāna Buddhism there. This picture of Khotan was later confirmed by Xuanzang 玄奘(602-664), who stayed in Khotan for seven months and gave a detailed report on its Buddhism.

The political power of Khotan significantly increased when Khotan defeated Yarkand in 61, and subsequently 13 kingdoms submitted to Khotan. However, the Chinese general Ban Chao班超 (32-102) subdued Khotan in 78, and even if it was able to regain its independence in 105, it was again defeated by the Chinese general Ban Yong班勇 (died in 128), the youngest son of Ban Gu, in 127. In the early 600s, Khotan became a vessel of the Western Turks, but in 648 the Khotanese king visited the Tang capital and as a token of his acceptance of Tang hegemony, he left his son there as a hostage. Khotan became one of the Four Garrisons (Khotan, Kucha, Kashgar, Yanqi). The early Tibetan influence is explained by the Tibetan occupation between 670 and 692, but the Chinese regained control over Khotan between 692 and 755. After the An Lushan rebellion, Chinese influence decreased in the Western Regions, and the Tibetan Kingdom was able to occupy Dunhuang in 786 and Khotan in 796. The relationship between Khotan and Dunhuang became closer through marriages between the Khotanese royal family and Cao family which ruled Dunhuang. Visa Sambhava (Li Shengtian李聖天), king of Khotan (r. 912-966) married the daughter of Cao Yijin 曹議金 (?-935), the ruler of Dunhuang. The name of the prince is Zongchang 宗嘗 in the Chinese sources and Zongchang 宗常 in a manuscript from Dunhuang. This close affiliation is substantiated by the copious written Khotanese documents found in cave no. 17 of Dunhuang and by paintings of the Khotanese king, princess and patrons of the walls of Dunhuang caves. The history of Buddhist Khotan ended when the leader of Karakhanids, Yusuf Qadir Khan conquered Khotan in 1006. The devastation suffered by this advanced culture is well illustrated in the poem by Mahmud al-Kashgari (d. 1102):

We came down on them like a flood

We went out among their cities,

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[12] For a translation of the Tibetan sources on Khotan, see Thomas 1935-1963 and Emmerick 1967. For a good overview of them, see van Schaik pre-publication version.

[13] Van Schaik forthcoming, 6.

[14] See Yu 2004, 2006; Hulsewé 1979.

[15] John E. Hill tried to match the Tibetan and the Chinese names of the Khotanese kings in the 7-8th century. See Hill 1988.

[16] Zürcher,1959: 61-63.

We tore down the idol-temples

We shat on the Buddha's head.[17]

The importance and the appreciation of Buddhism in Khotan are attested by the Tibetan work, *The Prophecy of the Li Country,* which says that Buddha himself used to come to Khotan and preached his message there. Xuanzang claims that it was Arhat Vairocana from Kashmir who introduced Buddhism into Khotan. All historical sources and diaries of Buddhist travellers confirm that the people of Khotan were all sincere followers of Buddha, and the monks practiced Mahāyāna Buddhism. Faxian was accommodated in the Gomati (Jumodi瞿摩帝) monastery where three thousand monks lived. While describing a procession of Buddha and bodhisattva images, he shows the humble devotion of the royal family:

"When (the car) was a hundred paces from the gate, the king took off his crown of state, changed his dress for fresh garments, and with bare feet carrying in his hands flowers and incense, and with two rows of attending followers, went out at the gate to meet the image; and with his head and face (bowed to the ground), he did homage at its feet, and then scattered the flowers and burnt the incense. When the image was entering the gate, the queen and brilliant ladies with her in the gallery above scattered far and wide all kinds of flowers, which floated about and fell promiscuously to the ground. In this way everything was done to promote the dignity of the occasion. The carriages of the monasteries were all different, and each one had its own day for the procession. (The ceremony) began on the first day of the fourth month, and ended on the fourteenth, after which the king and queen returned to the palace."[18]

去門百步。王脫天冠易著新衣。徒跣持花香翼從出城。迎像頭面禮足散花燒香。像入城時。門樓上夫人婇女遙散眾花紛紛而下。如是莊嚴供具車車各異。一僧伽藍則一日行像。自月一日。為始至十四日行像乃訖。行像訖王及夫人乃還宮耳。[19]

The king's generosity is further emphasized when the breath-taking wealth of a great monastery is described:

"Seven or eight li to the west of the city there is what is called the King's New Monastery, the building of which took eighty years, and extended over three reigns. It may be 250 cubits in height, rich in elegant carving and inlaid work, covered above with gold and silver, and it is finished throughout with a combination of all the precious substances. Behind the tope there has been built a Hall of Buddha, of the utmost magnificence and beauty, the beams, pillars, venetian doors, and windows being all overlaid with gold leaf. Besides this, the apartments for the monks are imposingly and elegantly decorated, beyond the power of words to express. Of whatever things of highest value and preciousness the kings in the six countries on the east of the (Ts'ung) range of mountains are possessed, they contribute the greater portion (to the monastery), using but a small portion of them themselves."[20]

其城西七八里有僧伽藍。名王新寺。作來八十年經三王方成。可高二十五丈。雕文刻鏤金銀覆上眾寶合成。塔後作佛堂莊嚴妙好。梁柱戶扇窓牖皆以金薄。別作僧房亦嚴麗整飾。非言可盡。嶺東六國諸王所有上價寶物多作供養。人用者少。[21]

Faxian paints an idealised picture of the status of the Buddhist church: the royal family bows before the image of Buddha and offers the most precious valuables to the monasteries, which seem to be like baroque buildings covered with gold and silver. The reader is left with the impression that sangha enjoys full autonomy from the secular authorities. However, we have to bear in mind that it was precisely in Faxian's time that there were fierce disputes about the autonomy of sangha in China. First in 340 when Yu Bing 庾氷(296–344) and Yu Yi 庾翼 (died 345) seized political power, the question of whether the monk should bow before the ruler came to the fore, but He Chong何充 (292–346), a great supporter of Buddhism, was able to defend Buddhists and struck back at Yu Bing.[22] The next conflict arose in 403/404 after Huan Xuan's桓玄 (369-404) coup d'état, for the same reason, and once again the Buddhist community was able to win the battle.[23] On the occasion of this controversy, Huiyuan 慧遠 (334-416), the eminent monk of the early period, wrote his

[17] Hansen 2012: 228.

[18] Legge 1886: 19.

[19] *Gaoseng Faxian zhua*n高僧法顯傳. CBETA, T51, no. 2085, p. 857, b20-25

[20] Legge 1886: 20.

[21] Gaoseng Faxian zhuan高僧法顯傳. CBETA, T51, no. 2085, p. 857, b25-c2.

[22] Zürcher 2007: 104-106

[23] Ibid.: 156-157.

essay *The śramaṇa does not bow before the king* (*Shamen bu jing wangzhe lun* 沙門不敬王者論), which argues that the autonomy of the sangha should be guaranteed and the ruler should support monks' activities as they have a mission for the benefit of all humanity.[24] Faxian left China in 399, and returned to China in 413, a few years after the second debate.[25] It is highly likely that his description of the very favourable status of the sangha in Khotan was meant to substantiate the claims of autonomy made by the Chinese sangha and to encourage the ruler to support monasteries. In this case his report of such lavish support for the Buddhist community seems to be exaggerated. Nonetheless, Xuanzang also reports the existence of about a hundred monasteries with about five thousand monks who all followed the Mahāyāna.

The preference for Mahāyāna Buddhism in Khotan is attested by the Khotanese translation of Buddhist scriptures. Almost all texts from the Old Khotanese period are seminal Mahāyāna texts, and many of them have a new version from the Middle Khotanese period. It is interesting that in the Late Khotanese period the *sūtra*s popular in earlier periods are not well represented, but Prajñāpāramita texts and texts on confession, *avadāna* and *jātaka* appear more often.

The Mahāyāna is emphasized in those works, which are not translations but were originally composed in Khotanese. One of them, the *Bodhisattva Compendium*, is a very long Old Khotanese text describing the duties of the bodhisattva. The other text, written at the request of an official called Ysambasta (i.e. Zambasta), probably in the fifth century, and thus called the *Book of Zambasta*, must have been written in the Middle Khotanese period. As 207 out of 298 leaves have survived, it is the longest extant original Khotanese text.[26] It is useful to examine the contents of the book in order to reconstruct the main features of Khotanese Buddhism: [27]

Ch. 1: Samantabhadra summarises the main Buddhist tenets.

Ch. 2: The story of the conversion of Bhadra, the magician.

Ch. 3: Maitreya asks the Buddha how to obtain enlightenment (*bodhi*). The importance of love (*maitrī*) is emphasized.

Ch. 4: The whole world is a false assumption (*parikalpa*).

Ch. 5: The Buddha visits the city of Kapilavastu, where he was born.

Ch. 6: Citations from sūtras.

Chs. 7–9: On emptiness (*śūnyatā*).

Ch. 10: On the six perfections (*pāramitā*s) and the ten stages (*bhūmi*s). There are many similarities with the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*.

Ch. 11: On compassion, the six perfections, love, *bodhicitta*, and skill in means (*upāyakauśalya*).

Ch. 12: On moral restraint (*saṃvara*).

Ch. 13: On the three vehicles: the Mahāyāna, Pratyekayāna (*sic*, for Pratyekabuddhayāna), and the Śrāvakayana.

Ch. 14: On different accounts of the life of the Buddha.

Ch. 15: On faith.

Ch. 16: On the ten *bhūmi*s, following ch. 11 of the *Dasabhūmika*. The *bhūmi*s are compared with the ten great mountains of Buddhist cosmogony.

Ch. 17: Poetical description of the mountains in the four seasons.

Ch. 18: The lack of pleasure here in the cycle of rebirths (*saṃsāra*).

Ch. 19: Warning against the wiles of women.

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[24] Ibid.: 232-239.

[25] Mayer 2004: 282-283.

[26] For the English translation of the *Book of Zambasta*, see Emmerick 1968.

[27] I rely on Prods Oktor Skjœrvø's outline. See Skjœrvø 2012: 122-123.

Ch. 20: Lyrical passage on spring and its effects upon the young monks, followed by the Buddha's taking them to a cemetery to show them the impermanence of pleasures here in the cycle of rebirths.

Ch. 21: Description of a cemetery.

Ch. 22: *Maitreyasamiti*. The Buddha Śākyamuni's announcement of his imminent departure and his description of the coming decay of the order.

Ch. 23: The story of King Udayana, who ordered an image of the Buddha to be made.

Ch. 24: On the early life of the Buddha and the future decay of the order.

Here we find topics related to Buddha's activity, the suffering of living beings, the early Buddhist practice in the cemetery to curb desire and Mahāyāna concepts such as *śunyatā*, *bodhicitta*, *bhūmi*, *upāya*. This book reveals that even if the presence of Mahāyāna is unquestionable among the teachings of the Book of Zambasta, early teachings about eliminating desires and meditation in cemeteries were important elements of Khotanese Buddhism. These aspects were less emphasized in China, and due to the Chinese culture the meditation in cemeteries was not practiced.

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“CORPOREALITY” IN THE ANCIENT CHINESE CONCEPTION OF SPACE AND TIME

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Abstract

The Ancient Chinese view of space and time as extensions of the corporeality of the self are systematically studied here. One’s “own person” shēn 身 is demonstrated to be the generator of orientational space; the subjective consciousness becomes the mirror symmetry of past-into-the-future cyclic time, envisioned linearly as mythopoeic succession of births.

Keywords: ontology, space-time, self, corporeality, oracle bone script, Daoist teaching

We will start by delineating the core characters that sustain the concept of “self”/ “one’s own being”. The corporeality of a separate entity, the individual, one’s own person in the earliest Chinese script is signified by the indicative character shēn [ɕĭen][1] 身 “human body”, which evolved from the depiction of a pregnant woman (side view of the huge abdomen with a foetus zĭ [tsĭə] inside, replaced later by a dot, which can be an indicator of empty space – in Daoist tradition the generator of all things). Of even greater importance is a small part of that body – the “nose” zì [dzĭēt] 自, associated with the first breath (xī [sĭək] 息=自 “nose” + xīn [sĭəm] 心 “heart/mind”), life and reproduction, spirit, self-so-ness, etc., and occupying the center of the human face, i.e. the axis of the corporeal symmetry, embodying thus the axis of the universe. This pictogram 自acquired the following extended meanings: “beginning”; “origin”; “oneself”; “nature”; “spontaneity” as well as the preposition “from”, i.e. the “nose” as the starting point of self-consciousness and the world. The “nose” is revered due to its non-duality (ontogenetic code: 1 nose bridge bifurcating into 2 nostrils and into all the constituent parts of 1 body). The semantic key “nose” is present in some space- and time-related characters to provide the needed point of reference. By way of example, we will list: biān [pian] 邊 ( ) “side”; “direction”; “edge”; mián [mian] 㝵 ( ) “gaze at the *distance*”; páng [bɑŋ] 旁 ( ) “broad”; “transverse”; bàng [bɑŋ] 傍 “to be near”; “side” (a cognate series with minor alternation of the ideographic constitution, associated with space), and niè [ŋiăt] 臬( ) “sundial”, “totem pole/gnomon”, etc., associated with time. The double function of the totem pole as sundial recurs in the ideogram yì [ŋĭa] 義 (,) “righteous”, “just”, with a proto-meaning of “my sundial” (Ding: 1988, 241-242), i.e.: “my reading of the sundial” (wǒ [ŋa] 我 “I”/”my” + yáng [ʎĭɑŋ] 羊 “ram totem pole”) – “the subjectivity of any astronomical observation”, subsequently the subjective nature of the space-time. The idea is consistent with the Neolithic practices, preserved as late as the Zhou dynasty (1046-256 BCE), to determine the height of the gnomon after shaman’s thigh bone[2], which in the *Analects of Confucius, The Canon of Yao* is rationalized as: “All astronomical enumeration lies within your body” 《论语 • 尧典》：“天之历数在汝躬”. Gradually the ontological principle “the body as the measure of all things” yĭ shēn wéi dù 以身为度 is established. The cognate yí [ŋĭa] 儀 ( ) “instrument”; “ceremony”; “appearance” developed from yì [ŋĭa] 義 “my sundial/ totem pole” by adding the radical rén 人 ( ) “person” or lì 立 ( ) “standing (self-cultivated) person”. Yí [ŋĭa] 儀 is used in philosophic terms, such as: liǎng yí [lĭɑŋ ŋĭa] 两儀 “the two polarities (*yin* and *yang*)”, etc., which is a convincing evidence of “self”-permeated ontology.

A quick survey of the earliest first person pronouns (undifferentiated for plural/singular, personal/ possessive) found in Shang dynasty oracle bones and texts from the Warring states period, reveals that, even though traditionally regarded as mere phonetic borrowings, they are not randomly chosen. There transpires an archetypal link between the “I-hood” and the idea of “centrality”/“point of intersection”, unhindered by the respective literal meanings, which we list below with some elaborations. 1. Wǒ [ŋa] 我 (我) “a massive dagger” – symbol of *central* power/supremacy. 2. Wú [ŋɑ] 吾 (吾) “to converse”/”to exchange words”, where

[1] The *pinyin* transcription reflects the contemporary reading of the characters. In parallel, the ancient pronunciation is provided in square brackets

[2] *Zhou gnomon mathematical guide* states: “The Zhou gnomon is seven *chi* long, the length of the thigh bone. The thigh bone is the sundial.” 《周髀算经》：“周髀，长八尺。髀者，股也。髀者，表也。”

the constituent numeral "five" wǔ [ŋɑ] 五 (五) may refer to "the five senses", though usually it indicates "many", and by adding the component "mouth" kǒu [k"o] 口, signifies the interaction between many individuals with the I-speaker at the center; alternatively, "five" contains the numeral "two" [ŋ̍ǐei] 二 (二) in its structure, while 五 shows the interaction of the two opposites *yin* and *yang* between "heaven and earth". 3. Áng [ŋɑŋ] 卬 (卬) "high"; "raise"; "respect" – associative compound, made of one standing person and a kneeling one, which points towards hierarchy and self-effacement. 4. Yú [diɑ] 余 (余) "wood dust" – something cut off from the whole, a separate entity (the opposite of the Daoist concept of totality – "the unhewn/monolithic block of wood" pǔ [p'eŏk] 樸). 5. Yú [diɑ] 予 (予) "shuttle/"loom" – the instrument for interweaving the warp and the weft threads (all phenomena are envisioned by the ancient Chinese as patterns, generated from the texture of the ultimate reality). 6. Zhèn [diəm] 朕 (朕) "boat" (the self as a vessel/vehicle); "to oar a boat" (someone controls and directs the boat, i.e. emergence of direction in space). 7. Tái [diə] 台 (台) "embryo in the womb", comprised of sī [sǐei] 厶 "embryo" and "space"/"womb" wéi [ǐwəi] 囗 (the ontogenetic code: 2 creating 3 through 1, infers the embryo as preprogrammed to develop an ego-consciousness). The above characters are imbued with "self" symbolism and implicitly carry, as we saw in the case of wú [ŋɑ] 吾 "I"/"mine", the spatial dimensions "up" shàng [ʑǐɑŋ] 上 and "down" xià [ɣeɑ] 下 (equally correlatable to time[3] – "past" and "future"), whereas "the shuttle-I" yú [diɑ] 予 works as the entangler of warp and weft, i.e.: the vertical and horizontal threads of the fabric of space. The notion of the four cardinal points sìfāng [sǐētpǐwɑŋ] 四方 emerges, conditioned by the state of being. The ideograph fāng [pǐwɑŋ] 方 (方, 方, 方)[4] "direction"; "position" likewise is based on the human bodily form. Fāng [pǐwɑŋ] 方 signifies also "square". Its earliest variants show the space around the person – 方, or the space without the person – 匚. The space is square-shaped as a result of the deeply-rooted cosmological model of "rotundate sky and rectangular earth" tiān yuán dì fāng 天圆地方. The extension of the four cardinal points produces the notion of the cuboctahedral earth yà [eɑk] 亞 (亞, 亞, 亞) "Asia", which is secondary in relation to the heaven/cosmos. In its variants 亞 and 亞, the numeral 1 (*The great ultimate* Tàijí [t"ātgǐək] 太極 – generator of all space) or a dot (indicator of empty/fillable space) is added at the center. The 4 cardinal points plus 1 at the center reveal a numeric code 1=5, thus alluding to the magic square Luòshū 洛書 and the magic cross Hétú 河圖 and their numerical encoding of the universe. The presence of the dot in some variants of the embryo, i.e.: 厶 (厶)/子 (己), marks "the self" as rooted in space, and complements the idea of inwardly expandable space by a shift towards the fractality of microscopic scales.

The "foetus" as the beginning of "corporeality", apart from the already examined characters: "I"/"ego" tái [t'ə] 台 (台), latent during the pregnancy tāi [t'ə] 胎 and the "full-term baby" zǐ [tsǐə] 子 (子) hidden inside the "body" of the mother shēn [ɕǐen] 身 ("an individual", "one's own person"), is illustrated by another pictogram of "embryo" in an intermediate stage of development – 子/己. The latter underwent graphic transmutation and differentiated three more characters that are of crucial importance to the discussion: 1) jǐ [kǐə] 己 (己) "oneself"; "personal"; 2) yǐ [ʎǐə] 已, and 3) sì [zǐə] 巳 (巳). Interestingly enough, all three of them developed time-related meanings, a phenomenon that exposes "the self" as the generator of the percept of time as well, i.e.: 1) 己 – the 6th of the 10 Heavenly stems of the Chinese calendar; 2) 已 – "past"; "already"; "end"; 3) 巳 – "the 6th of the 12 Earthly Branches" of the Chinese calendar. Envisioning the self jǐ [kǐə] 己 as "the center" finds conformation in *Shuowen* 《說文》 and its commentary *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 《說文解字注》, where in accord with the archetypal "centrality" we find the following explanations: "the central palace" zhōng gōng 中宫; "the central territory" zhōngyāng tǔ 中央土, also: "chronicle" (prototype of jì [kǐə] 紀 "keep a record by tying rope"), i.e.: the subjective observer of events in time; "beginning of language" yán qǐ yě 言起也; "self-identification"/"uniqueness" jì shí 紀識, etc. The semantic nuclei sī [sǐei] 厶 "private", "secret" and jǐ [kǐə] 己 "oneself"; "personal" bear graphic likeness to a piece of "rope" or "thread". They can be thought of as depicting "the umbilical cord" – the connection between the mother and the baby (totality and the self), thus the circle of cognates stretches further to include yǐ [ʎǐə] 以 (以, 以) "rely"; "depend on"; "employ" (a multifunctional *link*-word as well), and also sì [zǐə] 似 "similarity"; "likeness" (the self-similarity "totality–self"). The fact that the umbilical cord (varying string-like structure: 己, 己, 己, 己) is present there at the beginning of life and individuation, calls to mind the String theory in modern physics, where the micro-world is hypothesized as comprised of ultra-small closed or opened strings. The endless spectra of vibrational frequencies create all known (and unknown) particles (Greene 2005: 354-

[3] It is worth noting that most of the space-related ideograms have developed time-related connotations as well.

[4] According to one of the versions, the etymological origin here is: "a man with a square board (shackles) around his head (used for punishment)".

360), all forms and entities in the universe (the "ten thousand/myriad things" wànwù [mǐwanmǐwət] 萬物).

Based on the "self"-denoting characters examined so far, important inference is that at the micro-level the process of emanation of matter and visible form is fractal (self-similar) in nature, and that creation *ex nihilo* ("born from nonbeing" sheng yú wú 生於無[5]) is not creation of any type, but fluctuations of a vibrational field of emptiness, which preserves its self-similarity and is conceivable by proxy of fluid dynamics: "akin to small tributaries flowing into rivers and seas."[6] This can explain why the unnameable ultimate reality *Dao* is broached by words like: "abyss" yuān [iwen] 淵, "reservoir" fǔ [pǐwo] 府, etc., all suggesting infinite turbulence and infinite space, in which the only forms, distinguishable to the eye, are whirls ( ) and vortical arms/filaments ( )[7]. In this line of thinking, the mega-turbulence that progressively generates infinite dimensions inwardly and outwardly, may underlie the transcendental experience of "form of the formless, image of the imageless" 無狀之狀，無象之象 (DDJ, s. 14), and can be thought of as "matrix of emptiness that precedes form". The oracle bone script samples manifest that on both conscious and unconscious level the ancient Chinese developed a clear understanding of the surrounding world as made of waves and patterns of the primal fluid qì [kʻǐət] 氣, and subsequently gained the insight into the filamentous scale of all existence, "the self" being no exception. The Daoist tradition authenticates this string-like/thread-like structure of the ultimate reality, perceiving it as an all-encompassing infinitely entwined whirling net wǎng [mǐwɑŋ] 網 of emptiness/nonbeing wú [mǐwɑ] 無. The filaments of this hyperdense hyperfluid "no-thing-ness" wúwù [mǐwɑmǐwət] 無物 are equalized to silk threads (Koutzarova 2008: 56). It is "the self" zì [dzǐēt] 自 and the "self-so-ness" zìrán [dzǐētn̩ǐan] 自然 (the state of the "nose", so to speak) that triggers the emanation from no-thing to all things, i.e.: from the unfathomable reservoir/ocean of vacuum oscillation hūhuǎng [xuətxuɑŋ] 惚恍 → waves of the primordial fluid qì [kʻǐət] 氣 → inception of vibrational patterns yǒuxiàng [ɣǐwəzǐɑŋ] 有象 → manifestations of visible forms xíng [ɣieŋ] 形 → individual entities shēn [ɛǐen] 身. In *Zhuangzi*, "On equalizing things" we find the formulation: "Heaven and earth are born together with *me*, and the ten thousand things and *I* are one"[8], which purports the simultaneous emergence of the self-awareness and the source of vibrations in the ocean of energy.

Objects originate when perceived by the senses, thus the body and that which is perceived cannot be distinguished from each other (Merleau-Ponty 2004: 57). In Daoist texts the five senses (the operating systems of the ego consciousness) match the five organs – "nose" zì [dzǐēt] 自; "eyes" mù [mǐəuk] 目; "ears" ěr [n̩ǐə] 耳; "mouth" kǒu [kʻo] 口, and "hand" shǒu [ɛǐəu] 手 (the sense of touch), and are referred to as "doors and openings" mén duì [muən duāt] 門兌. From an ontological point of view, they represent the boundaries jí [gǐək] 極 of energy exchange between *in* and *out*, interplay of *self* and *other*. Their activation maintains the corporeal spectrum of reality, relying on spatiality, temporality and the separateness of entities (objects), their closure returns consciousness to the primordial state of nonbeing, space and time become fluid and differentiation ceases to exist. Section 1 of *Laozi* presents the two modes: "Through eternal nonbeing I contemplate *Dao*'s subtleties; through eternal being I contemplate *Dao*'s manifestations."[9] "*Dao*'s subtleties" are the ultra-small scales of the universe, "*Dao*'s manifestations" is the ultimate reality refracted through the senses. See also Section 56: "Seal the source of speech, block access to the orifices, […] – this is called *primordial unification*. [10], i.e. back to the Dao's nonduality, totality and non-differentiation.

That the basic space and time-related ideograms are imbued with anthropomorphism allows us to re-examine the "corporeality" from a different angle. Notions that involve directionality and the actual direction concepts in Chinese script are inevitably anchored in the human form. In the social sphere, the human being is a silhouette in profile – , knelt down – , preoccupied with actions – , on top of the hierarchical pyramid (during Shang dynasty) or in the state of spiritual enlightenment (during the Zhou dynasty), however, the human being stands erect, full face – dà 大 (the ideogram "great"). According to Daoist teaching, "the greatness" dà [dāt] 大 is synonymous with "having the potential to abide in the four infinities", i.e.: the four boundary conditions – heaven, earth, *Dao* and the transcendental self[11]. In the context of the section, these

[5] *Daodejing* (DDJ), s. 40. All citations of the treatise follow Appendix 6 (Koutzarova 2008: 428-473).
[6] *Ibid*, s. 32..
[7] For the exact correspondence of the signs in the brackets, see Koutzarova 2008: 39-40.
[8] 《莊子•齊物論》："天地與我並生，而萬物與我為一。"
[9] DDJ, s.1: "故恆無，欲以觀其妙； 恆有，欲以觀其徼。"
[10] Ibid., s. 56:"閉其兌，塞其門，[… …]，是謂玄同。"
[11] Ibid., s. 14: "天大，地大，道大，王亦大。域中有四大，安王居一安。" "Heaven is infinitely big, earth is infinitely big, Dao is infinitely big, and so is the sovereign. Within the universe there are four infinities, and the sovereign abides in their unity."

four boundary conditions are nothing else but the toroidal/returning motion of the entire universe at all scales.

As early as the 14th century BCE based on the ideogram dà [dāt] 大 "great (person)" by adding a horizontal line above the head, the non-human concept of tiān [t'ien] 天 "heaven" is formed – . Some of its variants emphasize the roundness of the human head as representative of the rotundate heaven – , others elucidate the empty space above the head – . The authentic existence, the true state of being, in contrast, is lì [lĭəp] 立 – the "great person" standing on the ground (the horizontal line is underneath the feet), forming thus the verb "to be"; "to abide", used likewise in the context of the state of abiding of the ultimate reality, i.e. it "stands"/"inhabits" the central non-dual axis ("There is an image completed in chaos, born before heaven and earth; quiescent and void, *standing* alone without a foundation."[12]). All directions are predetermined by the point of the ego. In the above instances the human body exemplifies the "up–down" orientational axis in space. The "left–right" horizontal orientation is designated by part of that body – the left and right hand (later replaced by zuŏ [tsa] 左 and yòu [ɣĭwə] 右).

With the cosmic numbers, ratios and proportions corporeally encoded, the human body naturally becomes "the measure of all things" and anthropomorphism is projected over the natural phenomena, the movement of the celestial bodies, its imprint can be found in the cycles of time. For example, by drawing a human with his neck tilted to one side next to the sun rì [ɳĭět] 日, the idea of "sunset" zè [tʃĭək] 昃 is expressed – ; by drawing two people standing side by side bìng [biɑŋ] 竝 ( ) next to the sun rì [ɳĭět] 日, the associative compound "to replace" tì [t'iēt] 替 ( ) is produced – two people taking turns → the replacement of day by night → replacement of one dynasty/era by the next.

Time like space is a by-product of human consciousness. In ancient China time is rooted in the corporality, in one's own body, in the shadow cast by one's own body – jĭng/yĭng [kiɑŋ/iɑŋ] 景/影. "All transformation in the universe takes place in my time." 天地之化，皆我時也[13]. The notion "my time" ("the time in my head") wŏ shí 我時 should be viewed in the light of yì [ŋĭa] 義 "my sundial"/"my ram totem", i.e. the body is the apparatus for measuring the regularities in the temporal cycles.

The prehistoric period is dominated by the cyclical perception of time based on the cognition of natural processes. The character shí [ʑĭə] 時 (,) "time"; "season"; "epoch" is a hybrid between "human feet" zhĭ [tĭə] 止 + the heavenly body "sun" rì [ɳĭět] 日 and signifies the movement of the sun. Gradually it took a second anthropomorphic component in its structure: "the human hand" – to signify "to grasp/control time". The ancient calendar "Heavenly stems, earthly branches" tiāngān dìzhī 天干地支 was in use in Shang dynasty (17–11 century BCE). The timeline of historiography with absolute dates of events has begun in China in circa 722 BCE with the annals of different states during the Spring and Autumn Period Chūnqiū 春秋 (770–476 BCE). The interesting thing is that in spite of the fact that keeping a record according to the year of the reign of the acting emperor imposes a feel of linearity to time, Chinese perception of time never abandoned its cyclicity, and even enhanced it by transforming it into "the mirror symmetry of past-into-the-future cyclic time". The concept "history as a mirror" originated from the social dimension of time – the evolution of the ritual system, the political organization, etc. The lack of clear division between myth and history, natural and supernatural, overthrew the one-way-directedness of the arrow of time. Based on repetition of events and recycling of history, the intuition of the "mirror of time" prevailed – the only moment is the subjective now; future is a mirrored past, past is a mirrored future. The mirror jiàn [keam] 鑑 is a reflector, but also preserver of all reflected, i.e. it is the keeper of all information, "the memory of time immemorial". It is exactly for these reasons that history is highly revered by the Chinese: it keeps a track on the flow of time, it preserves information, it is the collective memory of distant ancestors, and draws towards that unfathomable blurry moment of creation. Ultimately, time like the mind itself is fluid and follows the *yin-yang* direction of the universe.

The search of a beginning in a mythical mode fills in the blurriness with imaginary legendary figures and mythic personages. The greater the lack of information, the more detailed description of their genealogy. In this manner time becomes an explicit *yin* category, leading back to "the mother of all things" shĭ [ɕĭə] 始 (,) [self-similarity between the infant/"the self" 台 and the mother/"the beginning" 始], to the cosmic womb xuán pìn [ɣiwen bĭei] 玄牝. Time is a succession of births and naturally is an extension of the body. Time is the "umbilical cord"-I ( ) that runs through the generations. The character "to give birth" shēng [ʃəŋ] 生 (

[12] Ibid., s. 25: "有象混成，先天地生。淒寥，獨立不亥。"

[13] *Unofficial commentary on the Book of Changes,* scroll 5 《周易外传卷五》.

,) depicts a plant that breaks the surface of the earth and grows upwards (屮 + 土). The earth tǔ [t'u] 土 is believed to be that omnipotent mother of all thigs, the horizon/boundary, which erupts space/life – , . The character hòu [ɣo] 后 ( ) "after"; "successor" is a cognate of yù [ʎĭəuk] 毓 (, ,) "to give birth to a child/heir". The Chinese classics are full of time-chains as a function of procreation. In the examples the character shēng 生 is substituted by us with an arrow: The Emperor Jùn 帝俊→Yúhào 禺號→Yínliáng 淫梁→Pānyú 番禺→Xīzhòng 奚仲→Jíguāng 吉光 or The Yellow Emperor 黃帝→Chāngyì 昌意→Hánliú 韓流→Zhuān Xū 顓頊→Huāntóu 驩頭→Miáo mín 苗民, etc. (based on *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* 《山海經》).

The mythopoeic approach of the Daoist thinker Zhuangzi 莊子 offers alternative versions of the time-generating matrix, that reach as close as possible to the ontological beginning (the verb shēng 生 is not used in the original text): "The son of Fùmò 副墨之子→The grandson of Luòsòng 洛誦之孫→Zhānmíng 瞻明→Nièxǔ 聶許→Xūyì 需役→Yúōu 於謳→The chaos/whirling abyss 玄冥→The void 參寥→As if there is a beginning 疑始→…"[14]

Anthropomorphism diminishes with each arrow and quickly vanishes all together once the state of chaos and voidness are entered. "As if there is a beginning" is actually "No beginning", the realization that each fragment of time can be further divided *ad infinitum*. That, which is thought of as "the singular beginning" will be revealed as "a beginning", i.e. "a secondary beginning", and that the retrogressive journey can go on without an end: "There is "beginning", there is "not yet having begun having a beginning". There is "there not yet having begun to be that "not yet having begun having a beginning". …There is "there not yet having begun to be that "not yet having begun being without something."[15] (Graham 1981: 55)

Strict ontological approach yields the following stages in the beginning of time/space itself: The great transformation Tàiyì 太易 → The great inception Tàichū 太初 ("the first cut" in tailoring the dress – emergence of the primal fluid) → The great beginning Tàishǐ 太始 (appearance of form) → The great simplicity Tàisù 太素 (beginning of matter) → *The great ultimate* Tàijí 太極 (the non-dual boundary/return to The great transformation Tàiyì 太易)[16]

We have studied "the self" as rooted in space, and space rooted in "the self". The construct "space-time" is modeled after the "self-so-ness", and is perceived by the ancient Chinese as bound by the dynamics of Dao (The ultimate frontier → the innermost point → circumrotation), i.e. toroidal/returning motion of the entire universe at all scales.

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[14] 《莊子・大宗師》.

[15] "有始也者，有未始有始也者，有未始有夫未始有始也者。有有也者，有無也者，有未始有無也者。有未始有夫未始有無也者。俄而有無矣，而未知有無之果孰有孰無也。"《莊子・齊物論》

[16] Liezi 《列子・天瑞》.

SECTION

經濟與政治

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

CHINESE CONCEPT OF THE "ONE BELT, ONE ROAD" PLAN: THE SILK ROAD ECONOMIC BELT AND THE 21ST-CENTURY MARITIME SILK ROAD

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Abstract

The vision and actions of jointly building China's President Xi Jinping's "one belt, one road" plan: Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-century Maritime Silk Road, is an initiative of the President during visits to Central Asia and Southeast Asia in 2013. They aim to promote an orderly and free flow of economic factors, highly efficient allocation of resources and deep integration of markets by enhancing connectivity of the Asian, European and African continents and their adjacent seas. The plan includes a list of major infrastructure projects on railways, roads, energy, information technology and industrial parks to be started in the coming years. It is open to all countries and international and regional organizations for engagement, and honors mutual respect and market operation to seek common prosperity.

To promote the development of infrastructure of the countries participating in the creation of the New Silk Road, Beijing announced its intention to create China's Silk Road Fund and invest in it $40 billion. China also plans to establish an Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) with an initial capital of $50 billion. March 31st, 2015 marks the deadline for founding membership in the AIIB. So far, 57 countries and regions have joined the bank as founding members, including several major Western powers, which intends to meet the financing needs of infrastructure projects in Asia and is set to have an authorized capital of US$100 billion.

Beijing clearly expresses that China will not try to nurture a sphere of influence or seek a dominant role in regional affairs and beyond, does not interfere in the internal affairs of other states and does not want to create a new organization or regional cooperation mechanisms. On the basis of consultations, Beijing only want to contribute to a mutually beneficial economic cooperation between the participant countries for their common development and prosperity.

Keywords: Chinese Dream, Silk Road Economic Belt, 21st-century Maritime Silk Road, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, similarities and differences between China's "One Belt, One Road" initiative and the U.S. Marshall plan, "The Great Ggame" between the East and the West for dominance in Eurasia.

During the last few years people have witnessed a new beginning in the diplomatic work of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China headed by General Secretary and President Xi Jinping (Yang 2014: 8). During his official visits to foreign countries and his talks with foreign guests in China, Xi Jinping profoundly expounded the rich connotations and international significance of the Chinese Dream. He pointed out that in essence the Chinese Dream is a common dream of all nationalities and also the dream of everyone in China; that to realize this dream, China needs a peaceful and stable international and peripheral environment; that China will realize its dream through persistent endeavors for peaceful development. The Chinese Dream is inseparably linked with the universal dream of all nations, and China will share more development opportunities with all countries in the world, and work together with the international community to realize the universal dream (Yang 2014: 9-10).

In the new foreign policies initiated by President Xi, the most remarkable part is that he is attaching more importance to China's relations with neighboring countries. Therefore, it is not without reason that the new leadership in China proposed the concepts of the **"Silk Road Economic Belt"** and the **"21st-century Maritime Silk Road"** (Yan 2014: 1). The importance of these two concepts is indicated by the fact that both were mentioned in a document unveiled after the 3rd Plenary session of the 18th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held in mid-November in Beijing (Justyna 2013: 2).

These concepts were put forward by President Xi Jinping during his visit to Kazakhstan and Indonesia in September and October 2013 and they are an important step in deepening China's reform and opening up

and promoting diplomatic work in relation to the surrounding countries (Жэньминь Жибао 11.03, 2014). Central Asia was once the hub of the Silk Road and the development of this economic area hinges on the development of Central Asia. In this sense, the Silk Road Economic Belt proposed by President Xi Jinping during his visit to Central Asia would reach the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Although the Central Asian area is rich in mineral resources, it remains an underdeveloped area, and the total population of Central Asia is only 60 million, almost equivalent to a middle-sized province of China. So, by pushing for a westward opening-up on the basis of a good Central Asia development strategy, it is essential for the Chinese to include the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, as well as the Indian Ocean into a broader cooperation of a 3 billion population involving Central Asia, West Asia, South Asia, and even dozens of European countries (Pan 2014: 1). Russia is also pleased to take part (Жэньминь Жибао 10.10, 2013). In fact, Beijing has "no objection" against the activity of Russia and the United States in Asia, but offers to make them as a part of the Chinese project. The Chinese integration plan has already included the Caucasus countries – Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia and South Ossetia (Сергеев 2013: 1).

According to Chinese experts, the "Economic Belt of the Silk Road" is a large-scale economic outlook, aimed at stimulating also the development of China's western regions, opening up to Eurasia, and even Europe. By expanding openness to the West, trade relations and economic cooperation between the central and western regions of China, and Central, South and West Asia will strengthen. The Economic Belt of the Silk Road is an important link in the formation of all-round open structure, the implementation of a balanced and coordinated development between East and West (Фэн 2014: 1).

China is also interested in its southern neighbors, especially ASEAN. The idea of establishing the Maritime Silk Road was revealed during Li Keqiang's attendance at the 16th ASEAN+China summit in Brunei and Xi Jinping's speech in the Indonesian parliament in early October. The main emphasis was placed on stronger economic cooperation, including financial aspects, very close cooperation on joint infrastructure projects (e.g., building roads and railways), the enhancement of security cooperation, and the idea of a "21st-century Maritime Silk Road" through strengthened "maritime economy, environment technical and scientific cooperation" (Justyna 2013: 3). Much like Xi's Silk Road Economic Belt, the maritime Silk Road seems to be a statement of intent more than a proposal, an effort to further expand what is already a major trading relationship (David 2013: 1).

Xi Jinping announced a proposal that in order to strengthen economic ties, deepen interactions and expansion of cooperation space between the countries of Eurasia, China could use the new model of cooperation and jointly build "economic corridor along the Silk Road". According to Xi Jinping, to achieve this great cause for the benefit of peoples and to design the structure of regional cooperation, primarily, it is necessary to strengthen political contacts, develop transport communications, ensure uninterrupted trade, the scope of monetary circulation, as well as promote closer relations among of the peoples of the region (Жэньминь Жибао 14.09, 2013: 3). The goals of the "Silk Road" revival is the construction of modern transport and high-speed high-grade highways, besides new roads (not just improving existing highways) with the use of innovative technologies. Over the past decade, China has made a significant breakthrough in this regard and has achieved world leadership in the level of development of roads. Now the time has come for Chinese technology to go for export (Киевский ТелеграфЪ 2013).

On the 24th November, 2014, on the eve of the APEC summit in Beijing, Chinese President Xi Jinping met with leaders of seven countries that are not members of the organization, and within the forum "Dialogue to strengthen the interconnected partnership" announced the intention to create **China's Silk Road Fund** and to invest $40 billion. The Fund will be used for infrastructure development of countries included in the area of the "Silk Road Economic Belt" and the "21st-century Maritime Silk Road". Due to the Fund's resources, China intends to build new ports, airports and railways in the countries of the zone of cooperation. Meanwhile, the Silk Road Foundation is not the only mechanism for the implementation of Chinese infrastructure projects in Asia. China also plans to establish Asian Bank infrastructure investment (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), headquartered in Beijing (Дёгтев 2014: 1). AIIB was founded in October 2014, by China and 20 other countries in Asia (Bangladesh, Brunei, Cambodia, India, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Laos, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Uzbekistan and Vietnam) (Вести 17.03, 2015). Founding members have priority over nations that sign up later, because they will have the right to set the rules for the bank (Cary 2015: 1). The bank is funding $100 billion in infrastructure projects across the Asian continent. Half of that amount has

already been budgeted by Beijing (Mehreen 2015: 1). The AIIB is the first Asian-based international bank to be independent from the Western-dominated Bretton Woods institutions, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (Cary 2015: 1). The impetus to found AIIB in 2013 was the US unwillingness to ratify the changes to the IMF in 2010, supposed to give China more weight in the organization (Правда.Ру 18.03, 2015). In 2014, Beijing decided to create an alternative to the ADB, making a bet on AIIB. China was disappointed with the slow pace of reforms and other issues in organizations such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank. Moreover, China takes into account that they act primarily in the interest of the United States, Europe and Japan (ИА REGNUM 2015).

Beijing made a public detailed roadmap for the implementation of the initiative "one belt, one road" – the construction of an economic belt of the New Silk Road of the 21st century at the annual economic forum in Boao (Boao Forum for Asia (BFA)), entitled "Asia's New Future: Toward a Community of Common Destiny", which was held in March 26th – 29th, 2015 (Hainan Island) (РИА Новости 2015).

The United States diplomatic and financial structure began a fierce resistance of the Chinese initiative, as they understood well what the result of the emergence of such a competitor in the international financial market would be. However, China has received support from the other side – the European Union, which Washington has not expected (Правда.Ру 18.03.2015). Currently, the participation rights of the founders confirmed most of "G20", as well as states that are among the 20 largest economies in the world according to the IMF, including Germany, France, Britain, Brazil, Italy, Russia, India, Australia, South Korea, Indonesia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Switzerland (Правда.Ру 31.03, 2015). One other intriguing point is that all of the BRICS countries – Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa – are on board. That means double duty for these countries, as they are also in the midst of getting the new BRICS Development Bank (formally launched last July) up and running (Shannon 04.2015).

On 16th April, 2015 the AIIB released its final, approved list of founding members (excluding Taiwan). With 58 countries[1] signed up, the AIIB includes well over a quarter of the world's nations (Shannon 04.2015). At the initial stage AIIB intends to focus on the creation of the New Silk Road – new trade routes to Europe (Вести 17.03.2015). Beijing hopes that the annual trade volume between China and "Belt and Road" countries will "surpass 2.5 trillion U.S. dollars in a decade or so" (Shannon 03.2015). China is the largest shareholder, accounting for 30.34 percent of AIIB shares. It is followed by India (8.52 percent), Russia (6.66 percent), Germany (4.57 percent), and South Korea (3.81 percent). Australia, France, Indonesia, Brazil, and the U.K. round out the top ten (Shannon 06.2015).

According to Chinese experts there are several reasons why AIIB became attractive to Western economies. Europe wishes their company had the opportunity to participate in infrastructure projects in Asia. European countries are also "disappointed US behavior" in the IMF and the World Bank (Правда.Ру 14.04.2015). Support of leading European countries for the AIIB, despite US efforts to keep them from doing so, demonstrates the "victory of pragmatism over geopolitics". For China, which has the world's largest foreign exchange reserves, it is logical to look for opportunities to invest the reserves on its own terms, therefore increasing leverage of international influence and "transiting from a large to a strong state" (Ведомости 2015).

However, the glut of Western European countries involved in AIIB doesn't mean that Europe will be able to play a major role in the bank's governance. The non-Asian countries will be limited to holding a total of 25% of AIIB shares. That means China can claim all of the prestige of having Western Europe join its new pet project without actually have to share control. It also means that Asian countries with governance concerns (including Australia and South Korea) will have to be more vocal about these issues to ensure AIIB actually lives up to international standards. Meanwhile, the interest in AIIB from Western Europe marks a stark contrast between that region and North America (Shannon 06.2015).

In Europe, as in Washington, China's launch of a new institution to channel a fraction of its massive currency reserves into infrastructure investments in Asia posed a political conundrum and provoked turf

[1] Australia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Brazil, Brunei, Cambodia, China, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lao, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Maldives, Malta, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Sweden, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Thailand, Turkey, UAE, United Kingdom, Uzbekistan, Vietnam.

disputes. Some experts estimate China's initiated AIIB as a serious challenge to the IMF and the United States, capable to shake the economic and political leadership of America and the EU. An American analyst even stated that The New Silk Road project aims at no less than a **revolutionary change in the economic map of the world**. It is also seen by many as the first shot in a **battle between East and West for dominance in Eurasia**. China's massive project has already triggered dramatic changes in global policy, but it is likely to face a lot of Western geopolitical obstructions. "The great game" for the dominance in Eurasia between the East and the West will continue (Paul and William 2015: 1).

Thus, many analysts have labeled China's new initiatives as a Chinese version of the Marshall Plan, indicating that China would use such initiatives to seek influence and even dominance in Asia. There are some seeming similarities between China's "one belt, one road" initiative with the U.S. Marshall plan, with the main one being that both plans aim at exporting their country's capital, technology, and capacity to others who need them badly. But experts consider that there are some major differences between them: China's Silk Road vision is different from the Marshall Plan in motivation, challenges, and potential impact. First of all, China does not seek to become a hegemon in Asia and beyond, and China's "one belt, one road" initiative faces far more challenges than the U.S. Marshall Plan. The U.S. was already a global hegemon after winning the Second World War, thus enabling it to push the Marshall Plan without much resistance from Europe. Also, the U.S. and its European allies shared many values and beliefs, which made the Marshall Plan much easier to implement (Dingding 2014: 1).

According to Chinese analysts, today China is still a rising and a developing power, facing tremendous security, political, social, and economic challenges around the globe. The "Silk Road" is still in its initial stage of execution and to avoid misunderstanding, a specific communication measure analogous to the Marshall Plan should be taken. As far as the a majority of developing countries are concerned, it is quite necessary to point out that the "New Silk Road" is not the sort of assistance program as the South-South frameworks. China is the initiator of the cooperation, not the dominator. Thus, as for the Western countries worries, China's response should be focused on the issue of reshaping the international order, emphasizing the nature of economic cooperation and common development, while not avoiding the political and diplomatic spillover effects of the cooperation (Jin 2015: 1).

The AIIB, despite U.S. grievances, addresses a major shortcoming in the supply of easy-to-acquire infrastructure financing for developing Asian states outside of the established rubric of the U.S.-dominated World Bank, and the U.S.- and Japan-dominated Asian Development Bank. The AIIB, which will launch with $50 billion in capital, won't immediately fill the supply deficit but will greatly increase **developing states' ability to access credit (**Ankit 2015: 1**)**.

According to China's Ambassador to Britain Liu Xiaoming, some Westerners are determined to portray China with prejudice and suspicion. "One Belt, One Road" is said to be a power play by China on the geopolitical chessboard, claiming that there are "strategic motives" behind it. The fact is that "One Belt, One Road" is not a geopolitical tool of any country, but a public good that China is providing to the international community. The initiative has no military considerations and has nothing to do with any disputes, it focuses only on economic cooperation and people-to-people exchange. The Ambassador considers that the "One Belt, One Road" does not aim to replace the existing regional cooperation mechanisms and initiatives, but further drive interconnection and complementary advantages in the economies of the countries along the route; it is definitely not a "one man show" by China, or a monopoly of any sort. The countries along the route will all have their say, all participants are equal and decisions will be made through consultations and actions will be taken jointly (Yao 2015: 1).

Some experts consider, that the New Silk Road is a geopolitical economic mega-project, which is headed not only by China, but there is no such a schedule, there is only a gradual progress. No secrecy and conservatism, there is mutual respect and tolerance (Центр стратегических оценок и прогнозов 04.08.2014). China offers the construction of the Economic belt of the Silk Road in order do not to create a new organization or regional cooperation mechanisms, but to ensure that on the basis of consultations really contribute to mutually beneficial economic cooperation between the countries of the region for their common development and prosperity (Центр стратегических оценок и прогнозов 06.02.2015).

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CHINA'S POLICY IN THE BALKANS: WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY OR THREAT TO THE EU

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Abstract

The European Union faces a period of a deep crisis – economic, political, crisis of a supranational affiliation, of values, of the European project in general. The EU still cannot use this crisis as an opportunity to step on the track of a key global actor status. It lacks the so needed strategic vision, internal cohesion and political will to define its own, European strategic priorities on the global stage.

During the 1990s and in early 2000s, the Balkan region was high on the EU and international agenda. Today, Bulgaria and Romania are still the poorest countries in the European Union and the European perspective of the Western Balkans is fading away. Instead of further enlargement and integration, Europe witnesses profound internal divisions and antagonisms.

On the other hand, China is back on the geopolitical map of the world. It has a growing self-confidence in the international system, a more active foreign policy approach and expanding geography of its foreign policy interests. It demonstrates an increased interest in the Balkan region.

Several initiatives launched recently by China concern the Balkan region. These are the "One Belt, One Road" initiative and the Economic and Trade Forum of China–CEE Countries, among others. Both initiatives – that seem to be integral elements of a large-scale, long-term strategy of China – provide important opportunities for further economic development of the Balkan countries.

The EU, however, is not too excited about these Chinese plans. There is still no official reaction on the new Silk Road concept announced by the Chinese president Xi Jinping in 2013. Brussels remains suspicious and even critical of the second Chinese initiative for breaking the unity of the Union.

The world is dramatically changing. The western-centric perspective of world politics cannot catch and correctly interpret the new dynamics within the international system. Any actor that does not take into consideration the new realities within the international system is doomed to unsuccess.

Keywords: EU, China, The Balkans, geopolitics

Introduction

The international system is undergoing deep changes that will result in a serious restructuring of the world order. The Ukrainian crisis has made quite evident the existing strategic and geopolitical contradictions between some of the major actors on the international scene. It is obvious that a new contest for influence is under way on the global scene with its regional implications. The Balkans is one of the regions where the strategic interests of the major powers intersect.

The Balkans: Back in the Geopolitical Center

The Balkan region is back to the global geopolitical agenda. It is not a central issue to the global agenda as it was in the 1990s and in early 2000s. Then, because of the conflicts in former Yugoslavia, the Balkan region was high on the EU and international agenda. Now it seems that the region is regaining an increasing strategic significance for the major powers on the global scene.

Once called a "strategic corner of Europe" (Andelman 1979/80: 60), the Balkans are now a (small but still not insignificant) piece of the global geopolitical puzzle. Located between East and West, the region is an important territory, a platform for projection of economic, political, geopolitical and security interests into neighboring, geostrategically important regions. The geopolitical value of the region is growing in the context of the ongoing global reshuffling, increased tensions between the Western world and Russia, the processes in Ukraine, the Middle East and the Islamic state activity.

For a certain period of time, the West has been focused on different policy priorities (global focus on the Greater Middle East, the fight against terrorism, etc.) and has preferred to put on rose-colored glasses re-

garding the Balkans instead of facing facts on the ground. The Balkans were perceived as a stable place in comparison to different turbulent regions.

Bulgaria and Romania, however, remain the poorest countries in the EU. Both are lagging behind in terms of economic development and standard of living. The European perspective of the Western Balkans is fading away. Recent developments in Macedonia, the socio-political fragility in Bosnia and Herzegovina, developments in Kosovo, among others, suggest that serious social, political, economic, religious, ethnic problems could undermine security in the region and make it vulnerable to external destabilizing influences.

Here Comes China

The United States were strongly involved in the conflict resolution process on the Balkans in the 1990s and the beginning of the new century. Washington played a major role in the resolution of the conflict in Kosovo where now is located one of the largest US overseas military bases – Camp Bondsteel, which is an important project from a geopolitical standpoint. In the last decade, the US foreign policy agenda was dominated, however, by different priorities – financial crisis, pivot to Asia, the Middle East turmoil, etc. – and there was a relative US disengagement from the Balkans. Recently, the United States have turned their attention to the region once more, with some of the Balkan states being even recognized as part of the "NATO's eastern front line"[1].

Instead of further enlargement and integration, Europe witnesses deep internal dilemmas, profound internal divisions and antagonisms which were intensified by the financial and economic crisis of 2008–2009. Moreover, the European Union faces a period of a deep crisis – economic, political, crisis of a supranational affiliation, of values, of the European project in general. Against this background, all declarations for the future accession of the West Balkan countries to the EU are either a political hypocrisy or a lack of touch with reality.

Other actors are also part of the regional power game. Russia has its traditional interest in the Balkan region. Turkey follows its "strategic depth" foreign policy doctrine with a particular focus on the Balkans.

This is where China also comes into the picture – back on the geopolitical map of the world and in the center of the international power reshuffling. The new Chinese leadership seems ready to apply a proactive and more assertive foreign policy approach (Liqun 2010). It demonstrates growing self-confidence and expanding geography of its foreign policy interests, including an increased interest in the Balkan region.

While the European Union, Russia, the United States and Turkey are traditional geopolitical actors in the Balkans with different, often conflicting interests, China is a comparatively "new" actor on the scene with a different approach to projecting its influence.

For a long period of time, relations with East European countries have been less important than China's relations with Western Europe (Yahuda 2006: 274–275). On the other hand, the foreign policy of the Balkan states – eager to pass through the transformation process – has been totally oriented towards the West.

Things have started to change and China is getting involved in the region more closely. Several initiatives recently launched by China directly concern the Balkan region. These are the Silk Road Economic Belt, 21st-Century Maritime Road, the Third Eurasian Continental Bridge and the Economic and Trade Forum of China–CEE Countries where half of the participating countries are from the Balkan region. All these initiatives seem to be integral elements of a large-scale, multidimensional and long-term strategy that China has put into practice. The Balkan region has its role in the implementation of this strategy (Liu 2014).

On the one hand, the region is particularly important for Beijing because of its geographic and political proximity to Western Europe that provides easy access to the EU market and eventually some political leverage. On the other hand, the Balkan countries – trying to overcome the negative effects of the economic crisis and to continue their development – need fresh investments. The EU – squeezed by austerity measures – could not provide that funding. Chinese financial institutions and companies – following a "going global" strategy – are ready to invest in the region.

Taking advantage of the temporary inability of the European Union to fully project its power in this part of Europe, the Chinese companies have seized the opportunity and have started to acquire strategic assets all over the region (Poulain 2011). China possesses an increasing number of instruments to implement this policy, i.e. the USD 40 billion Silk Road fund which started operation in February 2015, the Asia Infrastructure

[1] *State's Nuland on Trans-Atlantic Unity*. Washington, D.C. U.S. Department of State. 27 January 2015.

Investment Bank (AIIB) initiated by China in 2013 and the New Development Bank agreed to by BRICS leaders in 2013.

Infrastructure seems to be a key element in China's investment policy towards the Balkan region. The development of a network of infrastructure facilities in the region could be regarded as a component of Beijing's plan to eventually link China and Europe. Chinese financial institutions provide loans and Chinese companies develop different segments of the rail and highway track of the "One Belt, One Road" project on the Balkans. These sections are also elements of different Pan-European corridors that have had a special place in the EU enlargement strategy but Brussels could not provide for their further development.

China's decision to develop the strategically important port of Piraeus is only one of the examples for Beijing's strong engagement with the region and its significance for the implementation of the "One Belt, One Road" strategy. The latter is particularly beneficial to the Eastern European and Southeast European economies as it helps them also to move away from their peripheral role within the EU (Van der Putten and Meijnders 2015: 34)

EU's fears and China's rationale

Though celebrating the 40th anniversary of the EU–China diplomatic relations, the EU does not seem excited about Chinese plans and activities in the Balkan regions. There is no official EU reaction on the new Silk Road concept. Brussels, however, remains suspicious and surprisingly firm and critical of China–CEE Cooperation initiative. It was assessed as an assault on the EU foreign policy unity and part of the Chinese plan for the expansion of its influence in Europe (Turcsányi, 2014). There are even some European fears that the Chinese are exploiting EU member states from the region as a kind of a "China lobby" (Godement and Parello-Plesner 2011: 2)

With China's activity in the region, the projects implemented and funded by China would certainly increase Chinese influence and its capability to exert some influence on regional affairs. Still, it is a great mistake to assess China's foreign policy activities entirely through the lenses of the Western system of values and perceptions. China's rationale is different. Its major focus, as declared and followed by now by the Chinese leadership, is on a win-win cooperation, inclusiveness, common development, prosperity, peace and harmony between the countries. The document entitled "Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road", which was issued in March 2015 by China's National Development and Reform Commission, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Commerce points out: "The Belt and Road Initiative aims to promote the connectivity of Asian, European and African continents and their adjacent seas, establish and strengthen partnerships among the countries along the Belt and Road, set up all-dimensional, multi-tiered and composite connectivity networks, and realize diversified, independent, balanced and sustainable development in these countries"[2].

China's proactive policy in the Balkans could be beneficial both to the Balkan countries and the EU. Chinese investment activity in the region provides important opportunities for further economic development of the Balkan countries, thus contributing to the stability and security in the region. And here is the interest of the EU. The stabilization and further economic development of the Balkan region entirely corresponds to the EU interests. Brussels is not interested in a turbulent Balkan region with poor economic performance.

On the other hand, it is in the interest of the EU to have better connectivity between East and West where the Balkan region is an important link between Europe and Asia. As far as Chinese strategy is focused primarily on the economic and trade benefits, deeper connectivity and interaction could not only stimulate the EU economic growth but it could also contribute to the reduction of tensions and conflicts in Eurasia, including between the EU and Russia.

Despite the warnings of some Western experts about a future clash of the integration projects of Russia and China in Eurasia, Beijing and Moscow have already signed a joint declaration on cooperation in coordinating development of Eurasian Economic Union and the Silk Road Economic Belt. It does not mean that the two countries have overcome the existing contradictions, discrepancies and mutual suspicion. Still, Europe should not underestimate but rightly evaluate this declaration as it is not in the interest of the EU to keep itself isolated from any process of a Eurasian economic integration.

[2] National Development and Reform Commission, People's Republic of China, 2014. ***Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road.*** Available at: http://en.ndrc.gov.cn/newsrelease/201503/t20150330_669367.html) [Accessed 27.06.2015]

In this sense, a new re-evaluation of the "transatlantic" interests is needed. The fact that the European countries and the United States share common values does not mean that there is a full overlapping of their interests. For example, the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), if signed, could embarrass closer trade cooperation between the EU and China (Wang 2014). Moreover, based rather on the principle of "exclusion", it would seriously hamper any further economic integration in Eurasia.

Also, the EU should not allow to be involved in the dynamics of increasingly tense US-China relations as it happened with its relations with Russia. It has to pursue further development of the China–EU comprehensive strategic partnership despite the existing problems if it wants to have its place in the new world order.

Conclusion

With the global center of power and influence moving to the East, the EU should seriously reconsider its interests and priorities in a regional and global perspective. If the EU wants to overcome the present crisis and to step on the track of a key global actor status, it should define its own European strategic priorities and act coherently and more independently on the international scene. The Union has also to get out of its romantic period of egomania and take into consideration the new realities within the international system where China has a central place.

Chinese engagement in the Balkan region is a window of opportunity not only for the Balkan countries but also an opportunity for the EU to find the right, mutually beneficial way to further expand and deepen its interaction and cooperation with China as well as to enhance its global influence. China sees Europe as a central element in the reshaping of the world order. Chinese experts perceive the European Union as an emerging pole that would contribute to counter hegemony in the international system (Shambaugh 2008: 128–130).

In this context, the way the EU reacts to China's Balkan engagement will be a test for the EU ability to prove itself as a real global actor. The real threat to the EU is within the Union itself. A threat to the EU would be the inability of Brussels to timely and adequately assess the changes within the international system and the underlying reasons for these changes. Unfortunately, there are not yet so many reasons for optimism concerning the EU's ability to face this challenge.

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НОВИТЕ ПРЕДИЗВИКАТЕЛСТВА ПО ПЪТЯ НА КОПРИНАТА

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THE NEW CHALLENGES ON THE "SILK ROAD"

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Abstract

In his book "Out of Control", Brjejinski speaks about a vacuum in Eurasia, with important geopolitical consequences. Which are the new challenges and risks on the "Silk Road" in the time of globalization, radicalization and freedom of movement?

The paper will stress three challenges: the project "Economic zone on the Silk Road" (the leadership in economic performance is held by China and therefore the Eastern political cultures have the necessary economic basis for asserting their independence), the influence of ETIM and IMU on the region and the role and place of Xinjiang, as a bridge between Central and South Asia. How are they reflected on this way of old traditions and cultures and is there a "clash" between the Eastern religions on the "Silk Road" and Islam with its mult-dimensions, between the thick black chador and the silk veil, called "tissue of wind", between the spiritual, transcendental cognition (Daoism) and the pragmatic, mundane faith of Islam?

I'll conclude that the new challenges on the "Silk Road" create new borders between people – religious, linguistic, ethnical – and new identities. The main question: will we preserve the cultural plurality and authenticity of the region?

Keywords: Silk Road, challenges, radical Islam, identity

„Пътя на коприната" може да определим като първата мрежова структура в духа на М. Кастелс. Път, който се вие през сърцето на Азия, оставяйки след себе си граници и народи, безкрайни възможности и избори, път – лабиринт, като този от старите предградия. Като понятие е конструирано през XIX в. от немския географ Фридрих фон Ритхофен за обозначаване на плетеница от пътни артерии, отвеждащи до Средиземно море. Пътят на Жълтия император, който разоравал ритуална бразда в жълтата почва на вътрешен Китай, за да отбележи началото на годината, и превърнал жълтото в символ на "лоното на света" (Таброн 2012:13).

В отговор на глобализацията светът става много по-отговорен за запазване на културното многообразие, но и за съхраняване на културната самобитност. Експертите на световната банка прогнозират бурно развитие на китайската, индийската, ислямската и будистка цивилизация.

Лидерството по икономически показатели на развитие се държи от Китай, чийто дял в световната икономика от 2,7% през 1970 г. стига до 10,85% през 2001 г. с тенденция за растеж – по прогнози на Световната банка до 14,2% за 2015 г.[1] Това показва, че източните политически култури ще имат нужната икономическа база за отстояване на тяхната самобитност в условията на глобализация.

Кои са новите предизвикателства по Пътя на коприната?

• Проектът „Икономически пояс по Пътя на коприната"

• ЕТИМ (Eastern Turkestan Islamic Movement) – Източно тюркестанско ислямско движение

• Hizb ut-Tahrir & IMU (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan) – Хизбу-т Тахрир и Ислямско движение на Узбекистан

[1] Световна банка – отчет за световното развитие за 2002. Цит. по **Василенко, И. А**. Политическая философия. М., 2000, ИНФРА-М, с. 140.

Според доклад на американския Съвет по национална сигурност за състоянието на света след 20 години хегемонията на САЩ ще е отминала, светът ще е многополюсен, а към 2030 г. Китай ще е задминал САЩ като първа икономическа сила[2]. Китай лансира нов проект – „Икономически пояс по пътя на коприната", който се позиционира между Евразийския проект на Русия за по-добри позиции в Централна Азия и проекта „Нов път на коприната" на САЩ. В китайския вариант влизат азиатски територии с население 3 млрд. души, един пояс, простиращ се от Тихия океан до Кавказ и от Сибир до Индийския океан. Това води до нови предизвикателства пред икономическото, военното и политическото сътрудничество и до преразпределение на силите, ако се съди по действията на китайския президент, който по време на срещата на Г-20 в Санкт Петербург и на Шанхайската организация за сътрудничество в Бишкек направи собствена совалка в района на Централна Азия (Туркменистан, Казахстан, Узбекистан, Киргизстан), раздавайки щедри обещания за финансови помощи (30 млрд. долара за енергийни и транспортни проекти само в Казахстан)[3].

Синцзян (Xinjiang) е част от Пътя на коприната и най-големият сухопътен коридор от Китай до Централна Азия. Това е важно трасе, улесняващо обмен на идеи и технологии между Китай и останалата част от Евразия, мост между Южна и Централна Азия. В същото време районът е предизвикателство по отношение на сигурността с оглед на нарастващото уйгурско − мюсюлманско население, което не може да бъде удържано в пределите на областта. Проекти за нови коридори и „нови граници" крият сериозни предизвикателства пред регионалната сигурност по отношение на страните от Евразийската зона, а коридорът Кашгар (Kashgar, Китай) – Гвадар (Gwada, Пакистан) ще се превърне в мишена за местни сепаратистки или джихадистки групировки, принадлежащи към ETIM, IMU, Hizb ut-Tahrir. Подобни географски, политически и предизвикателства пред сигурността ще усложнят един дълго дискутиран проект – Трансазиатския железопътен коридор (известен като Железния копринен път), свързващ Китай с Европа чрез Близкия изток, както и Южния газов коридор (три газопровода, съединени в една магистрала – Южнокавказки, Трансанадолски, Трансадриатически), който ще доставя синьото гориво до Европа (Хафизова 2003: 25).

Някога хуни, тюрки, монголи се спускали на юг, в сърцето на Китай и многолюдните градове. Така арабските предци на китайските мюсюлмани идвали по пътя на коприната. Вследствие на смесените бракове (въведени по време на династията Минг) повечето от тях са станали неразличими за околните – започват да говорят китайски диалект и да приемат китайски имена, поради изолационистката политика на държавата. Мюсюлманите в Китай са 2% от местното население (CIA World Factbook), предимно сунити. Според китайската Дирекция по вероизповеданията (SARA), в Китай има 21 млн. мюсюлмани. Ислямът в Китай съществува от 1400 години, когато третият праведен халиф изпраща свой посланик, воден от Саади ибн аби Уакас (Sa'ad ibn Abi Waqqas), чичо на Пророка по майчина линия. Първата уседнала общност мюсюлмани в Китай е от персийски и арабски търговци, устроила се около портите на градовете Гуанджоу (Guangzhou), Цюанчжоу (Quanzhou), Ханджоу (Hangzhou), както и във вътрешността на страната – Сиан (Chang'an), Кайфенг (Kaifeng), Янджоу (Yangzhou).

Мюсюлманите населяват цялата територия на Китай. Най-голяма концентрация има в северозападните провинции Синцзян (Xinjiang), Гансу (Gansu), Нинся – хуейски автономен район (Ningxia), също така в провинция Юннан (Yunnan), Югозападен Китай, и в пронивция Хънан (Henan) в Централен Китай. В Китай има признати официално 55 малцинства, 10 от коита са преобладаващо мюсюлмански. Най-голямата група от тях са хюи/ Hui (9,8 млн. според официалното преброяването през 2000 г., или 48% от всички мюсюлмани), уйгури /Uyghur (8,4 млн., 41%); казахи / Kazahh (1,25 млн., 6,1%), донгсианг / Dongxiang (514 000, 2,5%), киргизи /Kyrgyz (144 000), узбеки /Uzbeks (125 000), салар / Salar (105 000), таджики/ Tajik (41 000), бонан /Bonan (17 000), татари/ Tatar (5000) (Gladney 2000).

Отделни представители на мюсюлманския етнос изповядват друга религия или са атеисти. Тибетските мюсюлмани официално се броят към тибетския народ. Мюсюлманите населяват предимно териториите до границата с Централна Азия, Тибет и Монголия, образуващи т.нар. Кораничен пояс (Quran Belt).

Днес ислямът е във възход, с множество организации, координиращи дейността вътре в общността. Държавата подкрепя мюсюлманите хюи и удоволетворява техните искания, защото нямат сепаратиски движения, за разлика от уйгурите.

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[2] „Китай ще доминира планетата", в. „Преса",12.12.2012, с. 28.

[3] В. Преса, 15.10.2013, Вл. Костов, Къде се играе голямата игра?, с. 29.

Кои са ЕТИМ?

• Име: Eastern Turkestan Islamic Movement (ислямистка терористична и сепаратистка организация, основана от военни уйгури, в Западен Китай);

• Зона на действие: Китай

• Година на създаване: 1993, реорганизирана през 1997 г.

• Членска маса: неизвестен брой

• Вид организация: религиозна

• Идеология: сунитски ислямизъм, уйгурски национализъм, панислямизъм, ислямски фундаментализъм

• Финансиране: ал-Кайда (al-Qaeda), талибаните (Talibans) (финансова помощ и обучение)

Китайското правителство твърди, че ЕТИМ се състои от 8 фракции, свързани с терористични организации, с цел създаване на турска ислямска държава – Източна Ислямска Държава Тюркестан (Eastern Turkestan Islamic State)[4]: Централноазиатска Уйгурска Хизббуллах (Central Asian Uygur Hezbollah, Kazahstan); Източно Тюркестанска Освободителна Организация (East Turkistan Liberation Organization, ETLO)[5]; Източен Тюркестански Международен Комитет (Eastern Turkistan International Committee); Източно Ислямско Движение (Eastern Islamic Movement, (Afghanistan); Източно Тюркестанско Ислямско Съпротивително Движение (**Eastern Turkestan Islamic Resistance Movement, Turkey**); Източна Тюркестанска Младежка Лига (Eastern Turkistan Youth League, Switzerland); Партия Тюркестан (Turkistan Party, Pakistan); Обединена Лига на Уйгурските Организации (United Committee of Uygur's Organizations, Central Asia). Обвиняват ги за атентатите в Синцзян (Xinjiang).

В автономния район Синцзян (Xinjiang) – Уйгур (Uygur) живеят 20 млн. души, 60% от които са мюсюлмани. Подобно на мюсюлманите в България те се оплакват, че властите съзнателно намаляват тяхната численост и всъщност са повече от 25 млн. Тук не действа китайският закон за контрол над раждаемостта, така че са възможни всякакви спекулации по отношение на родените мюсюлмани.

Местните мюсюлмани не подлежат на асимилация и не се отказват от исляма, в отлични отношения са със съседите си немюсюлмани, съхранили са паметта за своята другост, различност.

Мюсюлманите в Китай имат двойна идентичност – китайска (гражданска) и собствена културна, която се определя от етноконфесионалната им принадлежност. Ако градското население успешно се вписва в китайското общество, то селското остава пазител на ислямската традиция.

Кои са IMU?

IMU (*Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan*) – Ислямско Движение на Узбекистан е терористична организация в района на Централна Азия, създадена през 1998 г., с пряко влияние и интереси в областта. Тя първоначлно представлява групировката «Адолат» (Adolat), което на узбекски означава „справедливост". Основна цел – сваляне на правителството на Узбекистан и установяване на халифат в района на Долината Фергана (Fergana Valley (Nazarov 2011: 317–321). Идеология – религиозна. Нейните основатели, идеолози и лидери Джума Намангани (Juma Namangani -участник в съветско-афганистанската война) и Тахир Юлдашев (Tahir Yuldashev -молла) са убити през 2001 г. Нанася удари срещу ИСАФ(ISAF) – Международни стабилизиращи сили (International Security Assistance Force) в различ-

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[4] Eastern Turkistan – дълго време е част от Китай, нарича се Китайски Тюркистан. Днес го определят като Xinjiang – Uygur – автономна област. Предимно пустинна област, разположена от планината Тяншан. Днес тя съставлява 17% от територията на Китай, но само с 2% от населението й поради трудните условия за живот. Транспортен коридор, свързващ Kashgar (формиран през 2010 г. като специална икономическа зона) с управляваното от китайци пристанище Gwada в Пакистан.
Целта е създаване на нова държава, която да включва части от Казахстан, Киргизстан, Пакистан, Афганистан, Турция и Xinjiang. Western Turkistan е под контрола на Русия и тя го третира като автономен район, който е поделен между 5 нови републики: Казахстан, Киргизстан, Таджикистан, Тюркменистан и Узбекистан.

[5] ELTO е терористична група, поддържаща каузата на ЕТИМ, участва в терористични заговори срещу американските интереси в централна Азия и в провалилия се опит за атентат срещу американското посолство в Киргизстан.

ни региони на Афганистан и в Южен Вазиристан (Waziristan), Пакистан. Анализ на атаките и действията ще разкрие каква опасност представлява за района на Централна Азия. Ако отначало ЕТИМ е локална организация без влияние, то нейната роля в региона нараства, след като през 2000 г. става крило на Ислямско Движение на Узбекистан. Липсата на по-конкретни цели и проведената операция за осигуряване на свобода в района (OES) ги правят трудно различими от другите военни групировки, действащи на територията на Афганистан и Пакистан. Все още групировката е минимална заплаха за стабилността в региона.

Hizb ut-Tahrir (*hizb* – "партия" на арабски ез.) – Хизбу-т Тахрир има за цел изграждане на халифат и налагане на ислямския закон (шариат). Основана от Такуидин ал-Набхани (Taquiddin al-Nabhani), през 1953 г., като сунитска мюсюлманска организация в Йерусалим. Идеология – панислямизъм. В Централна Азия (Азербейджан, Казахстан, Таджикистан, Узбекистан) нейните членове са предимно етнически узбеки. Сепаратизмът в тази област е свързан с религиозния екстремизъм, политическия ислям и нестабилността в Афганистан (Тодорова 2014: 198). В Киргизия издигат собствен кандидат за президентските избори през 2005 г., а в Казахстан партията работи за постигане на три цели: повече „конверти" и привличането им за нови членове, изграждане на мрежа от тайни клетки, инфилтриране на партията в държавното управление и легитимиране на нейната програма и цели.

Политическите граници се нуждаят от творческата защита на политическите актьори, а работещ модел се оказва нравствено-етическият, способен да мобилизира духовния потенциал, духовните ресурси на обществото, чрез опиране на вяра и морал. В това е пресечната точка и сила, и на китайската, и на мюсюлманската култура. Става въпрос не за фундаменталистките проявления на вярата, свързани с религиозния фанатизъм, а за провеждане на нравствено-етическа политика, базираща се на моралните устои на националната традиция.

Може ли да се запази чистотата на културата?

Джамията в Сиан (Xian) е хибридна, рожба на този път. Тя е най-старата, най-голямата и добре съхранена ислямска джамия в Китай, северозападно от кулата Друм (Drum Tower -Huajue Lane). Построена през 742 г. по време на династията Танг (618–907), тя е резултат от навлизането на исляма в Северозападен Китай чрез търговци от Персия и Афганистан през средата на VII в., когато част от тях се установяват в Китай и се женят за жени от народа хан (Han). Техните наследници са мюсюлмани и днес. Мюсюлманите играят важна роля за унификацията на Китай по време на династиите Ян и Минг (Yuan and Ming). В нея се смесват китайски и ислямски традиции, по стените се редуват надписи на мандарин и арабски, а минарето на " Ма Лаичи" (Ma Laichi) се издига от облицована с порцеланови плочки пагода. Каменни дракони и костенурки се набиват на очи, нехаещи за ислямската забрана върху изобразяване на живи същества. Китайски птици и цветя се вият около надписи от Корана.

Хибридната джамия (пагода и джамия в едно) е предупреждение, че нищо повече няма да бъде хомогенно или трайно, чистотата на културата, дори китайската, става нещо илюзорно. Джамията също е продукт на Пътя на копринната. Ако трябва да следваме този път, означава да го следваме като разнообразие. Тук ключов елемент е народният темперамент и неговото влияние върху хода на историята, особено от гледна точка на териториалната политика на държавата и усвоеното жизнено пространство. Това пространство е дело на човека, затова то е екзистенциално, а не просто географска територия. Той се самоидентифицира с територията, с националната идея, човек е двигател на определен духовен проект, който той въплъщава в пространството (разликата между Запада, с доминираща икономическа география, и Изтока, базиран върху хуманистична, екзистенциална география).

Идеята за лекотата на човека, "същностната безтегловност на даоиста, криеща в себе си зачатък на утопия и бунт" (Елиаде 199: 63), не противоречи на ислямската идея за човека. Трите религии обуславят религиозния живот на вярващия в Китай и се борят за сърцата на вярващите, но политическите отношения между даоизъм, конфуцианство и будизъм съвсем не са мирни. В духа на синкретическата религия на Лин Джаоън може би трябва да се обяви единство на трите религии и исляма, един синтез, базиращ се на най-доброто от тях.

Фундаменталното понятие в китайската етика е "жън" – човеколюбие, човечност, доброта, справедливост. Това са основни категории и в ислямската етика. "Жън" е особена социално-политическа норма, която регламентира отношенията на хората, а човеколюбието изисква отказ от употреба на сила. В исляма има неразрушима връзка между човек и Бог – взаимната любов между любим и лю-

бящ, връзка, в която различието потъва и се разтваря в абсолютното единство. Човекът според Руми е истинска субстанция и всички светове – негова акциденция.

В днешния свят на тревоги и кризи, на несигурно бъдеще и разбити илюзии, на нови граници, народи и идентичности урбанизацията е част от Китай. Високите жилищни блокове изместват постепенно старите предградия, а булдозери сриват натрупаните в хутоните пластове памет и поколения. Но независимо от докосването на западното влияние, то се превръща неусетно в нещо китайско, а дали китайското ще се превърне в ислямско, дали Великата стена ще продължи да отделя светлината от тъмнината, ще покаже бъдещето.

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КИТАЙСКАТА ЕНЕРГИЙНА (НЕ)СИГУРНОСТ

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CHINA‘S ENERGY (IN)SECURITY

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Abstract

In the last decades, the subject of energy security provokes special attention on a global level in view of the depletion of energy resources. China is also facing the challenge to adapt to new realities in the energy field and the measures undertaken and planned to improve the energy situation transform the Chinese diplomacy. They also cause large spillover effects on international relations. In the light of these new developments, the paper explores the principal dimensions of China's energy security and its repercussions for the foreign policy of the country and especially the resulting geopolitical implications. It showcases the main vectors in the Chinese energy sector with emphasis on recent transformations in global energy markets. The author discusses different aspects of the Chinese energy strategy from the perspective of the evolutions in the last years. The research work outlines the conceptual frame of the attempts of the country to resolve the „Malacca Strait dilemma“ and to avoid sea routes for supply of energy resources. Special attention is paid to the significant focus on diversification efforts in regard to China's status as the world's largest consumer of energy. The analysis focuses on China's energy security, looking through the prism of the geopolitical paradigm.

Keywords: China, EU, energy security, pipelines, oil, natural gas

На фона на осъществените трансформации на световната енергийна карта през изминалите години извеждането на преден план на въпросите за осигуряването на доставките и за минимизирането на политическите и икономическите рискове при обезпечаването на ценните суровини изглежда напълно естествено. Противопоставянето се измества от износителите към вносителите на енергийни ресурси, като резултатите от съревнованието за завоюването им кореспондират с потенциала за упражняване на съответно геополитическо влияние. С оглед на това релевантната тема за енергийната сигурност привлича все по-сериозно внимание на международно равнище и генерира нови импулси за разгръщането на по-пространен дебат, особено по отношение на ролята на „новите икономики” в Азия в енергиен план. Днес промените на световната енергийна сцена се определят от амалгамата от специфичните профили на основните играчи: гладните за ресурси Китай и Индия, икономически (и политически) възстановяващата се Русия, енергийно зависимата Европа, нестабилният, но богат на ресурси Близък изток, и мащабният консуматор, разполагащ с военния потенциал да обезпечи своята енергийна сигурност, в лицето на САЩ.

През последното десетилетие експанзията на „новите икономики” в Източна, Югоизточна и Южна Азия генерира повишаване на търсенето на енергия. Засилващото се присъствие на международната енергийна сцена на страни като Китай и Индия ги превръща във все по-сериозни конкуренти на Европа и САЩ по отношение на снабдяването с необходимите суровини. Това от своя страна допълнително способства за фиксирането на по-високи цени. От друга страна, неравномерното географско разпределение на нефтените и газовите ресурси провокира разгръщането на битка за тяхното осигуряване. Във връзка с елиминирането на конкуренцията и обезпечаването на необходимите суровини отделните страни залагат на различни стратегии. Така например доскоро най-големият потребител в света на енергийни ресурси – САЩ, се насочва към военнополитическо подсигуряване на стратегически важния регион на Близкия изток. Китай залага на агресивна кампания за придобиване на дялове в проекти и компании с енергийна насоченост в глобален план, а ЕС прилага подход на изграждане на диверсифицирана мрежа на енергийни доставки със значителен дял на Русия в нея.

Мащабните вносители на енергийни ресурси като САЩ, ЕС, Китай и Индия разглеждат енергийната сигурност от гледна точка на потреблението и я дефинират в посока на достъп за домакинствата и бизнеса до енергийни ресурси на достъпни цени в обозримо бъдеще и без значителни рискове от сери-

озни смущения. Несъмнено тази визия кореспондира с поведението на големите играчи на енергийната сцена, определящо в значителна степен трансформациите, осъществявани на световните енергийни пазари. Изключително релевантна в това отношение е ролята на Китай, която предизвиква редица опасения сред европейската обществеост, преливащи на моменти към изкривяване на възприятията за заплахите и дори до крайно „демонизиране" на азиатския гигант.

През 2010 г. Китай се превърна във втората икономика в света, измествайки Япония от тази позиция, след като през 2007 г. отне третото място от Германия. Това даде основание за прогнози, че в рамките на 10 години „поднебесната империя" ще изпревари и САЩ, превръщайки се в икономически лидер в глобален план (Flanders, 2011)[1]. Нарастващото търсене на енергийни ресурси от страна на индустрията и транспорта предопредели активизирането на националните усилия за осигуряване на стратегическите суровини. В енергиен план страната разчита основно на въглища за задоволяване на своите нужди (69%), като на второ място се нарежда петролът (22%), следван от природния газ (3%).

Още от началото на 80-те години на XX в. китайското правителство започва да подпомага националното производство на въглища. Мащабната им употреба обаче оказва негативен ефект върху околната среда. Страната разполага със значителни въглищни запаси, които биват оценявани на 114,5 млрд. тона, които наред със съпътстващите ги около 11 трилиона куб.м метан ще стигнат според прогнозите за около половин век. Плановете на Пекин са свързани с постепенното намаляване на консумацията на въглища и замяната им с природен газ като основен енергоизточник. Този процес обаче няма да напредва с особено бързи темпове, тъй като понастоящем около 80% от производството на електроенергия се генерира от въглищни централи, докато тези, захранвани с петрол и газ, дават по-малко от 3%. Според прогнозите на китайската компания PetroChina потреблението на природен газ в страната ще достигне 300 млрд. куб.м през 2020 г. Очевидно „синьото гориво" ще е приоритетно за енергийната политика на Пекин. Причината за това до голяма степен се крие в екологичните проблеми, тъй като въпреки полаганите усилия за развитие на алтернативна енергетика Китай се превърна в най-големия глобален замърсител, след като измести САЩ от върха на класацията за излъчване на емисии на въглероден диоксид.

По отношение на природния газ страната също ще е зависима от внос, тъй като разполага с ограничени собствени залежи. По-големи количества от суровината има в Източно китайско море. За дълъг период от време плановете за разработване на някои находища бяха възпрепятствани от споровете с Япония във връзка с морските граници. След като през 2003 г. Китай започна да сондира в полето Чунксиао, тези действия бяха посрещнати с протести от страна на Токио. Участващите в проекта западни компании Unocal и Shell се изтеглиха на следващата година, обосновавайки се с високите разходи за развитие на находищата, неясните резерви и граничния конфликт. През 2008 г. се стигна до сделка за съвместна експлоатация на ресурсите в спорните зони, но деликатният въпрос за суверенитета остана отворен.

Важна находка на енергийни ресурси през последните години стана и полето Жидонг Нанпу в североизточната част на залива Бохай в Жълто море. Въпреки че това находище бе обявено за най-голямото, открито в страната за период от 30 години, впоследствие бе съобщено, че първоначалната оценка на запасите на 1 млрд. тона нефт и газ е далеч над реалните резерви на полето (PetroChina's …: 2010)[2]. По-сериозни надежди понастоящем се възлагат на газовото находище Лонгганг в провинция Съчуан.

По отношение на петрола ситуацията също не е обнадеждаваща. Докато години наред вътрешната продукция задоволяваше търсенето, то през 1993 г. Китай се превърна в нетен вносител на петролни продукти (Downs, 2000: 12)[3], а 3 години по-късно – и на суров петрол. Оттогава импортната зависимост на Китай прогресивно нараства, като сега около 40% от петрола идва от външни източници. През 2003 г. Китай задмина Япония като втория световен вносител на нефт след САЩ, а очакванията са до 2030 г. вече да е лидер в това отношение. Страната отново е след Америка и по потребление на петрол в глобален мащаб. Според прогнози през 2020 г. Китай ще трябва да внася 77% от необходимия му петрол (Lanteigne, 2010: 103)[4]. Азиатската държава разполага само с 1% от световните запаси на су-

[1] FLANDERS, Stephanie. China overtakes Japan as world's second-biggest economy. – BBC, 14.02.2011, www.bbc.co.uk_

[2] PetroChina's Nanpu find size in question. – Upstream Online, 27.04.2010, www.upstreamonline.com

[3] DOWNS, Erica. China's Quest for Energy Security. RAND Corporation, 2000, p.12.

[4] LANTEIGNE, Marc. China, energy security and Central Asian diplomacy. Bilateral and multilateral approaches. – In: Caspian Energy Politics. Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Routledge, New York, 2010, p.103.

ровината. Нарастващите нужди от внос са предопределени от намаляването на добива в най-голямото национално нефтено поле Дацин в провинция Хъйлундзян[5]. Във връзка с увеличаващите се потребности на страната Китай лансира инициатива за създаване на 4 центъра за стратегически петролни резерви, които при завършването си ще имат капацитет за складиране на 134 млн. барела петрол.

Същевременно в резултат на продължителния икономически ръст на страната в последните няколко години със стремителни темпове расте автомобилният пазар, което провокира нуждата от все по-мащабно снабдяване с горива. Техните цени обаче са субсидирани в значителна степен, тъй като се определят от държавата с цел потребителите да бъдат предпазвани от увеличаването на цените на енергийните ресурси в глобален мащаб. С оглед на тенденциите на световните пазари, в Китай те също биват повишавани, но в далеч по-малка степен в сравнение със ситуацията в западните страни. Несъмнено Пекин все повече се изправя пред същите проблеми в енергиен план, които вече отдавна тревожат САЩ и ЕС, но предизвикателствата пред него са свързани с това, че той трябва да разрешава тези трудности в далеч по-конкурентна среда.

Предизвикателствата пред Китай по отношение на енергийната сигурност доведоха до сериозни трансформации във външната политика на страната. Те са особено очевидни по отношение на дипломатическите му контакти с неговите съседи от Централна Азия, с африканските страни и т.н. В китайския внос на петрол доминира Близкият изток[6] и най-вече страни като Саудитска Арабия, Иран, Оман и Йемен. Този регион обаче е под силното влияние на западните енергийни компании. Наред с това вносът на суровини от Близкия Изток изисква транспортирането им по морски път. Това генерира известни трудности, тъй като за разлика от САЩ Китай към момента не разполага с необходимия капацитет да патрулира редовно и да охранява морските пътища в Югоизточна Азия, за да гарантира сигурността на доставките си. Въпреки полаганите усилия за модернизация на военноморския флот[7] страната се ориентира по-скоро към прокарване на енергийни коридори, заобикалящи проливите. Този приоритет е свързан с т.нар дилема за пролива Малака, разяснена в края на 2003 г. от китайския лидер Ху Дзинтао (Lanteigne, 2008: 143-161) [8]. Тя описва проблемите за китайската търговия и снабдяване по отношение на азиатско-тихоокеанските морски пътища и особено на пролива Малака в Югоизточна Азия с оглед на потенциалната заплаха те бъдат блокирани или да станат обект на намеса от някоя държава или друг вид субекти (Ji, 2007)[9].

Проливът е от жизненоважно значение за Китай, тъй като през него преминават 80% от петролните доставки за страната. Нейната енергийна сигурност е застрашена не само във връзка с пиратство или морски тероризъм, но и с възможността някоя сериозна сила като САЩ да постави пролива под свой контрол. Подобни проблеми стоят и по отношение на другия маршрут за транспортиране на суровини в Индийския океан, който също е уязвим на блокада от потенциални съперници. Китайският флот не е в състояние да осигури закрила за своите морски ресурсопотоци и по тази причина националните стратегически ходове са насочени към прокарване на относително стабилни сухопътни трасета за петролни доставки.

С цел осигуряване на алтернативни маршрути Китай подписа споразумения в областта на транспорта с Мианмар (Бирма) (Walsh, 2007)[10], който се превърна в стратегически съюзник за Пекин, осо-

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[5] Нефтено-газовото находище е открито през 1959 г. Десетилетия наред от там се извличат около 40% от необходимия на страната петрол. От 2003 г. обаче започва намаляване на добива.

[6] В перспектива се очаква САЩ и Китай да се превръщат все повече в конкуренти за енергийните суровини на Близкия изток. 1/8 от американския петролен внос идва от този регион, но делът се очаква да нараства с оглед на намаляването на резервите на Канада и Мексико. Същевременно Саудитска Арабия продава повече петрол на Китай и Далечния изток, отколкото на САЩ. Пекин купува 1/10 от добива на Персийския залив и ¼ от този на Иран. Международната енергийна агенция прогнозира, че петролното потребление на Китай през 2030 г. ще достигне 13 млн. барела дневно, като половината от това количество ще идва от Близкия изток.

[7] Китай се сдоби с първия си самолетоносач «Ши Ланг» – бившия съветски съд «Варяг», който бе обновен след закупуването му от Украйна. (Jyh-Perng, 2011) Вж. JYH-PERNG, Wang. Is there significance in a name? – Taipei Times, 13.06.2011, http://www.taipeitimes.com

[8] LANTEIGNE, Marc. China's maritime security and the "Malacca dilemma". – Asian Security, Vol. 4, Issue 2, 2008, 143–161.

[9] JI, You. Dealing with the Malacca Dilemma: China's effort to protect its energy supply. – Strategic Analysis, Vol. 31/3, 2007, Institute for defense studies and analyses, www.idsa.in

[10] WALSH, John. Myanmar solves Malacca Dilemma. – East Asian Affairs, 08.08.2007, www.suite101.com/easianaffairs

бено след като бе изолиран от западните страни с оглед на действията на военната хунта. Китай обаче продължи подкрепата си за режима в Мианмар с оглед на своя стремеж да реализира плановете си за изграждане на петролопроводи и газопроводи през негова територия, които да пренасят суровини от Близкия изток или Африка (Lee et al., 2009)[11]. През 2005 г. Мианмар позволи на Китай да извършва сондажни проучвания по западното крайбрежие на Бенгалския залив.

Същевременно Пекин засили връзките си и с африканските страни, които притежават около 10% от световните петролни резерви. Понастоящем те осигуряват около 1/3 от неговия внос на нефт, а петролът заема 50% от африканския износ за азиатския гигант. Китайското навлизане в Африка се ускори значително през 90-те години на миналия век. Ангола е най-важният партньор на Пекин от африканския континент (Horta, 2006: 493-495)[12], следвана от Судан и Конго. Същевременно тя се явява вторият вносител на петрол за Пекин в глобален план (в определени моменти заема дори първата позиция), като преди нея е Саудитска Арабия, а следващите места са за Иран, Оман и Русия. Китай е сериозна опора за Луанда във финансов план. През 2004 г. тя прекрати преговорите си с Международния валутен фонд, след като Пекин й предложи заем от 2 млрд. долара в замяна на сключването на договор за доставка на 10 000 барела петрол дневно (Hare, 2007)[13]. Заедно с последвалите два кредита към 2011 г. помощта от Китай за страната възлезе на 15 млрд. долара (De Comarmond, 2011)[14], като предоставените средства винаги са обвързани с поемане на ангажименти по енергийни проекти.

Навлизането на китайски енергийни компании в Судан също се явява сигурен индикатор относно намеренията им за пространствено максимализиране и трайно присъствие в Африка. CNPC започва операциите си в страната през 1996 г. и бързо се превръща в най-големият инвеститор в сектора, след като закупува 40%-ен дял от суданската национална петролна компания Greater Nile Petroleum Company (GNPOC). Впоследствие китайците получават редица концесии за експлоатация на петролни находища, като наред с това влагат значителни средства в изграждането на рафинерии и петролопроводи (Holslag, 2007)[15]. В тази връзка 4000 китайски войници са прехвърлени в Южен Судан, за да охраняват прокарания от компанията петролопровод. Както показват думите на Ли Ксиаобинг от китайското Министерство на търговията, Пекин не подценява ролята си в развитието на най-голямата африканска държава: „Когато отидохме там, те бяха петролни вносители, а сега са петролни износители. Ние изградихме рафинериите, петролопроводите и производството.” (French, 2004)[16]

Същевременно Китай обаче бива обвиняван, че не допринася за подобряването на ситуацията в Африка и особено за разрешаването на конфликта в Дарфур, тъй като, когато международната критика към управляващите режими в някои африкански страни се засили и се предприемат някакви санкции срещу тях, те веднага се обръщат към Пекин. От там обаче са категорични, че ще купуват енергийни ресурси от всички места, от които могат да ги получат, и няма да се опитват да налагат пазарна икономика и плуралистична демокрация на държави, които не са готови за това. Китайският заместник-външен министър Чжоу Венчжонг коментира ситуацията в Судан през лятото на 1994 г. по следния начин: „Бизнесът си е бизнес. Ние се опитваме да разделим политиката от бизнеса. Аз мисля, че вътрешната ситуация в Судан е вътрешно дело, и ние не сме в позиция да им въздействаме.” (Kurlantzick, 2007: 222) [17] С оглед на това, че Судан вече захранва над 7% от петролния внос на Китай, тази позиция далеч не е необяснима.

Наред с укрепването на връзките си със Судан и Ангола Пекин засилва все повече и влиянието си в Нигерия, като първата му стъпка в тази посока бе закупуването на 45% на едно от големите морски

[11] LEE, Pak K., Gerald Chan, Lai-Ha Chan. China’s “Realpolitik” Engagement with Myanmar. – China Security, Issue 13/2009, www.chinasecurity.us

[12] HORTA, Loro. Dragon in the Savanna: China’s Rising Influence over Angola. – Strategic Analysis, Vol.30, Issue 2, April 2006, Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, 493–495.

[13] HARE, Paul. China in Angola: An Emerging Energy Partnership. – China Brief, Vol. 6, Issue 22, 09.05. 2007, http://www.jamestown.org

[14] DE COMARMOND, Cecile. China lends Angola $15bn, but few jobs are created. – Mail & Guardian Online, 06.03.2011, http://mg.co.za

[15] HOLSLAG, Jonathan. China’s diplomatic victory in Sudan’s Darfur. – SudanTribune, 01.08.2007, http://www.sudantribune.com/

[16] FRENCH, Howard. China in Africa: All Trade, With No Political Baggage. – New York Times, 08.08.2004, http://www.nytimes.com

[17] KURLANTZICK, Joshua. Charm offensive: how China‘s soft power is transforming the world, Yale University Press, 2007, p. 222.

петролни находища на страната за 2,3 млрд. долара и последващи инвестиции в него от 2,25 млрд. (Mbaye, 2006)[18]. Китай също така има сключени договори за доставка на петрол и с Кения.

Енергийните отношения между Китай и африканските страни несъмнено са доказателство в посока на това, че Пекин не проявява скрупули да си сътрудничи със страни, заклеймявани от западните държави. Междувременно тази политика на азиатския гигант се превърна в обект на сериозна критика именно от там. Действията на Китай привлякоха вниманието и на Европейския съюз, който осъзна необходимостта от предприемане на действия за минимизиране на негативните ефекти за Европа от плодотворното „пекинско сафари" за лов на енергийни ресурси. Европейските институции изразиха притесненията си във връзка с „политиката на ненамеса и снизходителното отношение на Китай спрямо съмнителни режими като тези в Судан и Зимбабве" и решиха, че „с оглед на ангажиментите на Китай в Африка следва да се отдаде по-голямо значение на сътрудничеството с Африка в областта на външната енергийна политика на ЕС" (Европейски парламент, 2008)[19].

Несъмнено тревогите на европейците по този въпрос не са неоснователни, тъй като в рамките на едно десетилетие Китай промени баланса на силите в Африка, измествайки САЩ и Великобритания на 3 и 4 място и отправяйки предизвикателство към лидерството на Франция като най-значимия икономически и търговски партньор на континента. Съществена роля в този процес на разпространяване на влиянието на Пекин обаче изигра и неговата готовност да продава на африканските страни оръжие и военно оборудване. Така предимствата на Китай за Африка се оказаха не само в това, че той е готов да плаща повече, за да си осигури достъп до енергийни ресурси, но и в това, че й предлага стратегически стоки, по отношение на които останалите големи международни играчи не са склонни да сторят същото.

Наред с разгръщането на сътрудничество с Близкия изток и Африка, в опитите си да преодолее своята географска уязвимост Пекин насочи поглед и в западна посока. За Китай Централна Азия се явява второстепенен източник на енергийни ресурси, който обаче има своите предимства, тъй като доставките не преминават през международни води. По тази причина държавите от региона се разглеждат като значим компонент от политиката за енергийна диверсификация на Пекин. Особено Казахстан и Туркменистан са изключително важни за Китай като ключови снабдители с петрол и природен газ. Страната вече е обвързана с региона чрез инфраструктурни съоръжения като газопровода Централна Азия – Китай и петролопровода с Казахстан. Свързването с Централна Азия чрез прокарване на енергийни коридори се разглежда от Китай като средство за насърчаване на съживяването на историческия „Път на коприната" като значим евроазиатски търговски маршрут. Пекин планира да увеличи пет пъти вноса си на природен газ от централноазиатските държави до 2015 г., като на първо време се снабдява от Туркменистан, а впоследствие осъществи доставки и от останалите производители на суровината от региона. Стимулиращ фактор за развитието на тези взаимоотношения е тяхната стратегическа взаимоизгодност, тъй като от своя страна централноазиатските държави показват загриженост във връзка с доминиращата роля на Русия в Кавказко-Каспийската зона. По тази причина очакванията са, че Китай ще активизира усилията си за изграждането на своята нова роля като предпочитан енергиен партньор за тези страни. Концепцията за прокарване на „сухопътни маршрути" за внос на необходимите суровини обаче не предполага реализиране на доставки само от тях, но и от Русия. Големият пробив в това отношение бе изграждането на петролопровода Източен Сибир-Тихи океан.

Латинска Америка също все повече привлича интереса на китайските компании. Страни като Аржентина, Бразилия, Колумбия, Еквадор и Венецуела са сред водещите дестинации за техните инвестиции (Mingramm et al., 2010)[20]. В отношенията си с южноамериканските държави Пекин залага на подхода „заеми срещу петрол", при който получените средства биват гарантирани с петролни и газови резерви на фиксирана цена или пък се явяват авансови плащания за количества енергийни ресурси, които да се доставят впоследствие на Китай.

Според енергийни експерти през последните години се наблюдават все повече индикации в посока на това, че в енергиен план Китай постепенно ще се преориентира към по-твърдите измерения на влиянието. Несъмнено с укрепването на китайската мощ постепенно ще нарастват и националните

[18] MBAYE, Sanou. China's Grand Africa Strategy. – Project Syndicate, 06.10.2006, www.project-syndicate.org

[19] ЕВРОПЕЙСКИ ПАРЛАМЕНТ. Доклад на Комисията по развитие относно политиката на Китай и нейното отражение върху Африка (2007/2255(INI)), 28.03.2008, http://www.europarl.europa.eu

[20] MINGRAMM, Rafael, J. Gregory Arthur. China, Oil and Latin America. China's NOCs Strategic Positioning and Beyond. SinoLatin Capital, 2010.

амбиции. Това ще предопределя и перспективите на азиатския гигант да засилва влиянието си върху световните енергийни пазари. Несъмнено разгръщането на китайската стратегия за обезпечаване на необходимите на страната ресурси ще постави началото на нова ера в историята на енергетиката.

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THE MODERN VIKINGS AND THE HEIRS OF THE DRAGON: THE UNUSUAL PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN SWEDEN AND CHINA

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Abstract

The Sino-Swedish trade dates back as far as the 17th century when Sweden was one of China's major economic partners. Sweden was also the first Western nation to establish diplomatic relations with China in 1950, a half-year after PRC was founded. The Swedish long-term adherence to the one-China policy was the cornerstone of the bilateral links. Today, as an important EU member, Sweden plays a crucial role in promoting the development of the China-EU strategic partnership. The study looks also at the bilateral economic ties. China's development opens up new opportunities as well as presents certain challenges for the largest Scandinavian country. In the past decade, Sweden's economic relations with China have developed rapidly. China has become Sweden's biggest trade partner in Asia and an important destination for direct investment. The Swedish market has also become more important for Chinese companies. In recent years, they have shown an increasing interest of investing in Sweden. The deal of buying Volvo car manufacturing is an emblematic example. Sweden is seen as an attractive market not only due to advanced technology and stable political and economic conditions but also because it provides access to a large amount of customers in the rest of Europe. There is good reason to discuss in more depth the Sino-Swedish cooperation. It shows that despite the physical and cultural distance between the two nations, the barriers might be overcome.

Keywords: Sino-Swedish relations, trade, investments, cultural differences, diplomatic relations

2015 marks the 65th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the **Kingdom of Sweden** and the **People's Republic of China**. Moreover, Sweden was the first Western country to recognize the new regime in **PRC**, on 9 May 1950. Over the past 20 years, these relations have become extremely wide-ranging, relatively close and of growing political substance. However, the trade relationships between the two countries date back to the 17th century. A merchant sailor named **Nils Matsson Kiöping** visited southern China on the ship **Götheborg** in 1654. The **Swedish East India Company (SOIC)** was established in 1731 at the initiative of **Colin Campbell** – a Scottish merchant and entrepreneur, who later became Swedish **King Fredrik I'**s first envoy to the Emperor of China. The company built 37 ships and made 139 trips over the years. Among Swedish commercial fleet was the famous **Götheborg II**. The vessel was built at the Terra Nova ship yard in **Stockholm** and so-named because the **SOIC** resided in Gothenburg. On their way to Asia the Swedish ships made one main port stop in Spain. There they exchanged the cargo – axes, fishing gear, lantern lamps, pen knifes, flour, dried fish, mattresses and brushes for silver. Exotic goods as silk, porcelain and furniture were unloaded at harbors in Götheborg – the port where all expeditions began and ended. Drinking tea and Chinese objects became the height of fashion in the Swedish socialite and the middle class. During the project "To China and Back" a modern replica of the ship called **Götheborg III** was constructed. In 2005 the vessel departed from Sweden and reached Shanghai one year later. The ship was welcomed by **King Carl XVI** and **Queen Silvia of Sweden** who made an official visit to China just for the occasion. **Götheborg III** returned to Göteborg on 9 June 2007 and was welcomed by the president of China – **Hu Jintao**.

Important elements of bilateral relations are regular high-level coordination of policy, dynamic trade relations, investment, environmental cooperation and cooperation in the cultural and scientific sectors. Building an "ecological civilization" is one of the guiding principles of China's government. However, achieving balance between economic development and ecology is not an easy thing. Climate protection measures and emission reduction are the main aspects of Chinese environmental policy. The pioneering role played by Sweden in many areas of climate and environmental protection opens up new opportunities for establishing partnerships with China. Tourism, the mass media and immigration have brought the countries of Asia and their cultures closer to Sweden than ever before. Almost twenty thousand Swedish students study

abroad each year but only one per cent of them chooses to attend Asian universities. In 2010, the Nordic Confucius Institute was created in Sweden to further promote and develop Sino-Swedish relationships. However, in 2015 the Stockholm University announced that it will close its Confucius Institute because the growing influence to the Chinese government in matters of curriculum and staffing.

Although bilateral relations are developing positively overall, fundamental differences remain over human rights, especially individual freedoms. Unsolved problems like the rule of law, social systems, freedom of speech and of the press, fundamental personal rights (including the death penalty) and minority issues (especially in the Tibet and Xinjiang Autonomous Regions) are still present today. However, Europe remains keen to see China continue to make progress on the domestic front.

The series of protests and demonstrations in China in the spring of 1989, also called "**Tiananmen Square incident**", withhold the Sino-Swedish dialogue. Due to the events in Beijing, Sweden, like France and the Netherlands, froze its diplomatic relations with China. Despite this phase of limited bilateral relations, many Chinese embraced the foreign ideas for political changes and democratic reforms. The foreign trade turnover decreased substantially during 19891990. Swedish companies started to return to the country towards the end of 1990. The investments made by the Norse multinational companies pushed the China-Sweden bilateral trade relations into a new stage. The turnover between the two countries increased by 30% during the first half of 1990s. (Serger 2006: 16-31) The most important exported goods to China during this period were primarily office and telecommunications equipment, mechanical equipment, vehicles, steel, and iron. Today China is Sweden's most important economic partner in Asia. On the other hand, Sweden isn't China's leading trading partner in Europe. So far, Norse companies have been engaged in China to a much greater degree than Chinese companies in Sweden.

Sweden is known internationally as being the home country for a number of world-class multinational companies such as Ericsson, ABB, Volvo, Saab, Tetra Pack, and IKEA. These companies define the Chinese-Swedish successful economic trade relations. That is why the following well-chosen case studies are presenting.

The world famous firm "Hennes & Mauritz", called also "H&M", offers a wide range of products, including clothes, underwear, sportswear, accessories and cosmetics. **H&M**'s all productions are sourced from external manufacturers. The firm has opened its own local purchasing office in Shanghai in 1994. Today **H&M** has a turnover of 5.5 billion euro, 21 purchasing offices (mainly in Asia and Europe) and more than 100 local Chinese suppliers. China's clothing manufacturing capabilities are advanced and still relatively cheap for the Swedish labels. However, sourcing in China is not always the best decision, especially in the fashion business. Often a single trend is taken up with great enthusiasm and causes major changes in the manufacturing processes. That is the real challenge which fashion professionals have to face. On the other hand, the Chinese prefer to do repeated transactions rather than one-off deals. That is why **H&M** is keen to produce clothes in China that have a fairly lasting fashion in the rest of the world, for instance baby clothing. (Fang 2010: 6-8) For example, Turkey is preferable outsourcing destination for the European fashion producers because of the geographical proximity. If changes occur, the Turkish suppliers are more likely to correct efficiently the changes on time. Above all, it seems very hard for the counterparts to find common ground. The Chinese prefer face-to-face communication and attending work-related social events. For instance, doing business over meals is a ritual that has existed for centuries.

The Shanghai urban area is more populated than Scandinavia and has a "dire" need for mid-range clothing brands. Moreover, the young Chinese are very westernized and open to foreign influence. However exiting the Chinese market is and regardless of the business opportunities, selling a product in the country where it's made is difficult. Most of the famous fashion giants in Europe find it hard to adapt to the demands of this particular market. Frequent mistakes are offering clothes articles above size XXS, when the Shanghai women's average size is 4XS, not to mention colors and their meanings in Chinese culture.

With a turnover of more than 16 billion euro and around 50,000 employees in more than 140 countries, **Ericsson** is one of the largest suppliers of mobile systems in the world. Today's company hardware is developed in Sweden and then manufactured in China. Nowadays the country has become Ericsson's major supply hub. According to the managers, the main problems in the sector are product quality and competition. In order to preserve its reputation for providing customers with high value products and strong after-sales support, the company has to maintain a good quality system. (Fang 2010: 8) However, the supplier quality of products, manufactured in Ericsson's joint ventures in China, is often impermanent. Another important

factor is the good sourcing price. Keeping the competition between local Chinese suppliers guarantees lower production costs and profitable purchasing prices.

Another company that has accepted the risks of sourcing goods in China is the Swedish giant **Åhléns**. The firm concentrates its activities on four business areas: beauty, home, media and fashion. According to the data, **Åhléns** has a turnover of 500 million euro and 2,900 employees. The company has sourced products from China since the 1960s, with purchase offices located in Hong Kong and Shanghai. Today, most of the clothes and home articles are produced in China. The firm has 85 suppliers in northern China and about 300 in the whole country. Through the years, **Åhléns** has developed a long-term approach and well-defined sourcing strategy, and has located the best suppliers for its particular needs.

ICA is a food chain with 420,000 employees and currently operates stores in the U.S., Latin America, Asia and Europe. (Fang 2010: 10) China has been a business partner since the early 1960s and the amount of goods purchased from the country is increasing every year. In order to supply the markets, **ICA** imports from China goods such as canned mushrooms, asparagus, frozen fish, egg noodles and soya sauce. However, sourcing from Asia has proved to be a difficult task for the company. The Chinese lack of knowledge of the markets demands permanent control and periodic inspection. The Swedish managers prefer to visit factories directly, instead of being disappointed in the delivery service. Moreover, the Chinese knowledge in English has improved substantially in the last 30 years. Not to mention that exporters from China travel to Sweden regularly to update themselves about the structure of the market. Nevertheless, the Swedish purchasers must also be very specific when ordering items that don't exist in China. Naturally, problems occurred when the company ordered typical Swedish Christmas decoration. No description was provided, so the Chinese suppliers left it to the manufacturer's imagination. Consequently, ICA ended up receiving a huge amount of items that couldn't be sold. On the other hand, the food industry has high demands on quality and hygiene. Food safety in general is a growing concern of the Chinese government. In 2007 China approved new legislation aimed at improving and monitoring national standards in food production. Despite the new law, food quality violations are extremely common. That is why ICA does its own quality controls in the factories. The checks are focused on hygiene, working conditions, training of staff and documentation.

It is well known that today China is full of incredible business opportunities for Western entrepreneurs and business owners. Apart from the lowest production costs, what draws the attention to China? Firstly, stability of supply channels is an important factor. Even though strikes frequently occur across China, there is no law permitting them. Street protest and demonstrations impact regions of high population, but often remain foreign to the dispersed rural settlements. (Lögdkvist 2008: 28-39) In addition to this, strikes might be seen as a product of democracy, but sometimes they can be unreasonably costly. For example, the annual cost of industrial accidents in the US has been estimated at between three and five billion dollars. Indeed, the reliability of delivery in China is relatively high because the supply networks are seldom interrupted by any reasons.

Secondly, China is becoming an important market for sourcing advanced products and know-how. Regardless of the popular notion that China is becoming "the workshop of the world", today the country is making big efforts to develop itself as an innovation-based economy.

Thirdly, cost concern is also considered to be the major reason for sourcing in China. The low wages are probably the most important driving force. Indeed, during the last decade wages have been increasing substantially in the east urban areas but that doesn't apply to the rural regions. Not to mention that the country is so vast and geographically varied, that new factories are easily open in less developed provinces in the west.

Finally, the companies are keen to conduct sourcing in China because their customers are also there. For most of the Swedish brands, China is the biggest market in the world.

In conclusion, more and more firms move to China not only to exploit the economic advantages but to gain access to the international supplier network. The given examples of Swedish companies sourcing in China emphasize the changes on the global market and the birth of a new economic era. Many world-class multinational companies such as Ericsson, ABB, Volvo, Saab, Tetra Pack, H&M, Coop, Åhléns, ICA and IKEA, have "forced" their international suppliers to move to China. All things considered, it seems reasonable to assume that the new developed sourcing networks are shaping a global hub of industrial networking.

Indeed, it is not possible to estimate accurately the effects and consequences on the global marketing system. However, it is possible that the changes will eventually lead to a split of China into two different sourcing areas. The high technology production will be located in the coastal regions and the large cities (Beijing, Shanghai and Guangdong), and the less complex products (like food, clothes, furniture, household goods, etc.) will be manufactured in the inlands areas. In the next decade China might prove itself as the "missing link" of the global market, connecting the cells of all multinational companies into one complete economic organism.

Despite the close economic relation between China and Sweden, the cooperation in other areas might be seen more like a "stream" than a wide-ranging "river". However, in today's borderless economy, culture is becoming the new invisible border that separates the individuals. On the one hand, China is one of the few ancient civilizations that have survived over the centuries. The preservation of this unique cultural heritage could not be possible without holding on the old values and traditions. For example, the concept of "***Gunaxi***" is one of the most important concepts of Chinese culture. (Dadfar 2010: 7) It refers to the personal connections and human relationships, and is often understood as the concept of courting clients that traditionally involves gift giving. A failure to understand local traditions has lead several Swedish companies to marketing crises. For example, the gift of a watch is considered as taboo act in the Chinese culture. Regardless how expensive it is, it means the giver wishes the gift receiver to die. Collectivism is another cultural value that contrasts with the more Western traditions. The collective identity of the Chinese is mainly a result of a civilization that has been based on its agriculture system. The Chinese people are "**indirect**" in their expression of emotions and thoughts. They are also very reserved and keen to withhold their feelings. They have a great respect for fixed hierarchical relationships. The Chinese worldview has been shaped by religion. Some of the core beliefs include respect for family and elders, obedience, priority obligation to family. The Father is assumed to be the emperor at home. Time is also not as important as it is in western culture. Gender equality does not exist, the same with social equality.

On the other hand, the Swedish culture and social system are based on democracy and individualism. The love for nature is another factor that characterizes the Nordic culture. The Swedes tend to isolate themselves from the surrounding. The old "**Law of Jante**", also called **"Jantelagen"** dates back to the Vikings era and can be summarized as: "*You are not to think you're anyone special or that you're better than us*". (Dadfar 2010: 12-13) Today it is preserved through the concept of equality – an important ideal in the Scandinavian society, which makes the classes' gap not so obvious. Differences between men and woman, old and young, boss and employee are also not intended to separate the Swedish society. (Löfström 2007: 16-20) Swedes are often considered as people who not only respect laws but also create laws even for details and small issues. Cultural anthropologists refer to the Swedish cultural traditions as part of the so called "Coconuts Cultures".

Even though China is as foreign to Bulgaria as Sweden, it is important for Bulgarians to understand all aspects of that "unusual partnership". Indeed, the two countries might be too exotic from a Bulgarian perspective, but their relationship is just a vivid example of Europe-Asia collaboration. Bulgaria is also a part of the European family and as a member state is taking an essential part in shaping European policy. However, China is not only the major economic partner in Asia for all Western countries, but also an important figure on the global stage. There is a famous quote that says "China is a country too vast to comprehend, too diverse to completely grasp, too interesting to let go and too important to ignore". Of course, the Chinese culture and traditions are very well-known, but that knowledge is not relevant today. Chinese high economic growth and continuous political changes define the country through a completely new perspective. In conclusion, one should keep in mind that knowing China today does not mean that one won't be surprised tomorrow.

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THE "NEW NORMALITY" EONOMIC POLICY OF THE PRC – PROBLEMS AND PERSPECTIVES

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Abstract

The People's Republic of China (PRC) is announcing the economic policy of "new normality". "New normality" is not determined only by exterior reference, but mostly by the economic growth pattern and internal restructuring of China.

The Chinese development model, formed after the reforms started by Deng Xiaoping, is changing. China is now focusing on restructuring the economy, thus enhancing economic quality and efficiency. The model is hard to change through stimulating policy, so the change is causing a downward economic pressure.

The cost of this restructuring is slower economic growth. Hence, China is undergoing a new normality and new balance. Through enhanced economic quality and efficiency China can expect sustainable and healthy economic growth.

Keywords: "New normality", slower economic growth, internal restructuring, "second reforms", new model of economic dynamic, sustainable and healthy economic growth

Introduction

The problems of the economic dynamism of China are undoubtedly an important and relevant topic given the fact that according to the amount of GDP calculated on purchasing power parity, the country is the largest economy in the world.[1] Some Western researchers frankly acknowledge that "the slowing economic dynamism of China increased investor risk worldwide."[2]

The purpose of the present report is to examine the changes in the dynamism expressed by the term "New normality", which undeniably marks a new situation filled both with problems, as well as perspectives. This goal is pursued through the following main tasks structured in the major sections of the report:

1. The "New normality" – basic characteristics, terms, conditions and reasons for its

occurrence;

2. Problems related to the "New normality" of economic dynamism of the PRC;
3. Prospects related to internal restructuring, with a price of the "New normality".

Basic methodological approaches used in this material are:

• System-structural approach, which sees the objects in question as "systems", i.e. as a set of interrelated components creating one whole. The components of the system are in certain relationships, i.e. they are structured.

• Historical approach – all phenomena – natural or social, cannot be fully understood unless we see them in terms of their development over time.

• Logical approach – assumes search of "logic", i.e. the scheme on the basis of which the phenomenon under research is formed and is functioning.

1. The "New normality" – terms, conditions, reasons for its occurrence and main features

In a period of more than 30 years, between 1978 and 2011, the annual growth of the Chinese economy was an average of 10%, and between 2003 and 2007 – 11.5%. Within this period, China realized the transition from a relatively closed, centrally planned model of economic dynamism to a market oriented one, realizing simultaneously successful integration into the international system of division of labor.

[1] It should be kept in mind that the chief statistician of PRC refutes that "the Chinese GDP exceeded that of the US, evaluated according to the criterion of purchasing power parity". Officials quite reasonably pointed out that China is on 89th place in the world in GDP per capita, which is a more accurate indicator of wealth and the development of society. (The Financial Times: *China: Over borrowed and overbuilt.*

[2] Ficenec: *10 warning signs of global financial meltdown*.

The reforms began with the gradual abolition of such forms of agriculture cultivation as "people's communes", production teams, etc., and move mainly to family forms of work in the village. Simultaneously, there was conducted price liberalization, fiscal decentralization, increased autonomy for state enterprises, as well as a significant increase in the private sector, development of stock markets and establishing a modern banking system. At the same time, an "opening outwards" was carried out, i.e. attracting foreign direct investment (FDI) and boost foreign trade, which began to play the role of "locomotive" of economic dynamism.

The results of this economic policy of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Government of the PRC are as follows: China began to play an important role on the world stage – in 2010, the PRC became the largest exporter in the world. And at the end of 2014, the country became the first global economic power with gross domestic product (GDP) from 17.63 trillion US dollars, calculated at PPP – purchasing power parity.[3] This is a more than tenfold increase in GDP since the beginning of reforms in 1978. At the same time the income per capita increased significantly – in 2014 it was already $12.900, which, according to CIA means 113th place in the world.[4] In that field there is still a lot to be desired, as this is below the average world level.

In spite of these undoubted successes in the economic dynamics, the PRC faces many challenges. In recent years we are witnessing the emergence or strengthening of a number of negative trends such as reduction in the rate of domestic savings, which contains the threat of a reduction in domestic consumption. Another negative point is related to the fact that the Chinese debt rose sharply from 14 trillion US dollars in 2008 to 25 trillion in June 2014.

We have to recall that the "weaker yuan" is one of the key factors for the Chinese success over the past 30 years. Thanks to the "weak yuan", Chinese goods form competitive advantages and are sold worldwide. On this basis, China generates significant trade surplus, i.e. achieves a positive balance in foreign trade and accumulates considerable resources, especially in US dollars.

By 2005, there was a fixed exchange rate of the yuan against the dollar and other world currencies. But under pressure from the US and other Western countries, Beijing was forced to start so-called regime of controlled floating exchange rate of the national currency. First important condition for this mode is that the fluctuations in the exchange rate of the yuan should be minimal so as not to disrupt national production and trade.

Second it is that the yuan should be "cheap" currency. This requires a so-called currency intervention. In this case it means trivial purchase of dollars by the People's Bank of China, i.e. creating artificially high demand for the US currency, hence the high dollar and low exchange rate of the yuan. But with foreign reserves in dollars China can hardly be transformed into real assets. PRC is trying to do it by sending a portion of their reserves in special (sovereign) funds. Through them, China strives to realize the accumulated currency not only in government securities and bank deposits, but also in units and shares of foreign companies in the real sector of the economy. However, the United States and other Western countries prevent this kind of investment in a variety of ways by introducing various restrictions and prohibitions on investment by the sovereign funds on the pretext of "protecting national security". On the background of the above mentioned is the process of the conversion of Chinese currency reserves into gold. There are doubts that the amount of China's gold reserves of does not meet the official Chinese statements, but is several times larger. We should also not forget that at the same time the most part of Chinese foreign exchange reserves in dollars do not "work" for China but do work for the US, who receive virtually interest-free loan from China. In fact we can talk about a "hidden" financial war between the dollar and the yuan.

However, for the period 2007–2013, the current account[5] surplus of China decreased from 10% of GDP in 2007 to 2.1% in 2013, which is 0.5% lower than in 2012. That is, the lowest level in nine years. In the first quarter of 2014, the current account surplus was $7.2 billion. This is much less than the $55.2 billion in the same period of the previous year. This is much less than the surplus in the fourth quarter of 2013. This tenden-

[3] Here and further, details are given according to www.cia .gov / library / publications / the-world-fact book / geos / ch.html).

[4] Ibid.

[5] Current Account – the difference between a nation's savings and its investment. The current account is an important indicator about an economy's health. It is defined as the sum of the balance of trade (goods and services exports less imports), net income from abroad and net current transfers. A positive current account balance indicates that the nation is a net lender to the rest of the world, while a negative current account balance indicates that it is a net borrower from the rest of the world.
See in http://www.investopedia.com/terms/c/currentaccount.asp#ixzz3eTefagCM

cy is supposed to be maintained at least in short term. Over the past five years, some developed countries like the US, Japan, and Germany declared a policy of reindustrialisation aimed to regain the leading position in international trade. For example, US manufacturing grew at an average rate of 4.3% between 2011 and 2012, ahead of the average pace of 4.1% between 2002 and 2007. Moreover, the average rate of growth of production of durable goods during the same period (2011–2012) amounted to 8%, which is much higher than the 5.7% growth in 2002–2007. Because of the ongoing appreciation of the yuan, Chinese goods began to lose their share on the US market. The same is happening in China's relations with other developed economies. In 2013, the proportion of Chinese exports to the traditional markets of developed countries decreased to 37.6% from 40% in 2012. This trend continued in 2014.

Meanwhile, another process started – the shifting of labor-intensive industries as a result of coming from West FDI from China to countries such as Vietnam, India, Mexico and other regions, due to their lower costs compared with China. Goods produced by ASEAN, India and Mexico are beginning to replace Chinese manufactured goods at a much lower cost.

Adopted in March 2011, the 12th 5-year guidelines (indicative 5-year plans) of PRC emphasize the need for continued economic reforms and increasing domestic consumption in order to make the economy less dependent in the future of FDI and exports. However, the progress of China in this area is insufficient. GDP growth slowed to 7.7% in 2012 and 2013. In 2014 it was 7.4%. This is below the planned figures for the same year of 7.5%.

At the summit of representatives of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation-APEC) in November 2014 in Beijing, the President Xi Jinping came out with the concept of "New normality " for the first time. The "New normality" of the Chinese economy emerged with several important features:

- First, the economy is changed from oriented to high growth rates to average ones;
- Second, the economic structure is continuously improved and modernized;
- Third, the economy is increasingly driven by innovation instead of investments.

2. Problems related to the "New normality" of economic dynamism of the PRC

Undoubtedly, the "New normality" of the largest economy in the world, perceived only as a decrease in the rate of growth, is causing concern both in the PRC and abroad. The achieved GDP growth of 7.4% in planned 7.5 percent means that for the first time in 16 years after the famous "Asian financial crisis in 1997-98," the country fails to implement the planned. This is the lowest indicator since 1990, when, after the "Tiananmen Square" in 1989, the GDP of PRC reached only 3.8% growth. In 2015, the PRC is planned the GDP growth of about 7%, which is certainly lower than in 2014. At the same time it is planned to support the growth of consumer prices within the 3%. According to Chinese media in any of the 31 provinces without the Tibet Autonomous Region the plan for economic growth is not achieved. Therefore at the beginning of 2015 the governments of 29 provinces are lowering the planned growth rates.[6] In the past practice of the PRC in case of slowdown the economic growth was stimulated by investing in civic projects.

However, the significant increase of the debts of regional administrations because investing actively in civic projects in the previous period prevents today such a move. Simultaneously, the central government declared that it would not intervene in the market economy. It decided gradually to lower the level of government control and implement structural reforms, as the fate of non-competitive companies to be decided by market forces. Perhaps with confidence we can say that the authorities decided to reduce unjustified loans.

On the background of the above policy the first bankruptcy of a big state company in China happened. "Baoding Tianwei", a subsidiary division of China South Industries Group announced that it can not repay their own bonds of 13.8 million US dollars.[7]

The "New normality" is accompanied by a crisis of real-estate market. In March 2015 in all 70 largest cities are seen falling prices. This fall is accelerating, as if at the beginning of November 2014 it was 1.1.% six months later it was 5.8%. Together with the bubble of real estate market began to "inflate" another bubble – that of market securities. Shanghai share index CSI300 composite jumps in February 2015 twice compared to July 2014. In April 2015 the average daily turnover of the 100 most liquid Chinese stocks reached 400 billion yuan ($65 billion), which is equivalent to the volume of the 100 most liquid shares of the US.

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[6] http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-11/09/c_133776839.htm

[7] China Sees First Bond Default by State Firm With Tianwei в http://www.bloomberg.com /news/articles/2015-04-21/china-sees-first-bond-default-by-state-firm-with-baoding-tianwei

As of mid-2013, when the central government of China last published data, the debt of local authorities was 18 trillion yuan, in which the increase in just two years was 80%. Moreover, this debt rose after the central government prohibits local leaders to issue obligations. Despite the slowdown in growth rates in 2014, the volume of loans by the local administration does jump up. In 2014 they sold bonds amounting to 1.66 trillion yuan. For each of the previous two years the volume of such sales was 900 billions of yuan.[8]

Corporate debt of Chinese companies today is the world‘s largest -14.2 trillion dollars at the end of 2013, which is more than that of the US – 13 trillion dollars. According to Bloomberg similar situation is created in South Korea before the “Asian financial crisis in 1997-98”. China is taking measures to expand the opportunities for refinancing of loans to state companies, however, this is done in a selective manner and mainly affects loans to agricultural enterprises.[9]

Simultaneously, it becomes difficult to export huge amount of cheap products, as increased salaries and other costs for employees increase the cost of Chinese goods and lead to a decrease in their competitiveness. It is clear that soon have to say goodbye to the system, provided the country‘s fastest growth in 30 years.

At the same time, there is stagnation in the three northeastern provinces – Heilongjiang, Jilin and Liaoning. The central government is trying to contain slowdown in the regional economy through infrastructure investments in the region. But high-tech IT companies and manufacturers of smartphones are concentrated in coastal megacities. In this regard, many experts fear that the “New normality” can push back further depressed regions. If the reforms are conducted on the principle of natural selection it is very likely in the underdeveloped regions the gap between rich and poor to increase. CCP aims at building a “harmonious society” even with the reforms started by the time of Deng Xiaoping. But actually the differences in property increase. In this connection there are concerns that the reducing of the rate of economic growth will cause discontent and controversy. Today the number of poor is high – 200 million people. In different parts of the country nearly 200 000 people are deprived of electricity. Certainly China economy is currently facing a number of potential risks and threats, namely:

- Risks arising from the “bubble” in the property;
- The problems in the financial sector related to the “shadow banking”;
- The overcapacity and insufficient level of innovation.

A number of foreign researchers warn that low economic growth, as they understand the “New normality”, will strengthen these potential risks and threats to the level some of them actually to happen.

3. Prospects related to internal restructuring, which price is the slowdown, expressed by the term “New normality”

The present situation in the world and China encourages the leadership of PRC to reassess the current status of the country, its opportunities and prospects. Perhaps it should be said that decisions taken at the III Plenum of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party after the XVIII Congress may be equivalent to those taken after the III Plenum after the XI Congress of the CCP in 1978, the Forum, on which Deng Xiaoping essentially opened the way for a “Chinese economic miracle.”

The different situation led the country’s leadership to begin a new phase of the policy of “reform and opening”, hereinafter the “second reform”. For this purpose at this III Plenum of the CCP Central Committee in November 2013, 300 specific tasks were formulated. They are focused on ensuring internal and global stability, continuation of the successful socio-economic performance and improvement of society welfare. In other words, China, in the understanding of its leaders and on the basis of past performance, should make the next “leap”. In this sense, to find a “New normality”, corresponds to a higher stage of development of Chinese society and its position in the world.

Completed in March 2015, the third meeting of the Chinese National People’s Congress (CNPC) gives specific guidelines after the XII session on which to draw conclusions where the PRC goes within the “New normality”.

According to the Prime Minister of the State Council of China, Li Keqiang, the structural adjustments for increasing the potential of development are strengthened in the country. Sustainable economic development of the PRC is provided through targeted regulation within reasonable parameters. He warns that it is neces-

[8] China: Over borrowed and overbuilt /The Financial Times/ в http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/8b2ce9c4-a2ed-11e4-9c06-00144feab7de

[9] Ibidem.

sary to increase vigilance against possible adversities and dangers, as well as to strengthen faith in victory and constantly to keep the initiative in the interest of development.[10]

Although the economic growth in 2014 was lower than in 2013, the employment in the PRC did not shrink. The unemployment rate according to the official data is 4.09%, which is equivalent to the performance over the period 2011–2013. Employment stability is ensured thanks to the limitations of a large number of administrative barriers to the business. The new registered market subjects amount to 12,930,000. Simultaneously, the People's Bank of China (PBC) reduced the cash that banks are required to hold as reserves. This means an increase in liquidity, but also leads to stimulating the lending to various industries. It should be emphasized that the Chinese government has taken similar steps during the "global crisis" of 2008. At the same time, policy efforts are implemented for strengthening the international influence of the yuan in a number of ways such as:

- Signing agreements with over 20 countries worldwide to implement trade based on their own currencies;
- Opening bank centers to carry out calculations in yuan. Qatar became such a center thereby intensifying its role as a financial center of the Middle East.

In a short period, the share of consumption growth demonstrates a 3% increase as to reach a level of 51.2%. The services increased by 8.1% and thus form 48.2% of GDP, which is tantamount to 30.7 trillion yuan. This is 5.6% more than the industrial production. Under the slogan of the "second reform", structural changes occur, within which high-tech, science and education are key priority. Presumably these create millions of new jobs in this particular area, as well as in the production of goods and services with high added value. The goal is the transition to a development model based on innovation involving the use of post-industrial technologies and equipment – nano- and biotechnology, three-dimensional printers, "Big data", new sources of energy and others. In other words, this means the realization of the so-called. "Third Industrial Revolution". For the achievement of this target, it is particularly important to maintain several basic parameters of the socio-economic process:

- Strict control on debt obligations in China and improvement of the mechanisms for regulating the borrowing by local authorities;
- Preservation of financial stability;
- Mitigating the significant social differences, maintaining a high level of employment, fighting against corruption and forming of stable social dynamics.

In this regard, there are the stimulation of mass entrepreneurial initiative and the creation of an entrepreneurial type of culture, so that every person and company deals with the creativeness and innovation, which requires a processes of:

- Reducing the power of the central government;
- Legal regulations and strict following of the law;
- Elimination of restrictions on entrepreneurial activity.

The government develops measures to attract investment from funds accumulated by the population. For this purpose the following is carried out:

- Activation of the establishment of joint-stock investment funds to attract funds from ordinary citizens of China;
- Diversification of entrepreneurial forms of cooperation between public and private capital for the implementation of several significant projects.

One of the key points related to the "New normality" is international cooperation, i.e. active export of capital for the construction of projects abroad, creating new free trade areas. Of particular importance is the "New Silk Road" strategy. It assumes terrestrial and maritime routes. Thus, on the one hand, the old Silk Road is revived trifold: speed railway, highway and pipeline. On the other hand, marine communication is formed. The new initiative implies enhanced economic cooperation among the countries located in the area of the sea and the land lines of the "New Silk Road", but mostly between PRC and Europe with an important connection with Moscow. Its main part will pass through Central Asia, Iran and Turkey, in which Istanbul will become a crossroads. Iran and Central Asia actively provide their own links with the new route. The Maritime Silk Road will start from the Guangdong Province, will pass through the Strait of Malacca, the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean and will end in Venice.

[10] See in https://vk.com/renminribao_group, 18.03.2015.

Another key route will run along the Trans-Siberian highway. Accordingly, Moscow will become a master node. China plans a fund of 16.3 billion US dollars to finance the construction of infrastructure linking markets on three continents.[11] The fund led by Chinese banks will be used for construction and expansion of railways and highways in the Chinese provinces. An important consideration out of the overall strategy to facilitate trade by land and by sea routes is to link developed eastern coastal provinces in the PRC with the western provinces, creating favorable conditions for accelerating the socio-economic dynamics.

The implementation of the project of the New Great Silk Road means a fundamental geopolitical and geoeconomic change, a giant global transformation, because Eurasia can become a central space of active economic, technological and socio-cultural life. In Latin America, China plans to build railway track of 5,000 km, connecting two oceans – the Pacific coast of Peru to the Atlantic coast of Brazil. Also, another one will be built in Nicaragua, connecting the Pacific with the Atlantic Ocean Canal, which will be larger than the US-controlled Panama Canal.

During the sixth meeting of the BRICS countries (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) in Fortaleza, Brazil were taken important decisions on the establishment of two new international financial organizations. Journalists have immediately given the names: the Bank and Fund of BRICS. The idea is the bank of BRICS to become one of the major multilateral development banks in the world.

With the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), PRC conducts negotiations for "agreement on trade and economic cooperation." The ultimate goal is to create a zone of free trade between the PRC and EAEU. At the initiative of China, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank was set up with a registered capital of 100 billion US dollars. Ultimately, it means to seek new growth drivers of China.

Conclusion

The "New normality" – on one hand it is economic slowdown. But on the other, it is economic restructuring in order to create a new model of growth and functioning. This new model of economic dynamism suggests an innovative base of development. The achievement of the new model means overcoming many difficulties, but also an emergence of new contradictions. However, the most important thing is that China continues to solve its problems and to walk on its own way .

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“经济丝绸之路”视角下二十一世纪中哈文化人文互动

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CULTURAL AND HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION BETWEEN KAZAKHSTAN AND CHINA IN THE 21ST CENTURY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE “SILK ROAD ECONOMIC BELT” PROJECT

Abstract

The bilateral relations between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People’s Republic of China have assumed an important strategic role with expanding commercial and strategic cooperation between the two nations.

Comprehensive strategic partnership between The People’s Republic of China and The Republic of Kazakhstan significantly developed during last years. Economic cooperation and trade between the two countries produced fruitful results. Cooperation made new progress in energetics, non-resources sectors, connectivity and other fields. People-to-people and cultural exchanges expanded. The two countries have close coordination on international issues.

Chinese leader Xi Jinping’s “Silk Road Economic Belt” initiative encapsulates the trend of the times. This idea will be the beginning of a complete new epoch of civilization. Undoubtedly, the “Silk Road Economic Belt” will benefit all parties including China and Central Asian partners, will transform Central Asia in a positive way and it will increase the living standard of the population.

The “Silk Road Economic Belt” project will not only produce more opportunities for economic cooperation and trade, but also will cover many sectors such as culture, transport, trade, investment, state-to-state politics and regional security.

Keywords: “Silk Road Economic Belt” project; bilateral relations between Kazakhstan and China: science, education, culture; prospects for cooperation.

二十世纪末成了世界地缘政治变革的时代。世界系统从支离破碎逐渐变为一个新的，一体化和相互依存的系统。二十一世纪初国际关系中就已经出现了全球化。在这条件下中亚国家参与更多的国际型活动和国家的一体化并不是国家历史的必然性而是整个地球维护稳定的强大因素。人民和文化之间的互相交流是现代社会发展的主要条件之一。文化传播的业绩主要归功于人民之间的贸易来往和移居。因此，在富饶的土地移植整个文化层，并在历史真相条件下开始形成下一个发展周期，经过变化，适应，采集地方特色阶段，添加新的形式与取得新形式的文化现象内容意义全然不同。在中亚地区，伟大的丝绸之路自古以来连接中国，印度，中亚，中东和近东以及地中海。

第三个千年初人类正面临着寻找新的合作方式，并全面，综合的研究复兴丝绸之路。伟大的丝绸之路汇聚各民族，交流思想和知识，相互补充语言和文化。当然，那是一段政治冲突，战争爆发的日子，但都不约而同的复兴丝绸之路。怀揣不可磨灭的愿望，以合理的利益和更高的福利持续不断地战胜了政治和宗教的对抗。因此，当为未来的关系和人民之间的合作创建模型时，这应作为一个有说服力的例子。在二十一世纪复兴传统的伟大的丝绸之路，作为合作伙伴国家在相互作用的各个领域谋求发展公平的关系是哈萨克斯坦共和国和中华人民共和国的重要战略意义。

丝绸之路的伟大历史-东西方人民间广泛的文化交流。实践证明，只有密切合作以及相互补充文化才是世界和平的基础和全人类的进步 (Polyak, 2000:45) 。

历史往往在一个新的阶段重演。今天，又一种全新的想法诞生了，那就是复兴丝绸之路，它是从太平洋到波罗地海规模和潜力巨大的市场。2014年9月6日，中华人民共和国主席习近平在访问哈萨克斯坦其间在纳扎尔巴耶夫大学做了演讲，就新时期加强欧亚国家间的合作提出了新丝绸之路经济带建设的战略性方案。哈萨克斯坦总统努尔苏丹.纳扎尔巴耶夫积极支持该倡议并建议优先考虑信息丝绸之路建设(Renmin Ribao, 26.12.2013)。东起中国，链接欧亚经济圈以及亚太地区18个国家，覆盖面积达5千万平方公里，牵动30亿人口的丝绸之路经济发展成为实现这一宏伟方案的目标（关

键）。实现这一伟大的计划需要所有经济带国家的巨大的正面影响（促进）。这也就促使了所有国家积极扩大贸易、投资，促进运输和物流基础设施建设、文化与人道主义的交流。　然而，经济丝绸之路，它不仅是经济的运输带，对文化，语言，也是一个新的运输路线。在文化成为外交的重要方式时，通过社会现实，艺术，音乐，绘画这些领域，明确的了解认识对方，人们可以找到理解和合作的方式。共同解决国家的科学和创新发展的问题，能够加强其在世界上的地位。流动性 – 这是当今教育的一个组成部分。在独立时期，哈萨克斯坦奠定了良好的基础，在文化领域与中国的合作中，已成为一个成功的实施经济项目的丝绸之路经济举措«初创»，无论是在双边还是多边的形式。

让我们来分析哈萨克斯坦和中国在人文主义合作的关键领域：

文化和艺术领域的关系

邻国的戏剧艺术成就，新电影，最好的书，画， 雕塑不仅给予了解对方的机会，而且也可以了解本土习俗特点，就是看起来似乎有些奇怪，难以理解的。中国政府和哈萨克斯坦也明白这个事实，该领域对中哈两国外交关系一直起着重要作用。

比如，在我们国家的文化生活中的一次活动。1995年，在中国为庆祝阿拜诞辰150周年，国家出版社在北京出版了阿拜诗歌集汉语版本。在哈萨克斯坦驻中国大使馆的积极协助出版了纳扎尔巴耶夫的书籍《探索之路》和《站在二十一世纪门槛上》的汉语版本。

感谢文学家和外交官的辛勤劳动。曾被遗忘的中国著名作曲家洗辛海，他在第二次世界大战期间，曾住在哈萨克斯坦。1999年11月16日他的名字永远的留在了阿拉木图的地图上，以他的名字命名了街道名称。

中国文艺工作者也经常参与在世界一年一度的歌曲竞赛 “亚洲之声”，而且会名列前茅。来自中国的年轻人，在1996年参加了第一届国际儿童电影节“Aynalayyn”。

在1999年，在中国的一些城市哈萨克斯坦阿拜国家学术局和芭蕾舞剧院举行了文艺巡演。在1999-2000年期间在上海，西安，广州等城市巡演了20场哈萨克斯坦交响乐团与著名歌手参与的音乐会(www.mfa.kz, 2014：中哈关系的发展)。

存储在中华人民共和国图书库和档案的一些重要资源和研究项目奉献给了这年轻的国家-哈萨克斯坦。这是为创建哈萨克斯坦公平和公正的历史所必要的。因此，二十世纪90年代中期中国在哈萨克族历史中发表了哈萨克斯坦作者的作品。其中第一个是在1994年出版的尼葛梅塔　.蒙扎那的“哈萨克历史简介”。也很被积极地把哈萨克语版本的“哈萨克历史简介”翻译成汉语。在2005-2006年，哈萨克斯坦教育部东方学院的编写并出版了5部文学著作。还有一些文件首次翻译和发布在文学革命中。

哈萨克斯坦电视台顺利播出了中国电影。大多数故事片在新疆录音室译制，而且基本都是在中国文学14和15世纪的名著，也促进了世界的文化发展。在阿拉木图市及其郊区可以连接一台卫星电视频道，可以看到中国大陆地区的影视节目（包含40个中国电视频道）(www.edu.kz, 2014：教育领域合作的伙伴)。

随着两国友好关系的巩固，双方经常举办中国在哈萨克斯坦的和哈萨克斯坦在中国的“文化日”，“文化周”。这些活动的成功举办，真正促进和增长国与国之间的相互了解。这些是在2001年中国的哈萨克斯坦文化日，2002年在哈萨克斯坦的中国文化日，在阿拉木图的中国科学技术展览会（2002年），在上海的阿拉木图文化日（2004年），在阿拉木图的上海的文化日（2005年8月），哈萨克斯坦在中国文化（2007年10月）。　2008年6月，为庆祝首都建设10周年，阿斯塔纳顺利在重庆举行了重庆市文化日（中国四川省）。

2011年，哈中双方举办了很多文化活动，双方均派出文化代表团和艺术团体互动。比如 “欢乐春节”，　“世界游记”绘画展览，“中国新疆文化周”活动等。“中国新疆文化周”在阿拉木图和阿斯塔纳举行，并专门举办了纪念中国和哈萨克斯坦建立外交关系20周年的活动(www.edu.kz, 2014：教育领域合作的伙伴)。

随着文化和艺术领域的相互交流，值得一提的是最近一次的重大活动—2013年4月举行的“哈萨克电影周”，让中国观众看到了像“老汉”，“一千个勇士”，“虚拟的爱”，“爱的讽刺”等电影作品(Zhou, 2013:15)。

2013年十一月，哈萨克斯坦在北京和乌鲁木齐举办了一个“文化日”。本次活动包括在中国国家博物馆举办的展览“大自然的财富”，此展览展出了一些国家博物馆的黄金及昂贵金属制作的的珍藏物品。哈萨克斯坦庆典音乐会在北京国家表演艺术中心举行，表演者为哈萨克斯坦库尔曼卡兹国家乐团，«阿斯塔纳芭蕾舞»舞蹈团，民族歌手和古典艺术明星。另外，作为文化日的一部分，还在乌鲁

木齐举办了2场«阿斯塔纳芭蕾舞»舞蹈团的音乐会，表演者为哈萨克斯坦优秀的文艺团队，令中国公众欣赏到了哈萨克斯坦最优秀艺术家的作品 (Zhou, 2013:25)。

哈萨克斯坦总统纳扎尔巴耶夫建议和中国合作建设阿斯塔纳民族舞蹈学院以及芭蕾舞学院。由于发展需要，我们的文化中心都需要更多的支持和培训。并表示将与中国相关高校密切协作(ENU, 2014:48)。

通过分析该领域的细节联系，可发现相互作用，影响的是基于传统的，经过时间考验的，并在同一时间有效和易于表现的活动。然而，这种政策的有效性是相当高的，并益于维持与合作伙伴长久并新鲜的关系。

科学技术领域的合作

科学和技术领域的合同框架是基于哈萨克斯坦共和国政府和中华人民共和国政府，以及相关部委和相应行业机构之间达成的四个协议上成立的。

早在1994年两国就已签署了“科技合作协议”。十年后，成立了哈萨克斯坦-中国科技合作委员会和小组委员会。在这一机构框架内，双方确定在诸如农作物生产，牲畜养殖，碳氢化合物生产和加工，化学，数学，物理，计算机科学和电脑技术，地震学，地质学，生物技术，以及在运输和通信领域的合作的必要性(www.edu.kz, 2014：教育领域合作的伙伴)。

2013年9月，上海合作组织成员国在比什凯克还签署了科技合作协议，这明确了人文主义领域的一个新的发展前景。

当今，哈萨克斯坦和中国正在有前途的不同科技合作领域内实施42个科学项目(www.edu.kz, 2015: 哈萨克斯坦和中国教育领域的合作)。双方都获得了显著的科学成果。其中值得一提的是《关于哈萨克汗国与清朝之间的贸易关系的中国档案材料》。这个成就是东方学研究所和中国第一历史档案馆的一个联合研究项目的结果。奥艾佐夫文学与艺术学院正在准备集体著作《关于二十一世纪的世界文学概述》。该著作的一个章节专为中国哈萨克新时代的文学作品。诸如地震学，气象学，地震危险性评估等工程科学领域形成了良好的合作的传统。地震研究院在哈萨克斯坦教育与科学部和中国地震局签署的《地震学，地震预测和地震危险性评估领域的长期科学和技术合作的谅解备忘录》

（2009年4月）以及《中国新疆维吾尔族自治区地震局和哈萨克斯坦共和国地震研究院关于科技合作协议》（2008年5月23日）的基础上与中方进行合作。这一合作研究领域方面值得注意的是2010年6月举行的第七届《中亚地震预报，地震灾害和风险评估》哈萨克斯坦- 中国国际研讨会(www.edu.kz, 2015: 哈萨克斯坦和中国教育领域的合作)。哈萨克斯坦地质，冶金和金属加工科学中心与中国新疆有色金属科研中心已实施项目《哈萨克斯坦矿床中直接生物淋滤贵金属和稀有金属的工艺研发》。

在世界博览会“EXPO-2010”框架内哈克斯坦国家科技控股公司“Parasat”与中国和俄罗斯的科研机构（全中国国际问题研究基金会，俄罗斯科学院，俄罗斯自然科学院，国际战略创新与技术联盟，和其他）组织了《文明发展伙伴关系的战略展望》论坛（上海，2010年10月12-14日）。论坛讨论了范围广泛的经济，能源，生态，科技创新和社会人口与发展伙伴关系，在这个过程中城镇和城市的作用。

上述提到的事件清楚地表明了在这些领域合作的未来发展前景，并且明确了不能在当前成绩面前固步自封。为了巩固已经取得的成绩一定要创造双边科技合作的长效机制，并进一步发展到联合选择课题，研究和使用他们的成就结果。哈萨克斯坦科学与教育部当前已准备与上海合作组织成员国联合实施的研究项目列表包含62个项目，其中包括生态，纳米技术，化学，能源等科技领域的各个分支(Zhou, 2013:45)。

教育领域的合作

教育领域的合作是两国之间的人文主义合作发展的一个关键领域。其重要性是汉语的价值在世界范围内日益增长，以及其良好的素质教育与世界一流大学相比而言相对低的费用而决定的。据国际专家分析中国在QS金砖五国大学排名中名列前茅，世界100强中包括18所中国大学(www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings/2013-14)。尤其是在中国高校技术方向，哈萨克斯坦留学生，会优先考虑以下专业，如：国际关系，经济学，商业，国际贸易等。

监管和法律框架产业互动基于以下条约和协议：

- 于2003年6月3日哈萨克斯坦教育科学院以及中国教育部达成的协议；

- 于2006年12月20日签订的哈萨克斯坦政府与中国政府相互承认学历和学位的协议；

- 于2003年6月3，2009年4月16日修改和变更的哈萨克斯坦教育科学院与国教育部之间关于教育领域合作的协议（规定增加互派留学生人数至100人）

- 于2011年6月15日签订的哈萨克斯坦教育科学院以及中国石油天然气集团公司的协议（中国石油天然气集团公司分配了15个硕士学习项目奖学金）

- 于2013年12月4日哈萨克斯坦教育科学院，阿斯塔纳市管与中国石油天然气集团公司在阿斯塔纳合作建设民族舞蹈研究生院和芭蕾舞剧院

据2008年官方统计在中国以合约形式留学的哈萨克斯坦学生有3750个，其中有70个奖学金获得者，总数每年同比增长(www.mfa.kz, 25.10.2014：中哈关系的发展)。

2011年，在中国接受教育的哈萨克斯坦人8287个，40人为总统奖学金“博拉沙克”的获得者，部分学生为国家交换生和中国政府奖学金，上海合作组织奖学金获得者。目前，据外交部统计在中国留学的哈萨克斯坦学生有9657人次，通过“博拉沙克”奖学金赴中国留学的有37人（17个本科，8 个研究生，12个培训）。有821名中国公民在哈萨克斯坦各个大学接受培训。此外，有342个中国儿童就读于哈萨克斯坦中学。

2013年在哈萨克斯坦教育科学院组织的《吸引国外专家到哈萨克斯坦高校》活动中，有11个中国科学家参加了演讲。

谈到哈萨克斯坦学生的喜好，在中国留学教育机构的选择上，排名靠前的中国高校并非总是首选，它们很多是地方大学，在地理上非常接近哈萨克斯坦，比如新疆师范大学，处于乌鲁木齐市，它们更希望招收邻国的学生。2014年有724国外留学生到新疆师范大学接受培训。有趣的，积极正面的互动体验出现在哈萨克斯坦和中国周边的地区，他们是东哈萨克斯坦和新疆。

作为该协调委员会的组成部分“我们共同的家园阿尔泰”达成合作协议，努力解决这些紧迫问题来推动科学及公共组织的工作。准备援助并且开展国际和区域的会议，研讨会和讲习班。

2004年，按照国际协调理事会的决议，“我们共同的家园 – 阿尔泰”，新疆阿尔泰地区科学技术部签署合同。

东哈萨克斯坦州以C.阿曼卓力大学与阿尔泰地区新疆科技厅签订关于举办联合活动，组织中国和东哈萨克斯坦州科学与技术学生举办夏令营活动的协议。

2005年东哈萨克斯坦州C.阿曼卓力大学与中国新疆大学（语言学院）签订了协议。双方同意采取联合活动，组织在东哈萨克斯坦州开展语言培训的学生去中国(Chaimardanova: http://articlekz.com/node/2243)。

另外当前教育制度的发展合作是由汉语言培训项目孔子学院策划。

哈萨克斯坦总统纳扎尔巴耶夫于2006年12月访华，并在北京签署了建立哈萨克斯坦第一所孔子学院的协议。2007年12月5日哈萨克斯坦的第一所孔子学院正式揭牌，其位于阿斯塔纳市古米廖夫国立欧亚大学。在阿斯塔纳设立的孔子学院有大约1800名学生参加了语言课程。

目前，哈萨克斯坦共和国共有4家孔子学院，分别是：西安外国大学与欧亚大学共建的国立欧亚大学孔子学院、兰州大学与阿里–法拉毕大学共建的哈萨克斯坦国立民族大学孔子学院、新疆财经大学与阿克托别国立师范大学共建的阿克托别国立师范大学孔子学院、石河子大学与卡拉干达国立技术大学共建的卡拉干达国立技术大学孔子学院。尽管这些孔子学院的教师来自中国不同地区，在具体办学模式上各具特色，但在推广汉语言文化，促进中哈两国文化交流，促进中哈友谊方面所起的作用是相同的 (Koshanova, 2011:15)。

孔子学院最重要的一项工作就是提供最正规、最主要的汉语教学。哈萨克斯坦各家孔子学院都非常重视汉语教学工作，并且采取了有力措施和灵活多样的方法来保障这项工作的成功。首先，坚持“稳妥性”原则，采取“兼顾整体、灵活多样”的教学方法，开设有固定性汉语基础班、中级班和高级班。其次，坚持“指导性”原则，开设有本土教师培训班和岗前培训班。此外，坚持“选择性”原则，开设有主题讲座班和HSK辅导班。除在学院本部展开教学工作以外，还在市内市外开设有多个汉语教学点，力图使汉语教学范围得到最大延伸，尽量满足其他地区汉语学习者的要求。在保证正常的教学活动之外，孔子学院还定期举办“汉语周”和“汉语日”活动，内容包括汉语公开课、汉语体验、趣味汉语、汉字书法课、汉语朗读比赛、汉语作文比赛等。

传播中国文化，也是孔子学院非常重视的一项工作。为加深哈萨克斯坦民众对中国文化的感受和了解，孔子学院定期性举办中国文化知识讲座、市级与国家级中国文化知识竞赛、中国古典诗歌诵

读大赛、中国文化周、中国文化产品展览、新中国建设图片展、中国传统文化体验活动及夏令营中国行等文化交流活动，确保语言学习与文化了解双管齐下、相辅相成。

促进中哈两国文化交流合作，发展中哈两国友好关系，也是哈萨克斯坦孔子学院工作的重要目标之一。孔子学院与哈萨克斯坦文化教育界、科研院所、高校以及语言培训中心等单位积极进行合作交流，并与其中一些机构共同举办了主题学术研讨会、中哈文化对比研究讲座等活动。与此同时，还积极开展对哈萨克历史文化著作的翻译，将优秀的哈萨克民族文化介绍到中国，以此来促进中国大众对哈萨克民族文化的了解和认识，为中哈两国人民的沟通与交流提供一个良好的平台 (Koshanova, 2011:16)。

哈萨克斯坦孔子学院在国家汉办/孔子学院总部的正确指导和中华人民共和国驻哈萨克斯坦共和国大使馆以及中哈合作院校的大力支持、帮助下，秉承为发展中国与哈萨克斯坦的友好关系，增进哈萨克斯坦人民对中国语言文化的理解，为哈萨克斯坦汉语学习者提供方便、优良的学习条件之宗旨，结合当地国情和人文环境，逐步完善了孔子学院中国文化教育和传播模式，在课程体系、教材、多样化教学手段和传播内容等方面进行了有效的改进，增强了中国文化传播深度，使孔子学院的工作进入到良好发展阶段。结合哈萨克斯坦汉语教学的现状，孔子学院的工作重心将实行目标性转移，推动汉语教学的本土化进程。

哈萨克斯坦孔子学院还将继续开展各种丰富多彩的文化活动，并且会逐步扩大活动规模，面向所在城市开展诸如汉语角、汉语俱乐部、汉语言文化竞赛、中国夏令营、文化之旅等活动，将课堂学习与实践活动有机的结合起来，帮助学生掌握所学知识，进一步培养学生学习兴趣，提高他们的学习积极性。从而使得孔子学院成为促进中哈文化交流，增强中哈两国友谊的坚固的桥梁 (Koshanova, 2011:18)。

保持“软实力”的策略和孔子学院这样的项目。比如“舌尖上的中国”。它的目的 – 通过学习中国的烹饪艺术来推动中国文化。根据这个方案，中国将分配中国的著名厨师到各个中亚国家。

其他文化传播的渠道有公共资金的活动以及其他中国机构的工作。使用中国的费用举办大型活动，在中哈青年学生对中国使馆的帮助下举办了这个话题问答：《我眼中的中国》，《我所了解的中国》。

中国与哈萨克斯坦合作发展教育领域新方向的计划于2008年成立，并在上海合作组织大学的框架内发展。上海合作组织大学用作现有的大学在各成员国的网络，上海合作组织大学内培训高素质的人才参与了国家的文化，科学，教育和经济合作领域的工作上：区域研究，生态，能源，IT技术，纳米技术等。上海合作组织大学是集成教育，科学，技术，文化，两国之间的，通过学生和教师的流动性在持续基础上的合作完全是新的方式发展领域的现代形式。通过提供流动性稳步推进学习和教学，推动了全新方式的合作(www.inform.kz/rus/article/2588292)。

上海合作组织大学为两国间教育科学领域提供了新的机遇以及合作方式：

-教育和学生的大学和实验室本专业发展和培训；

-联合组织和开展科学研究和科研项目；

-在重点区域开展夏季和冬季学校；

-联合研究项目；

-对优先领域的研究项目发放奖学金；

-联合举办国际研讨会、学术研讨会等活动。

古米廖夫国立欧亚大学地域研究院在上合组织的网络大学框架内运行已有三年。教育单位以上海合作组织大学的理念在哈萨克斯坦国家教育标准对特殊“区域”要求的基础上，研发了硕士课程“对中亚和中国区域研究”。此外，特殊“区域”监督其他大学-在中国的合作伙伴，如北京外国语大学，新疆大学，首都师范大学，黑龙江大学，大连外国语学院，新疆师范大学。

综上所述，经过调查证明双方在教育领域有着相互作用及影响，在此行业中，人道主义合作保持恒定的非常高程度的相互作用。这一合作涵盖最大的是学校教育，组织课程和项目。上海合作组织大学是这样一个显著突出的，网络的，具有前瞻性的项目。

哈萨克斯坦和中国的人文合作前景

趋于现代化的现实一遍又一遍的证明人文主义合作是国际舞台合作中最重要的领域之一。如今，这一领域受到高度重视，因为经常使用的工具«软实力»有时比传统权利政治地位更有效。

2013年9月7日，中华人民共和国主席习近平在纳扎尔巴耶夫大学演讲时说我们可以用创新的合作模式，共同建设“丝绸之路经济带”。加强人文主义部件可以并且应该成为这种创新合作模式的重要组成部分，因为只有这样国家间才能互相了解，认识，欣赏，并能够建立公平的战略合作伙伴关系。关于这一点，中国和哈萨克斯坦已经做了很多，在这个过程中，通过双方的合作以及上海合作组织积极的配合，得到了出色的结果。目前全球化的因素正逐步干涉文化现象，这主要体现在渗透并加强标准化的生活方式和行为。随着全球化的发展和人类文化的多样性，我们可以得到同一个结论，保护语言和国家文化认同是迫在眉睫的问题。在亚洲文化全球化的挑战下，这是不容忽视的。在人文主义合作变得越来越活跃的今天文化是能够维持和提高全体人民价值观的统一力量(www.zakon.kz/124226)。

丝绸之路的历史—是东西方民族间文化广泛交流与作用的历史。它证明，只有文化的紧密合作与相互补充才是人类和平与进步的基础。众所周知，历史在其新的发展中具有其重复性趋势。正如中国谚语所说：“良好的开端是成功的一半”，这一点对在欧亚地区建设光明的未来以及建设丝绸之路经济带极为重要。

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BEIJING'S AND GUANGZHOU'S FIGHT WITH AIR POLLUTION: WHO MAKES AND EXECUTES THE POLICIES?

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Abstract

The poor ambient air quality in Chinese mega-cities has been discussed in science and politics for more than 30 years. It is often seen as an inevitable part of the negatives, associated with China's rapid economic development. Moreover, the problem regularly provokes central authorities to declare their will to deal with it by introducing new political measures, since ambient air quality in China's cities continues to decline. While central policies become stricter, their application at a local level provokes multiple questions, inspired by the steady air pollution levels in urban and industrial regions. In order to examine the political obstacles in front of air quality improvement in urban areas, this paper studies the air pollution policies' implementation in Beijing (Centrally Administrated Municipality) and Guangzhou (Deputy Provincial Municipality) by reviewing the role of local political elites and the applied air pollution policies. Furthermore, it reveals the differences between the policies adopted in the two administrative regions and explains the causes for their outcomes in terms of air pollution.

Keywords: China, air pollution, environmental policy, Beijing, Guangzhou

1. Introduction

During the last three and a half decades of rapid economic development, China has shown extremely high rates of industrialization and urbanization, which inevitably has resulted in environmental degradation (Murray and Cook 2002; Shapiro 2012). While China observers record heavy pollution in all aspects – water, soil, and air (Chen 2009; Economy 2013; Murray and Cook 2002; Shapiro 2012), it seems that the poor air quality in PRC's mega-cities (especially Beijing) is the problem attracting the highest level of attention. Together with the increasing number of scholarly articles and media reports on the poor air quality, the frequent "new measures" introduced by the central and local leadership to address the problem are an integrated part of day-to-day life in China.

This attention is mostly due to the peculiar character of urban air pollution that has the "advantage" to be felt and seen by a larger group of the population and not only by the residents of an affected district, which might be the case of water and soil pollution in parks, for instance. Ambient air quality in Chinese mega-cities is a problem which concerns an extremely high number of people, people who expect that the authorities will resolve it. Although China's leadership has often declared its willingness to deal with environmental degradation, including air pollution (Chen 2009; Economy 2013; Ran 2013), its efforts have not yet succeeded in achieving the expected air quality improvement. Hence, the authorities have felt the need to adapt national air pollution policies several times during the last two decades. Thus, abating air pollution is no longer merely a desirable goal, but has increasingly become an important part of the ultimate test for China's leadership abilities to resolve acute social problems.

This paper examines how local environmental policies in Beijing and Guangzhou attempt to abate air pollution in the context of the larger and more powerful national policies.

2. Research design and methodology

2.1. Research questions

Based on the literature and documents research, showing that air pollution prevention and control policies in China have been constantly upgraded since the mid 1990s, the leading question to this paper was formulated as: ***Why have air pollution policies in China been constantly changed during the last 20 years?*** While the answer to this question might seem obvious, it main function is to organize the following set of subordinated research questions:

• Who develops the air pollution policies in China and how?

• Who implements the air pollution policies in China and particularly in Beijing and Guangzhou?

2.2. Research methodology

Content analysis of official national and local policy documents, available online. At a national level, these include Five-Year-Programms (FYP), laws, standards, and regulations available at the official websites of China's State Council (SC), the MEP, and the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC), while the local FYPs, regulations, standards, and other relevant official documents are downloaded from the websites of Beijing Municipal Government, Guangzhou City Government and their respective Environmental Protection Bureaus (EPB) and Development and Reform Commissions (DRC). In addition, newspaper articles on air pollution and related to it policy measures in China in general and in Beijing and Guangzhou in particular, as well as other information relevant to air pollution policies, are collected from online branches of Chinese local, national, and international newspapers and agencies, such as *People's Daily*, *Xinhua News Agency*, *China Daily*, *Southern Daily*, etc.

Research on the core local leadership related to air pollution prevention and control policies' development and implementation. Using the *Strategic Group approach* (Heberer and Schubert 2012) and given the structure of China's local administration, the core leadership in Beijing and Guangzhou was identified as the Party secretaries (*first in command* 第一把手) and the mayors (*the second in command* 第二把手) in Beijing and Guangzhou. The same approach is applied at the level below as well, targeting the party secretaries and directors of the respective EPBs and DRCs. Thus, the core leadership of each city is supposed to equal six people at a time.

The relevant biographical data on these key local officials are collected from the websites of their respective departments (for the ones currently in office), as well as from the official cadres' data base of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and news articles available online (for the cadres who previously held these positions).

Descriptive statistical analysis, based on the data available on the websites of the MEP, which allowed some quantitative findings, concerning the national and regional standards related to ambient air quality.

3. National air pollution policies and their place within China's political system

China's environmental policies and legislation take place in a very hierarchical political system with a high number of actors involved (Lieberthal and Oksenberg 1988; Ran 2009) (Figure 1). Thus, air pollution control and prevention policies are subject to multiparty authority, which often involves competition among various actors pursuing their own goals. It seems plausible to suggest that the top tier of Party and government officials, incentivized by acute air pollution problems in urban areas of highly industrialized regions, constantly rising public discontent and continuous pressure from foreign actors (international conventions or single actors such as the USA embassy)[1] act as the motor behind air pollution policy development.

The actual development of laws and policies happens within the State Council, where macro-policy players (such as the NDRC) manage the policy-making process. To do so they distribute tasks among micro-policy players (MEP, Ministry of Science and Technology (MOST) and other relevant ministries and commissions) and balance national strategies and their own interests in the national planning process. The detailed development of policies is carried out by ministries and commissions together with advisory bodies from the academia (Chinese Academy of Science and others) and industries (state-owned enterprises). Furthermore, there has been a democratization tendency in recent years in which authorities encourage public participation in national legislation through comments on legislative projects under development.[2] The whole policy-making process is monitored by the highest leadership through the incorporation of top leaders into macro-policy bodies (small leading groups under the state council).

In terms of environmental policies, a new trend in the attitude of the MEP has been observed. The latter tends to work actively to keep environmental policy issues under its authority and does not passively agree to cede these to other ministries (e.g. NDRC or MOST), as it has done before (Chen 2009; Mol and Carter 2006; Shapiro 2012). Simultaneously, a parallel trend of democratization in the environmental policy-making process can be

[1] In 2008, the US embassy in Beijing began to release daily air quality monitoring data on its Twitter page (AP 2012) and thus raised social discontent, most notably in 2010 (Watts 2010). The latter was especially visible in online blogs and social networks (Shapiro 2012).

[2] Example for this development is the 2014 amendment of the *Environmental protection law.*

observed. This involves the active participation of the public already at the early stages of policies and laws drafting, which eventually contributes to the strengthening of the environmental legislation (Wübbeke 2014).

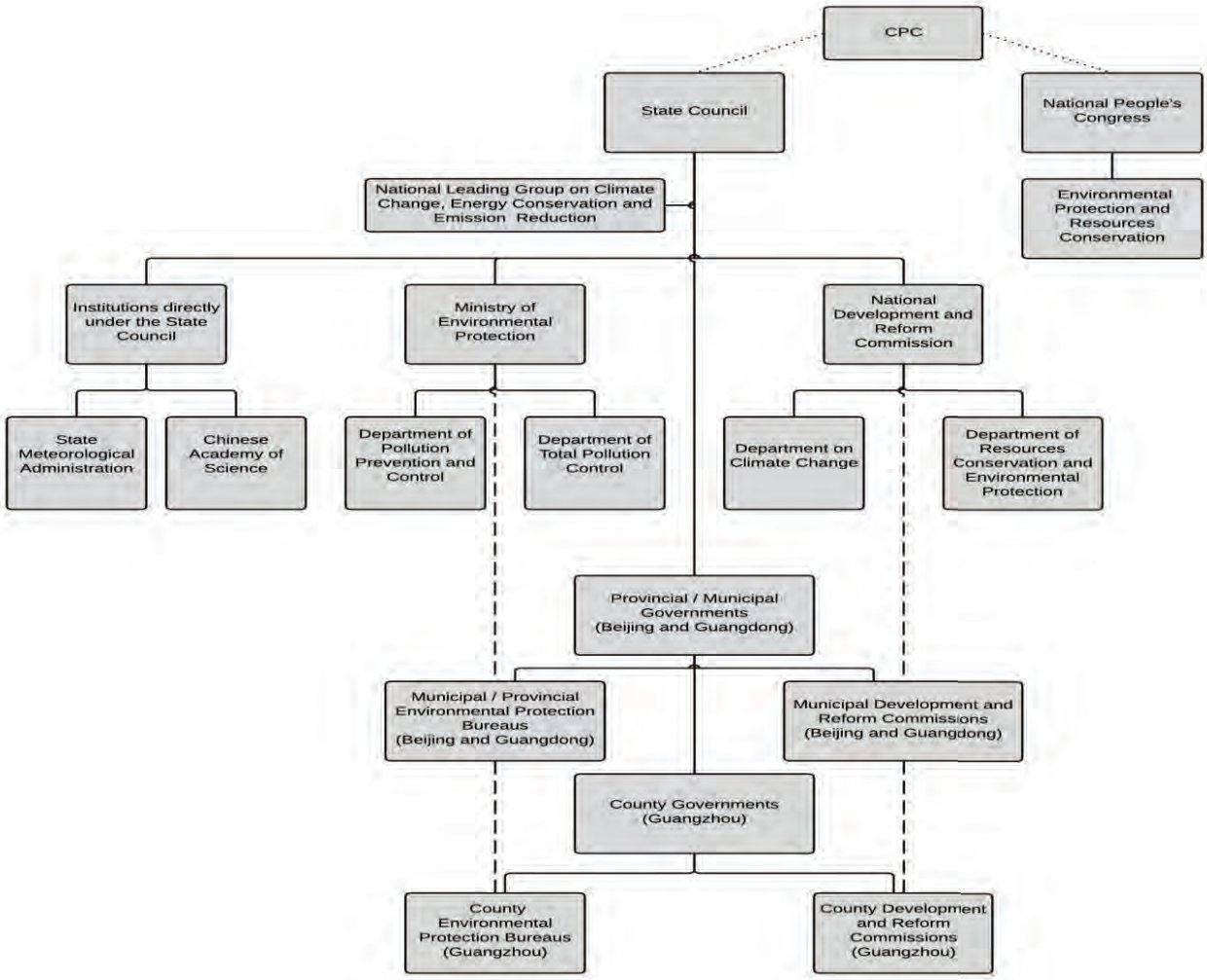

Figure 1: *Key Chinese government units and structures for air pollution prevention and control*
Source: adapted from G. Chen (2009: 20), Ran (2009: 47) and Tsang and Kolk (2010: 182).

In terms of their effect at the local level, the FYPs with their binding targets prove to be more powerful than the vague national laws (Mol 2006) accompanied by an extremely high number of additional standards and regulations. This phenomenon produces an exceptionally hierarchical and complicated system of legal documents which are sometimes in contradiction with each other. According to the MEP website for instance, in 2014 there were 235 national standards related to air pollution (Figure 2).

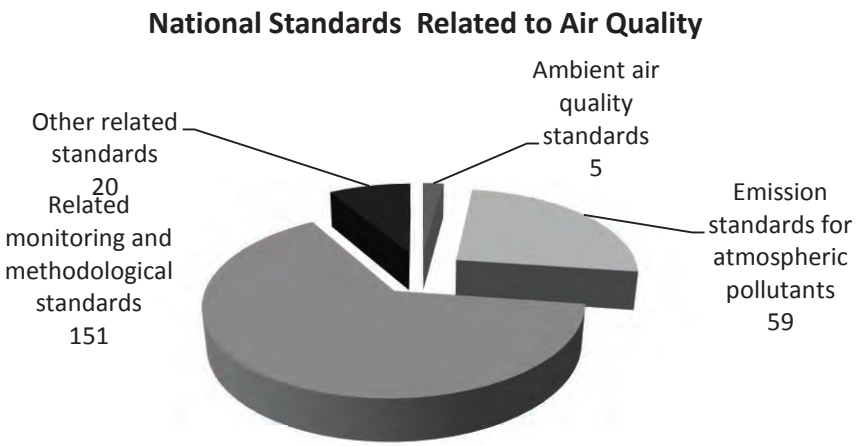

Figure 2: *National standards related to air quality*
Source: author's database

In the policy implementation area, the actual policies are carried out by relevant ministries and their local subsidiaries in cooperation with local administrations, within the *tiaokuai system*.[3] The latter often delivers some obstacles to what can be expected to be a smooth top-down policy implementation process within a highly authoritarian system. Thus the Center applies a management system of binding policy targets[4] in order to secure the compliance of local authorities. The Xi-Li leadership demonstrates its engagement with environmental problems and air pollution in particular in several ways: 1) integration of environmental and air pollution-related law amendments and binding air quality targets into the current planning[5]; 2) improvement of the pollution levy system in order to achieve complete internalization of environmental costs; 3) devotion to further development of costly but strategically important environmental innovations. Consequently, the broad political strategy of China's current leaders is one aiming, among others, to strengthen environmental management and to improve the severe air pollution situation in industrialized urban regions.

4. Air pollution in China's mega-cities of Beijing and Guangzhou

4.1. Beijing versus Guangzhou

Beijing and Guangzhou have been selected for this research for the following set of reasons. First of all, both cities rank among China's five most populated cities (Friederich et al. 2011) and are part of two of the three industrial key regions (重点区域) in the PRC: Beijing belongs to the Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region and Guangzhou – to the Pearl River Delta (PRD) region. Secondly, although both cities are often compared in terms of their importance for national economy and foreign trade (Friederich et al. 2011), their rank within China's administrative system is different. The capital of the PRC is granted the status of a Centrally Administrated Municipality (CAM),[6] while Guangzhou, the capital of the Guangdong province, has the status of a Deputy Provincial Municipality which allows it much less independence in policy-making and implementation, as opposed to Beijing. Thirdly, as part of their respective industrial regions, both Beijing and Guangzhou are assigned special targets by the *State Council Air Pollution Prevention and Control Action Plan*, released in 2013. The two cities have to measure their air pollution according to higher standards than the regions, which are not included in the plan. Fourthly, although air pollution has been a recognized problem in both cities, its intensity levels in Beijing are significantly higher than in Guangzhou (Chan and Yao 2008; Sun et al. 2012). Finally, in recent years the two cities did implement large clean air campaigns preceding the hosting of huge international sport events (2008 Beijing Olympics and 2010 Guangzhou Asian Games) which had a great impact on China's international image.

Beijing and Guangzhou allow a closer examination of local air pollution policies development and implementation at two different administrative levels. Moreover, the geographical location of both cities supposes a local variation among factors external to the political system which, nevertheless, have a large impact on ambient air quality and the policies dealing with it. This group of factors includes different climate conditions and their impact on the energy consumption and industry structure as well as a different attitude of the population toward air pollution and the authorities, who are in charge of air pollution prevention and control.

4.2. Findings

Due to the rapid urbanization and industrialization rates of Beijing and Guangzhou during the last three and a half decades, the air quality in both cities has shown significant deterioration. Therefore, the current state leadership has undertaken new policy measures in order to address the problem.

After comparing the factors with an impact on the air pollution in the two cities, it seems that the anthropogenic factors (industrial and vehicle emissions) are rather similar (Wang and Hao 2012). On the contrary, specific geographical and climate conditions and their direct and indirect impact on urban air quality are very different and work in favor of Guangzhou (Chan and Yao 2008; Sun et al. 2012), which reports lower air pollution levels than Beijing (Beijing Municipal Environmental Monitoring Center 2014; Chan and Yao

[3] Within the so called *tiaokuai relation* (*tiaokuai guanxi* 条块关系) central government ministries' line of authority (*tiao* 条) flows down to their local departments. Thus, leaders at each administrative level receive directions from above and in turn distribute decisions down to the next lower level (Larus 2012: 123). At a territorial level, the very same departments also fall under the horizontal authority (*kuai* 块) of their respective governments.

[4] The system functions through the national FYPs and other central policy plans.

[5] The *12th FYP* (NPC 2011)and the *2013–2017 State Council Clean Air Action plan* (State Council 2013).

[6] A CAM has the same administrative rank as a province.

2008; Guangzhou Environmental Monitoring Center 2014). Consequently, the local government in Beijing, facing very severe air pollution, has to take more and stricter measures to abate it than the local government of Guangzhou. The latter is satisfied to declare steady air quality improvement, although air monitoring results shows light but steady pollution levels according to Chinese ambient air quality standards, which are far less strict than those of the World Health Organization.

The current local environmental policies in Beijing are mainly concentrated on air pollution (Beijing Municipal Government, 2013), while in Guangzhou more attention is paid to water contamination. Moreover, due to the difference in their administrative statuses, the governments of the two cities show different attitudes in developing local air pollution prevention and control policies. Beijing CAM draws and applies its own standard and regulations, while the Guangzhou deputy provincial municipality relies mainly on national and in some cases on provincial standards. In addition, the geographical distance between Guangzhou and the central authorities buffers some of the political pressure exercised on Beijing.

The personal attitude as well as the educational and professional experiences of the local leaders in charge of fighting air pollution predetermine their actions when facing the issue of air pollution. A positive attitude from local leaders toward air pollution can affect the development and implementation of new policy projects. Moreover, there is a tendency to promote mayors into Party secretaries, which increases their personal influence on the local policies.[7] These leaders usually hold a technical degree and thus demonstrate a positive attitude towards the integration of new more efficient (and therefore more environmentally friendly) technologies (Figure 3). Local government departments in charge of air pollution policies (DRCs and EPBs) deviate from the general principle of double party-state structure and their chiefs assume both positions of Party secretary and department director. The DRC's chiefs have a degree in economics, while those working for the EPBs hold technical degrees.

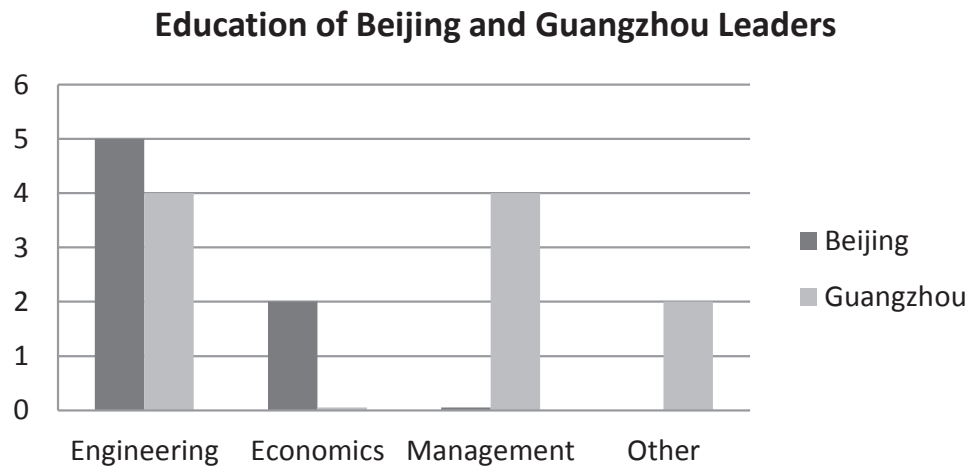

Figure 3: *Education of Beijing and Guangzhou leaders*
Source: Author's database

A new tendency of high professionalism among EPBs officials and strict implementation of environmental policies emerges at the grassroots level (Yee, Lo, Tang 2013). This tendency is conflicting with the general opinion that EPBs officials tend to turn a blind eye to malicious pollution practices in order to foster economic growth (Ran 2013; Shapiro 2012). Furthermore, the recent integration of environmental achievements into the set of local cadres' evaluation criteria is also expected to foster stricter environmental policy implementation. However, this will be a subject of research in the years to come.

5. Limitations

Due to the selected research methods, much of the findings are based on official policy documents, which can provide information for the ongoing policy-making processes, but cannot submit data about the implementation of the designed policies. Therefore the findings related to policy implementation are based on a combination of official information available online, media reports and previous research on the environmental policy implementation gap.

[7] Since the early 2000s, there has been one case in Beijing and two cases in Guangzhou.

The investigation of the educational and political background of the local leadership in Beijing and Guangzhou provides important data about the local cadres in charge of air pollution prevention and control policies. These findings though are partially biased by the limited information in regard to previous cadres occupying some of these key positions.

6. Questions for further research

First of all, empirical research at the grassroots level of air pollution policy implementation is needed in order to examine how this part of the policy process functions. Furthermore, the diverse opinions in the literature in relation to the behavior of the agents involved in the policy implementation process urges for more field work in different parts of China.

Secondly, in the years to come, research of the effects which newly introduced national air pollution prevention and control policies have had at the local level implementation processes, is indispensable. Attention should also be paid to the way the introduction of binding air pollution targets in the central plans affects local policies implementation, as well as to the impact produced by the inclusion of environmental achievements into the set of cadres' assessment criteria.

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CREATIVE TOURISM EXPERIENCES: COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGES OF HERITAGE TOURISM IN SHANXI PROVINCE

Unique sites, product variety and authentic experiences increase the value added of investment in this tourism destination

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Abstract

Shanxi Province invests primarily in key local industries as coalmining and metalworking, but also in agriculture, tourism, and other sectors. In addition to heritage tourism, tourists who have chosen to visit this well-known Chinese province for religious, educational, festival, culinary, and other types of tourism can also enjoy creative experiences. The province builds its tourist image as a "depository of Buddhist monuments and art", increasing its competitive advantages as a destination by investing in modern infrastructure and tourism sites.

Keywords: destination, heritage tourism, creative experiences, product variety, Shanxi Province, UNESCO World Heritage List

The success of the Shanxi Province tourism industry is linked to authentic experiences and unique sites featuring rich product diversity. The ancient town of Pingyao and the Yungang Grottoes, included in the UNESCO World Heritage List, are located here, as well as the more than 50 temples in Mount Wutai, one of China's sacred mountains hosting the country's oldest wooden temple. As a tourist destination, Shanxi attracts visitors with its famous Hanging Monastery, the Ice Cave, a fascinating natural phenomenon, and many other landmarks.

Pingyao, a city built in a square plan around 11th century A.D., is considered by researchers as giving tourists the best idea of China's culture, society, economy, and religion. The oldest structures are unique pieces of architecture and most of the over 4,000 exciting civil buildings in Pingyao date back to the Ming and Qing dynasties. The city has two areas: an ancient and a modern one. About 400 different types of dwellings are relatively well preserved, as well as more than 1,000 stelae in the ancient part of the city. The six big temple complexes exhibit ancient building techniques.

The ancient city is a unique piece of architectural and cultural heritage. Its surface of 55.6 hectares is enclosed in a 6 km long, 12 m high, and 3 to 6 m wide stone-and-brick defensive wall with 72 watch towers along its length. The four-meter wide ditch around is used as an additional water stock to fight fire.

From a bird's eye view, the city wall is a nearly-perfect square but the Chinese have assimilated it to a tortoise which is an animal they venerate for its longevity. Feng shui experts agree in their analyses of the ancient city's plans that all this was done in the hope that the city would last for ages.

Foto 1

Pingyao ancient city is the best preserved ancient county in China

THE LINE BETWEEN TOURISM AND CREATIVE INDUSTRIES

Pingyao attracts tourists from all over the world who wish to see China's best preserved ancient city and gaze at its unmatched architecture, museums, and tourist attractions. The city also attracts specialists who come here to analyse its architectural style, building materials, and traditional technology, as well as the way these have preserved the city's authentic spirit and culture over the centuries.

A great deal of research has been conducted and summarized in the best monographs on the city, explaining the message and philosophy of urban planning and layout of ancient Chinese cities. They unveil to experts and tourists alike how historical cityscape and heritage have been preserved. Creativity is a means for "transforming resources into capital" [1]. "The line between tourism and creative industries (often called "cultural industries") is quite blurred in the city… Although it is problematic to assert that a form of tourism is non-cultural, as everything derives from cultural memory in some way, "cultural tourism" is likely to contain more aesthetic and symbolic elements than adventure or lifestyle tourism". (Wen, Keane 2014: 106).

There is a cleverly designed tourist attraction in Pingyao – a special scenario with music and people in old-fashioned costumes welcoming visitors in front of the ancient city walls. Tourists become part of an old-time ritual rather than be mere spectators. This remarkable military re-enactment captivates with the unfamiliar words, old-time uniforms, and ancient warriors' face expressions. Visitors identify themselves[2] with the historical characters on the background of local music and the hubbub of the crowd moving towards the city's huge gates. Surprise brings additional value to this ancient city with its public buildings, temples, dwellings, shops, and sculptures which have earned it a place on the World Heritage List.

Tourists have the opportunity to stay in renovated historic homes offering western amenities. One can return mentally 300 or 400 years back in time to feel the atmosphere of the mysterious patios and have a look into the daily life of Pingyao's past inhabitants. Creativity in designing museum attractions, restaurants, and souvenir industry has yielded an off-the-beaten-track tourism product to subtly attract visitors to Chinese history and culture. This product can be professionally managed and advertised, but the parallel between antiquity and modernity, between legend and knowledge is part of the psychology of emotions and cross-cultural differences.

Foto 2

Tourists in Pingyao become part of an old-time ritual rather than being mere spectators.

Pingyao's old buildings are famous for their patios featuring unique architectural elements, stone steps, and red doors. Souvenirs, books, food and dusty antiques are sold everywhere in the long streets lined by ancient houses built of grey bricks. The most visited place in the very popular one-hundred-year-old "financial street" is a small old museum which answers the question about why the history of finance has been thoroughly studied in China's modern history.

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[1] The policy advisor Li Wuwei (2011: 69) writes: "Creativity is a means for transforming resources into capital and is also a way for the tourism industries to develop, exploit and integrate resources more deeply and extensively." – *Developing creative service industries in Hangzhou, People's Republic of China*. In: Tourism and the Creative Economy, OECD Publishing, Paris, 2014. p. 106

[2] Today modern tourism "seeks to apply creative strategies to transform tangible and intangible resources into marketable products" – idem, p. 106–107

According to historical data, Pingyao owed its fame across the country to economic prosperity and vibrant trade. This is where the first banking institution – the Rishengchang Draft Bank – was founded. It issued banknotes and changed the country's financial life. It was called "the world's First bank" and its activities grew to spread across the whole of China and then to Japan, Singapore, Russia and elsewhere[3]. In Pingyao alone, there were 22 banks which was the half of all banks in China at the time. The old museum, small but unique, tells the story of the bank and its founders in great details and based on dozens of pieces of evidence.

Foto 3

The old "financial street" with Rishengchang Draft Bank

The transformation of the industry of perception into an industry of experience is an irreversible process which has changed the attitudes and expectations of tourists forever, according to researchers in the field of heritage tourism. The success of creative tourism and special events in which France, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, the United States, and Turkey, among others, have been investing, has come to prove it. Drawing on modern scenarios, off-the-beaten-track attractions, up-to-date animation and technology, creative industries open new horizons to artists (producers, theatre intellectuals, musicians, scriptwriters, actors, performers, etc.)

The development of heritage tourism with its subtypes (religious, historical, educational, and festival) in the Shanxi Province came with the recognition of their key importance for the province's economy and image. Government support and responsible businesses, as well as heavy investment in the infrastructure and preservation of cultural and natural heritage, have yielded tangible results. In terms of tourism development, the period after the global economic crisis has witnessed a shift towards creative industries and tourist attractions. The acknowledgement of the need for the Shanxi Province to diversify its tourism product has led to increased numbers of foreign and domestic tourists.

Planning, creation, and maintenance of tourist attractions require investment in destination marketing, recognizable image, and staff training and development. A destination's attractiveness depends upon the availability of primary resources and related "unique opportunities for tourist activities", as well as on the development of "infrastructure, superstructure, and the tourism industry with its goods and services" (Rakadjiiska, Marinov, Dyankov 2013: 428). However, attractiveness stems directly from image as "a platform for expectations from travelling to a destination" because image "plays the role of a powerful force capable of driving of impeding tourism demand" (Rakadjiiska, Marinov, Dyankov 2013: 429).

INFRASTRUCTURE AND SUPERSTRUCTURE

Modern tourism development depends on existing infrastructure, especially in the light of the requirements related to new technologies in civil engineering, transport, communications, etc. Being a prosperous industrial area, the Shanxi Province has a well-developed and rapidly growing modern infrastructure which is essential to tourism investment. All other conditions being equal, "a better infrastructure is determinant for the economic activity and migration to a region". Tourist transportation, accommodation, catering, and entertainment are directly related to the actual level of development of technical infrastructure. In the lack of infrastructure, "the efforts to make a tourism product more competitive make no sense" (Ribov 2011: 175).

[3] Rishengchang – "the first exchange shop in China" and the earliest founder of modern banks in China, used to set up branches successively in Shandong, Henan, Liaoning, Jiangsuq, etc. – see more in Shanxi Tourism – Friendly and Beautiful Shanxi, publ. Tourism Administration Bureau of Shanxi Province, 2014, p. 27.

Foto 4

Wutai Mountain – Youyi Hotel in a humongous mountain tourist complex

In the second place, building a superstructure is crucial to tourism development; tourism is impossible "without tourist facilities even in the presence of unique natural or man-made resources". At the same time, this is a two-way relationship, since the availability of tourism resources is a prerequisite for "building a tourist superstructure while the type of resources determines the variety of superstructure" (Ribov 2011: 176). The provinces' superstructure consists of a great many well-equipped modern accommodation, catering, shopping, entertainment, and sporting facilities matching the needs of tourist groups and individual tourists. It features a great variety of facilities in terms of type, rating, capacity, and location.

Luxurious hotels offering all amenities have been built in the cities and the mountain areas alike. The great amount of tourism resources and tourist flows in this cradle of Chinese civilisation require a good balance between infrastructure and superstructure in terms of capacity and quality.

TOURISM DESTINATION COMPETITIVENESS

A tourism destination's competitiveness today depends upon "the type and nature of products it produces and sells. What matters is the destination's capability of offering added value products that allow it to preserve its resources and maintain its position to competitors in the marketplace". In an increasingly competitive market, successful tourism destinations are those "where tourism generates sustainable economic prosperity for the population of the tourist place" (Koprinarov 2014: 768).

Morever, a tourism destination's competitiveness is the result of "its public image and the way the destination is perceived; customer motivation is largely influenced by this image. A destination's image is not a constant value; it is a variable which depends upon the knowledge, experience, and socio-demographic characteristics of the public (potential tourists)". In the context of globalization which has an impact on competition in tourism, the challenge goes to the players in the tourism business. They have to compete for "each tourist's attention, respect, and trust. Strong positive brands confer a decisive competitive advantage. It is essential that regions become aware of how they are perceived by nationals of other countries, and how a region's achievements, failures, population, and products affect its brand" (Alexieva, Temelkova 2014: 1081–1085).

Foto 5

Tour in Qiao's Family Countryard in Qi Country – over 40 films and TV series have been shot here.

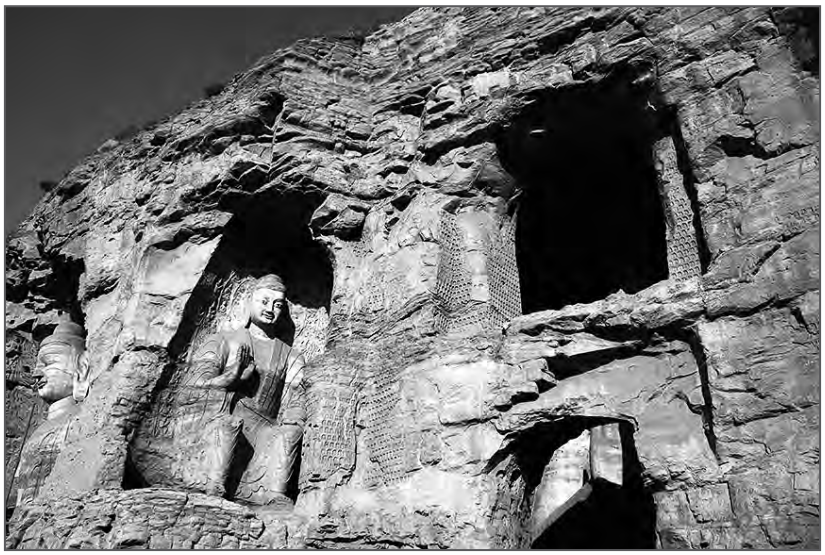
THE POWER OF COGNITIVE EXPERIENCE

Shanxi has 119 relics under national protection, the largest number in the country. The ancient city of Pingyao and the Yungang Grotto are on the World Heritage List. Shanxi's more than three-thousand-year history, rich heritage and unique natural landmarks are a natural framework for heritage tourism development and cognitive experiences generating large numbers of international and domestic visitors. It is an illustration of how Chinese history, culture, folklore, music and famous cuisine are becoming a basis for creative tourist experiences or the so-called "new generation tourism". This is when tourists become actively involved in an "'educational, emotional, and social interaction with the place's culture and local population's lifestyle" (Ivanova 2013: 121).

Since creativity is "an activity and an environment", creative resources are generally more sustainable than tangible heritage resources. This implies that unlike material heritage such as museums and monuments, "creative resources do not lose their value or degrade with time". Creativity has "greater mobility compared to tangible heritage resources"; also, "unlike traditional heritage resources, creative resources allow for a faster new value generation". Creative tourists travel because they seek "charm and experience which is a prerequisite for building customer loyalty". At the same time, in creative experience "authenticity" does not depend on external referents (individuals) or on a direct relationship with the experience but on "the transformed potential of the tourists' own experiences, imagination, and skills" (Ivanova 2013: 121).

Foto 6

The world famous Yungang Grottoes, also in the UNESCO list



UNESCO's definition of creative tourism puts the emphasis on experiences: creative tourism is defined as "travel directed toward an engaged and authentic experience". This type of tourism links people to a culture but also to the place where they can get to know this culture[4]: "Creative Tourism involves more interaction, in which the visitor has an educational, emotional, social, and participative interaction with the place, its living culture, and the people who live there".

CONCLUSION

Creative tourist experience has become a competitive advantage of heritage tourism in the Shanxi Province owing to the diversity of the tourism product offered and the uniqueness of natural resources. Tourists come to visit the many Buddhist temples in the Mount Wutai (Xiantong Temple, Tayuan Temple, Posa Top Temple and Pavilion of Ten Thousand Buddhs), the Yungang Grottoes, and the ancient city of Pingyao. They discover the legends about the Yellox River and Datong Nine-Dragon Screen and can have a beautiful and exciting "travel directed toward an engaged and authentic experience" enabling them to acquire knowledge about unique heritage sites.

Travellers' changing profile and customer requirements in the context of the increasingly profitable tourism business make creative tourism a trend that will shape the future of the industry: educational and participative, closely involved with local population and customs, and full of authentic experiences. China's Shanxi Province is yet another competitive destination in the global tourism marketplace which will attract

[4] UNESCO's definition of creative tourism – In: *Towards Sustainable Strategies for Creative Tourism*, UNESCO – http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001598/159811E.pdf – Read on 28.05.2015

millions of tourists to the cradle of Chinese civilization through new investment in landmark preservation, heritage tourism, and creative experiences. More aggressive online advertising and increased attention to integrated marketing communications, in addition to a more proactive promotion at international and national tourism expositions and markets, will enable the province to add new value to its image as "depository of Buddhist monuments and art".

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THE REEMERGENCE OF TIANXIA IN CHINA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: A CASE STUDY OF CHINA'S ATTEMPTS TO CREATE ITS OWN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY

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Abstract

China has always played an important and influential role in regional politics, so its willingness to interact with communities outside its borders should not be in question. China's increasing forays into global politics, backed by its economic clout, signal the country's growing importance economically, globally and regionally as counterpoint to an almost exclusively Western elite. To quote Robert Cox: "Theory is always for someone and for some purpose." In the context of International Relations (IR), the PRC has taken these words to heart. Its politicians and scholars often criticize contemporary IR theories for their Western-centric bias, so it comes as no surprise to hear talk about implementing theories with so-called "Chinese characteristics," or even the creation of an outright Chinese IR theory.

At the turn of the century, the concept of Tianxia （天下）, "under heaven" – historically associated with China's cultural realm – began to reemerge in Chinese discourse, albeit through a more modern lens. Whereas before it signified the general Chinese cultural ethos or the world, in its current incarnation it merely takes cues from China's history and philosophy to provide an "all inclusive" alternative to IR, unlike the current, inherently "failed world" chaotic structure of contemporary international society. This concept is in keeping with an increasing concern in international academia for a balanced representation in IR so that "non-Western voices [...] bring their historical and cultural, as well as their intellectual, resources into the theoretical debates about IR" (Acharya and Buzan 2007a: 286). Tianxia is "focusing more on 'worldness' than 'internationality'" (Zhao 2009: 6), towards a world institution that operates from the top-down, as opposed to similar Western constructs. In the words of William Callahan Tianxia is "presented as utopia that has practical applications" (2008: 751). But could such an idea really serve as the foundation of China's own IR theory? Examining this concept can provide a valuable insight of PRC's approach to international politics and its regard for the current global order.

Nativism or universalism?

Keywords: Tianxia, Zhao Tingyang, IR, International Relations, non-Western International Relations theory

In 2010, the People's Republic of China (PRC) surpassed Japan as the world's second largest economy, prompting persistent discussion about whether or not it should be made a permanent member of the Group of Eight (G8) – a position conferring absolute proof of economic power. Concurrently, the PRC's role in establishing a peacekeeping operation in Sudan and its veto of UN military intervention in Syria further evidenced an increasingly visible profile on the global political scene; both actions stood in stark contrast to the country's isolationist status prior to 1979.

China has always played an important and influential role in regional politics, so its willingness to interact with communities outside its borders should not be in question. China's increasing forays into global politics, backed by its economic clout, signal the country's growing importance economically, globally and regionally as counterpoint to an almost exclusively Western elite. To quote Robert Cox: "Theory is always for someone and for some purpose" (1981: 129). In the context of International Relations (IR), the PRC has taken these words to heart. Its politicians and scholars often criticize contemporary IR theories for their Western-centric bias, so it is no surprise to hear talk about implementing theories with so-called "Chinese characteristics," or even the creation of an outright Chinese IR theory.

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Past and Present: in Harmony?

The concept of Tianxia, similar to other popular concepts in the discourse about Chinese International Relations, is a reimagination of China's past, which contributes to the popularity of Zhao Tingyang's works on the topic amongst Chinese audiences. However by introducing the cultural and historical background to a concept that has multiple meanings and development over thousands of years, the new concept first opens itself for criticism on accounts of its understanding or misunderstanding of that context, effectively distracting from the points made.

For example, Callahan (2008) argues that Zhao's account of Tianxia in Dao De Jing is taken out of context in his 2005 book <<天下体系．世界制度哲学导论>> (*The Tianxia System: An Introduction to the Philosophy of a World Institution*). He criticizes Zhao's misappropriation of Dao De Jing quotes: namely taking quotes out of context to build a narrative of Tianxia in Dao De Jing at the very top of a top down structure, rather than as one element serving part of a whole. In addition, the role conquest in establishing Tianxia is overlooked, which is used as a strong argument for the peaceful foundation of the theory. Critics of Zhao give more examples of inaccuracies put the faults in the context of rising Chinese nationalism or China's strife for greater recognition (see Callahan 2008; Carlson 2011; Chang 2011). Far more important is the fact that a far removed historical and philosophical foundation is ultimately difficult (or even impossible) to translate outside its original context and project onto the present, thus disabling both Zhao and his critics from fully engaging with the contemporary aspects of the theory. By basing a modern theory in classical philosophy and history, Zhao creates a sort of a Shrödinger's cat theory of IR that both does and does not exist in the past, effectively shifting the focus to the less relevant details of its history. Separating the different elements of such a theory proves to be a difficult task: by discrediting the foundation, the whole theory is more easily discredited. Thus, the attempt to introduce a new concept based on an older one, as opposed to inspired by it, proves to be a difficult task where the reader is caught up in details about the past drifting from the more practical side of the presented theory.

It also raises the question: to what extent the author is willing to evaluate and modernize the concept? For example, Zhao evaluates the tributary system as that of "beneficial competitors" while Qin Yaqing's (2007) interpretation of Tianxia developed along the lines of IR, but instead of romanticizing the past (even if he does draw a favorable image of Tianxia in China's history) he evaluates it as a "system of inequality", yet recognizes Tianxia's potential. And while not without its flaws, this brand of Tianxia presents a more focused on IR manages to bring the dialogue to Tianxia's more immediate contribution to IR as a whole. In this sense, the continuous dialogue about Tianxia in China and abroad as well as removing the heavy-handed historical influence in favor of IR means of theorizing can help its further development a more complete Chinese IR theory.

Chinese characteristics and the Self/Other relations: a problem or a natural development

This leads to a second problem in creating a clear Chinese IR theory: the question of granted "all-inclusiveness" which is guaranteed by the concept of Tianxia. According to Zhao, the Self/Other relations are described as "there being no outsiders [and] no 'pagans'" (Zhao, 2009:11) and put in contrast to Western understandings which show to be intolerant (Ibid.; Zhao: 2005: 14; Qin, 2007: 313). However, this described equality and inclusiveness in fact draws the line at Western democracies, one of the most criticized aspects of Tianxia. Zhao paints democracy as a flawed system that represents "mislead minds" (2006: 32) opposing the saying that "anything against the wholeness and harmony of the world is defined as politically unacceptable" (2006: 33). By this description, Western concepts are glazed over rather than engaged, which leads

to a one-dimensional image of the West resulting in a narrative that China and the West are conceptually, fundamentally opposed but also utilizes binaries in its exclusion of the West (Callahan, 2008: 13).

This approach is much less holistic than previously presented, and it alienates the West, reversing the roles of China and the West as the Self/Other. Since Tianxia strives to be an encompassing, all-inclusive IR alternative to the current fragmented world, the question must also be asked: how receptive overall Tianxia can be of foreign ideas and influences in the future? Chen (2011: 18) proposes the idea that such homegrown IR theory could ultimately lead to nativism, which will further complicate the existence of a Tianxia. However, the backlash against China's continuing effort to create its own IR theory focuses on China as a growing power that seeks to present an alternative to the current world order implying that, to a certain extent, hostility, however, critics glaze on the global problem of creating a non-Western IR theory.

Non-Western IR theories have difficulties communicating and expressing their cultures in a universal way without resorting to Western means of expression (ibid). This is in keeping with the ongoing discussion of whether non-Western theories should engage with the already existing theories which are a product of Western influence or try to create their own (Chen 2011; Buzan and Acharya 2007; Tickner and Waever 2009). Similar questions exist about present day Tianxia: whether it could be a Chinese-inspired creation as Zhao suggests or, as Qin Yaqing puts it, "a combination of the Chinese and the Western, rather than a dichotomous division of the two, could provide insight for the development and even revolution of IRT." (2007: 330). Putting Tianxia only in the context of the Realist notions of the balance of power and ignoring the larger context of the problems that non-Western IR theory presents this attempt of a creation of Chinese IR theory as intolerant without acknowledging the underlying context. Tianxia's inclusiveness as well as setting the self-Other relationship does pose a problem in its current form as presented by Zhao Tingyang but China's attempt at creating an IR theory is very much in tune with the overall tendencies in IR globally, therefore the future of Tianxia should not be confined to a narrative of intolerance.

A question of theory and practice

Another aspect of the discussion about Tianxia being utilized as a Chinese alternative IR theory is its usability to Chinese politics. In the recent few years, the rising profile of China is the target of research aiming at evaluating Chinese foreign policy. China is perceived as a status quo power (Shambaugh 2006) and in reality its government's policies have a realist slant and as such might stand to gain more by following the established international order than establishing its own. In addition, some authors have argued that Chinese IR school is focusing more on current government trends bringing supporting papers to strengthen their theoretical footing instead of working independently to provide a Chinese IR theory (Glaser and Medeiros 2007). In a similar sentiment, Carlson argues that it is important inside China rather than providing a complete IR theory alternative (2008: 750). However, going back to "utopia with practical applications" (Callahan 2008: 751), Tianxia is not intended to be a practical, working model of the world in its current form. Since the theory is presented against the backdrop of liberalism and the UN (Zhao 2006, 2009), Tianxia is a better candidate to be China's critical theory. Acknowledging this, the rift between theory and practice is no longer a definite hurdle for its existence, despite there being strong weaknesses. These can be mostly attributed to Zhao Tingyang's attempt to connect Tianxia rather strongly with its historical and philosophical foundations, which is out of its context in present day. However, the focus on liberal democracy describing what "Western thought" is rather than critically engaging with what it does, does not provide a solid argument for the theory's existence and raises doubts for its ability to act as a stable basis for a new IR theory. Such critique of the current world order and mainstream IR also omits Western critical theories that lay down similar arguments. This can be attributed to Zhao Tingyang's approach to focus on his points as contra arguments to what he perceives as the reasoning behind the "failed world" and China's relatively young school of IR.

Conclusion

Overall, Tianxia is an interesting place to start looking for Chinese IR theory as it bears a very strong link to the Chinese cultural ethos. If this endeavor succeeds it will be a unique revival of an ancient concept for modern use in IR. As a theory, however, it is still in its infancy and suffers from some flaws that might provide a substantial hurdle in its claim for legitimacy on the international scene. There is certainly a need to better define the boundaries between classical Chinese history and philosophy Tianxia and present day IR Tianxia. It is still very much a new theory that is very well discussed also within Chinese academia and can continue developing either as an entirely non-Western alternative in IR or one that integrates Western

ideas. As such this attempt to bring out a homegrown theory very much that has the disadvantage of an IR school that does not have long traditions but strives to compartmentalize a Chinese worldview of the world. In attempting to do so, Tianxia meets its biggest hurdle for achieving the creation of an all-inclusive IR theory by forming a rift between China and the West with a newer image of Self/Other that swaps the traditional places of the actors. However, the danger here is two-fold: from a Chinese perspective, the othering of an actor defeats the stated idea of the theory, while from a non-Chinese position, it is important to acknowledge that replicating the already existing model of Self/Other is a part of a global problem in non-Western IR.

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TRENDS IN ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE EU AND CHINA IN A GLOBAL CRISIS' CONTEXT

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Abstract

The main objective of this paper is to explore key trends in the economic relations between the EU and China in a global crisis' context. The negative impact of the crisis on the European economy has enhanced political and economic relations with emerging Asian countries. Economic cooperation and relations between the EU and China have deepened and intensified during the global crisis due to the new global realities as well as various national factors and processes. There is great growth potential for bilateral trade in goods and services. Foreign direct investment and increasing share of payments in renminbi have also become an engine for economic cooperation.

Keywords: crisis, trade, investment, EU, China, renminbi.

The European economic and social model has turned out to be too vulnerable during the crisis. The recession followed by a fragile and unstable growth, high unemployment, excessive public indebtedness of many countries, poor economic activity and expectations for continuous current negative trends place Europe in an unfavorable position to its main competitors – the USA and China.

China has become a global economic giant after 2010 leaving Japan behind and has established itself as the second biggest economy in the world which a GDP of 5.8 trillion dollars creating 9.5% of the world's GDP. Currently, China is the biggest exporter in the world and forecasts show that by 2025, it will become the biggest world economy.

The negative impact of the crisis on the European economy has stimulated political and economic relations with fast developing countries outside Europe. The preparation for a free trade area and bilateral investment agreement between the EU and China has begun. There is great growth potential for trade in goods and services as foreign direct investment and increasing share of payments in renminbi have become an engine for further economic cooperation.

The main purpose of the paper is to reveal key trends in economic relations development between the EU and China in a global crisis' context. Trends in bilateral trade and investment, as well as in the role of renminbi in bilateral trade, global economy and finance will be studied.

1. **The global crisis – driver of EU–China trade**

The global crisis has turned out to be the most serious challenge to EU economy development. The abrupt decrease in the EU 28 GDP in 2009 (- 4.4% on annual base) followed by slow and fragile recovery together with forecasts for continuous weak growth leave the EU in an unfavorable position to the USA and China.

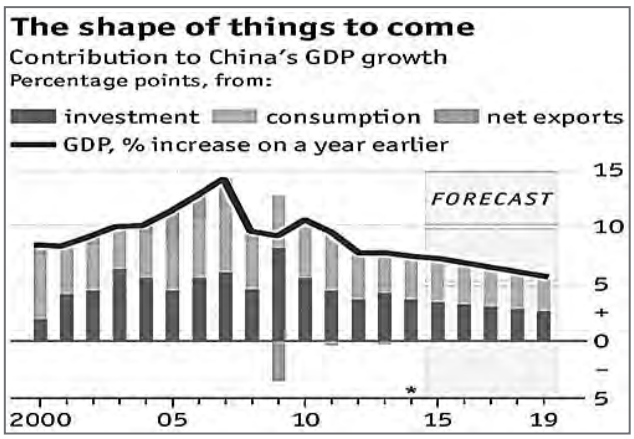
Table 1. GDP growth in the EU and China (%)

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
EU28	0.5	- 4.4	2.1	1.7	- 0.5	0.0	1.3
China	9.6	9.2	10.4	9.3	7.7	7.7	7.4

Source: Eurostat, China Statistical Yearbook 2014

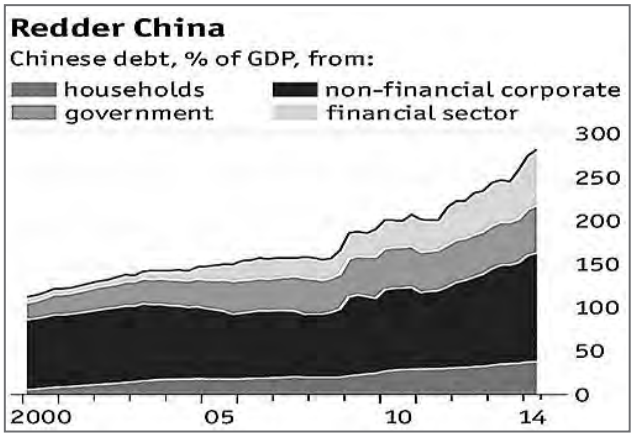
Consumption and investments have been Chinese key economic drivers before and during the crisis. Chinese economy growth was 10.4% in 2010 and it went down to 7.4% in 2014. Forecasts show that in 2015, it will reach the lowest level for the last 25 years. During the first trimester of 2015, the GDP increased to 7% on an annual base. The main reason is the decrease in property market and production. In the long term, it is expected that production and growth will continue to shrink.

Current stability of the Chinese economy rests on two pillars. The first one is that most of its debt is internal. The country has begun to shift its economic model from investments to consumption and national currency is becoming convertible. Multinational companies can export revenue easier than before. Unlike the EU, households and government are not the biggest borrowers. These are local governments, state owned enterprises, construction firms. The second pillar involves fiscal and administrative reforms. Due to them in 2013 3.6 million firms were established and the government has launched a program for cutting local debt. At the same time total debt (sovereign and private) augmented to more than 250% of GDP. The huge amount of debt has enabled China to overcome the crisis but it has increased its payment burden for the coming years.



Graph 1. Growth components of Chinese economy

Source: The Economist



Graph 2. Chinese debt holders, % of GDP

Source: The Economist

The ongoing financial liberalization facilitates market based financing of the economy. Deposit rates are still fixed but they will also be liberalized in a year. The government has loosened capital control and has given new tax powers to local governments. Local governments can now issue bonds. Debt restructuring is undergoing.

Regarding the situation in the EU, the main challenges are: active, stimulating fiscal and monetary policy before and during the crisis; huge amounts of budget deficits and rising sovereign debt in the context of fragile economic growth, high unemployment, deflation. Expansionary monetary policy has contributed to loosening of fiscal discipline in many Eurozone countries. Thus budget deficit exceeded the Growth and Stability Pact limits after the euro adoption till 2007. Governments boosted budget deficits. Sovereign debt constantly surpassed 60% of GDP and systemic risks in many countries grew. Before the crisis, the leading trend in fiscal policy was weak discipline and increased redistribution through the budget especially in Greece, Portugal, and Italy. In the crisis, sovereign debt exceeded 90% of GDP and budget deficit 8% of GDP in the euro area.

The EU institutions have launched different political measures to overcome the crisis related to new rules on economic coordination on supranational level, financial surveillance and the establishment of a banking union. The measures on a EU level (ex. European Stability Mechanism, amendments in Growth and Stability Pact, Treaty on Stability and Coordination in the EMU, Single Surveillance Mechanism) have reinforced centralization on a supranational level that is likely to increase moral risk in the financial and economic systems and may lead to new crises.

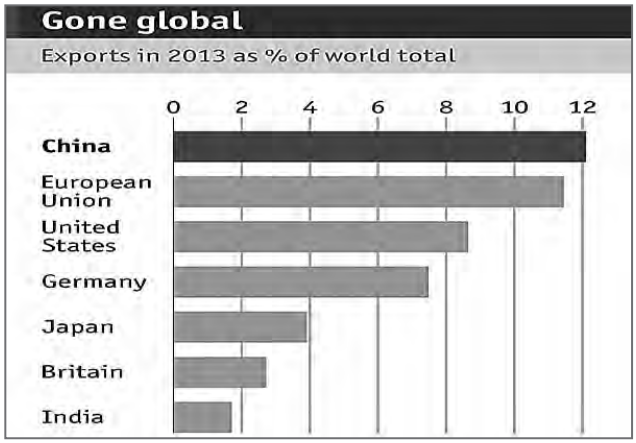
The crisis favored bilateral trade between the EU and China. During this period, total trade between the EU and China increased by more than 25% as in 2008 it exceeded 327 billion euro and in 2013 reached

428 billion euro. China has established itself as the second EU trading partner. At the same time the EU has become the largest importer of Chinese goods and services among the developed countries. China was the biggest exporter in the world leaving behind the EU and USA in 2013.

According to Deutsche Bank (Deutsche Bank 2014), it exceeded 1 billion euro daily in 2014 and if the upward trend continues, it will reach 660 billion euro daily in 10 years. Trade of EU Member States outside the Union is more concentrated on China than on other traditional partners such as USA and Japan. European institutions have launched the preparation of a Free Trade Agreement with China in order to deepen trade and investment relations. The main reasons are the large scale and fast development of Chinese market as well as relatively weak impact of the global crisis on local economy – on production and consumption as well as the ongoing financial and administrative reforms.

Graph 3. Global export, 2013 as % of total world export

Source: IMF



During 2008–2013, annual growth of import between the EU and China was 6.8% and that of export – 15.8%. Chinese import to the EU reached 18.6% from total import outside the Union in 2010. In 2011, the EU export to China augmented to 8.8% of total export Extra-EU. Trade flows from the EU to China almost doubled in value during the crisis. Trade balance between the EU and China has registered deficit in the period 2008–2013 but it has been shrinking after 2010 because of the upward trend in the EU export to the Asian country.

Table 2. EU–China trade

Indicator	**Period**	**Import**	**Export**	**Total trade**
Position as EU partner	2013	1	3	2
Position as China partner	2013	1	3	1
Share in trade of goods in the EU	2013	16.6%	8.5%	12.5%
Share in trade in service in the EU	2013	4.7%	4%	
Share in the trade in China	2013	11.3	15.3	13.4
Annual growth	2009-2013	6.8%	15.8%	

Source: European Commission, IMF, Eurostat

Table 3. Trade flows and balance between the EU and China

Year	**Import**		**Export**		**Balance**	**Total trade**
	Million euro	Share in the import outside the EU (%)	Million euro	Share in the export outside the EU (%)	Million euro	Million euro
2008	249,102	15.7	78,301	6.0	- 170,802	327,403
2009	215,274	17.4	82,421	7.5	- 132,853	297,695
2010	283,931	18.6	113,454	8.4	- 170,477	397,385
2011	295,029	17.1	136,415	8.8	- 158,614	431,444
2012	292,038	16.3	144,206	8.6	- 147,831	436,244
2013	280,095	16.6	148,297	8.5	- 131,798	428,392

Source: European Commission, IMF, Eurostat

The EU has become the biggest trading partner of China. Germany is the biggest exporter and importer to and from China. Total trade exceeded 150 billion euro in 2013. France and the Netherlands are among the EU countries whose trade relations with China are well-developed.

Table 4. Trade in goods between China and EU Member States, 2013

Country	**Trade in goods**					
	Export to China, %		**Import from China, %**		**Total trade in billion euro**	**Trade balance, % GDP**
	EU – extra	**Total**	**Extra EU**	**Total**		
Germany	13.6	5.7	17.6	7.3	138.6	- 0.2
France	8.2	3.4	14.6	14.8	38.5	0.1
Netherlands	6.8	1.8	16.9	8.0	37.0	

Source: Eurostat

Table 5. Trade in services between China and EU Member States, 2013

Country	**Trade with services**					
	Export to China, %		**Import from China, %**		**Total trade, billion euro**	**Trade balance, % GDP**
	Extra – EU	**Total**	**EU – extra**	**Total**		
Germany	8.4	4.3	5.6	2.4	15.4	0.1
Denmark	8.9	5.0	5.9	2.7	3.9	0.6
France	8.0	3.7	6.0	2.6	10.4	0.1

Source: Eurostat

The biggest share in bilateral trade is represented by industrial goods and their share in 2013 was 96.3% from total import and 84.8% from total export between the EU and China. Machinery and transport equipment comprise half of the import and 57.7% of the export. Import of industrial goods from China represents nearly 30% from the whole import Extra-EU. The export of industrial goods to China recorded 10% of total export Extra-EU.

Table 6. Trade with industrial goods between the EU and China, 2013.

	Import				**Export**			
	Value million euro	**Share in total import, %**	**Share in import Extra – EU, %**	**Growth to 2012., %**	**Value million euro**	**Share in total export, %**	**Share in export Extra – EU, %**	**Growth to 2012., %**
Industrial goods	269,781	96.3	28.8	-5.4	125,694	84.8	9.4	-3.4
Iron and steel	3,369	1.2	13.1	-5.6	2,487	1.7	6.6	14.2
Chemicals	13,154	4.7	8.3	1.1	17,327	11.7	6.3	2.6
Machinery and transport equipment	139,253	49.7	32.1	-4.7	85,611	57.7	12.1	1.4
Textiles	7,254	2.6	33.1	1.2	1,071	0.7	6.2	1.6
Clothing	28,617	10.2	40.0	-4.8	1,010	0.7	4.4	20.4
Other industrial goods	55,658	19.9	38.5	-3.9	11,176	7.5	7.2	9.1

Source: Eurostat

In Germany, 33% of Extra-EU metalworking machinery and 18% of Extra-EU automotive exports go to China. Apart from manufacturing, France's textile industry, Britain's fur skin industry and the EU waste-paper industry all rely on China for more than 50% of their Extra-EU exports. Regarding manufacturing imports, China is key partner, accounting for around one-third of the EU's manufacturing imports, and much more in certain industries – for example, over 80% of travel goods and handbags and nearly 50% of clothing and footwear imports come from China.

Transport is the most important sector among the export of services from the EU to China. Its share is 29% of the total export of services followed by business and professional and technical services. Germany is Chinese leading services trade partner representing about 25% of total trade in services between the EU and China.

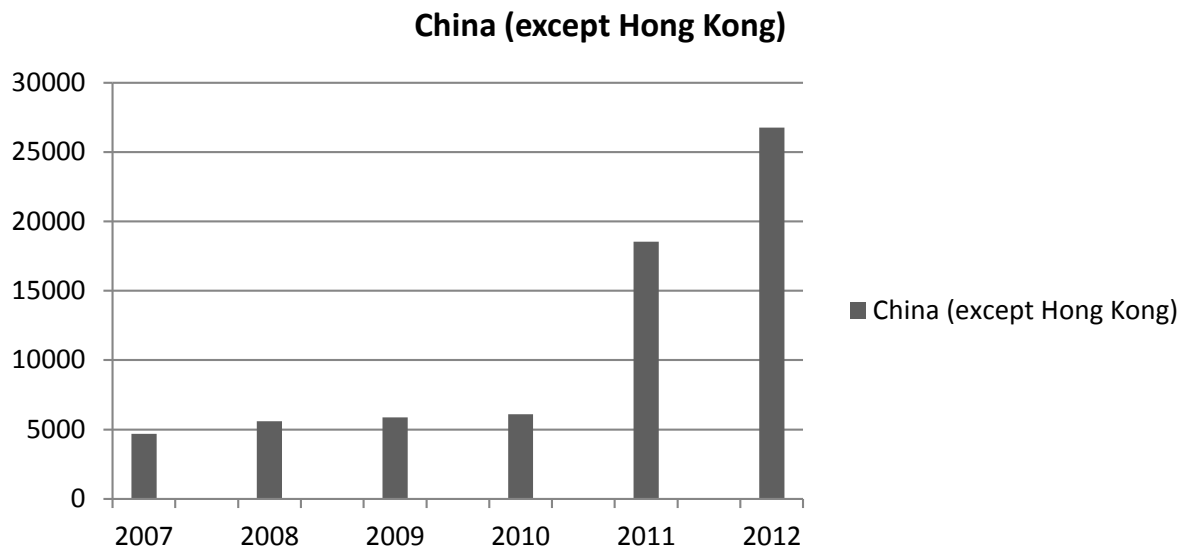
The largest component of EU services imports from China is also transport, accounting for 45% of the total and almost 8% of Extra-EU imports. Travel services accounted for 13% of EU services imports from China (Deutsche Bank 2014).

2. Trends in bilateral investments

Developed markets have received an increasing share of China's overseas direct investment flows since 2009. So far, Europe has been the largest Chinese investment destination among the developed countries. In 2003, Chinese direct investment in Europe accounted to 113 million USD and in 2012, it reached 6,137 million USD. In comparison to that, Chinese overseas direct investment flows to the USA increased from 65 million USD in 2003 to 4,048 million USD in 2012. Chinese investments in foreign markets are also becoming increasingly important for the target markets. By 2011, China was already Germany's largest investor. This greater focus on developed markets has been accelerated by the 2008–09 global financial and economic crisis, as such markets offer less political risk and better regulatory environment (Economist Intelligence Office 2015).

During the period 2007–2012, Chinese FDI to the EU increased more than five times from about 5,000 million euro in 2007 to over 25,000 million euro in 2012. This proves that the crisis has not affected the confidence of Chinese investors in EU economy.

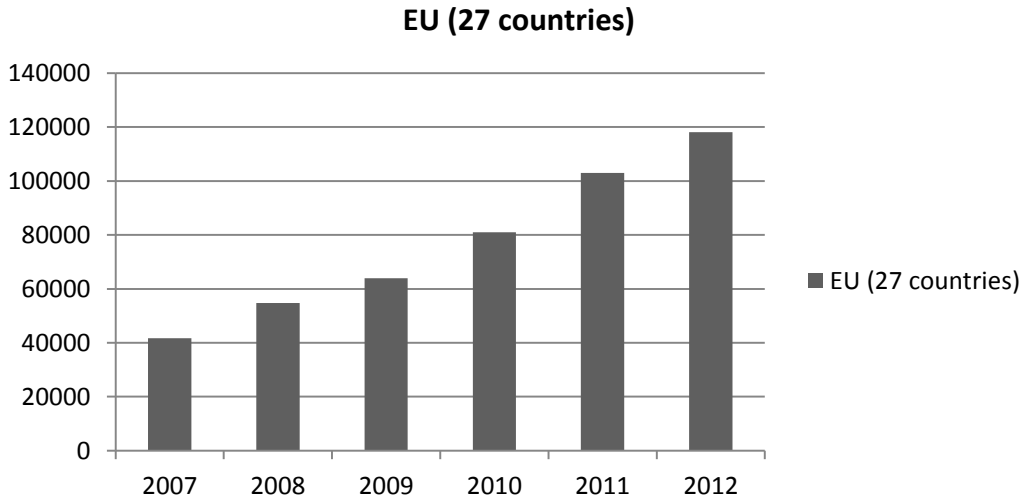
Graph 4. China FDI stock in the EU, million euros



Source: Eurostat

Meanwhile, European investments in China have also grown. They tripled from about 40,000 million euro in 2007 to nearly 120,000 million euro in 2012. The total value of European investments in China is five times more than Chinese in the EU but the trend for both parties is positive.

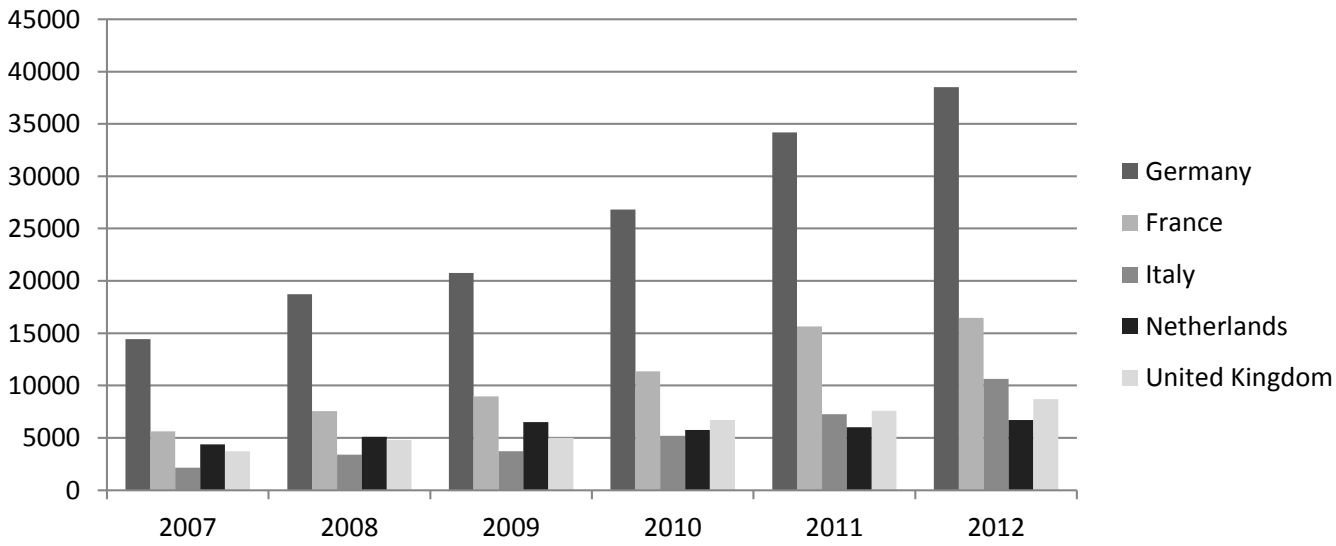
Graph 5. EU FDI stock in China, million euro



Source: Eurostat

Germany continues to be the largest European investor in China followed by France and Great Britain. German investments in China augmented from about 15,000 million euro in 2007 to 40,000 million euro in 2012. French investments have also risen from 5,000 million euro in 2007 to about 17,000 million euro in 2012.

Graph 6. Top European investors in China, million euros



Source: Eurostat

European companies invest more in Chinese industry and services. During 2008–2012, investments in R&D centers by foreign investments (including those from Europe) have doubled. China has become even more attractive for European firms and companies who struggle to recover from the crisis and to boost production and consumption in national economies.

Although their overall share is decreasing, state-owned enterprises (SOEs) still dominate China's overseas direct investment (ODI). Private companies' investments have increased due to the government decision to open local economy and encourage investments abroad. State-owned enterprises have made acquisitions accounted for around 72% of the total deal value of all Chinese acquisitions in Europe in 2002–12. However, the figures are skewed by some large-scale acquisitions in capital-intensive industries, such as China Investment Corporation's acquisition of the exploration business of a French electric utilities company, GDF Suez, for €2.3bn (US$3.2bn) in 2011. In Germany, where acquisitions are smaller and engineering and technology oriented, only 34% of Chinese companies involved were state-owned (Economist Intelligence Office 2015).

Throughout the EU, the majority of deals are in communications equipment and services, industrial machinery, equipment and renewables. Chemicals and manufacturing dominate in terms of total investment flows, but there is an increasing sophistication in the nature of the areas targeted, and a greater diversity than

before the global financial crisis. More than 40% of German companies acquired by Chinese corporations are in the industrial machinery and equipment segments, and once more renewables feature prominently.

China has become EU's strategic partner and this is proved by the plans to sign a bilateral investment agreement[1]. Its aim is to provide an advance in investment liberalisation and elimination of barriers to investors through the establishment of a clear and secure legal environment and predictable long term access to EU and China markets. The EU focuses on industrial dialogue development with China, policies exchange for facilitating trade with industrial products in the automotive, energy efficiency, SME and raw materials areas (European Commission 2013).

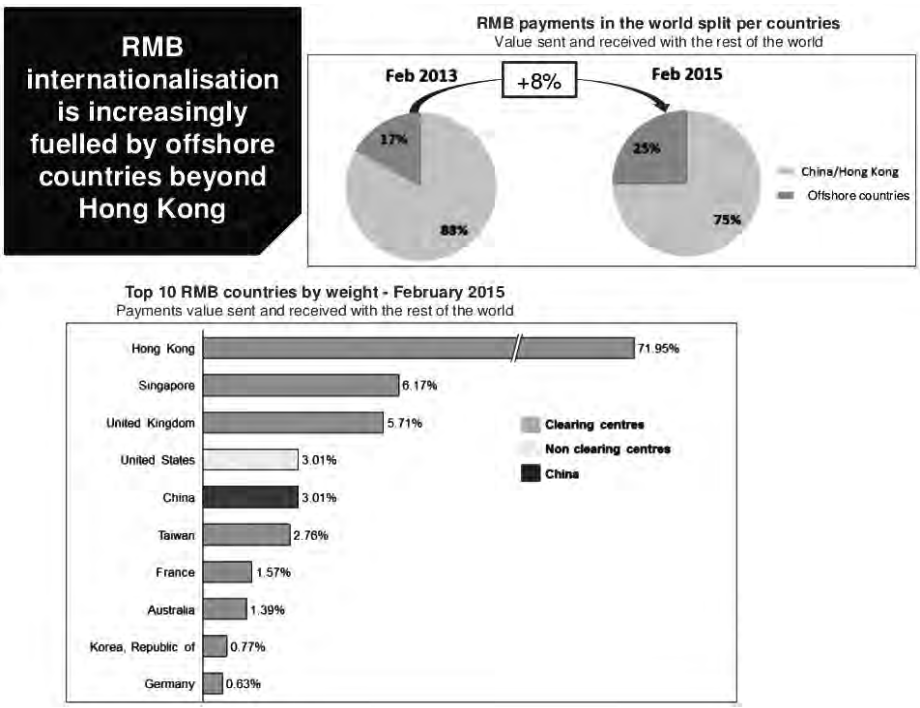
3. The internationalization of renminbi and its role in EU-China trade

The ongoing process of internationalization of Chinese currency plays vital role for enhancing bilateral trade and investment relations between the EU and China. In 2013, renminbi (RMB)[2] became the second most used currency in trade financing in the world. In October 2013, 8.66% from global trade financing was in RMB, 81.08% in USD and euro had a share of 6.44%. Data from SWIFT shows that countries that most use it in trade financing are: China (59%), Hong Kong (21%), Singapore (12%), Germany (2%), Australia (2%). By mid 2014, renminbi continued to be the second most used currency in trade financing in the world. Its share rose to over 10% and that of the euro – about 13%.

Due to current account full convertibility China today can make all its international trade in renminbi. In February 2015, the yuan was the seventh most used world payments currency with a share of 1.81%. By February 2015, its use in Europe increased by 150% in Germany and by 1,050% in Sweden in comparison to April 2013.

The internationalization of yuan is encouraged by offshore countries outside Hong Kong. In the period February 2013 – February 2015, payments in yuan made by offshore countries increased from 17% to 25% worldwide (SWIFT 2015). Offshore markets (primarily Hong Kong, part of China since 1997) are fully opened and there are no barriers to international investors in difference to Chinese internal financial market. The existence of offshore markets enables development of financial instruments and trade in Chinese currency before capital and financial account liberalization.

Graph 7. RMB payments in the world per countries



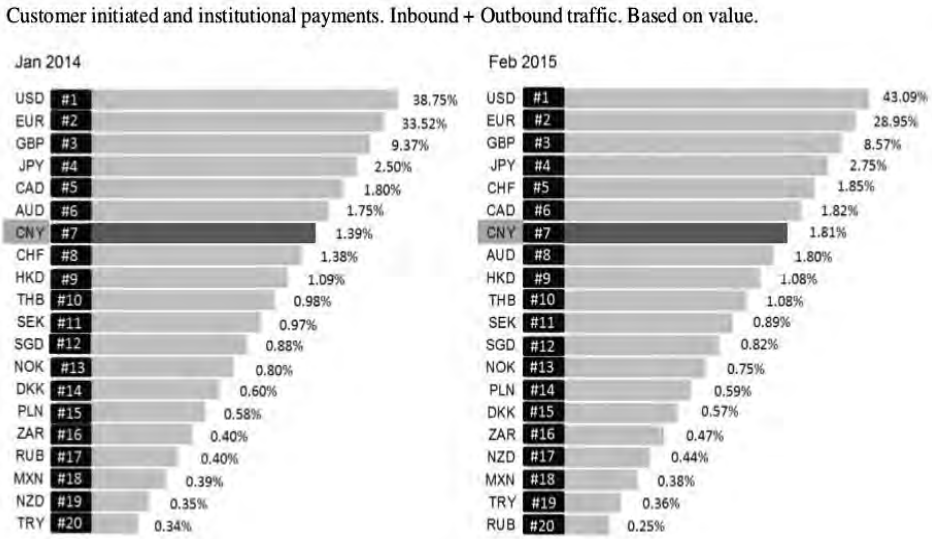
Source: SWIFT

[1] Bilateral relations have dynamically developed since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1975.

[2] Chinese currency is known by two names – renminbi and yuan that are often used as synonyms though their meaning is not exactly the same. Renminbi means "people's currency" while yuan is currency value. The official abbreviation is CNY but it is often used as RMB; the symbol of the currency is ¥.

Chinese yuan and offshore yuan are two different markets which even have different abbreviation (respectively CNY and CNH). Different factors have their impact on those two markets and the value of yuan can also differ (continental and offshore). Offshore yuan demand is greater than the continental one. This is one of the stimuli for the internationalization of yuan – the premium of offshore yuan stimulates its export from China (accounting, payments, investments, bank transfers, etc.)

Graph 8. RMB as world payments currency in value

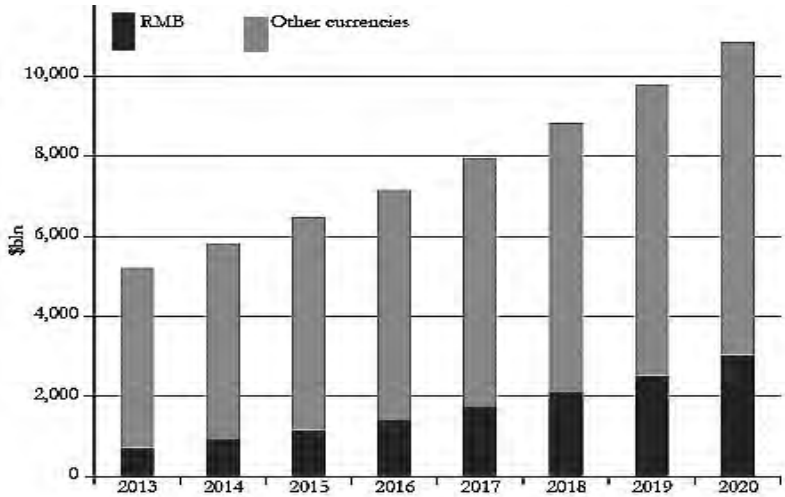


Source: SWIFT

Foreign central banks already have access to the Chinese capital market. The People's Bank of China signed bilateral currency swaps agreements with 18 central banks by the end of 2012 and it continued this policy in 2013. There are swap agreements with European Central Bank, Bank of England, Bank of Hong Kong and Bank of Singapore. The European Central Bank (ECB) and the People's Bank of China (PBC) have agreed to establish a bilateral currency swap arrangement to purchase and subsequently repurchase Chinese yuan and euro from each other. The swap agreement, which will be valid for three years, will have a maximum size of 350 billion yuan when are provided to the ECB and of €45 billion when euro are provided to the People's Bank of China. The swap arrangement has been launched in the context of rapidly growing bilateral trade and investment between the euro area and China, as well as the need to ensure the stability of financial markets. From the perspective of the Eurosystem, the swap arrangement is intended to serve as a backstop liquidity facility and to reassure euro area banks of the continuous provision of Chinese yuan. It has been established at the level of the Euro system and will be available to all Euro system counterparties via national central banks[3].

Singapore and London are large financial centers which play a key role in the acceptance of yuan outside Hong Kong. The use of yuan has been intensified by the emergence of other offshore clearing centers in the world such as Bangkok, Doha, Frankfurt, Kuala Lumpur, Luxembourg, Paris, Seoul, Sidney, Toronto.

Graph 9. Share of RMB trade settlement to double by 2020.



Source: Standard Chartered Research

[3] http://www.ecb.europa.eu/press/pr/date/2013/html/pr131010.en.html

During the period 2013–2020, payments value of yuan are likely to quadruple and are likely to reach 3,000 billion USD in 2020 – becoming the fourth world currency after the dollar, the euro and the pound sterling.

Conclusion

The intensification of economic relations between the EU and China in a global crisis' context is due to the new realities in the world as well as various national factors and processes. Upward trends in trade and investments reveal that both parties recognize themselves as long term key partners and advantages and benefits are mutual. Current socio-economic challenges to the EU may be overcome by efforts on a national and supranational level as well as by boosting economic relations with the fast-developing Chinese economy.

Reforms and actions taken by the Chinese government and the People's Bank of China have been an important prerequisite for strengthening economic relations. Chinese authorities aim at stimulating the internationalization of the yuan through reducing interest rates, accelerating capital outflows, a cross-border equity trading link denominated in renminbi which create expectations for further currency depreciation. Considerable role for the internationalization and economic dominance of China could play a decision to add its currency to the Special Drawing Rights (SDR) basket of the International Monetary Fund. Currently, Chinese economy is big but the yuan is still underrepresented in the world (SWIFT 2012). This is now changing.

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